μετα παντων των αγιων αμην

בראשית ברא אלהים

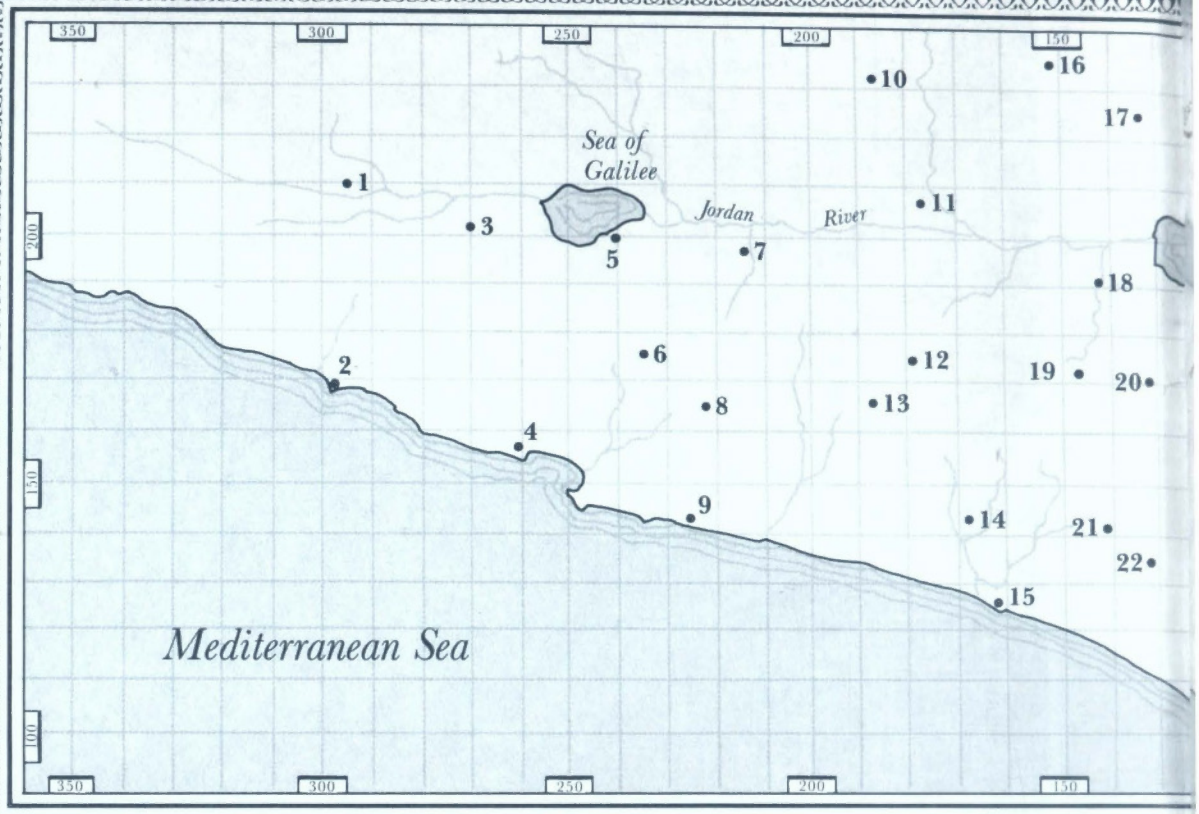
THE ANCHOR BIBLE DICTIONARY

VOLUME 2

D–G

μετα παντων των αγιων αμην

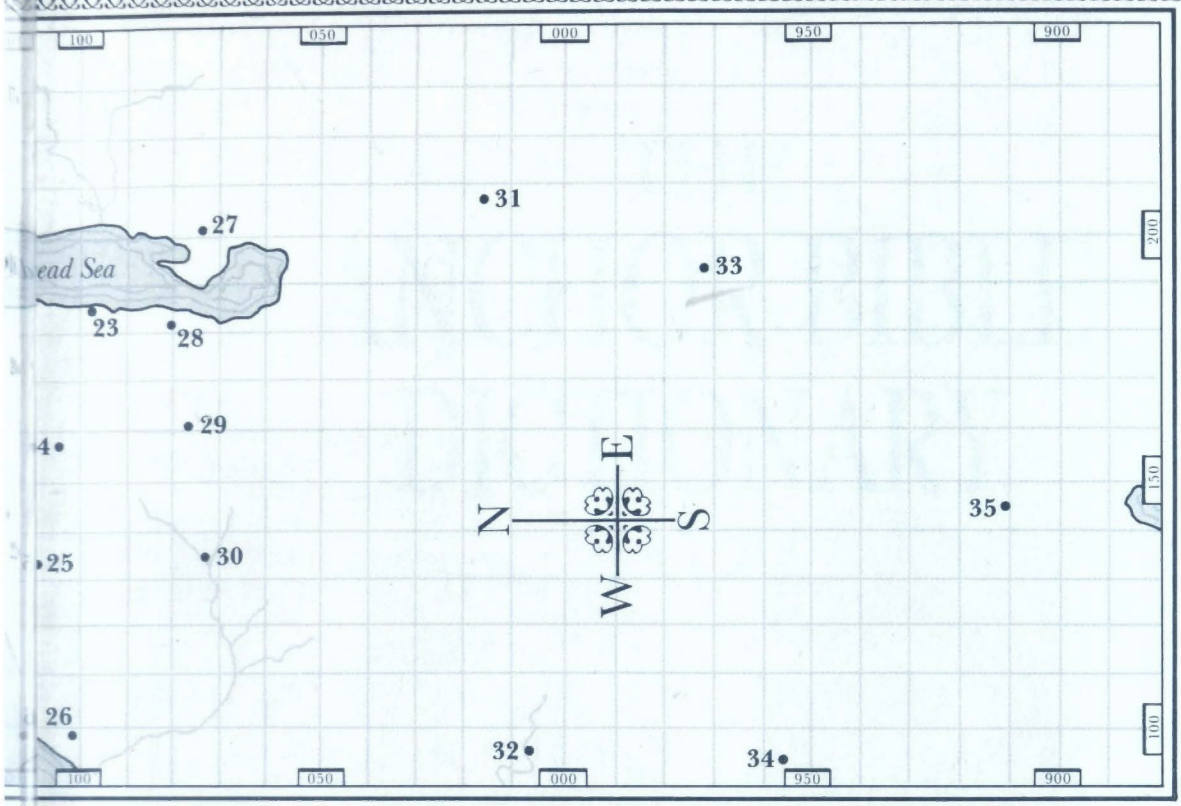
בראשית ברא אלהים



1 **Dan** (211294)
2 **Tyre** (168297)
3 **Hazor** (203269)
4 **Acco** (158258)
5 **Tiberias** (201242)
6 **Nazareth** (178234)
7 **Beth-shan/ Scythopolis** (197212)
8 **Megiddo** (167221)
9 **Dor** (142224)
10 **Gerasa** (234187)
11 **Deir ᶜAlla** (209178)
12 **Shechem** (176179)
13 **Samaria** (168187)
14 **Wadi Rabba** (144167)
15 **Joppa** (126162)
16 **Rabboth-ammon/ Philadelphia** (238151)

ARCHAEOLOGICAL I

PALEOLITHIC	25,000–10,000 B.C.E.
MESOLITHIC	10,000–8000 B.C.E.
PRE-POTTERY NEOLITHIC A (PPNA)	8000–7000 B.C.E.
PRE-POTTERY NEOLITHIC B (PPNB)	7000–6000 B.C.E.
POTTERY NEOLITHIC A (PNA)	6000–5000 B.C.E.
POTTERY NEOLITHIC B (PNB)	5000–3800 B.C.E.
(EARLY CHALCOLITHIC)	
CHALCOLITHIC (LATE CHALCOLITHIC)	3800–3400 B.C.E.
EARLY BRONZE I	3400–3100 B.C.E.
EARLY BRONZE II	3100–2650 B.C.E.
EARLY BRONZE III	2650–2350 B.C.E.
EARLY BRONZE IV	2350–2000 B.C.E.
MIDDLE BRONZE I	2000–1800 B.C.E.
MIDDLE BRONZE II	1800–1650 B.C.E.
MIDDLE BRONZE III	1650–1550/1500 B.C.E.



17 **Heshbon** (226134)
18 **Jericho** (192142)
19 **Ai** (174147)
20 **Jerusalem** (172131)
21 **Gezer** (142140)
22 **Ekron** (136131)
23 **En-gedi** (187096)
24 **Hebron** (159103)
25 **Lachish** (135108)
26 **Gaza** (099101)
27 **Bab edh-Dhra**ᶜ (202074)
28 **Masada** (183080)
29 **Arad** (162076)
30 **Beer-sheba** (134072)
31 **Bozrah** (208016)
32 **Kadesh-barnea**ᶜ (096006)
33 **Petra** (192971)
34 **Kuntillet** ᶜ**Ajrud** (094954)
35 **Timna**ᶜ (145910)

ODS IN PALESTINE

LATE BRONZE IA	1500–1450 B.C.E.
LATE BRONZE IB	1450–1400 B.C.E.
LATE BRONZE IIA	1400–1300 B.C.E.
LATE BRONZE IIB	1300–1200 B.C.E.
IRON AGE IA	1200–1100 B.C.E.
IRON AGE IB	1100–1000 B.C.E.
IRON AGE IC	1000–900 B.C.E.
IRON AGE IIA	900–800 B.C.E.
IRON AGE IIB	800–722 B.C.E.
IRON AGE IIC	722–586 B.C.E.
IRON AGE III	586–539/500 B.C.E.
PERSIAN PERIOD	539/500–323 B.C.E.
HELLENISTIC PERIOD	323–37 B.C.E.
ROMAN PERIOD	37 B.C.E.–324 C.E.
BYZANTINE	324–640 C.E.

THE ANCHOR BIBLE DICTIONARY

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VOLUME 2
D–G

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1 Apoc. Jas.	*First Apocalypse of James* (NHC V,*3*)
1 Chr	1 Chronicles
1 Clem.	*1 Clement*
1 Cor	1 Corinthians
1 En.	*1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)*
1 Esdr	1 Esdras
1 John	1 John
1 Kgdms	1 Samuel (LXX)
1 Kgs	1 Kings
1 Macc	1 Maccabees
1 Pet	1 Peter
1 Sam	1 Samuel
1 Thess	1 Thessalonians
1 Tim	1 Timothy
1Q, 2Q, 3Q, etc.	Numbered caves of Qumran, yielding written material; followed by abbreviation of biblical or apocryphal book
1QapGen	*Genesis Apocryphon* of Qumran Cave 1
1QH	*Hōdāyôt (Thanksgiving Hymns)* from Qumran Cave 1
1QIsa$^{a, b}$	First or second copy of Isaiah from Qumran Cave 1
1QM	*Milḥāmāh (War Scroll)*
1QpHab	*Pesher on Habakkuk* from Qumran Cave 1
1QS	*Serek hayyaḥad (Rule of the Community, Manual of Discipline)*
1QSa	Appendix A *(Rule of the Congregation)* to 1QS
1QSb	Appendix B *(Blessings)* to 1QS
1st	first
2 Apoc. Jas.	*Second Apocalypse of James* (NHC V,*4*)
2 Bar.	*2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse)*
2 Chr	2 Chronicles
2 Clem.	*2 Clement*
2 Cor	2 Corinthians
2 En.	*2 Enoch (Slavonic Apocalypse)*
2 Esdr	2 Esdras
2 John	2 John
2 Kgdms	2 Samuel (LXX)
2 Kgs	2 Kings
2 Macc	2 Maccabees
2 Pet	2 Peter
2 Sam	2 Samuel
2 Thess	2 Thessalonians
2 Tim	2 Timothy
2d	second
3 Bar.	*3 Baruch (Greek Apocalypse)*
3 Cor.	*3 Corinthians*
3 En.	*3 Enoch (Hebrew Apocalypse)*
3 John	3 John
3 Kgdms	1 Kings (LXX)
3 Macc.	*3 Maccabees*
3d	third
3Q15	Copper Scroll from Qumran Cave 3
4 Bar.	*4 Baruch*
4 Ezra	*4 Ezra*
4 Kgdms	2 Kings (LXX)
4 Macc.	*4 Maccabees*
4QFlor	*Florilegium* (or *Eschatological Midrashim*) from Qumran Cave 4
4QMess ar	Aramaic "Messianic" text from Qumran Cave 4
4QPhyl	Phylacteries from Qumran Cave 4
4QPrNab	Prayer of Nabonidus from Qumran Cave 4
4QTestim	*Testimonia* text from Qumran Cave 4
4QTLevi	*Testament of Levi* from Qumran Cave 4
5 Apoc. Syr. Pss.	*Five Apocryphal Syriac Psalms*
5 Macc.	*5 Maccabees*
11QMelch	*Melchizedek* text from Qumran Cave 11
11QtgJob	*Targum of Job* from Qumran Cave 11
A	Codex Alexandrinus
ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Berlin
AAL	*Afroasiatic Linguistics*, Malibu, CA

AANLM	*Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 8
AANLR	*Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 8
AARAS	American Academy of Religion Academy Series
AARASR	American Academy of Religion Aids for the Study of Religion
AARCRS	American Academy of Religion Classics in Religious Studies
AARSR	American Academy of Religion Studies in Religion
AARTT	American Academy of Religion Texts and Translations
AASF	Annales Academiae Scientarum Fennicae, Helsinki
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AAWLM	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz*
AB	Anchor Bible
ABAW	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
AbB	Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung, ed. F. R. Kraus. Leiden, 1964–
abbr.	abbreviated, abbreviation
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*
ABIUSJH	*Annual of Bar-Ilan University Studies in Judaica and the Humanities*
ABL	*Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, 14 vols., ed. R. F. Harper. Chicago, 1892–1914
ABLA	M. Noth. 1971. *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde*, ed. H. W. Wolff. Neukirchen-Vluyn
ʿAbod. Zar.	*ʿAboda Zara*
ʾAbot	*ʾAbot*
ʾAbot R. Nat.	*ʾAbot de Rabbi Nathan*
Abr	Philo, *De Abrahamo*
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review*
ABRMW	H. Graf Reventlow. 1985. *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World*. Trans. J. Bowden. Philadelphia
AbrN	*Abr-Nahrain*
absol.	absolute
AcApos	*Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*. 3 vols. Hildesheim, 1959
ACF	*Annuaire du Collège de France*, Paris
ACNT	Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament
AcOr	*Acta orientalia*
AcOrASH	*Acta orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
ACR	*American Classical Review*
AcSum	*Acta Sumerologica*
act.	active
Acts	Acts (or Acts of the Apostles)
Acts Andr.	*Acts of Andrew*
Acts Andr. Mth.	*Acts of Andrew and Matthias*
Acts Andr. Paul	*Acts of Andrew and Paul*
Acts Barn.	*Acts of Barnabas*
Acts Jas.	*Acts of James the Great*
Acts John	*Acts of John*
Acts John Pro.	*Acts of John (by Prochorus)*
Acts Paul	*Acts of Paul*
Acts Pet.	*Acts of Peter*
Acts Pet. (Slav.)	*Slavonic Acts of Peter*
Acts Pet. 12 Apost.	*Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles* (NHC VI,*1*)
Acts Pet. Andr.	*Acts of Peter and Andrew*
Acts Pet. Paul	*Acts of Peter and Paul*
Acts Phil.	*Acts of Philip*
Acts Phil. (Syr.)	*Acts of Philip (Syriac)*
Acts Pil.	*Acts of Pilate*
Acts Thad.	*Acts of Thaddaeus*
Acts Thom.	*Acts of Thomas*
ActSS	*Acta Sanctorum*
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
A.D.	*anno domini* (year)
ad loc.	*ad locum* (at the place)
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Kairo
ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
Add Dan	Additions to Daniel
Add Esth	Additions to Esther
ADFU	Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka
adj.	adjective
ADOG	*Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Berlin
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
adv.	adverb
AE	*L'année épigraphique* [cited by year and no. of text]
AEB	*Annual Egyptological Bibliography*
Aeg	*Aegyptus: Revista italiana di egittologia e papirologia*
AEHE IV	*Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes Études*, IV^{e} section, Sc. hist. et philol., Paris
AEHE V	*Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes Études*, V^{e} section, Sc. relig., Paris

AEHL	*Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. A. Negev. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1980
AEL	M. Lichtheim. 1971–80. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. 3 vols. Berkeley
AER	*American Ecclesiastical Review*
AESH	B. Trigger, B. J. Kemp, D. O'Connor, and A. B. Lloyd. 1983. *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*. Cambridge
Aet	Philo, *De aeternitate mundi*
Aev	*Aevum: Rassegna di scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche*
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen
AFER	*African Ecclesiastical Review*, Eldoret, Kenya
AfL	*Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, Regensburg
AFNW	*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen*, Cologne
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*, Graz
AfrTJ	*Africa Theological Journal*, Arusha, Tanzania
AgAp	Josephus, *Against Apion* (= *Contra Apionem*)
ʾAg. Ber.	*ʾAggadat Berešit*
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
Agr	Philo, *De agricultura*
AGSU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums
AH	*An Aramaic Handbook*, ed. F. Rosenthal, 2 vols. Wiesbaden, 1967
Ah.	*Ahiqar*
AHAW	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
AHG	B. Albrektson. 1967. *History and the Gods*. ConBOT 1. Lund
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AHW	*Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. W. von Soden. 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1965–81
AI	Arad Inscription [cited according to Y. Aharoni. 1981. *Arad Inscriptions*, Jerusalem]
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto orientali di Napoli*
AIPHOS	*Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*
AIR	*Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross*, ed. P. D. Miller, P. D. Hanson, and S. D. McBride. Philadelphia, 1987
AIS	I. Finkelstein. 1988. *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement*. Jerusalem
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJAS	*American Journal of Arabic Studies*
AJBA	*Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*
AJBI	Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute, Tokyo
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
AJT	*American Journal of Theology*
Akk	Akkadian
AKM	*Abhandlungen zur Kunde des Morgenlandes (Leipzig)*
AL	*The Assyrian Laws*, ed. G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles. Oxford, 1935
ALBO	Analecta lovaniensia biblica et orientalia
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
Allogenes	*Allogenes* (NHC XI,*3*)
Altertum	*Das Altertum*, Berlin
ALUOS	Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society
Am	*America*, New York
AmBenR	*American Benedictine Review*
AMI	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran
Amos	Amos
AMT	R. C. Thompson. 1923. *Assyrian Medical Texts*. Oxford
AN	J. J. Stamm. 1939. *Die akkadische Namengebung*. MVÄG 44. Berlin
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
AnBoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, 1961. *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*. Trans. J. McHugh. London. Repr. New York, 1965
ANE	Ancient Near East(ern)
ANEP	*Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*, 2d ed. with suppl., ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, 1969
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3d ed. with suppl., ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, 1969
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
Ang	*Angelicum*, Rome
ANHMW	*Annalen des Naturhistorische Museum in Wien*
Anim	Philo, *De animalibus*
Anon. Sam.	*Anonymous Samaritan Text*
AnOr	Analecta orientalia
ANQ	*Andover Newton Quarterly*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase, Berlin, 1972–
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*
Ant	Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (= *Antiquitates Judaicae*)
AntCl	*L'antiquité classique*

ANTF	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung
ANTJ	Arbeiten zum Neuen Testament und Judentum
Anton	*Antonianum*
Anuario	*Anuario de Filología*, Barcelona
ANVAO	Avhandlinger utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo
AO	Der Alte Orient
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOATS	Alter Orient und Altes Testament Sonderreihe
AÖAW	*Anzeiger der Österreichischer Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna
AOB^2	*Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament*, 2d ed., ed. H. Gressman. Berlin and Leipzig, 1927
AOBib	Altorientalische Bibliothek
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
AOS	American Oriental Series
AOSTS	American Oriental Society Translation Series
AOT^2	*Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, 2d ed., ed. H. Gressman. Berlin and Leipzig, 1926
AP	*L'année philologique*
Ap. Ezek.	*Apocryphon of Ezekiel*
Ap. Jas.	*Apocryphon of James* (NHC I,*2*)
Ap. John	*Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,*1*; III,*1*; IV,*1*)
APAACS	American Philological Association American Classical Studies
APAPM	American Philological Association Philological Monographs
APAT	*Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 2 vols., ed. E. Kautzch. Tübingen, 1900. Repr. 1975
APAW	*Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft*
APEF	*Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund*
APNM	H. B. Hoffman. 1965. *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*. Baltimore
Apoc. Ab.	*Apocalypse of Abraham*
Apoc. Adam	*Apocalypse of Adam* (NHC V,*5*)
Apoc. Dan.	*Apocalypse of Daniel*
Apoc. Dosith.	*Apocalypse of Dositheus*
Apoc. El.	*Apocalypse of Elijah*
Apoc. Ezek.	*Apocalypse of Ezekiel*
Apoc. Messos	*Apocalypse of Messos*
Apoc. Mos.	*Apocalypse of Moses*
Apoc. Paul	*Apocalypse of Paul* (NHC V,*2*)
Apoc. Pet.	*Apocalypse of Peter* (NHC VII,*3*)
Apoc. Sedr.	*Apocalypse of Sedrach*
Apoc. Thom.	*Apocalypse of Thomas*
Apoc. Vir.	*Apocalypses of the Virgin*
Apoc. Zeph.	*Apocalypse of Zephaniah*
Apoc. Zos.	*Apocalypse of Zosimus*
Apocr.	*Apocryphal, Apocrypha*
Apol Jud	Philo, *Apologia pro Iudaeis*
Apos.	Apostolic, Apostles
Apos. Con.	*Apostolic Constitutions and Canons*
APOT	*Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 vols., ed. R. H. Charles. Oxford, 1913
Ar	Arabic
AR	Archaeological Reports
ʿArak.	*ʿArakin*
Aram	Aramaic
ArbT	*Arbeitzen zur Theologie*, Stuttgart
Arch	*Archaeology*
ArchEleph	B. Porten. 1968. *Archives from Elephantine*. Berkeley
ArchPal	W. F. Albright. 1960. *The Archaeology of Palestine*. 3d rev. ed. Harmondsworth. Repr. Gloucester, MA, 1971
ARE	*Ancient Records of Egypt*, 5 vols., ed. J. H. Breasted. Chicago, 1906. Repr. New York, 1962
ARET	Archivi reali di Ebla, Testi
ARG	*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*
ARI	W. F. Albright. 1968. *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*. 5th ed. Baltimore
Aris. Ex.	*Aristeas the Exegete*
Aristob.	*Aristobulus*
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ARMT	Archives royals de Mari: transcriptions et traductions
ARNA	*Ancient Records from North Arabia*, ed. F. V. Winnett and W. L. Reed. Toronto, 1970
ArOr	*Archiv orientální*
art.	article
Art.	*Artapanus*
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASAE	*Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte*
ASAW	*Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Leipzig*
Asc. Jas.	*Ascents of James*
Ascen. Is.	*Ascension of Isaiah*
Asclepius	*Asclepius 21–29* (NHC VI,*8*)
ASNU	Acta seminarii neotestamentici upsaliensis
ASORDS	American Schools of Oriental Research Dissertation Series

ASORMS	American Schools of Oriental Research Monograph Series
ASP	American Studies in Papyrology
ASS	*Acta sanctae sedis*
AsSeign	*Assemblées du Seigneur*
ASSR	*Archives des sciences sociales des religions*
Assum. Mos.	*Assumption of Moses*
Assum. Vir.	*Assumption of the Virgin*
Assur	*Assur*, Malibu, CA
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*
ASV	American Standard Version
ATAbh	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
ATDan	Acta theologica danica
ATG	*Archivo Teológico Granadino*, Granada
ATJ	*Ashland Theological Journal*, Ashland, OH
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*, Evanston, IL
Aug	*Augustinianum*, Rome
AulaOr	*Aula Orientalis*, Barcelona
AuS	G. Dalman. 1928–42. *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*. 7 vols. BFCT 14, 17, 27, 29, 33, 36, 41. Gütersloh, 1928. Repr. Hildesheim, 1964
AusBR	*Australian Biblical Review*
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*, Berrien Springs, MI
Auth. Teach.	*Authoritative Teaching* (NHC VI,3)
AUU	Acta universitatis upsaliensis
AV	Authorized Version
AW	*The Ancient World*, Chicago
AWEAT	Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments
B	Codex Vaticanus
b. (Talm.)	Babylonian (Talmud) = "Babli"
B. Bat.	*Baba Batra*
B. Meṣ.	*Baba Meṣi*ʿ*a*
B. Qam.	*Baba Qamma*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
Bab.	Babylonian
BAC	Biblioteca de autores cristianos
BAEO	Boletín de la asociación españala des orientalistas
BAfO	*Beihefte zur Archiv für Orientforschung*, Graz
BAGD	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker. 1979. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*. 2d ed. Chicago
BAIAS	*Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*, London
BANE	*The Bible in the Ancient Near East*, ed. G. E. Wright. Garden City, NY, 1961. Repr. Winona Lake, IN, 1979
Bar	Baruch
BAR	*Biblical Archaeologist Reader*
Bar.	*Baraita*
BARev	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BARIS	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
Barn.	*Epistle of Barnabas*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BASORSup	BASOR Supplement
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
BASPSup	Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists Supplement
BAss	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft
BAT	Die Botschaft des Alten Testaments
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBC	Broadman Bible Commentary
BBET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BBLAK	*Beiträge zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde*, Stuttgart
B.C.	before Christ
BC	Biblical Commentary, ed. C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch. Edinburgh.
B.C.E.	before the common (or Christian) era
BCH	*Bulletin du correspondance hellénique*
BCNHE	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi Section Études
BCNHT	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi Section Textes
BCPE	*Bulletin de Centre Protestant d'Études*, Geneva
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. 1907. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford
BDF	F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk. 1961. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Chicago
BDR	F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and F. Rehkopf. 1984. *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. 16th ed. Göttingen
BE	*Bulletin epigraphique*, ed. P. Gauthier. Paris
BE	Bibliothèque d'étude (Institut français d'Archéologie orientale)
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
Bek.	*Bekorot*
Bel	Bel and the Dragon
Bened	*Benedictina*, Rome

BeO	*Bibbia e oriente*, Bornato
Ber.	*Berakot*
Berytus	*Berytus*, Beirut, Lebanon
BES	*Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*, Chico, CA
Beṣa	*Beṣa (= Yom Ṭob)*
Beth Mikra	*Beth Mikra*, Jerusalem
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BFCT	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese
BGU	*Berlin Griechische Urkunden*
BHG	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca.* Brussels, 1909
BHH	*Biblisch-Historisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. B. Reicke and L. Rost. Göttingen, 1962
BHI	J. Bright. 1981. *A History of Israel.* 3d ed. Philadelphia
BHK	*Biblia hebraica*, 3d ed., ed. R. Kittel
BHNTC	Black's/Harper's New Testament Commentaries
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia*
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BIATC	*Bulletin d'information de l'Académie de Théologie Catholique*, Warsaw
Bib	*Biblica*, Rome
BibAT	*Biblical Archeology Today: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984.* Jerusalem, 1985
BibB	Biblische Beiträge
BibBh	*Biblebhashyam*, Kerala, India
bibliog.	bibliography
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BibS(F)	Biblische Studien (Freiburg, 1895–)
BibS(N)	Biblische Studien (Neukirchen, 1951–)
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society (= Yediot)*
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'institute français d'archéologie orientale*, Cairo
Bij	*Bijdragen: Tijdschrift voor Filosofie en Theologie*, Amsterdam
Bik.	*Bikkurim*
BiMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
BIN	*Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*, New Haven, 1917–54
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Leiden
BIOSCS	*Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
BJPES	*Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (= Yediot;* later *BIES)*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BK	*Bibel und Kirche*, Stuttgart
BK	E. Bresciani and M. Kamil. 1966. Le lettere aramaiche di Hermopoli. *AANLM* 12/5: 357–428
bk.	book
Bk. Barn.	*Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Barnabas the Apostle*
Bk. Elch.	*Book of Elchasai*
Bk. Noah	*Book of Noah*
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
BLE	*Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, Toulouse
BLe	H. Bauer and P. Leander. 1918–22. *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache.* Halle, Repr. Hildesheim, 1962
BLit	*Bibel und Liturgie*, Klosterneuburg
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling. 1953. *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri.* New Haven. Repr. 1969
BMMA	*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*
BMQ	*British Museum Quarterly*
BMS	*The Bible in Modern Scholarship*, ed. J. P. Hyatt. Nashville, 1965
BN	*Biblische Notizen*, Bamberg
Bo	Unpublished Boğazköy tablets (with catalog number)
BOSA	*Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture*, Cambridge
B.P.	before (the) present (time)
BR	*Biblical Research*, Chicago
BRev	*Bible Review*
BRevuo	*Biblia Revuo*, Ravenna
BRL	K. Galling. 1937. *Biblisches Reallexikon.* Tübingen
BRM	*Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, ed. A. T. Clay, New York, 1912–23
BSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
BSAW	*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, phil.-hist. Kl.
BSC	Bible Study Commentary
BSFE	*Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BTAVO	Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BTF	*Bangalore Theological Forum*, Bangalore

BTNT	R. Bultmann. 1955. *Theology of the New Testament.* 2 vols. Trans. K. Grobel. New York and London
BToday	*Bible Today,* Collegeville, MN
BTrans	*Bible Translator,* Aberdeen
BTS	*Bible et terre sainte*
BTZ	*Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift*
BU	Biblische Untersuchungen
BuA	B. Meissner. 1920–25. *Babylonien und Assyrien.* 2 vols. Heidelberg
Burg	*Burgense,* Burgos, Spain
BurH	*Buried History,* Melbourne, Australia
BVC	*Bible et vie chrétienne*
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BWL	W. G. Lambert. 1960. *Babylonian Wisdom Literature.* Oxford
ByF	*Biblia y Fe,* Madrid, Spain
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift,* Paderborn
BZAW	Beihefte zur *ZAW*
BZNW	Beihefte zur *ZNW*
BZRGG	Beihefte zur *ZRGG*
BZVO	Berliner Beitrage zum Vorderen Orient
C	Codex Ephraemi
C&AH	*Catastrophism and Ancient History,* Los Angeles
ca.	*circa* (about, approximately)
CaByr	*Cahiers de Byrsa*
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*
CaE	*Cahiers Evangile,* Paris
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue biblique
CahThéol	Cahiers Théologiques
CaJ	*Cahiers de Josephologie,* Montreal
Cant	Song of Songs (or Canticles)
CaNum	*Cahiers de Numismatique,* Bologna
CAP	A. E. Cowley. 1923. *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford [cited by document number]
CAT	Commentaire de l'Ancient Testament
Cath	*Catholica,* Münster
Cav. Tr.	*Cave of Treasures*
CB	*Cultura biblica*
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* Washington, DC
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CBSC	Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges
CC	*Cross Currents,* West Nyack, NY
CCath	Corpus Catholicorum
CCER	*Cahiers du Cercle Ernest Renan,* Paris
CChr	Corpus Christianorum
CD	Cairo (Genizah), Damascus Document [= S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries,* vol. 1, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work,* Cambridge, 1910. Repr. New York, 1970]
CdÉ	*Chronique d'Égypte,* Brussels
C.E.	common (or Christian) era
Cerinthus	*Cerinthus*
cf.	*confer,* compare
CGTC	Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary
CGTSC	Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges
CH	*Church History*
CH	Code of Hammurabi [cited according to G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, eds. 1952–55. *The Babylonian Laws.* 2 vols. Oxford]
CHAL	*A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament,* ed. W. L. Holladay. Grand Rapids, 1971
chap(s).	chapter(s)
CHB	*The Cambridge History of the Bible,* 3 vols., ed. P. R. Ackroyd, G. W. M. Lampe, and S. L. Greenslade. Cambridge, 1963–70
CHD	Chicago Hittite Dictionary
Cher	Philo, *De cherubim*
CHI	*Cambridge History of Iran*
CHJ	*The Cambridge History of Judaism,* ed. W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein. Cambridge, 1984–
CHR	*Catholic Historical Review*
CHSP	*Center for Hermeneutical Studies Protocol Series,* Berkeley, CA
CIG	*Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*
CII	*Corpus inscriptionum indicarum*
CIJ	*Corpvs inscriptionvm ivdaicarvm,* ed. J. B. Frey. Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane, pub. per cura del Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana 1, 3. Vatican City, 1936–52
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*
CiuD	*Ciudad de Dios,* Madrid
CJ	*Concordia Journal,* St. Louis, MO
CJT	*Canadian Journal of Theology*
CL	*Communautés et Liturgies,* Ottignies, Belgium
CL	Code of Lipit-Ishtar [R. R. Steele. 1948. The Code of Lipit-Ishtar. *AJA* 52: 425–50]
Cl. Mal.	*Cleodemus Malchus*
CLA	*Canon Law Abstracts,* Melrose, Scotland
cm	centimeter(s)

CMHE	F. M. Cross. 1973. *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic.* Cambridge, MA
CMIB	*Canadian Mediterranean Institute Bulletin,* Ottawa
CNFI	*Christian News From Israel,* Jerusalem, Israel
CNS	*Cristianesimo nella Storia,* Bologna, Italy
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
CO	*Commentationes orientales,* Leiden
Col	Colossians
col(s).	column(s)
Coll	*Collationes,* Brugge, Belgium
Colloquium	*Colloquium,* Auckland/Sydney
ColT	*Collectanea Theologica,* Warsaw
comp.	compiled, compiler
ComViat	*Communio Viatorum,* Prague
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica, New Testament
ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica, Old Testament
Concilium	Concilium
Conf	Philo, *De confusione linguarum*
Congr	Philo, *De congressu eruditionis gratia*
conj.	conjunction; conjugation
ConNT	*Coniectanea neotestamentica*
constr.	construction; construct
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini. 1931. *Chrestomathia Arabica meridionalis ephigraphica,* Rome
COut	Commentaar op het Oude Testament
CP	*Classical Philology*
CPJ	*Corpus papyrorum Judicarum,* ed. A. Tcherikover. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA, 1957–64
CQ	*Church Quarterly*
CQR	*Church Quarterly Review*
CR	*Clergy Review,* London
CRAIBL	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
CRBR	*Critical Review of Books in Religion*
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad novum testamentum
CRRA	*Compte Rendu de . . . Recontre Assyriologique Internationale*
Crux	*Crux,* Vancouver, BC
CS	*Chicago Studies,* Mundelein, IL
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum
CSR	*Christian Scholars Review,* Houghton, NY
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets . . . in the British Museum,* London, 1896–
CT	*The Egyptian Coffin Texts,* ed. A. de Buck and A. H. Gardiner. Chicago, 1935–47
CTA	A. Herdner. 1963. *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939.* MRS 10. Paris
CTAED	S. Ahituv. 1984. *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents.* Jerusalem
CTH	E. Laroche. 1971. *Catalogue des textes hittites.* Paris
CThM	Calwer Theologische Monographien
CTJ	*Calvin Theological Journal,* Grand Rapids, MI
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*
CToday	*Christianity Today,* Carol Stream, IL
CTQ	*Concordia Theological Quarterly,* Fort Wayne, IN
CTSAP	*Catholic Theological Society of America Proceedings,* New York
CTSSR	College Theology Society Studies in Religion
CU	Code of Ur-Nammu [J. J. Finkelstein. 1960. The Laws of Ur-Nammu. *JCS* 14: 66–82; F. Yildiz. 1981. A Tablet of Codex Ur-Nammu from Sippar. *Or* 58: 87–97]
CurTM	*Currents in Theology and Mission,* Chicago
D	"Deuteronomic" source; or Codex Bezae
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*
DAGR	*Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments,* ed. C. Daremberg and E. Saglio. 4 vols. Paris, 1877–1919
Dan	Daniel
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible,* 5 vols., ed. F. Vigouroux. Paris, 1895–1912
DBAT	*Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament*
DBM	*Deltion Biblikon Meleton,* Athens
DBSup	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément,* ed. L. Pirot, A. Robert, H. Cazelles, and A. Feuillet. Paris, 1928–
DBTh	*Dictionary of Biblical Theology,* 2d ed., ed. X. Léon-Dufour. Trans. E. M. Stewart. New York, 1973
DC	*Doctor Communis,* Vatican City
DD	*Dor le Dor,* Jerusalem
DDSR	*Duke Divinity School Review*
Dec	Philo, *De decalogo*
Dem.	*Demetrius (the Chronographer)*
Dem.	*Demai*
Deo	Philo, *De Deo*
Der. Er. Rab.	*Derek Ereṣ Rabba*
Der. Er. Zut.	*Derek Ereṣ Zuṭa*
Deut	Deuteronomy

DH	Deuteronomistic History/Historian
DHRP	Dissertationes ad historiam religionum pertinentes
Diakonia	*Diakonia*, Vienna
Dial. Sav.	*Dialogue of the Savior* (NHC III,5)
Dial. Trypho	Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*
Did	*Didaskalia*, Portugal
Did.	*Didache*
Diogn.	*Epistle to Diognetes*
Direction	*Direction*, Fresno, CA
Disc. 8–9	*Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* (NHC VI,6)
DISO	C.-F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer. 1965. *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest.* Leiden
diss.	dissertation
div.	division
Div	*Divinitas*, Vatican City
DivT	*Divus Thomas*, Piacenza, Italy
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DL	*Doctrine and Life*, Dublin
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
DN	divine name
DÖAW	*Denkschriften der Österreichischer Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna
DOSA	J. Biella. 1982. *Dictionary of Old South Arabic: Sabaean Dialect.* HSS 25. Chico, CA
DOTT	*Documents from Old Testament Times*, ed. D. W. Thomas. Edinburgh, 1958. Repr. New York, 1961
DRev	*The Downside Review*, Bath
DS	Denzinger-Schönmetzer, *Enchiridion symbolorum*
DTC	*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*
DTT	*Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, Copenhagen
DunRev	*Dunwoodie Review*
E	east(ern); or "Elohist" source
EA	Tell el-Amarna tablets [cited from J. A. Knudtzon, O. Weber, and E. Ebeling, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, 2 vols., VAB 2, Leipzig, 1915; and A. F. Rainey, *El-Amarna Tablets 359–379: Supplement to J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, 2d rev. ed., AOAT 8, Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970]
EAEHL	*Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 4 vols., ed. M. Avi-Yonah, 1975
EAJET	*East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology*, Machakos, Kenya
EAJT	*East Asia Journal of Theology*, Singapore
EB	Early Bronze (Age); or Echter Bibel
EBib	Études bibliques
Ebr	Philo, *De ebrietate*
Ec	*The Ecumenist*, New York, NY
Ecc*l* or Qoh	Ecclesiastes or Qoheleth
EcR	*The Ecumenical Review*, Geneva
Ecu	*Ecumenismo*, Ravenna, Italy
ed.	editor(s); edition; edited by
ED	Early Dynastic period
ʿEd.	*ʿEduyyot*
EDB	*Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. and trans. L. F. Hartman. New York, 1963
e.g.	*exempli gratia* (for example)
Eg	Egyptian
ÉgT	*Église et Théologie*, Ottawa
EHAT	Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
EHI	R. de Vaux. 1978. *The Early History of Israel.* Trans. D. Smith. Philadelphia
EHS	Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift
EI	*Eretz Israel*
EJ	*Encyclopedia Judaica*, 10 vols., ed. J. Klutzkin and I. Elbogen. Berlin, 1928–34
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
EKL	*Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon*
El. Mod.	*Eldad and Modad*
EM	*Ephemerides Mexicanae*, Mexico City
Emm	*Emmanuel*, New York
EncBib	*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ed. T. K. Cheyne. London, 1800–1903. 2d ed. 1958
EncBibBarc	*Enciclopedia de la Biblia*, ed. A. Diez Macho and S. Bartina. Barcelona, 1963–65
EncBrit	*Encyclopaedia Britannica*
EnchBib	*Enchiridion biblicum*
EncJud	*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971)
EncMiqr	*Entsiqlopēdiā Miqrāʾīt-Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Jerusalem, 1950–
EncRel	*Encyclopedia of Religion*, 16 vols., ed. M. Eliade. New York, 1987
Eng	English
Entr	*Encounter*, Indianapolis, IN
Ep Jer	Epistle of Jeremiah
Ep. Alex.	*Epistle to the Alexandrians*
Ep. Apos.	*Epistle to the Apostles*
Ep. Barn.	*Epistle of Barnabas*
Ep. Chr. Abg.	*Epistle of Christ and Abgar*
Ep. Chr. Heav.	*Epistle of Christ from Heaven*
Ep. Lao.	*Epistle to the Laodiceans*
Ep. Lent.	*Epistle of Lentulus*
Ep. Paul Sen.	*Epistles of Paul and Seneca*

Ep. Pet. Phil.	*Letter of Peter to Philip* (NHC VIII,2)
Ep. Pol.	*Epistles of Polycarp*
Ep. Tit. (Apoc.)	*Apocryphal Epistle of Titus*
Eph	Ephesians
Eph.	see *Ign. Eph.*
EphC	*Ephemerides Carmelitica*, Rome
Ephem	M. Lidzbarski. 1900–15. *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*. 3 vols. Giessen
EphLit	*Ephemerides Liturgicae*, Rome
EphMar	*Ephemerides Mariologicae*, Madrid
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain
ER	*Epworth Review*, London
ErbAuf	*Erbe und Auftrag*
ERE	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 12 vols., ed. J. Hastings. Edinburgh and New York, 1908–22
ErFor	Erträge der Forschung
ErfThSt	Erfurter Theologische Studien
ErJb	*Eranos Jahrbuch*
ERT	*Evangelical Review of Theology*, Exeter
ʿErub.	*ʿErubin*
Escr Vedat	*Escritos del Vedat*, Torrente
esp.	especially
EspVie	*Esprit et Vie.*, Langres
EstBib	*Estudios Bíblicos*, Madrid
EstEcl	*Estudios Eclesiásticos*, Barcelona
EstFranc	*Estudios Franciscanos*, Barcelona
Esth	Esther
EstTeo	*Estudios Teológicos*, São Leopoldo, Brazil
ET	English translation
et al.	*et alii* (and others)
etc.	*et cetera* (and so forth)
Eth	Ethiopic
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, Louvain
ETOT	W. Eichrodt. 1961–67. *Theology of the Old Testament*. 2 vols. Trans. J. A. Baker. Philadelphia
ÉTR	*Études théologiques et Religieuses*, Montpellier, France
Études	*Études*, Paris
Eugnostos	*Eugnostos the Blessed* (NHC III,3; V,1)
EuntDoc	*Euntes Docete*, Rome
Eup.	*Eupolemus*
EV(V)	English version(s)
EvJ	*Evangelical Journal*, Myerstown, PA
EvK	Evangelische Kommentare
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*, Derbyshire
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*, Munich
EWNT	*Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider
Ex	*Explor*, Evanston, IL
ExB	Expositor's Bible
Exeg. Soul	*Exegesis on the Soul* (NHC II,6)
Exod	Exodus
ExpTim	*Expository Times*, Surrey
Ezek	Ezekiel
Ezek. Trag.	*Ezekiel the Tragedian*
Ezra	Ezra
f(f).	following page(s)
FAS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien
FB	Forschuung zur Bibel
FBBS	Facet Books, Biblical Series
FC	Fathers of the Church
fc.	forthcoming (publication)
fem.	feminine; female
FFNT	Foundations and Facets: New Testament
FGLP	Forschungen zur Geschichte und Lehre des Protestantismus
FGrH	F. Jacoby. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. 2d ed. 3 vols. in 10 pts. Leiden, 1957–64 [cited by fragment no.]
FH	*Fides et Historia*, Grand Rapids
fig(s).	figure(s)
FKT	*Forum Katholische Theologie*, Aschaffenburg
fl.	*floruit* (flourished)
Flacc	Philo, *In Flaccum*
FoiVie	*Foi et Vie*, Paris
Fond	*Fondamenti*, Bresica
Forum	*Forum*, Bonner, MT
FOTL	Forms of Old Testament Literature
FR	Freiburger Rundbrief
Fran	*Franciscanum*, Bogotá
Frg. Tg.	*Fragmentary Targum*
Frgs. Hist. Wrks.	*Fragments of Historical Works*
Frgs. Poet. Wrks.	*Fragments of Poetic Works*
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
Frm.	*Fragments* (NHC XI,3)
FSAC	W. F. Albright. 1957. *From the Stone Age to Christianity*. 2d ed., repr. Garden City, NY
FTS	Freiburger Theologische Studien
FuF	*Forschungen und Fortschritte*, Berlin
Fuga	Philo, *De fuga et inventione*
Fund	*Fundamentum*, Riehen, Switzerland
Furrow	*Furrow*, Maynooth
FWSDFML	*Funk and Wagnall's Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*
FZPT	*Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, Fribourg
GAG	W. von Soden. 1969. *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik samt Ergänzungsheft*. AnOr 33/47. Rome

Gaium	Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*
Gal	Galatians
GARI	A. K. Grayson. 1972. *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions.* RANE. Wiesbaden
GB	D. Baly. 1974. *The Geography of the Bible.* 2d ed. New York
GBS	Guides to Biblical Scholarship
GCS	Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
Gem.	*Gemara*
Gen	Genesis
GesB	W. Gesenius. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch,* 17th ed., ed. F. Buhl. Berlin, 1921
GGR	M. P. Nilsson. *Geschichte der griechische Religion.* 2 vols. 2d ed. Munich, 1961
GHBW	R. R. Wilson. 1977. *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World.* YNER 7. New Haven
Gig	Philo, *De gigantibus*
Git.	*Gittin*
GJV	E. Schürer. 1901–9. *Geschichte des jüdisches Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi.* Leipzig. Repr. Hildesheim, 1970
Gk	Greek
GK	*Gesenius' Hebräische Grammatik,* 28th ed., ed. by E. Kautzsch. Leipzig, 1909. Repr. Hildesheim, 1962
Gk. Apoc. Ezra	*Greek Apocalypse of Ezra*
GKB	G. Bergsträsser. 1918–29. *Hebräische Grammatik mit Benutzung der von E. Kautzsch bearbeiteten 28. Auflage von Wilhelm Gesenius' hebräischer Grammatik.* 2 vols. Leipzig. Repr. Hildesheim, 1962
GKC	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar,* 28th ed., ed. E. Kautzsch. Trans. A. E. Cowley. Oxford, 1910
GLECS	*Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques,* Paris
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen*
GN	geographical name
GNB	Good News Bible
GNC	Good News Commentary
GNS	Good News Studies
GNT	Grundrisse zum Neuen Testament
GO	Göttinger Orientforschungen
Gos. Barn.	*Gospel of Barnabas*
Gos. Bart.	*Gospel of Bartholomew*
Gos. Bas.	*Gospel of Basilides*
Gos. Bir. Mary	*Gospel of the Birth of Mary*
Gos. Eb.	*Gospel of the Ebionites*
Gos. Eg.	*Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHC III,2; IV,2)
Gos. Eve	*Gospel of Eve*
Gos. Gam.	*Gospel of Gamaliel*
Gos. Heb.	*Gospel of the Hebrews*
Gos. Inf.	*Infancy Gospels*
Gos. Inf. (Arab)	*Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*
Gos. Inf. (Arm)	*Armenian Gospel of the Infancy*
Gos. John (Apocr.)	*Apocryphal Gospel of John*
Gos. Marcion	*Gospel of Marcion*
Gos. Mary	*Gospel of Mary*
Gos. Naass.	*Gospel of the Naassenes*
Gos. Naz.	*Gospel of the Nazarenes*
Gos. Nic.	*Gospel of Nicodemus*
Gos. Pet.	*Gospel of Peter*
Gos. Phil.	*Gospel of Philip* (NHC II,3)
Gos. Thom.	*Gospel According to Thomas* (NHC II,2)
Gos. Trad. Mth.	*Gospel and Traditions of Matthias*
Gos. Truth	*Gospel of Truth* (NHC I,3; XII,2)
GOTR	*Greek Orthodox Theological Review,* Brookline, MA
GP	F. M. Abel. 1933. *Géographie de la Palestine,* 2 vols. Paris
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies,* Durham, NC
Great Pow.	*The Concept of Our Great Power* (NHC VI,4)
Greg	*Gregorianum,* Rome
GSAT	*Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament,* Munich
GTA	Göttinger theologische Arbeiten
GTJ	*Grace Theological Journal,* Winona Lake, IN
GTT	*Gereformeerd Theologisch Tijdschrift,* Netherlands
GTTOT	J. J. Simons. 1959. *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament.* Francisci Scholten memoriae dedicata 2. Leiden
GuL	*Geist und Leben,* Munich
GVG	C. Brockelmann. 1903–13. *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen.* 2 vols. Berlin. Repr. 1961
ha.	hectares
Hab	Habakkuk
HAB	*Harper's Atlas of the Bible*
HÄB	Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge
HAD	*Hebrew and Aramaic Dictionary of the OT,* ed. G. Fohrer. Trans W. Johnstone. Berlin, 1973
Hag	Haggai
Ḥag.	*Ḥagiga*
HAIJ	J. M. Miller and J. H. Hayes. 1986. *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah.* Philadelphia
Ḥal.	*Ḥalla*
HALAT	*Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament,* ed. W. Baumgartner et al.
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review*

HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HAW	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
HBC	*Harper's Bible Commentary*
HBD	*Harper's Bible Dictionary*, ed. P. J. Achtemeier. San Francisco, 1985
HBT	*Horizons in Biblical Theology*, Pittsburgh, PA
HDB	*Dictionary of the Bible*, 4 vols., ed. by J. Hastings et al. Edinburgh and New York, 1899–1904. Rev. by F. C. Grant and H. H. Rowley, 1963
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
HDS	Harvard Dissertation Series
Hdt.	Herodotus
Heb	Hebrew; Epistle to the Hebrews
Heb. Apoc. El.	*Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah*
Hec. Ab	*Hecataeus of Abdera*
Hel. Syn. Pr.	*Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers*
Hen	*Henoch*, Torino, Italy
Heres	Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum heres*
Herm	*Hermathena*, Dublin, Ireland
Herm. Man.	*Hermas, Mandate*
Herm. Sim.	*Hermas, Similitude*
Herm. Vis.	*Hermas, Vision*
Hermeneia	Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible
Ḥev	Naḥal Ḥever texts
HeyJ	*The Heythrop Journal*, London
HG	J. Friedrich. 1959. *Die hethitischen Gesetze*. DMOA 7. Leiden
HGB	Z. Kallai. 1986. *Historical Geography of the Bible*. Leiden
HHI	S. Herrmann. 1975. *A History of Israel in Old Testament Times*. 2d ed. Philadelphia
HibJ	*Hibbert Journal*
HIOTP	H. Jagersma. 1983. *A History of Israel in the Old Testament Period*. Trans. J. Bowden. Philadelphia
Hist. Eccl.	Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica (= Church History)*
Hist. Jos.	*History of Joseph*
Hist. Jos. Carp.	*History of Joseph the Carpenter*
Hist. Rech.	*History of the Rechabites*
Hit	Hittite
HJP[1]	E. Schürer. *The History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, 5 vols., trans. J. Macpherson, S. Taylor, and P. Christie. Edinburgh, 1886–90
HJP[2]	E. Schürer. *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 3 vols., ed. and trans. G. Vermes et al. Edinburgh, 1973–87
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HKL	R. Borger. 1967–75. *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*. 3 vols. Berlin
HKNT	Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
HL	Hittite Laws [*ANET*, 188–97]
HM	*Hamizrah Hehadash/Near East*, Jerusalem
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HNTC	Harper's NT Commentaries
HO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
Hokhma	*Hokhma*, La Sarraz, Switzerland
Hor	*Horizons*, Villanova, PA
Hor.	*Horayot*
Hos	Hosea
HPR	*Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, New York
HPT	M. Noth. 1981. *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions*. Trans. B. Anderson. Chico, CA
HR	*History of Religions*, Chicago
HS	*Hebrew Studies*, Madison, WI
HSAO	*Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient*. Wiesbaden, 1967
HSAT	*Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, 4th ed., ed. E. Kautzsch and A. Bertholet. Tübingen, 1922–23
HSCL	Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Cambridge, MA
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati
Ḥul.	*Ḥullin*
Hymn Dance	*Hymn of the Dance*
Hyp. Arch.	*Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II,4)
Hypo	Philo, *Hypothetica*
Hypsiph.	*Hypsiphrone* (NHC XI,4)
IB	*Interpreter's Bible*
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ibid.	*ibidem* (in the same place)
IBS	*Irish Biblical Studies*, Belfast
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville, 1962
IDBSup	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible Supplementary Volume*, ed. K. Crim. Nashville, 1976
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*, Jerusalem
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGRR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, ed. R. Cagnat, J. Toutain, et al. 3 vols. Paris, 1901–27. Repr. Rome, 1964

Ign. Eph.	*Ignatius, Letter to the Ephesians*
Ign. Magn.	*Ignatius, Letter to the Magnesians*
Ign. Phld.	*Ignatius, Letter to the Philadelphians*
Ign. Pol.	*Ignatius, Letter to the Polycarp*
Ign. Rom.	*Ignatius, Letter to the Romans*
Ign. Symrn.	*Ignatius, Letter to the Smyrnaeans*
Ign. Trall.	*Ignatius, Letter to the Trallians*
IGLS	Jalabert, L., and Mouterde, R. 1929–. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie.* 6 vols. Paris.
IGSK	Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
IJH	*Israelite and Judean History*, ed. J. Hayes and M. Miller. OTL. Philadelphia, 1977
IJT	*Indian Journal of Theology*, Calcutta
IKirZ	*Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Bern
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, ed. H. Dessau. 3 vols. in 5 pts. Berlin, 1892–1916. Repr.
Imm	*Immanuel*, Jerusalem
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
Inf. Gos. Thom.	*Infancy Gospel of Thomas*
INJ	*Israel Numismatic Journal*, Jerusalem
Int	*Interpretation*, Richmond, VA
Interp. Know.	*Interpretation of Knowledge* (NHC XI,*1*)
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
IOTS	B. S. Childs. 1979. *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture.* Philadelphia
IPN	M. Noth. 1928. *Die israelitischen Personennamen.* BWANT 3/10. Stuttgart. Repr. Hildesheim, 1966
Iraq	*Iraq*
Irénikon	*Irénikon*
IRT	Issues in Religion and Theology
Isa	Isaiah
ISBE	*International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, 2d ed., ed. G. W. Bromiley
ISEELA	*Instituto Superior de Estudios Eclesiasticos Libro Anual*, Mexico City
Istina	*Istina*, Paris
ITC	International Theological Commentary
ITQ	*Irish Theological Quarterly*, Maynooth
ITS	*Indian Theological Studies*, Bangalore
IvEph	*Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, ed. H. Wankel. 8 vols. IGSK 11–15
j. (Talm.)	Jerusalem (Talmud)
J	"Yahwist" source
JA	*Journal asiatique*
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
Jan. Jam.	*Jannes and Jambres*
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*, New York
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, New Haven
JAOSSup	Journal of the American Oriental Society Supplement
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Boston
Jas	James
JAS	*Journal of Asian Studies*
JB	Jerusalem Bible
JBC	*The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer, and R. E. Murphy. 2 vols. in 1. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1968
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*, Boston
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JDAI	*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
JDS	Judean Desert Studies
Jdt	Judith
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London
Jeev	*Jeevadhara*, Kottayam, Kerala, India
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, London
JEnc	*The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, 12 vols., ed. I. Singer et al. New York, 1901–6
JEOL	*Jaarbericht Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux"*
Jer	Jeremiah
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, Philadelphia
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Leiden
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*
JFSR	*Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, Atlanta
JHNES	Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London
JIBS	*Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*
JIPh	*Journal of Indian Philosophy*
JITC	*Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center*, Atlanta
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*, Oxford
JLA	*The Jewish Law Annual*, Leiden
JMES	*Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*
JMS	*Journal of Mithraic Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*, Stellenbosch

Job	Job
Joel	Joel
John	John
Jonah	Jonah
Jos	Philo, *De Iosepho*
Jos. or Joseph.	Josephus
Jos. Asen.	*Joseph and Asenath*
Josh	Joshua
JPOS	*Journal of Palestine Oriental Society*, Jerusalem
JPSV	Jewish Publication Society Version
JPT	*Journal of Psychology and Theology*, La Mirada, CA
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JQRMS	Jewish Quarterly Review Monograph Series
JR	*Journal of Religion*, Chicago
JRAI	*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRE	*Journal of Religious Ethics*
JRelS	*Journal of Religious Studies*, Cleveland, OH
JRH	*Journal of Religious History*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*, London
JRT	*Journal of Religious Thought*, Washington, DC
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*, Leiden
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, Sheffield
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Sheffield
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester
JSSEA	*Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, Mississauga, Ontario
JSSR	*Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*
JTC	*Journal for Theology and the Church*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford
JTSoA	*Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, Cape Town, South Africa
Jub.	*Jubilees*
Judaica	*Judaica: Beiträge zum Verständnis . . .*
Judaism	*Judaism*, New York
Jude	Jude
Judg	Judges
JW	Josephus, *The Jewish War (= Bellum Judaicum)*
JWH	*Journal of World History*
K	Kethib
K	Tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum [cited by number]
KAI	*Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 3 vols., ed. H. Donner and W. Röllig, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962
Kairos	*Kairos*, Salzburg
KAJ	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts*, ed. E. Ebeling. WVDOG 50. Leipzig, 1927
Kalla	*Kalla*
KAR	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, ed. E. Ebeling. WVDOG 28/34. Leipzig, 1919–23
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KAV	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, ed. O. Schroeder. WVDOG 35. Leipzig, 1920
KB	*Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, ed. E. Schrader. Berlin, 1889–1915
KB	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner. 1953. *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*. Leiden; *Supplementum ad Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*. Leiden, 1958
KBANT	Kommentare und Beiträge zum Alten und Neuen Testament
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. WVDOG 30/36/68–70/72– . Leipzig, 1916–23; Berlin, 1954–
KD	*Kerygma und Dogma*, Göttingen
KEHAT	*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, ed. O. F. Fridelin, Leipzig, 1812–96
Kelim	*Kelim*
Ker.	*Keritot*
Ketub.	*Ketubot*
KG	H. Frankfort. 1948. *Kingship and the Gods*. Chicago. Repr. 1978
KHC	*Kurzer Handcommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. K. Marti. Tübingen
Kil.	*Kil'ayim*
KJV	King James Version
KK	*Katorikku Kenkyu*, Tokyo, Japan
Klosterman	E. Klosterman. 1904. *Eusebius Das Onomastikon der Biblischen Ortsnamen*. Leipzig. Repr. 1966
KlPauly	*Der Kleine Pauly*, ed. K. Zeigler–W. Sontheimer, Stuttgart, 1964
KlSchr	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt, 1953–59, 1964 [3d ed.]; O. Eissfeldt, 1963–68; K. Ellinger, 1966)

KlT	Kleine Texte
km	kilometer(s)
KRI	K. Kitchen. 1968– . *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical.* 7 vols. Oxford
KRI	Y. Kaufmann. 1960. *The Religion of Israel.* Trans. M. Greenberg. New York
KTR	*King's Theological Review,* London
KTU	*Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit,* vol. 1, ed. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. AOAT 24. Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976
KUB	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung (later Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft) *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi,* 1921–
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie,* eds. W. Helck and E. Otto, Wiesbaden, 1972
L. A. B.	*Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*
Lad. Jac.	*Ladder of Jacob*
LAE	*The Literature of Ancient Egypt,* ed. W. K. Simpson. New Haven, 1972
L. A. E.	*Life of Adam and Eve*
Lam	Lamentations
Lane	E. W. Lane. 1863–93. *An Arabic-English Lexicon.* 8 vols. London. Repr. 1968
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
LAR	D. D. Luckenbill. 1926–27. *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia.* Chicago
LÄS	Leipziger ägyptologische Studien
LAS	D. D. Luckenbill. 1924. *Annals of Sennacherib.* OIP 2. Chicago
LASBF	*Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani,* Jerusalem
Lat	Latin
Lat	*Lateranum,* Vatican City
Laur	*Laurentianum,* Rome
LavTP	*Laval Théologique et Philosophique,* Quebec
LB	Late Bronze (Age)
LB	*Linguistica Biblica,* Bonn
LBAT	*Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts,* ed. T. G. Pinches and A. Sachs. Providence, RI, 1955
LBHG	Y. Aharoni. 1979. *The Land of the Bible,* 3d ed., rev. and enl. by A. F. Rainey. Philadelphia, 1979
LBS	Library of Biblical Studies
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio divina
LE	Laws of Eshnunna [A. Goetze. 1956. *The Laws of Eshnunna.* AASOR 31. New Haven; *ANET,* 161–63]
Leg All I–III	Philo, *Legum allegoriae* I–III
Leš	*Lešonénu*
Let. Aris.	*Letter of Aristeas*
Lev	Leviticus
Levant	*Levant,* London
LexLingAeth	A. Dillmann. 1865. *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae.* Leipzig. Repr. New York, 1955; Osnabruck, 1970
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann. 1928. *Lexicon Syriacum.* 2d ed. Halle. Repr.
LHA	F. Zorrell. 1966. *Lexicon Hebraicum et Aramaicum Veteris Testamenti.* Rome
Life	Josephus, *Life (= Vita)*
List	*Listening: Journal of Religion and Culture,* River Forest, IL
lit.	literally
Liv. Pro.	*Lives of the Prophets*
LL	*The Living Light,* Washington, DC
LLAVT	*Lexicon Linguae aramaicae Veteris Testamenti documentis antiquis illustratum.* E. Vogt. 1971. Rome
loc. cit.	*loco citato* (in the place cited)
Lost Tr.	*The Lost Tribes*
LPGL	G. W. H. Lampe. 1961–68. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon.* Oxford
LQ	*Lutheran Quarterly*
LR	*Lutherische Rundschau*
LS	*Louvain Studies,* Louvain
LSJM	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott. 1968. *A Greek-English Lexicon.* rev. ed., ed. H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie. Oxford
LSS	Leipziger Semitistische Studien
LTJ	*Lutheran Theological Journal,* Adelaide, S. Australia
LTK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*
LTP	*Laval Théologique et Philosophique*
LTQ	*Lexington Theological Quarterly,* Lexington, KY
LUÅ	Lunds universitets årsskrift
Luc	Lucianic recension
Luke	Luke
LumVie	*Lumière et Vie,* Lyons, France
LumVit	*Lumen Vitae,* Brussels
LW	*Lutheran World*
LXX	Septuagint
m	meter(s)
MA	Middle Assyrian
Maarav	*Maarav,* Santa Monica, CA
Maᶜaś.	*Maᶜaśerot*
Maᶜaś. Š.	*Maᶜaśer Šeni*
MABL	*The Moody Atlas of Bible Lands,* ed. B. J. Beitzel. Chicago, 1985
Magn.	see *Ign. Magn.*
MaisDieu	*Maison-Dieu,* Paris

Mak.	*Makkot*
Makš.	*Makširin (= Mašqin)*
Mal	Malachi
MAL	Middle Assyrian Laws
MAMA	*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, vol. 1, ed. W. M. Calder and J. M. R. Cormack. Publications of the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor. Manchester, 1928. Vol. 3, ed. J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, 1931. Vol. 4, ed. W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder, W. K. C. Guthrie, 1933. Vol. 5, ed. C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron, 1937. Vol. 6, ed. W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, 1939
Man	*Manuscripta*, St. Louis, MO
MANE	*Monographs on the Ancient Near East*, Malibu, CA
Mansrea	*Mansrea*, Madrid
MAOG	Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig
Marianum	*Marianum*, Rome
Mark	Mark
Marsanes	*Marsanes* (NHC XI,*1*)
MarSt	*Marian Studies*, Dayton, OH
Mart. Bart.	*Martyrdom of Bartholomew*
Mart. Is.	*Martyrdom of Isaiah*
Mart. Mt.	*Martyrdom of Matthew*
Mart. Paul	*Martyrdom of Paul*
Mat. Pet.	*Martyrdom of Peter*
Mart. Pet. Paul	*Martyrdom of Peter and Paul*
Mart. Phil.	*Martyrdom of Philip*
Mart. Pol.	*Martyrdom of Polycarp*
Mas	Masada texts
MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
masc.	masculine
Matt	Matthew
May	*Mayéutica*, Marcilla (Navarra), Spain
MB	Middle Bronze (Age)
MB	*Le Monde de la Bible*
MBA	Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah. 1977. *The Macmillan Bible Atlas*. Rev. ed. New York
MC	*Miscelánea Comillas*, Madrid
MCBW	R. K. Harrison. 1985. *Major Cities of the Biblical World*. New York, 1985
McCQ	*McCormick Quarterly*
MD	E. S. Drower and R. Macuch. 1963. *Mandaic Dictionary*. Oxford
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Kairo
MDOG	Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
MDP	Mémoires de la délégation en Perse
MedHab	Epigraphic Expedition, *Medinet Habu*. OIP 8 (1930), 9 (1932), Chicago
Meg.	*Megilla*
Meʿil.	*Meʿila*
Mek.	*Mekilta*
Melch.	*Melchizedek* (NHC IX,*1*)
Melkon	*Melkon*
MelT	*Melita Theologica*, Rabat, Malta
Mem. Apos.	*Memoria of Apostles*
Menah.	*Menaḥot*
MEOL	*Medeelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux,"* Leiden
Mer	*Merleg*, Munich
MeyerK	H. A. W. Meyer, Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
mi.	mile(s)
Mic	Micah
Mid.	*Middot*
Midr.	*Midraš;* cited with usual abbreviation for biblical book; but *Midr. Qoh.* = *Midraš Qohelet*
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
Migr	Philo, *De migratione Abrahami*
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, Berlin
Miqw.	*Miqwaʾot*
Mird	Khirbet Mird texts
misc.	miscellaneous
MM	J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan. 1914–30. *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and other Non-Literary Sources*. London. Repr. Grand Rapids, 1949
MNTC	Moffatt NT Commentary
ModChurch	*Modern Churchman*, Leominster, UK
Moʿed	*Moʿed*
Moʿed Qaṭ.	*Moʿed Qaṭan*
Month	*Month*, London
MPAIBL	*Mémoires présentés à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
MPAT	*A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, ed. J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington. BibOr 34. Rome, 1978
MRR	*The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, ed. T. R. S. Broughton and M. L. Patterson. 2 vols. Philological Monographs 15. 1951–52. Suppl., 1960
MRS	Mission de Ras Shamra
ms (pl. mss)	manuscript(s)
MScRel	*Mélanges de science religieuse*, Lille
MSD	Materials for the Sumerian Dictionary
MSL	*Materialen zum sumerischen Lexikon*, Rome, 1937–

MSR	*Mélanges de Science Religieuse*, Lille
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
MT	Masoretic Text
MTS	Marburger Theologische Studien
MTZ	*Münchner theologische Zeitschrift*
Mur	Wadi Murabbaʿat texts
Mus	*Le Muséon: Revue d'Études Orientales*, Paris
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*
Mut	Philo, *De mutatione nominum*
MVAG	Mitteilungen der vorder-asiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft
N	north(ern)
n(n).	note(s)
NA	Neo-Assyrian
NAB	New American Bible
Nah	Nahum
NARCE	*Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt*
NASB	New American Standard Bible
Našim	*Našim*
NAWG	*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*
Nazir	*Nazir*
NB	Neo-Babylonian
N.B.	*nota bene* (note well)
NBD	*The New Bible Dictionary*, 2d ed., ed. J. D. Douglas and N. Hillyer. Leicester and Wheaton, IL
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NCCHS	*New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture*, ed. R. D. Fuller et al.
NCE	*New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. M. R. P. McGuire et al.
NCH	M. Noth. 1986. *The Chronicler's History*. Trans. H. G. M. Williamson. JSOTSup 51. Sheffield [translates chaps. 14–25 of *ÜgS*]
NCIBC	New Clarendon Bible Commentary
NDH	M. Noth. 1981. *The Deuteronomistic History*. Trans. H. G. M. Williamson. JSOTSup 15. Sheffield [translates chaps. 1–13 of *ÜgS*]
NDIEC	*New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, ed. G. H. K. Horsley. Macquarie University, 1976– [= 1981–]
NE	northeast(ern)
NE	M. Lidzbarski. 1898. *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*. 2 vols. Weimar
NEB	New English Bible, Oxford, 1961–70
NEBib	Neue Echter Bibel
Ned.	*Nedarim*
NedTTs	*Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift*, The Hague
Neg.	*Negaʿim*
Neh	Nehemiah
Neot	*Neotestamentica*, Stellenbosch
NETR	*The Near East School of Theology Theological Review*, Beirut
neut.	neuter
Nez.	*Neziqin*
NFT	New Frontiers in Theology
NGTT	*Nederduits Gereformeerde Teologiese Tydskrif*, Stellenbosch
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codex
NHI	M. Noth. 1960. *The History of Israel*. 2d ed. Trans. S. Godman, rev. P. R. Ackroyd. London
NHL	*The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, 3d ed., ed. J. M. Robinson. San Francisco, 1978
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NHT	S. R. Driver. 1913. *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel*. 2d ed. Oxford
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
Nid.	*Niddah*
NIDNTT	*New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, 3 vols., ed. C. Brown. Grand Rapids, 1975–78
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NJBC	*New Jerome Bible Commentary*
NJPSV	New Jewish Publication Society Version
NKJV	New King James Version
NKZ	*Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*
no.	number
Norea	*The Thought of Norea* (NHC IX,*2*)
NorTT	*Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, Oslo, Norway
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*, Leiden
NovTG^{26}	*Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. E. Nestle and K. Aland. 26th ed. Stuttgart, 1979
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NRT	*La nouvelle revue théologique*
n.s.	new series
NSSEA	*Newsletter of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*
NT	New Testament
NTA	*New Testament Abstracts*

NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTApocr	E. Henneke. *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. W. Schneemelcher. Trans. R. McL. Wilson. 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1963–65
NTC	B. S. Childs. 1985. *The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction.* Philadelphia, 1985
NTCS	*Newsletter for Targumic and Cognate Studies*, Toronto
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTF	Neutestamentliche Forschungen
NTHIP	W. G. Kümmel. 1972. *The New Testament: The History of the Investigation of Its Problems.* Trans. S. M. Gilmour and H. C. Kee. Nashville
NTL	New Testament Library
NTM	New Testament Message
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	*New Testament Studies*, Cambridge, MA
NTT	*Nieuw theologisch Tijdschrift*
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
Num	Numbers
Numen	*Numen: International Review for the History of Religions*, Leiden
NV	*Nova et Vetera*, Geneva
NW	northwest(ern)
NWDB	*The New Westminster Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. H. S. Gehman. Philadelphia, 1970
OA	Old Assyrian
OAkk	Old Akkadian
OB	Old Babylonian
Obad	Obadiah
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
ÖBS	Österreichische biblische Studien
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
OC	*One in Christ*, London
OCA	Orientalia christiana analecta
OCD	*Oxford Classical Dictionary*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Rome
Odes Sol.	*Odes of Solomon*
OECT	*Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, ed. S. Langdon, 1923–
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OG	Old Greek
OGIS	*Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1903–5
Ohol.	*Oholot*
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OL	Old Latin
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLP	*Orientalia lovaniensia periodica*
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Berlin
OMRO	*Oudheidkundige Medeelingen uit het Rijks-Museum van Oudheden te Leiden*
Onomast.	Eusebius, *Onomasticon*
Op	Philo, *De opificio mundi*
OP	*Occasional Papers on the Near East*, Malibu, CA
op. cit.	*opere citato* ([in] the work cited)
Or	*Orientalia*
ʿOr.	*ʿOrla*
OrAnt	*Oriens antiquus*
OrBibLov	Orientalia et biblica lovaniensia
OrChr	*Oriens christianus*
Orig. World	*On the Origin of the World* (NHC II,5; XIII,2)
OrSyr	*L'orient syrien*
o.s.	old series
OstStud	*Ostkirchliche Studien*, Würzburg
OT	Old Testament
OTA	*Old Testament Abstracts*
OTE	*Old Testament Essays*, Pretoria
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTG	*The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus*, ed. A. E. Brooke, N. McLean, and H. St. J. Thackeray. Cambridge, 1906–40
ÖTK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTM	Old Testament Message
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols., ed. J. Charlesworth. Garden City, NY, 1983–87
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
p	Pesher (commentary)
P	"Priestly" source
p(p).	page(s); past
PÄ	*Probleme der Ägyptologie*, Leiden
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Philadelphia
Pal.	*Palestinian*
Pal. Tgs.	*Palestinian Targums*
PalCl	*Palestra del Clero*
par(s).	paragraph(s); (gospel) parallel(s)
Para	*Para*
Paraph. Shem	*Paraphrase of Shem* (NHC VII,1)
part.	participle
pass.	passive
passim	throughout
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*, Oxford

PBS	University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, *Publications of the Babylonian Section*, Philadelphia
PCB	*Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, rev. ed., ed. M. Black and H. H. Rowley. New York, 1962
P.E.	Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*
Pe'a	*Pe'a*
PEFA	Palestine Exploration Fund Annual
PEFQS	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*
PEGLAMBS	*Proceedings of the Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies*
PEGLBS	*Proceedings of the Eastern Great Lakes Biblical Society*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London
perf.	perfect
Pers	Persian
Pesaḥ.	*Pesaḥim*
Pesiq. R.	*Pesiqta Rabbati*
Pesiq. Rab Kah.	*Pesiqta de Rab Kahana*
PG	J. Migne, *Patrologia graeca*
PGM	*Papyri graecae magicae*, 3 vols., ed. K. Preisendanz. Leipzig, 1928–41
Ph. E. Poet	*Philo the Epic Poet*
PhEW	*Philosophy East and West*
Phil	Philippians
Phil.-hist. Kl.	Philosophische-historische Klasse
Phld.	see *Ign. Phld.*
Phlm	Philemon
PHOE	G. von Rad. 1966. *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays.* Trans. E. Dicken. Edinburgh and New York
Phoen	Phoenician
PhönWest	*Phönizier im Westen*, ed. H. G. Neimeyer. Madrider Beiträge 8. Mainz, 1982
PhRev	*Philosophical Review*
PI	J. Pedersen. 1926–40. *Israel: Its Life and Culture.* 2 vols. Copenhagen
PIBA	*Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association*, Dublin
PIOL	Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain
PIR	*Prosopographia imperii Romani saec. I.II.III*, 3 vols., ed. E. Klebs, H. Dessau, and P. von Rohden. Berlin, 1897–98
PIR²	*Prosopographia imperii Romani saec. I.II.III*, 2d ed., ed. E. Groag, A. Stein, and L. Petersen. 5 vols. Berlin and Leipzig, 1933–
Pirqe R. El.	*Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer*
P. J.	*Paraleipomena Jeremiou*
PJ	*Palästina-Jahrbuch*
PL	J. Migne, *Patrologia latina*
pl.	plural
pl(s).	plate(s)
Plant	Philo, *De plantatione*
Plato Rep.	*Plato: Republic 588B–589B* (NHC VI,5)
PMR	Charlesworth, J. H. 1976. *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research.* SCS 7. Missoula, MT
PN	personal name
PN A	Pottery Neolithic A
PN B	Pottery Neolithic B
PNPI	J. K. Stark. 1971. *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions.* Oxford
PNPPI	F. Benz. 1972. *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions.* Studia Pohl 8. Rome
PNTC	Pelican New Testament Commentaries
PO	Patrologia orientalis
Pol.	see *Ign. Pol.*
Post	Philo, *De posteritate Caini*
POTT	*Peoples of Old Testament Times*, ed. D. J. Wiseman. Oxford, 1973
POuT	De Prediking van het Oude Testament
PPN A	Pre-Pottery Neolithic A
PPN B	Pre-Pottery Neolithic B
Pr Azar	Prayer of Azariah
Pr. Jac.	*Prayer of Jacob*
Pr. Jos.	*Prayer of Joseph*
Pr Man	Prayer of Manasseh
Pr. Mos.	*Prayer of Moses*
Pr. Paul	*Prayer of the Apostle Paul* (NHC I,1)
Pr. Thanks.	*The Prayer of Thanksgiving* (NHC VI,7)
Praem	Philo, *De praemiis et poeniis*
Praep. Evang.	Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*
Pre. Pet.	*Preaching of Peter*
Presbyterion	*Presbyterion*, St. Louis, MO
Prism	*Prism*, St. Paul, MN
Pro	*Proyección*, Granada, Spain
Prob	Philo, *Probus*
Procl	Proclamation Commentaries
Proof	*Prooftexts: A Journal of Jewish Literary History*
Prot. Jas.	*Protevangelium of James*
Prov	Proverbs
Provid I–II	Philo, *De providentia* I–II
PRS	*Perspectives in Religious Studies*, Macon, GA
PRU	*Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit*, ed. C. F. A. Schaeffer and J. Nougayrol. Paris
Ps(s)	Psalm(s)
Ps-Abd.	*Apostolic History of Pseudo-Abdias*
PSB	*Princeton Seminary Bulletin*, Princeton, NJ
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
Ps-Clem.	*Pseudo-Clementines*

Ps-Eup.	*Pseudo-Eupolemus*
Ps-Hec.	*Pseudo-Hecataeus*
Ps-Mt.	*Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*
Ps-Orph.	*Pseudo-Orpheus*
Ps-Philo	*Pseudo-Philo*
Ps-Phoc.	*Pseudo-Phocylides*
Pss. Sol.	*Psalms of Solomon*
PSt	*Process Studies*, Claremont, CA
PSTJ	*Perkins (School of Theology) Journal*, Dallas, TX
PT	*Perspectiva Teológica*, Venda Nova, Brazil
pt.	part
PThS	*Pretoria Theological Studies*, Leiden
PTMS	Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series
PTU	F. Gröndahl. 1967. *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit.* Studia Pohl 1. Rome
Pun	Punic
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti graece
PW	A. Pauly–G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1839–; supplements, 1903–56, 11 vols.; 2d series, 1914–48
PWCJS	*Proceedings of the . . . World Congress of Jewish Studies*
PWSup	Supplement to PW
Pyr	K. Sethe. 1908–32. *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte.* 4 vols. Leipzig. Repr. Hildesheim, 1969
Q	Qere; "Q"-source; Qumran texts (e.g., 4QTestim)
Qad	*Qadmoniot*, Jerusalem
QD	Quaestiones disputatae
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*
QHBT	*Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon. Cambridge, MA, 1975
Qidd.	*Qiddušin*
Qinnim	*Qinnim*
QL	Qumran Literature
Qod.	*Qodašin*
Qoh or Eccl	Qoheleth or Ecclesiastes
Quaes Ex I–II	Philo, *Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum* I–II
Quaes Gen I–IV	Philo, *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin* I–IV
Ques. Ezra	*Questions of Ezra*
Quod Det	Philo, *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat*
Quod Deus	Philo, *Quod deus immutabilis sit*
Quod Omn	Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit*
R	H. C. Rawlinson. 1861–1909. *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.* London
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale*, Paris
RAB	J. Rogerson. 1985. *Atlas of the Bible.* New York
Rab.	*Rabbah* (following abbreviation for biblical book: *Gen. Rab.* = *Genesis Rabbah*)
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 10 vols., ed. T. Klauser, Stuttgart, 1950–78
RANE	Records of the Ancient Near East
RÄR	H. Bonnet. 1952. *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte.* Berlin
RArch	*Revue archéologique*
RasT	*Rassegna di Teologia*, Naples
RAT	*Revue Africaine de Théologie*, Kinshasa Limete, Zaire
RazFe	*Razón y Fe*, Madrid
RB	*Revue biblique*, Paris
RBén	*Revue bénédictine*, Maredsous
RBI	*Rivista biblica italiana*, Brescia
RBR	*Ricerche Bibliche e Religiose*
RCB	*Revista de Cultura Biblica*, São Paulo, Brazil
RCT	*Revista Catalana de Teología*, Barcelona, Spain
RDAC	*Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, Nicosia
RdÉ	*Revue d'égyptologie*
RdM	*Die Religionen der Menschheit*, ed. C. M. Schröder, Stuttgart
RE	*Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3d ed., ed. A. Hauck. Leipzig, 1897–1913
REA	*Revue des études anciennes*
REAug	*Revue des études augustiniennes*, Paris
REB	*Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira*, Brazil
RechBib	Recherches bibliques
RefRev	*Reformed Review*, Holland, MI
RefTR	*Reformed Theological Review*, Melbourne
REJ	*Revue des études juives*, Paris
RelArts	Religion and the Arts
RelLond	*Religion*, London, 1971–
RelNY	*Religion*, New York
RelS	*Religious Studies*, London
RelSoc	*Religion and Society*
RelSRev	*Religious Studies Review*
Renovatio	*Renovatio*, Bonn
repr.	reprint, reprinted
RES	*Revue des études sémitiques*, Paris
RES	*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* [cited by number]

ResABib	Die Reste der altlateinische Bibel
ResQ	*Restoration Quarterly*, Abilene, TX
Rev	Revelation
Rev. Ezra	*Revelation of Ezra*
Rev. Steph.	*Revelation of Stephen*
RevExp	*Review and Expositor*, Louisville, KY
RevistB	*Revista Bíblica*, Buenos Aires
RevistEspir	*Revista de Espritualidad*, Madrid
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*, Paris
RevRef	*La Revue Réformée*, Aix en Provence
RevRel	*Review for Religious*, St. Louis, MO
RevScRel	*Revue des sciences religieuses*, Strasbourg
RevSém	*Revue sémitique*
RevThom	*Revue thomiste*, Toulouse
RGG	*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*
RGTC	*Répertoire géographique des textes cuneiformes*, 8 vols., ed. W. Röllig. BTAVO B7. Wiesbaden
RHA	*Revue hittite et asianique*
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Louvain
RHLR	*Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, Paris
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, Strasbourg
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Paris
RIC	*The Roman Imperial Coinage*, ed. H. Mattingly et al. London, 1923–81
RIC^2	*The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 2d ed., ed. C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson. London, 1984–
RIDA	*Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*
RIH	J. de Rouge. 1877–78. *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Egypte*. 3 vols. Études égyptologiques 9–11. Paris
RivArCr	*Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, Rome
RivB	*Rivista biblica*, Bologna
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, ed. G. Ebeling et al. Berlin, 1932–
RLT	*Revista Latinoamericana de Teologia*, San Salvador
RNAB	see *RAB*
RNT	Regenesburger Neues Testament
RocTKan	*Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, Lublin
Rom	Romans
Rom.	see *Ign. Rom.*
Roš Hš.	*Roš Haššana*
ROTT	G. von Rad. 1962–65. *Old Testament Theology*. 2 vols. Trans. D. M. G. Stalker. New York
RP	*Revue de philologie*
RQ	*Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, Vatican City
RR	*Review of Religion*
RS	*Ras Shamra*
RSLR	*Rivista di storia letteratura religiosa*, Turin
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali*
RSPT	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théolgiques*, Paris
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*, Paris
RST	*Religious Studies and Theology*, Edmonton, Alberta
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RT	*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*
RTAM	*Recherches de Theologie Ancienne et Médiévale*
RTL	*Revue théologique de Louvain*
RTP	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie*, Lausanne
RUO	*Revue de l'université d'Ottawa*
Ruth	Ruth
RV	Revised Version
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
Ry	G. Ryckmans. 1927–59. Inscriptions sudarabes I–XVII. *Mus* 40–72 [cited by no. of text]
S	south(ern)
S. ʿOlam Rab.	*Seder ʿOlam Rabbah*
Šabb.	*Šabbat*
SacDoc	*Sacra Doctrina*, Bologna
SacEr	*Sacris Erudiri: Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen*, Brugge, Belgium
Sacr	Philo, *De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*
SAHG	A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden. 1953. *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*. Zurich
SAK	*Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, Hamburg
Sal	*Salesianum*, Rome
Salman	*Salmanticensis*, Salamanca
Sam. Pent.	Samaritan Pentateuch
Sam. Tg.	*Samaritan Targum*
SamOstr	Samaria Ostracon/Ostraca
SANE	*Sources From the Ancient Near East*, Malibu, CA
Sanh.	*Sanhedrin*
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
Sap	*Sapienza*, Naples
SAQ	Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen-und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften

SAT	*Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl,* ed. and trans. H. Gunkel et al. Göttingen
SB	Sources bibliques
SBA	Studies in Biblical Archaeology
SBAW	Sitzungsberichten der (königlichen) bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
SBibB	*Studies in Bibliography and Booklore,* Cincinnati, OH
SBJ	La sainte bible de Jérusalem
SBLABS	Society of Biblical Literature Archaeology and Biblical Studies
SBLAS	Society of Biblical Literature Aramaic Studies
SBLASP	Society of Biblical Literature Abstracts and Seminar Papers
SBLBAC	Society of Biblical Literature The Bible in American Culture
SBLBMI	Society of Biblical Literature The Bible and Its Modern Interpreters
SBLBSNA	Society of Biblical Literature Biblical Scholarship in North America
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMasS	Society of Biblical Literature Masoretic Studies
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLNTGF	Society of Biblical Literature: The New Testament in the Greek Fathers
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature: Resources for Biblical Study
SBLSBS	Society of Biblical Literature: Sources for Biblical Study
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature: Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSP	*Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*
SBLSS	Society of Biblical Literature: Semeia Studies
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature: Texts and Translations
SBLWAW	Society of Biblical Literature: Writings of the Ancient World
SBM	Stuttgarter biblische Monographien
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCCNH	*Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians,* 2 vols., ed. D. I. Owen and M. A. Morrison. Winona Lake, IN, 1981–87
ScEccl	*Sciences ecclésiatiques*
ScEs	*Science et esprit,* Montreal
SCHNT	Studia ad corpus hellenisticum novi testamenti
Scr	*Scripture*
SCR	*Studies in Comparative Religion*
ScrB	*Scripture Bulletin*
ScrC	*Scripture in Church,* Dublin
ScrHier	*Scripta Hierosolymitana,* Jerusalem
Scrip	*Scriptorium,* Brussels
Scriptura	*Scriptura,* Stellenbosch
ScrT	*Scripta Theologica,* Barañain/Pamplona
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
ScuolC	*Scuola Cattolica,* Milan
SD	Studies and Documents
SDB	*Smith's Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. H. B. Hackett. Boston, 1880
SE	southeast(ern)
SE	*Studia Evangelica I, II, III* (= TU 73 [1959], 87 [1964], 88 [1964], etc.)
SEÅ	*Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*
Search	*Search,* Dublin
Šeb.	*Šebiʿit*
Šebu.	*Šebuʿot*
sec.	section
Sec. Gos. Mk.	*Secret Gospel of Mark*
SecondCent	*Second Century,* Macon, GA
Sef	*Sefarad,* Madrid
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum,* ed. J. J. E. Hondius. Leiden, 1923–
Sem	*Semitica,* Paris
Ṣem.	*Ṣemaḥot*
Semeia	*Semeia,* Chico, CA
SemiotBib	*Sémiotique et Bible,* Lyon
Semitics	*Semitics,* Pretoria
Sent. Sextus	*Sentences of Sextus* (NHC XII,*1*)
Šeqal.	*Šeqalim*
Seux	J. M. Seux. 1968. *Epithètes Royales Akkadiennes et Sumériennes.* Paris
SGL	A. Falkenstein. 1959. *Sumerische Götterlieder.* Heidelberg
SGV	*Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religionsgeschichte,* Tübingen
SHAW	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
Shep. Herm.	*Shepherd of Hermas*
SHIB	R. M. Grant and D. Tracy. 1984. *A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible.* 2d ed. Philadelphia
Shofar	*Shofar,* West Lafayette, IN
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
SHT	Studies in Historical Theology

Sib. Or.	*Sibylline Oracles*
SICV	*Sylloge inscriptionum Christianorum veterum musei Vaticani*, ed. H. Zilliacus. Acta instituti Romani Finlandiae 1/1–2. Rome
SIDÅ	Scripta Instituti Donneriana Åboensis, Stockholm
SIDJC	*Service International de Documentation Judéo-chrétienne*, Rome
SIG^3	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger. 3d ed. Leipzig
SII	*Studies in Islam*, New Delhi
sing.	singular
Sipra	*Sipra*
Sipre	*Sipre*
Sir	Ecclesiasticus *or* Wisdom of Jesus Ben-Sira
SIRIS	*Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Serapicae*, ed. L. Vidman. RVV 28. Berlin, 1969
SJ	Studia Judaica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*, Edinburgh
SkrifK	*Skrif en Kerk*, Pretoria
SLAG	*Schriften der Luther-Agricola-Gesellschaft* (Finland)
SLJT	*Saint Luke's Journal of Theology*, Sewanee, TN
SMEA	*Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*
SMS	*Syro-Mesopotamian Studies*, Malibu, CA
SMSR	*Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*
Smyrn.	see *Ign. Smyrn.*
SNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTU	*Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt*, Linz
SNVAO	*Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
SO	Symbolae osloenses
SÖAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Österreichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
Sobr	Philo, *De sobrietate*
Somn I–II	Philo, *De somniis* I–II
SonB	Soncino Books of the Bible
Sop.	*Soperim*
Soph. Jes. Chr.	*Sophia of Jesus Christ* (NHC III,*4*)
Sota	*Sota*
SOTSBooklist	*Society for Old Testament Study Booklist*
SOTSMS	Society for Old Testament Study Monograph Series
Sou	*Soundings*, Nashville
SPap	*Studia papyrologica*
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SPB	Studia postbiblica
Spec Leg I–IV	Philo, *De specialibus legibus* I–IV
SPhil	*Studia Philonica*, Chicago
SPIB	*Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici*, Rome
SpT	*Spirituality Today*, Dubuque, IA
SQAW	Schriften und Quellen der alten Welt
SR	*Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses*, Waterloo, Ontario
SS	Studi semitici
SSAOI	*Sacra Scriptura Antiquitatibus Orientalibus Illustrata*, Rome
SSEA	Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
SSN	*Studia Semitica Neerlandica*, Assen
SSS	Semitic Study Series
St	*Studium*, Madrid
ST	*Studia theologica*
STÅ	*Svendk teologisk årsskrift*
StadtrChr	P. Lampe. 1987. *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten.* WUNT 2/18. Tübingen
StANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Munich
StBT	*Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten*, Wiesbaden
StDI	Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis Antiqui Pertinenti
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StEb	*Studi Eblaiti*, Rome
StEc	*Studi Ecumenici*, Verona, Italy
Steles Seth	*Three Steles of Seth* (NHC VII,*5*)
StFS	*Studia Francisci Scholten*, Leiden
STK	*Svensk teologisk kvartalskrift*, Lund
STL	Studia theologica Ludensia
StLtg	*Studia Liturgica*, Rotterdam
StMiss	*Studia Missionalia*, Rome
StOr	*Studia Orientalia*, Helsinki
StOvet	*Studium Ovetense*, Oviedo
StPat	*Studia Patavina*, Padua, Italy
StPatr	*Studia Patristica*
StPhilon	*Studia Philonica*
Str	*Stromata*, San Miguel, Argentina
Str-B	H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck. 1922–61. *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch.* 6 vols. Munich
STT	*The Sultantepe Tablets*, 2 vols., ed. O. R. Gurney, J. J. Finkelstein, and P. Hulin. Occasional Publications of the British School of Archaeology at Ankara 3, 7. London, 1957–64

StTh	*Studia Theologica*
StudBib	Studia biblica
StudBT	*Studia biblica et theologica*, Guilford, CT
Studium	*Studium*, Madrid
StudNeot	Studia neotestamentica, Studia
StudOr	Studia orientalia
StudPhoen	Studia Phoenicia [I–VIII]
STV	*Studia theologica varsaviensia*
Sukk.	*Sukka*
Sum	Sumerian
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
suppl.	supplement
Sus	Susanna
SVF	*Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, ed. J. von Arnim. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1903–24. Repr. Stuttgart, 1966; New York, 1986
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
SVTQ	*St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, Tuckahoe, NY
SW	southwest(ern)
SWBA	Social World of Biblical Antiquity
SwJT	*Southwestern Journal of Theology*, Fort Worth, TX
SWP	*Survey of Western Palestine:* *SWP* 1 = C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener. 1881. *Galilee*. London. *SWP* 2 = C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener. 1882. *Samaria*. London. *SWP* 3 = C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener. 1883. *Judaea*. London. *SWP* 4 = E. H. Palmer. 1881. *Arabic and English Name Lists*. London. *SWP* 5 = C. Wilson and C. Warren. 1881. *Special Papers*. London. *SWP* 6 = C. Warren and C. Warren, 1884. *Jerusalem*. London. *SWP* 7 = H. B. Tristram. 1884. *The Fauna and Flora of Palestine*. London.
SymBU	Symbolae biblicae upsalienses
Syr	Syriac
Syr	*Syria: Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie*, Paris
Syr. Men.	*Syriac Menander*
SZ	*Stimmen der Zeit*, Munich
T. 12 P.	*Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
T. Ab.	*Testament of Abraham*
T. Adam	*Testament of Adam*
T. Ash.	*Testament of Asher*
T. Benj.	*Testament of Benjamin*
T. Dan.	*Testament of Daniel*
T. Gad	*Testament of Gad*
T. Hez.	*Testament of Hezekiah*
T. Isaac	*Testament of Isaac*
T. Iss.	*Testament of Issachar*
T. Jac.	*Testament of Jacob*
T. Job	*Testament of Job*
T. Jos.	*Testament of Joseph*
T. Jud.	*Testament of Judah*
T. Levi	*Testament of Levi*
T. Mos.	*Testament of Moses*
T. Naph.	*Testament of Naphtali*
T. Reu.	*Testament of Reuben*
T. Sim.	*Testament of Simeon*
T. Sol.	*Testament of Solomon*
T. Yom	*Tebul Yom*
T. Zeb.	*Testament of Zebulun*
TA	*Tel Aviv*, Tel Aviv
Taʿan.	*Taʿanit*
TAD	B. Porten and A. Yardeni. 1986. *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*. Jerusalem *TAD* A = vol. 1, *Letters* *TAD* B = vol. 2, *Contracts* *TAD* C = vol. 3, *Literature and Lists* *TAD* D = vol. 4, *Fragments and Inscriptions*
TAik	*Teologinen Aikakauskirja*, Helsinki
Talm.	*Talmud*
TAM	*Tituli Asiae Minoris*
Tamid	*Tamid*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TAPhS	*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia
TBC	Torch Bible Commentary
TBei	*Theologische Beiträge*, Wuppertal
TBl	*Theologische Blätter*
TBT	*The Bible Today*, Collegeville, MN
TBü	Theologische Bücherei
TCGNT	B. M. Metzger. 1971. *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, United Bible Societies
TCL	*Textes cunéiforms du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1910–
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources: TCS 1 = E. Sollberger. 1966. *Business and Administrative Correspondence Under the Kings of Ur*. Locust Valley, NY. TCS 2 = R. Biggs. 1967. *ŠÀ.ZI.GA: Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations*. TCS 3 = Å. Sjöberg, E. Bergmann, and G. Gragg. 1969. *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns*. TCS 4 = E. Leichty. 1970. *The Omen Series šumma izbu*. TCS 5 = A. K. Grayson. 1975. *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*.

TD	*Theology Digest*, St. Louis, MO
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, 10 vols., ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Trans. G. W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids, 1964–76
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, ed. G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H. J. Fabry. Trans. J. T. Willis, G. W. Bromiley, and D. E. Green. Grand Rapids, 1974–
TE	*Theologica Evangelica*, Pretoria
Teach. Silv.	*Teachings of Silvanus* (NHC VII,*4*)
Tem.	*Temura*
Temenos	*Temenos: Studies in Comparative Religion*, Helsinki
Ter	*Teresianum*, Rome
Ter.	*Terumot*
Test	*Testimonianze*, Florence
Testim. Truth	*Testimony of Truth* (NHC IX,*3*)
TEV	Today's English Version
TextsS	Texts and Studies
TF	*Theologische Forschung*
Tg. Esth. I	*First Targum of Esther*
Tg. Esth. II	*Second Targum of Esther*
Tg. Isa.	*Targum of Isaiah*
Tg. Ket.	*Targum of the Writings*
Tg. Neb.	*Targum of the Prophets*
Tg. Neof.	*Targum Neofiti I*
Tg. Onq.	*Targum Onqelos*
Tg. Ps.-J.	*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*
Tg. Yer. I	*Targum Yerušalmi I*
Tg. Yer. II	*Targum Yerušalmi II*
TGI	K. Galling. 1950. *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels*. 2d ed. Tübingen
TGl	*Theologie und Glaube*, Paderborn
Thal.	*Thallus*
ThArb	*Theologische Arbeiten*, Berlin
THAT	*Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, 2 vols., ed. E. Jenni and C. Westermann. Munich, 1971–76
ThEd	*Theological Educator*, New Orleans
ThEH	*Theologische Existenz Heute*, Munich
Them	*Themelios*, Madison, WI
Theod.	*Theodotus*
Theology	*Theology*, London
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
ThH	*Théologie historique*
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
Thom. Cont.	*Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II,7)
Thomist	*Thomist*, Washington, D.C.
ThPh	*Theologie und Philosophie*, Freiburg
ThStud	Theologische Studien
Thund.	*The Thunder: Perfect Mind* (NHC VI,*2*)
ThV	*Theologische Versuche*, Berlin
ThViat	*Theologia Viatorum*, Berlin
TijdTheol	*Tijdschrift voor Theologie*, Nijmegen
Titus	Titus
TJ	*Trinity Journal*, Deerfield, IL
TJT	*Toronto Journal of Theology*
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TNB	*The New Blackfriars*, Oxford
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentary
Tob	Tobit
Ṭohar.	*Ṭoharot*
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentary
TP	*Theologie und Philosophie*
TPNAH	J. D. Fowler. 1988. *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew*. JSOTSup 49. Sheffield
TPQ	*Theologisch-Praktische Quartalschrift*, Austria
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
TR	P. Lucau. *Textes Religieux Égyptiens*, 1, Paris
Trad	*Tradition*, New York
Traditio	*Traditio*, New York
Trall.	see *Ign. Trall.*
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*
Treat. Res.	*Treatise on Resurrection* (NHC I,*4*)
Treat. Seth	*Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (NHC VII,*2*)
Treat. Shem	*Treatise of Shem*
TRev	*Theologische Revue*
Tri. Trac.	*Tripartite Tractate* (NHC I,*5*)
Trim. Prot.	*Trimorphic Protennoia* (NHC XIII,*1*)
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau*, Tübingen
TS	*Theological Studies*, Washington, DC
TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*
TSSI	J. C. L. Gibson. 1971–82. *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*. 3 vols. Oxford
TT	*Teologisk Tidsskrift*
TTKi	*Tidsskrift for Teologie og Kirke*, Oslo, Norway
TTKY	*Türk Tarih Kurumu Kongresi Yayĭnlari*. Ankara
TToday	*Theology Today*, Princeton, NJ
TTS	Trierer Theologische Studien
TTZ	*Trierer theologische Zeitschrift*
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments
TV	*Teología y Vida*, Santiago, Chile
TvT	*Tijdschrift voor Theologie*, Nijmegen, The Netherlands

TWAT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, ed. G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H. J. Fabry. Stuttgart, 1970–
TWNT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 8 vols., ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Stuttgart, 1933–69
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*, Basel, Switzerland
UBSGNT	*United Bible Societies Greek New Testament*
UCPNES	University of California Publications in Near Eastern Studies
UCPSP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology
UET	Ur Excavations: Texts
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
Ug	Ugaritic
UGAÄ	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens
ÜgS	M. Noth. 1967. *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*. 3d ed. Tübingen
UNT	Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ʿUq.	*ʿUqṣin*
Urk. IV	*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*. Abt. IV, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, ed. K. Sethe and W. Helck. 22 fasc. Leipzig, 1903–58
US	*Una Sancta*
USQR	*Union Seminary Quarterly Review*, New York, NY
UT	C. H. Gordon. 1965. *Ugaritic Textbook*. AnOr 38. Rome; suppl. 1967
UUÅ	*Uppsala universitets Årsskrift*
v(v)	verse(s)
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, Leipzig, 1907–16
Val. Exp.	*A Valentinian Exposition* (NHC XI,2)
VAT	Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Thontafelsammlung, Staatliche Musee zu Berlin
VC	*Vigiliae christianae*
VCaro	*Verbum caro*
VD	*Verbum domini*
VE	*Vox Evangilica*
VetChr	*Vetera Christianum*, Bari
VF	*Verkündigung und Forschung*
Vg	Vulgate
Vid	*Vidyajyoti*, Delhi
VigChrist	*Vigiliao Christianae*
VIO	Veröffentlichung der Institut für Orientforschung
Virt	Philo, *De virtutibus*
Vis. Ezra	*Vision of Ezra*
Vis. Is.	*Vision of Isaiah*
Vis. Paul	*Vision of Paul*
Vita	*Vita Adae et Evae*
Vita C	Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*
Vita Cont	Philo, *De vita contemplativa*
Vita Mos I–II	Philo, *De vita Mosis* I–II
VKGNT	*Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, ed. K. Aland
VL	Vetus Latina
vol(s).	volume(s)
Vorsokr.	*Fragmente der Vorsokrater*, 4th ed., ed. H. Diels. Berlin, 1922
VR	*Vox Reformata*, Geelong, Victoria, Australia
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin
VSpir	*Vie spirituelle*, Paris
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*, Leiden
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
W	west(ern)
WA	["Weimar Ausgabe," =] *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. J. K. F. Knaake et al. Weimar, 1883–
Way	*The Way*, London
WbÄS	A. Erman and H. Grapow. 1926–31. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 7 vols. Leipzig. Repr. 1963
WBC	World Bible Commentary
WBKL	Wiener Beitrage zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik
WbMyth	*Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, ed. H. W. Haussig, Stuttgart, 1961
WC	Westminster Commentaries, London
WD	*Wort und Dienst*
WDB	*Westminster Dictionary of the Bible*
Wehr	H. Wehr. 1976. *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 3d ed., ed. J. M. Cowen. Ithaca
WF	Wege der Forschung
WGI	J. Wellhausen. 1878. *Geschichte Israels*. Berlin [see also *WPGI* and *WPHI*]
WHAB	*Westminster Historical Atlas of the Bible*
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker. 1972. *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature*. Cambridge, MA
WHJP	*World History of the Jewish People*
Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
WLSGF	*The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman*, eds. C. L. Meyers and M. O'Connor. Winona Lake, IN, 1983
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*
WoAr	*World Archaeology*
Wor	*Worship*, Collegeville, MN
WordWorld	*Word and World*, St. Paul, MN
WPGI	J. Wellhausen. 1895. *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. 4th ed. Berlin

WPHI	J. Wellhausen. 1885. *Prolegomena to the History of Israel.* 2 vols. Trans. J. S. Black and A. Menzies. Edinburgh. Repr. Cleveland 1957; Gloucester, MA, 1973
WS	*World and Spirit,* Petersham, MA
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal,* Philadelphia, PA
WTM	J. Levy. 1924. *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim.* 5 vols. 2d ed., ed. L. Goldschmidt. Leipzig. Repr. 1963
WTS	E. Littmann and M. Höfner. 1962. *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache.* Wiesbaden
WuD	*Wort und Dienst,* Bielefeld
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WUS	J. Aistleitner. 1974. *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache.* 4th ed., ed. O. Eissfeldt. BSAW 106/3. Berlin
WuW	*Wissenschaft und Weisheit,* Mönchengladbach
WVDOG	*Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
WW	*Word & World,* Fort Lee, NJ
WZ	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
WZKSO	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*
Yad.	*Yadayim*
Yal.	*Yalqut*
Yebam.	*Yebamot*
Yem. Tg.	*Yemenite Targum*
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies
YGC	W. F. Albright. 1969. *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan.* Garden City, NY. Repr. Winona Lake, IN, 1990
YJS	*Yale Judaica Series,* New Haven
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
Yoma	*Yoma (= Kippurim)*
YOS	Yale Oriental Series
y. (Talm.)	Jerusalem (Talmud) = "Yerushalmi"
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
Zabim	*Zabim*
ZAH	*Zeitschrift für Althebräistic*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft,* Berlin
ZB	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
Zebah.	*Zebahim*
Zech	Zechariah
ZEE	*Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik*
Zeph	Zephaniah
Zer.	*Zeraʿim*
ZHT	*Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZKT	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie,* Innsbruck
ZMR	*Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
Zost.	*Zostrianos* (NHC VIII,*1*)
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZPKT	*Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Katholische Theologie*
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte,* Erlangen
ZST	*Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*
ZWT	*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*
ZycMysl	*Zycie i Mysl*

D

D. The abbreviation used by scholars to designate the Deuteronomic source in Pentateuchal source criticism. This source is essentially the book of Deuteronomy. See DEUTERONOMY, BOOK OF.

DABBESHETH (PLACE) [Heb *dabbešet*]. On the S border of the territory of Zebulun (Josh 19:11), Dabbesheth (lit. 'hump') may indicate a settlement site or a geographical landmark. Dabbesheth has been tentatively identified with Tel Shem (M.R. 164230), N of Jokneam, though many other sites in the near vicinity may qualify. See Kallai *HGB*, 179–192.

RAPHAEL GREENBERG

DABERATH (PLACE) [Heb *dāběrat*]. A levitical city allocated to the tribe of Issachar (Josh 21:28 = 1 Chr 6:57—Eng 6:72). Daberath is also listed as defining part of the border of Zebulun, which went in the direction of Chisloth-tabor and then followed the watercourse to Daberath (Josh 19:12). From this description most scholars argue that Daberath was situated on the border of Issachar and Zebulun. In the Issachar distribution list in Joshua 19, Daberath does not appear. However, Albright (1926: 230) has suggested that Rabbith (19:20) should be emended to Daberath on the basis of LXX^{B}. If Albright is correct, what this means is that the Greek scribes read Daberath and that the present reading of the Hebrew text arose from an easy misreading of the *dalet* as a *reš*.

Daberath has been identified with Khirbet Dabbura (M.R. 185233), located on the NW side of Mt. Tabor, less than .5 km E of the modern village of Daburiyeh, which today has nearly engulfed the ancient site with modern buildings and orchard groves. Daberath thus lies at the extreme NE corner of the Esdraelon plain, an area that has been called the Nazareth basin. The site has an important position, nestling between Mt. Tabor and the most S low hills of lower Galilee, connecting two major valleys. Daberath is at the gateway of the Trunk Road as it enters the Esdraelon plain from the Sea of Galilee. This road was one of the main passages from Damascus to the Mediterranean via Megiddo.

Since the mid-1930s inspection visits from the Department of Antiquities and archaeological surveys have been conducted at Khirbet Dabbura. Most of the pottery that has been studied from this site belongs to the Roman, Byzantine, and Arabic periods, although there is also evidence of pottery from the Hellenistic, Persian, Iron, and Bronze Age periods (Peterson 1977: 168–76). Daberath was an unwalled city, and further archaeological work must be done on the NW corner of the base of Mt. Tabor before the occupational history of the site can be established with certainty.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

DABRIA (PERSON) [Lat *Dabria*]. One of the five scribes whom Ezra was instructed to take with him in restoring the Scriptures (2 Esdr 14:24). In the 14th chap. of 2 Esdras God speaks to Ezra out of a bush, bidding him to reprove the living generation. Ezra accepts the responsibility but is apprehensive of those who are yet to come. The holy Scriptures had been burnt (2 Esdr 14:21; cf. 2 Kgs 25:8–9), and those who wish to live in the end time may be left in darkness without the light of Torah. Ezra prays for inspiration to restore the Scriptures. God directs Ezra to prepare many writing tablets and to employ the five scribes, Sarea, Dabria, Selemia, Ethanus, and Asiel, whose expertise was to write rapidly. At Ezra's dictation they take turns writing for 40 days in characters which they do not know (2 Esdr 14:42), probably in the square Hebrew characters.

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JIN HEE HAN

DAGON (DEITY) [Heb *dāgôn*]. Dagon is attested as the patron deity of the middle Euphrates region centered around Tuttul, Mari, and esp. Terqa, from the 3d millennium B.C.E. The earliest reference to the worship of this god is in the inscriptions of Sargon of Akkad, though proper names containing the Dagon element are common from the middle of the 3d millennium B.C.E. throughout Mesopotamia (Roberts 1972: 18; Pettinato and Waetzoldt 1985: 239–48). As divine ruler of his land, Dagon was responsible for king and people; this is well attested in

spheres of military expansion, fertility, living and deceased human rulers, and divine advice (Kupper 1947: 150–52). A number of messages from Dagon to his territory have survived. By dream, by ecstatic possession, and by oral command, male and female prophets and commoners related Dagon's messages on topics ranging from war and peace (Dossin 1978: 9, 122–23, no. 80; 1948: 128–32) to preparations for a funeral (Kupper 1950: 64–65, no. 40).

Whether or not the cult was adopted from the area around Terqa, Dagon was a popular and enduring deity in Mesopotamia (Menzel 1981: 51–53) and Syria (Schaeffer 1935: 155–56); the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I honored the deity by building the temple Ekisiqa in Terqa (*GARI* 1: 24–25). The cult appears to have been established in Palestine by the second half of the 2d millennium B.C.E. since a name with the Dagon element appears in the Amarna Letters (Artzi 1968: 163–64). There is little information on Dagon and his cult along the E Mediterranean. While the god's name appears in the texts of Ugarit (Del Olmo 1981: 69–70; Xella 1981: 388), little information is provided aside from the fact that he is Baal's father and a ritual reference. Furthermore, the name is lacking from some Ugarit god lists altogether (de Moor 1970: 219). Two inscriptions which might refer to the existence of Dagon in Palestine include the word *dgn*, but it is uncertain what this word means in this context (*KAI* 14:19; Montalbano 1951: 390–91).

All biblical references to Dagon appear in literary narratives and may not be considered primary data. Temples are reported for Dagon as a Philistine deity (1 Sam 5:1–7; Judg 16:23; 1 Chr 10:10; 1 Macc 10:83–84; 11:4) in the cities of Ashdod, Beth-shan, and perhaps Gaza. Yet, no archaeological evidence has independently confirmed such a temple to Dagon in any of these sites. Several place names also include Dagon's name (Montalbano 1951: 391), thus confirming the deity's importance for the area. This importance may also be assumed from the use made of Dagon in biblical texts through the end of the 2d century B.C.E.

Aside from Dagon's attributes as a patron deity, this god's cosmic character remains unknown. Three major theories have been posited for the function of Dagon. It was long thought the god was related to the Semitic root *dg* 'fish' (*ERE* 4: 387); this understanding was supported by references in Jerome and in the Talmudic tradition (Montalbano 1951: 394; Holter 1989: 145). A case was made that Dagon was related to Odakon, a fish-man character in Berossus' *Babyloniaca* (*ERE* 4: 387; Fontenrose 1957: 278). Though both arguments were rejected early in the 20th century (*ERE* 4: 387; *RLA* 2: 101), they were later revived. The fish aspect is still argued to be a secondary attribute (Fontenrose 1957: 278–79; Holter 1989: 146–47), while the Odakon connection (Fontenrose 1957: 278) is now considered highly improbable given that the Berossus mss are not uniform in the name of the fish-human (Burstein 1978: 19 n. 42; Montalbano 1951: 395).

The Semitic root *dgn*, when translated as "grain," is also seen as the original meaning of the name Dagon (Langdon 1931: 78; Dhorme 1950: 135; *EncJud* 5: 1222). The equation of Dagon with *sītōn* in Philo of Byblos (recorded in Eus. *P.E.* 1.10.16) supports such a theory, yet the notion of Dagon as a god of grain finds no solid evidence in the ANE. Albright, followed by several others, argues that Semitic "grain" may have been named after the god Dagon rather than the other way around (Albright 1920: 319 n. 27; Montalbano 1951: 395–96; Wyatt 1980: 377; Attridge and Oden 1981: 87 n. 87); but this suggestion depends on an unknown chronology (Holter 1989: 142).

The Albright note suggested that Dagon was named as a storm god on the basis of an Arabic root *dg*, which he translated "be cloudy, rainy," and argued that the fertility aspect of Dagon was related to this weather aspect. This theory has been widely accepted (Montalbano 1951: 394; Caquot and Sznycer 1980: 15; Wyatt 1980: 377–79; Holter 1989: 142); yet the name must be derived from a root not attested in the ancient world and the fertility aspect is as likely to be related to a patron deity as to a storm deity.

Thus the cosmic character of Dagon eludes definition. The deity is equated to too many foreign deities to posit that any of them really was seen as the same "kind" of divinity (Fontenrose 1957: 277; Laroche 1968: 524; Wyatt 1980: 379; Baumgarten 1981: 195; Lipiński 1983: 308, 309; Pettinato and Waetzoldt 1985: 235–36). Whatever the god represented for his devotees, however, he certainly endured through the centuries.

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LOWELL K. HANDY

DALET. The fourth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

DALIYEH, WADI ED- (M.R. 189155). A deep, steep-sided ravine that cuts into the rim of the Jordan rift in the desolate E edge of the central hill country on the W of the Jordan river. It was the site of major discoveries in the early spring of 1962, especially a cache of ancient papyri found in one of its many caves, namely the Mughâret ʾAbū Shinjeh, which penetrates the side of the wâdī at a point some 14 km N of ancient Jericho (Tell es-Sulṭân) and 4 km SW of Khirbet Fasâyil, the Phasaelis of Herod the Great. The cave is about 1500 feet above the Jordan.

The finds, which included hoards of coins, jewelry including seal rings, scores of bullae, and vast quantities of pottery, virtually all dating to the 4th century B.C.E., were associated with hundreds of skeletal remains, all buried under millennial deposits of bat guano.

The initial discovery of papyri and artifacts in the Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh was made by bedouin. Purchase of the papyri and associated finds took place in November 1962 through the agency of the American Schools of Oriental Research; in 1963 and 1964 two seasons of excavations in the caves of the Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh were undertaken by P. W. Lapp on behalf of the Schools. Two caves were thoroughly excavated, Mughâret ʾAbū Shinjeh (Cave 1), and ʿArâq en-Naʿsâneh (Cave 2). The latter contained very significant remains of EB IV occupation as well as artifacts left by squatters of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome. Cave 1 proved to be the cave of the papyrus finds, and bits of papyri, bullae, coins, cloth, jewelry, and pottery discovered in excavation firmly established the place of origin of the materials acquired from the bedouin. Save for a few bits of miscellaneous pottery from the surface of the cave floor, the deposits (beneath the surface) were homogeneous.

Most of the papyri of the Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh prove to be slave conveyances, although deeds of property and similar legal documents also belong to the corpus. Perhaps ten of the papyri can be reconstructed wholly or in large measure, but most are highly fragmentary. The owners of the papyri, men and women, were evidently patricians from Samaria. Whenever the place of execution of a papyrus is preserved, it is recorded that the contract was drawn up "in Samaria the city (or Samaria the acropolis) which is in Samaria the province" and normally the deed was executed before the governor of Samaria or a high official of the chancellery. Hence the papyri have been designated SAMARIA PAPYRI. The dates recorded on the papyri range from ca. 375 to March 19, 335 B.C.E., and associated coins date as well from the late pre-Alexandrian era.

The historical occasion for the flight of Samaritan nobles from their capital city into the cave in the cliffs and wasteland of the Jordan can be specified with some confidence. In 331 B.C.E., shortly after Alexander the Great conquered Palestine, the Samaritan leaders rose up in an abortive revolt against their Macedonian overlords. According to Curtius the Samaritans burned alive Andromachus, Alexander's prefect in Syria. In the aftermath the Samaritan conspirators were hunted down, and the city of Samaria was destroyed and resettled as a Macedonian colony. The papyri and associated finds owe their preservation to the massacre of their Samaritan owners in the Mughâret ʾAbū Shinjeh.

The finds in Cave 1 in the Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh furnish welcome light on a little-known era in Palestine. The papyri are the first substantial discovery of legal documents from the soil of Palestine. They provide a sample of late 4th-century Aramaic and of its legal formulas and usages, and they reveal substantial differences from the legal formularies in use in the Aramaic papyri from Jewish sources in 5th-century Egypt. Of special interest, too, are the sealings from the papyri. The bullae preserve the impressions of exquisite signets, many showing scenes from Greek mythology, some engraved with motifs familiar from Achaemenid Persia, one inscribed with the name of Sanballat II, governor of Samaria, a hitherto unknown figure, presumably the grandson of biblical Sanballat, adversary of Nehemiah in the late 5th century. The penetration of Greek art motifs in pre-Alexandrian times in glyptic is surprising but adds to a growing accumulation of data for extensive Greek influence in Syria-Palestine before the advent of Alexander.

The finds of Cave 2, if less spectacular, are also of no little importance for the historian. The repertoire of EB IV pottery used by inhabitants of the cave dates probably to the mid-21st century B.C.E. and is further testimony to the poor and relatively obscure culture which intervened between the great urban civilizations of the EB and MB. The finds of the era of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome (132–135 C.E.) are the first evidence of an outpost or hiding place of Bar Kokhba's Jewish adherents to the N of Jerusalem and Jericho. Hitherto their remains have been found chiefly in the great caves of the canyons S of Jericho which drain into the Dead Sea. Recovered in excavation was a corpus of pottery of substantial size (e.g., 65 storage jars), mostly domestic wares, together with fragments of cloth, keys, and a coin of the Second Revolt. No skeletons or written materials were found. However, papyrus bits of Second Revolt date, claimed to originate in the Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh, but mixed with materials evidently from the S caves, and of dubious provenance, were offered for sale by bedouin. The fate of the Jewish rebels, who, like the Samaritan fugitives four centuries earlier, sought safety in the desolation of the Dâliyeh wilderness, is un-

known. Given the ruthless efficiency with which the Romans sought out the rebels, however, it is doubtful that they escaped captivity or death. See also SAMARIA (PAPYRI).

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FRANK MOORE CROSS

DALMANUTHA (PLACE) [Gk *Dalmanoutha*]. This name occurs once in Mark 8:10 in the majority reading (codices Alexandrinus, Sinaiticus, and Vaticanus). It was apparently located on the NW shore of the Sea of Galilee (cf. Mark 7:31), since the majority reading in the parallel text in Matt 15:39 is "Magdala." The minority reading in Matthew, "Magadan," is actually better attested (original reading of codices Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Bezae, the Latin, and the Syriac), but a place name otherwise unknown.

It is easy to see that the copyists of Mark did not understand the name, for they consulted Matt 15:39 or otherwise simply "corrected" what lay in front of them. Also, they were not sure whether the place was a mountain, a district, or a territory, as all three terms appear. Aside from "Dalmanutha," they variously recorded the place name in Mark 8:10 as Dalmanountha (Codex Vaticanus), Dalmounai (Codex Washingtonus), Mageda (minuscules 28 & 565), Magedan (Syriac Sinaiticus and the OL), Melegada (the first hand of Codex Bezae), Magdala (families f1 and f13; Codex Tiflis), or with other variants (Metzger 1971: 97).

The place name Dalmanutha is unknown outside the NT. It seems to have a genuine Aramaic locative ending in *-tha* or *-tah* (as in Anabtah in Samaria, Canatha in Tyre, or Gabatha in lower Galilee). However, the root **dlm* is otherwise unattested in biblical Aramaic, though it appears in adverbs in targumic Aramaic. Probably the most ingenious linguistic explanation for the name is that of Nestle (1906: 406), who derived the name from the Aramaic particle *dy* 'which' + *l* 'belonging to' + *mnatah* or *manah* 'portion' or 'lot' in the Syriac Bible, cf. Josh 14:1, 15:1. This implies that Mark had an Aramaic text before him with a phrase something like "which belongs to the territory of . . . ," but Mark understood it as a place name. Mark characteristically preserves bits of Aramaic but elsewhere always in the speeches of Jesus.

The word *dylm'* meaning "wall" occurs in the Jerusalem Talmud, which appeared about 400 C.E. (*j. Kil.* 32d). Thus it is at least possible that Mark knew a genuine place name or an Aramaic phrase.

In 1970, when the shores of the Sea of Galilee were exceptionally low, it became possible to investigate several ancient anchorages below the modern surface of the lake. These were walled enclosures built of stone blocks in the water but near the shore. There is one at Capernaum and another at Magdala, among others. A possible third is to be found N of and near Magdala and W of Capernaum. This may be ancient Dalmanutha (Nun 1971). If so, Dalmanutha was a small anchorage, likely in the district of Magdala. On the other hand, it is also possible that the Aramaic word meant "enclosure, anchorage" and came to be understood as a proper name. Thus the oral tradition may have had either ". . . the anchorage of the district of Magdala" or "Dalmanutha of the district of Magdala." There is no scholarly consensus.

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JAMES F. STRANGE

DALMATIA (PLACE) [Gk *Dalmatia*]. A region along the modern Yugoslav coast of the Adriatic Sea which in apostolic times was the SW part of Illyricum. This ill-defined mountainous district was a nemesis to Rome. By the time of Paul's epistle to Timothy (ca. A.D. 67) the name denoted at least the region between the Macedonian frontier to the S and the river Titius (Kerka) and oftentimes the entire province of Illyricum (2 Tim 4:10). The broader definition was definitely used during the Flavian era. Main Dalmatian cities included Salona, Scodra, and Delminium—the capital.

The Romans established a protectorate over Dalmatia in 228 B.C. but never realized an easy or peaceful suzerainty. The name Dalmatia originally indicated the land of a warlike tribe—the barbarous Delmatae or Dalmatae. The region, true to its name, remained rebellious even through the fall of Rome. In 157 B.C. the Dalmatians openly mistreated Gaius Fannius, the leader of a Roman embassy. Subsequently, Marcius Figulus burned Delminium. Already by 119 B.C. the Romans deemed it necessary to send additional forces, this time led by Caecilus Marcus, to put down Dalmatian revolts. And the Dalmatians would revolt a generation later and defeat Caesar and Gabinus (50–48 B.C.). Augustus thought it noteworthy to list Dalmatia (Illyricum) among his accomplishments: "I extended the frontier of Illyricum to the bank of the Danube" (Augustus *Res Gestae* 30; App. *Ill.* 11–12, 28; Suet. *Aug.* 21, 23). But

late in his reign (A.D. 6–8) he faced more Dalmatian resistance and sent Tiberius to squelch Bato's revolt. Dalmatia, partly because of its N location, but mainly because of its semi-independence, became a haven for refugees and enemies of Rome, e.g., Aetius in A.D. 433 and Emperor Julius Nepos in A.D. 475 (Jones 1964: 3: 244). Paul highlights its remoteness in Rom 15:19: ". . . all the way around to Illyricum." However, the N coastal location attracted both merchant and military interest. The Dalmatians made little use of coinage but, nonetheless, remained an important tax base for the Romans (Strabo 7.315). Romans would display their military skills in Dalmatia (Ferrill 1986: 159), and their enemies saw the region as the gateway to the Roman Balkans. Alaric capitalized both on Dalmatia's tax problems, gaining support among Roman Dalmatians (Claudian *De Bello Gothico* 536), and on the location (Ferrill 1986: 95), en route to his sack of Rome in A.D. 410.

The Dalmatian church was infiltrated by both cults and Greco-Roman religious factions. A dedication "to the gods and goddesses" appears in the wall of a Dalmatian church (Fox 1986: 194), and Ramsay MacMullen lists Dalmatia as a cult center (MacMullen 1981: 13, 127).

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JERRY A. PATTENGALE

DALPHON (PERSON) [Heb *dalpôn*]. One of the ten sons of Haman (Esth 9:7). On problems surrounding the list of names see ADALIA (PERSON). The etymology of Dalphon (LXX *delpôn*, A-Text *adelphon*—due to inner Greek corruption, so Tov 1982: 5) remains unclear (Paton *Esther* ICC, 70 and Gehman 1924 offer some possibilities).

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PETER BEDFORD

DAMARIS (PERSON) [Gk *Damaris*]. A convert of Paul in Athens portrayed in Acts 17:34. That she is mentioned by name suggests that Luke or his sources considered her a prominent convert, perhaps one who made a name for herself in the Christian community. Since it was uncommon for an ordinary Athenian citizen-woman to be present at such public gatherings as Paul addressed in Athens, W. M. Ramsay (1920: 252) suggests that Damaris was one of the Athenian *heitarai*, i.e., women who provided companionship for Athenian men in public as well as in private. Normally these "companions" were foreigners and some were better educated than citizen-women (Witherington 1988: 6–9). Beyond this possible conjecture we know nothing of Damaris' life or background. If Luke's audience considered Damaris a "companion," then this story may be included in Acts to show that the gospel frees one from such a lifestyle. Finally, we do see at Acts 17:34 the typical Lukan male-female parallelism, where Luke attempts to show that the gospel affects and benefits men and women equally.

The name Damaris is not found elsewhere in Gk literature with the spelling we find here, and thus some scholars have suggested that it is a mistaken reading for the common name Damalis (found in the African Latin ms Codex h at Acts 27:34). Other forms of the name Damaris are known in the relevant Gk literature, and the later Latin evidence is too slender a basis for concluding that the text originally read Damaris (Foakes Jackson and Lake 1933: 220). It is noteworthy that the Western text of Acts, on which the KJV is based, does have a marked antifeminist bias (Witherington 1984: 82–84), e.g., Codex D omits any reference to Damaris at all and focuses only on Dionysius. On the other hand, Codex e/E attaches the description "of honorable station" to Damaris, not to Dionysius (Bruce *Acts* NICNT, 363).

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

DAMASCUS (PLACE) [Heb *dammeśeq, dûmmeśeq, darmeśeq*]. DAMASCENE. A city of S Syria, which is not only the capital of modern Syria, but was the capital of the nation of Aram during the 10th through 8th centuries B.C.E. Aram was a constant rival to, and sometimes an ally of Israel, until it was incorporated in the Assyrian Empire in 732 B.C.E. See ARAM (PLACE). It is the city to which Paul went after his encounter with the risen Christ, and it is where he became converted to Christianity (Acts 9).

PRE-HELLENISTIC HISTORY

A. Location

Although on the border of the great Syrian desert, the city is located along the banks of the Barada river, the only major perennial water source in the region. The water, combined with the rich soil of the basin, has made the area of Damascus one of the richest agricultural regions in the Near East. The city has also been a major station on the main N-S caravan route since ancient times. These factors partially explain the importance of Damascus over the centuries.

The site of ancient Damascus is located under the present "Old City," and no excavations into the pre-Roman levels have yet taken place. (On what is known of the topography of the ancient city, see Sauvaget 1949 and Watzinger and Wulzinger 1921). Because of the status of the excavation work, most of our information concerning the ancient city comes from historical sources of neighbor-

ing cultures, including those of Israel, Egypt, Hatti, Assyria, and Babylonia. These documents deal with Damascus only when the international affairs of their countries brought them into contact with the city. Thus we know very little about the domestic situation and internal affairs of Damascus.

B. Damascus in the Late Bronze Age

Although there is a popular tradition that Damascus is the oldest continuously occupied city in the world, no clear evidence for the existence of the city before the 15th century B.C.E. has yet been found. There were reports in the late 1970s that the name Damascus occurs in the Ebla tablets (ca. 2400 B.C.E.), but this has not been confirmed, and many scholars have expressed strong doubts that its name or any S Syrian or Palestinian town names actually occur at Ebla. Neither reference to Damascus in Gen (14:15 and 15:2) can be used to argue for the existence of the city during the MB Age (ca. 2000–1550), even if the patriarchs are to be dated to that period (Pitard 1987: 9).

The first undisputed occurrence of the name is in a list of Syro-Palestinian cities inscribed on the walls of the temple of Amun at Karnak in Egypt and dating from the reign of Thutmose III. This list provides the names of towns the kings of which were said to have been captured at Megiddo after Thutmose defeated their coalition in battle, ca. 1482. Damascus is also mentioned on a statue found in the funerary temple of Amenophis III (ca. 1417–1379), which names several cities and states which were subject to (or at least had friendly relations with) Egypt. The name occurs in three of the Amarna Letters (14th century) and a tablet found at Kamid el-Loz (ancient Kumidi) and also from the 14th century. These sources give little information about the city besides the fact that it existed, that it was ruled by a "king," and that it was usually within the political sphere of Egyptian influence.

Damascus in the LB Age (ca. 1550–1250) was a city of the land of ʾĀpu/ʾŌpu (conventionally vocalized by scholars in its genitive, cuneiform version, Upi—*māt ú-pí*). A larger number of sources exist which refer to this land, and these give us a bit more information about events in the Damascus region.

The earliest reference to this land occurs in texts which date some three centuries before the first attestation of the city of Damascus. It is listed among the enemies of Egypt in the Execration Texts found at Saqqara (18th century B.C.E.), in the Egyptian form *ʾipwm*, probably to be vocalized as *ʾĀpum*. In these texts the land of Apum is described as being divided into a N and a S part, each of which was ruled by its own prince.

During the LB, the land of Upi was normally a vassal state in the Egyptian Empire. It was, however, usually at the NE boundary of Egypt's regular sphere of influence and therefore often found itself in the midst of the power struggles between Egypt and Mitanni or Hatti for dominance in Syria. Damascus and Upi are mentioned in four Amarna Letters, which center around a Hittite attempt to remove S Syria from the Egyptian sphere of influence, sometime during the reign of Akhenaten in Egypt (EA 53, 107, 189, 197). The Hittites do not appear to have been particularly successful in Upi, for a 13th-century letter of Rameses II to the Hittite king Ḥattusilis III indicates that Upi was under Egyptian control at that time.

C. Damascus in the Iron Age

1. The State of Aram. Nothing is known about events in S Syria and Damascus during the "dark age" which covered most of the Near East between ca. 1200 and 1050 B.C.E. When historical sources begin to reappear, the area of Damascus is one of a number of small Aramean states which had been established to the N and E of Israelite territory among a few surviving Canaanite states. The first Iron Age reference to Damascus in written sources is found in the account of David's war with the Aramean kingdom of ZOBAH (2 Samuel 8 = 1 Chronicles 17). Zobah, probably to be located in the N Biqaʿ valley in Lebanon, appears to have been the dominant power in S Syria early in the reign of David. When Zobah came into conflict with the expanding Israelite state under David, two important battles were fought (2 Sam 8:3–8 = 1 Chr 18:3–8 and 2 Sam 10:15–19 = 1 Chr 19:15–19), in which David defeated Hadadezer of Zobah. According to the account in 2 Samuel 8, following the battle with Hadadezer, David was confronted with an army of Arameans from Damascus which arrived to support Zobah. David defeated this army, took control of Damascus, and incorporated it into his empire.

Damascus remained under Israelite control until sometime during the reign of Solomon, when Rezon, the son of Eliada, a former servant of Hadadezer of Zobah, took an army of malcontents, captured Damascus, and there proclaimed himself king (1 Kgs 11:23–25). Solomon was apparently unable to regain control of Damascus. This was the beginning of Damascus' rise to political power as the capital of the state called ARAM in the OT.

During the 9th and 8th centuries Aram-Damascus was often a major rival to the N kingdom of Israel. Under Birhadad I (biblical Ben-hadad), Aram attacked Israel after making an alliance with King Asa of Judah and plundered much of its N territory (1 Kgs 15:16–22 = 2 Chr 16:1–6). Aram's stature in the political sphere grew during the second quarter of the 9th century, when its king, Hadadʿidr, became the leader of a 12-state coalition which opposed the westward expansion of Shalmaneser III of Assyria in the battle of Qarqar, 853 B.C.E. According to Shalmaneser's account of this battle, King Ahab of Israel was one of the allies in the coalition (*ANET*, 278–79). The coalition was successful in keeping Shalmaneser out of central and S Syria for over a decade.

There has been considerable scholarly discussion concerning the accounts in 1 Kings 20 and 22 of wars between King Ahab of Israel and a "Ben-hadad" of Aram-Damascus. Many scholars have identified this Ben-hadad with Hadad-ʿidr of the Shalmaneser III inscriptions and have assumed that the battle of Qarqar took place during the period between the battles described in 1 Kings 20 and 22. But recently a number of scholars (Miller 1966; and Pitard 1987: 115–25) have proposed that the stories about the Aram-Israel wars did not originally give the name of the king of Israel and that they have been misattributed to Ahab's reign. It has been proposed that they are actually the accounts of the battles between King Joash (or perhaps Joahaz) of Israel and Bir-hadad (Heb Ben-hadad), the son

of Hazael of Aram, during the early 8th century (cf. 2 Kgs 13:14–19, 24–25).

The preeminence of Aram-Damascus among the states of S Syria and Palestine continued during the reign of Hazael, a usurper who seized the throne sometime around 842 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 8:7–15). After having been initially weakened in disastrous confrontations with Shalmaneser III in 841 and 838 (and possibly again in 837), Hazael quickly consolidated his power and began an imperial policy which led to the creation of a substantial empire. By the time of his death, Hazael controlled most of S Syria and Palestine, including Israel (the areas both E and W of the Jordan), Judah, Philistia, and probably the other states in Transjordan (2 Kgs 10:32–33; 12:17–18).

Hazael was succeeded toward the end of the 9th century by his son, Bir-hadad, during whose reign the empire of Aram disintegrated. Joash of Israel was able to defeat Bir-hadad in battle (2 Kgs 13:24–25 and also probably 1 Kings 20—see above). From extrabiblical sources we learn that Aram was also defeated in a conflict with King Zakkur (formerly vocalized as "Zakir") of Hamath and Luash to the N (*ANET,* 655–56) and that the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III besieged Damascus in 796 and forced Bir-hadad (called Mar'i in the inscriptions) to render a heavy tribute.

Throughout the first half of the 8th century, Aram-Damascus continued to decline and, in fact, may have become a vassal of Israel during the reign of Jeroboam II (ca. 782–748. See 2 Kgs 14:25, 28). Damascus, however, took a leading role in an anti-Assyrian coalition one last time, ca. 735 B.C.E., along with Tyre, Israel, and others. See SYRO-EPHRAIMITE WAR. Raḏyan (biblical Rezin) of Aram and Pekah of Israel attempted to force the young King Ahaz of Judah into joining them, but he refused (2 Kgs 16:5–9; Isa 7:1–9). When the kings of Aram and Israel attacked Judah to remove Ahaz and replace him with a more pliant puppet king, Ahaz sent a large gift to Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria and asked him for help. Before the siege of Jerusalem could succeed, Tiglath-pileser III marched into Syria, where in 733 and 732 his army attacked Aram. After destroying virtually all the towns in Aram (his annals claim 591 towns destroyed in the 16 districts of Aram; *ANET,* 283), Tiglath-pileser finally captured Damascus, killed Raḏyan, and annexed Aram into the empire. Damascus became the capital of a province (suitably called "Damascus"), while the rest of Aram was divided into other provinces, including Hauran, Qarnini, Manṣuate, and Ṣubate.

In 720 Damascus, along with several other cities, joined Hamath, the only independent Syrian state not yet annexed into the Assyrian empire, in another anti-Assyrian coalition. But the new Assyrian king, Sargon II, met and defeated their forces at the city of Qarqar. Hamath was incorporated into the empire and we hear of no other rebellions by Damascus for the rest of the Assyrian period. In 717 Sargon settled exiles from the cities of Papa, Lullukna, and perhaps some others in Damascus.

2. Under Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Control. Little is known about Damascus during the succeeding centuries. That it remained under Assyrian control during the first half of the 7th century seems fairly certain. The Assyrian governor of Damascus is listed in the eponym canon for the year 694 and apparently for a year ca. 650. During the course of a campaign against a number of Arabian tribes, Assurbanipal of Assyria found Damascus a loyal and convenient location in which to spend a short period of time before engaging in a battle with the Arab confederation (640s). But Damascus presumably regained its independence temporarily with the collapse of the Assyrian Empire.

As did most of the states in S Syria and Palestine, Damascus came under Babylonian domination in 604. But the extent of its involvement with the various rebellions in the succeeding decades is unknown. Damascus remained a provincial capital under the Persians, but very little specific information has been preserved about its role in the events of the period.

A few other pertinent facts may be gleaned from the texts. The patron deity of Damascus was the storm-fertility god Hadad, who was given the epithet *rimmōn,* probably better vocalized as *rammān* 'the Thunderer.' The temple of Hadad-ramman was the chief temple of Damascus (cf. 2 Kgs 5:18), and it is thought to have been located on the site of the Umayyad mosque in the current Old City of Damascus.

The wine of the region of Damascus, particularly of the area of Helbon, a few miles N of Damascus, was famed in antiquity throughout the Near East. It is mentioned in Ezek 27:18, as well as in Strabo xv.3.22. For further discussion see *POTT:* 134–55.

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WAYNE T. PITARD

THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD

Aramean Damascus, the most important of the Aramean states in Syria, was destroyed by the Assyrians in the 8th century B.C. but was subsequently rebuilt to such an extent that in the Persian period it was described by Strabo as "a noteworthy city, having been, I might almost say, even the most famous of the cities in that part of the world in the time of the Persian empire" (16.2.20). Darius was so impressed with the city that he sent the greater part of his valuables there for security before the battle of Issus (Arrianus *Alan.* 2.11). After the battle Parmenio, the general of Alexander the Great, took the city without a struggle, and it remained a significant cultural center throughout the Hellenistic period.

Following the death of Alexander, his empire was divided among his generals and eventually their successors. In the E Seleucus I Nicator emerged as founder of the Seleucid Dynasty in 312 B.C. After the defeat of Antigonus

at Ipsus in 301, when a new partition of the Macedonian Empire was made, he added Syria to his empire. He built Antioch on the Orontes as his new capital, which during the succeeding periods of Greek and Roman control overshadowed Damascus.

The city fluctuated between Seleucid and Ptolemaic control until the Nabateans took advantage of the growing weakness of the Seleucids and moved into Syria about 85 B.C. and took control of Damascus. In 63 B.C. Rome entered the arena of conflict with Pompey mounting an expedition against the kingdom of the Nabateans to restore order to Syria's perpetual anarchy and to the civil war in Judea. He allowed the king of the Nabateans to remain in control of Damascus, but after the victory of Octavian and Mark Antony over Cassius and Brutus, Antony gave Damascus to Cleopatra (34 B.C.). After the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, the city, along with all of Syria and Palestine, remained under the control of Rome.

Roman coins from Damascus date until A.D. 34 in the reign of Tiberius, then skip a number of years and resume in A.D. 62, in the reign of Nero. During this gap Rome apparently did not exercise direct control over the area, but Caligula allowed Aretas IV to govern Damascus, along with the E side of the Jordan from Arabia to Damascus until his death in A.D. 39 or 40.

The importance of Damascus for NT studies lies in the fact that Paul was converted on its outskirts around A.D. 34 (Acts 9; 22; 26:12–23) while en route to the city to persecute Christians (Acts 9:2). Apparently in the synagogues there were Christians who maintained their Jewish identity. There was in Damascus a large Jewish community which may in some way have been affiliated with the Qumran Community (Essenes) near the Dead Sea (CD 6). Josephus records (*JW* 2.561) that during the First Revolt, the people of Damascus slaughtered 10,500 Jews (A.D. 66).

The Damascus of the NT is located in the SE section of the modern city and was laid out on a typical Hellenistic grid of *insulae* measuring 300 feet (E-W) by 150 feet (N-S) and which is still discernible in the modern street plan. There was a 50-foot-wide, colonnaded *cardo maximus* (probably the "street called Straight" of Acts 9:11) running E-W. Some of the columns of this street have been excavated, and others stand amid the modern-day shops. Remains of a theater, a monumental Roman arch, and perhaps a palace have been found along this street.

Part of the Roman wall has been found about a thousand feet S of the E Gate (Bab Sharqi) beneath St. Paul's Chapel and Window. A small chapel was built by Greek Catholics under the present Ottoman gateway, where a gate from the Roman period once stood. It is with this gate that tradition associates Paul's escape, when he was let down in a basket through a window in the wall (2 Cor 11:33).

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JOHN MCRAY

DAMASCUS RULE (CD). The "Damascus Rule (CD)" document was first discovered in the genizah (storeroom) of the Qara'ite synagogue in Old Cairo by S. Schechter, who brought it to the University Library, Cambridge, where it remains. First published as "Fragments of a Zadokite Work" (Schechter 1910) because of its references to "sons of Zadok" (4.1, 3) and "Zadok" (5.5)—and hence often referred to as the *Damascus Document* and officially denoted by the siglum CD (= Cairo: Damascus) on account of its allusions to Exile and covenant-making in the "land of Damascus" (6.5, 19; 7.19; 19.34; 20.12). CD consists of two incomplete mss, designated A and B, and dating respectively from about the 10th and 12th centuries C.E. A contains eight sheets, each with two columns; and B a single sheet with two columns. Schechter numbered the A columns 1–16 and the B columns 19–20—rather confusingly, for 19 contains a slightly different version of 8, while 20 follows 19 but has no counterpart in the A ms. There are also fragments of this work from Qumran Caves 4, 5, and 6 (4QD^{a-e}, 5QD and 6QD).

A. Contents

It is now customary to divide CD into two parts, the "Admonition" consisting of cols. 1–8–19–20 and the "Laws," cols. 9–16. The "Admonition" opens with reflections on the present condition of Israel in the form of three discourses about the history of God's dealings with his people (1.1–4.12a); from the beginning, mankind, then Israel, strayed after its own desires, and the "covenant of the former ones" (i.e., the preexilic Israel) was abrogated with the divine punishment of desolation of the land and Exile. In the "age of wrath" which has followed, Israel is forsaken by God and misled into continued departure from the true law, despite its belief that it was following God's will. However, God has renewed a covenant with the remnant of the "former ones" and revealed to them through their founder, the "interpreter of the law" (*doreš hattôrâ*) "the hidden things in which all Israel had gone astray—his holy sabbaths, and his glorious festivals, his righteous testimonies and his true ways" (3.14), so that these might "inherit the land." An invitation is issued to outsiders to join this "remnant" community before judgment descends upon Israel. The next section (4.12b–7.9) deals with matters of *halakah,* which separate Israel from the remnant community, beginning with the three "nets of Belial," unlawful marriage, illicit wealth, and sanctuary defilement, which Israel mistakes for "righteousness." By contrast, the community's laws, of which a sample is given, stress the distinction between holy and profane, limited contact with the temple cult, and love for one's "brothers" (fellow members of the covenant community). The third section (7.10–8.21–19.1–20.34) issues warnings about the coming judgment on the wicked, drawing a parallel with Ephraim's secession from Judah and the successive fates of the two kingdoms; one was lost forever. The final part of this section focuses on apostasy from the community itself and emphasizes loyalty to the "teacher" whose recent death is also reflected. This last part of the section may be addressing a later situation and a different audience from the rest of the "Admonition": not outsiders to be invited, but other members of the community to be admonished. It has been suggested (Davies 1983: 48–55) that the three elements of history, law, and warnings in the "Admonition" correspond to the structure of the "covenant formu-

lary" (*Bundesformular*) known in the ANE and believed to exist also in the OT.

The "Laws" deals with a variety of issues governing life within the covenant community, including judicial processes, sabbath and sacrificial observances, officers within the community, support for the needy, oaths, and vows. The principles of arrangement are inscrutable and the compilation is incomplete. However, it seems that two orders of community life are ordained, in "cities" and in "camps." Among the more important aspects of these laws are those which acknowledge temple offerings and those which presuppose considerable contact with gentiles.

On the basis of the Qumran fragments a fuller outline of the document has been proposed (Milik 1959: 151–52; cf. Fitzmyer 1977: 90–92) with additional material at the beginning of the "Admonition" and the beginning and end of the "Laws." But the fragments to be edited by Milik have yet to be published (see, provisionally, Milik 1966), while those already published from Cave 6 (Baillet 1956) contain no additional material or significant deviation from CD. For the time being, judgment must be reserved on this matter.

B. Identification and History of the Community

CD is evidently the product of a Jewish community at variance with its fellow Jews. Its identity was disputed for many decades, although a wide consensus correctly placed it in the Hellenistic-Roman era. The references to "Zadok" and "sons of Zadok," as well as the apparently non-Pharisaic *halakhot* led many to suggest Sadducees (e.g., Charles *APOT* 2: 785–834; Lévi 1911–12), though Ginzberg's minute analysis of the *halakhot* led him to prefer Pharisees (Ginzberg 1970); Essenes, though considered (Lévi 1911–12; Meyer 1919), were rejected. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls apparently supplied the answer. Even before the recovery of fragments of the document from Qumran, phrases like "teacher of righteousness" and "man (or spouter) of lie(s)," present in CD, had reappeared in the Cave 1 *Pesher on Habakkuk*, while other terminological parallels emerged between CD and the *Rule of the Community*. Both the Qumran community and that of CD have subsequently come to be widely regarded, with good reason, as Essene.

However, although a simple equation of the community of CD with the inhabitants of Qumran was widely accepted at first, it is now recognized that the relationship is not so straightforward. Yet it is widely believed to hold the key to the origin and/or the history of the Qumran community, a fact which affords CD a crucial place in Qumran studies. The key differences between the community of CD and that of Qumran are as follows:

1. Damascus. CD's historical summaries place the foundation of the "remnant" community in the wake of the "destruction of the land" by Nebuchadnezzar while it was exiled in "Damascus" (6.5). While pre-Qumran scholarship interpreted "Damascus" literally, there is hardly room in what we know of the history of the Qumran community for such an Exile. The suggestion that "Damascus" is a cipher for Qumran (Cross 1961), once widely favored, is no more than a wishful guess; CD speaks of exiles who "went out of the land of Judah," which is hardly true of the inhabitants of Qumran; and CD never associates "Damascus" with the "teacher of righteousness," who seems to have been the founder of the Qumran group.

2. The Founder of the Community. For CD the founder of the community is the "interpreter of the law" (6.7), whose rules will be followed for the "period of wickedness" until there arises one who will "teach righteousness at the end of days." This passage might appear not only to separate the "interpreter" and the "teacher" but to place them in a clear temporal and ideological relationship. This relationship appears to be obscured by 1.11, which refers to a past "teacher of righteousness" who came to an already formed but "blind" group; however, it is not so much the relationship between the two *characters* which is altered as the relationship between the characters and the *writer:* CD 1 seems to come from a later period and from a post-"teacher" community; CD 6 does not. Where does the rest of CD stand? The majority of scholars still regard all of CD as Qumranic; Davies (1983) regards it as originally pre-Qumranic, but subject to a Qumranic recension, partly following the lead of Murphy-O'Connor (1970–74), who sees pre-Qumranic sources and Stegemann (1971), who concluded that the "Laws" of CD reflected the circumstances of the Qumran community's parent movement, which he identified with the Maccabean Hasidim.

3. Organization and Ideology. CD and other Qumran documents, notably 1QS, share important similarities alongside significant differences. CD depicts life in "camps" or "cities" (14.3; 12.19), including women and children (7.7), governed by "judges" and involving participation in the temple cult. Personal property seems permitted. At Qumran celibacy seems to have been the rule, and its organization (on which the texts offer a confusing picture) had no "judges." The Qumran community apparently boycotted the temple and permitted no personal property. (For a convenient comparison and contrast, see Vermes 1977: 105–6.)

Two main hypotheses are offered to explain both the similarities and the differences. Each assumes that both types of communities are Essene, though this is not essential. The long-established view is that the Essenes began at Qumran (implying identification of the "interpreter of the law" and "teacher of righteousness") and later formed settlements elsewhere which developed their own rules, with Qumran possibly remaining as a "mother house." It is these other communities which CD describes. The second, more recent theory, first advanced by Murphy-O'Connor (1970–74) on the basis of a series of analyses of CD, is that the Essenes as a movement predated Qumran, and that the Qumran community was a splinter movement, which remained alongside, but presumably in disagreement with, the non-Qumran Essenes. For Murphy-O'Connor, "Damascus" is a cipher for Babylon, where the Essenes originated before migrating to Palestine in the Maccabean period and subsequently withdrawing from its society because of differences over *halakah* and high priesthood. The crucial difference between the two theories, each of which conforms well with Josephus' description of two kinds of Essene (*JW* 2 §119–61), lies in the explanation of Essene origins; the former theory sees the formation of the Qumran community as the starting point, the latter opens the way to an earlier origin, possibly described in CD. For the latter theory the community to whom the

"teacher of righteousness" came (CD 1.11) was Essene; for the former, it has to be some other group, usually the Hasidim. Each theory poses different reasons for the origin of the Essenes, though not necessarily for the origin of the Qumran community.

The resolution of this crucial problem involves other elements in CD, notably the laws and the relationship to other literature found in the Qumran caves. Several detailed studies of the CD *halakah* have been undertaken (e.g., Ginzberg 1970; Rabin 1954; Schiffmann 1975) but without conclusive results; in many cases failure to distinguish the laws of CD from those of 1QS reduces the usefulness of the study. But important parallels exist between CD and *Jubilees*, a book to which CD probably refers at 16.3, but which is not thought to be a Qumran composition. Other parallels with *1 Enoch* and the *Temple Scroll* are also evident, lending weight to the suggestion that CD has much in common with other movements related to—and possibly earlier than—the Qumran community.

C. Qumran and the Qara'ites

A further aspect of CD, perhaps rather underemphasized in recent research, is its relationship to the Qara'ites, in one of whose synagogues it was found and by whom it was presumably copied. Al-Qirqisani (10th century C.E.) mentions "Zadokites" who opposed "Rabbanites" and whose doctrines, as he reports them, resemble both those of the Qara'ites and of CD (Schechter 1910: XVIII–XX; Driver 1965: 260–61). Two possible explanations are available for the apparent continuity of these traditions. One is that the Essene movement continued after the end of the Qumran settlement—quite probable if non-Qumran Essenism was a substantial movement and if it existed also outside Palestine; the other is that the discovery of texts in the Dead Sea region in ancient times (see Driver 1965: 6–15) led to the adoption in some circles of doctrines and laws contained in them or even to the creation of Jewish sects devoted to their teaching. While there seem to be strong links between CD and the Qara'ites, the question is far from resolved and invites further research. A detailed and balanced assessment has been made by Wieder (1962; the most recent and very positive discussion is by Wacholder 1985: 148–55).

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PHILIP R. DAVIES

DAN (PERSON) [Heb *dān*]. DANITE. The fifth son of Jacob and Rachel's maid, Bilhah (Gen 30:1–6), and the brother of Naphtali, and as such the eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Dan.

The various genealogies and lists which mention Dan are extremely problematic and the center of considerable debate as to their respective dates and purposes. Wilson (1977: 37–45) has shown that the primary purpose of biblical genealogies was not to preserve historical information. Rather they had a variety of economic, political, and religious functions. The fluidity of Dan's position in these lists and genealogies may reflect changes in political and social relationships between various groups at different times. Dan and Naphtali, the two Bilhah tribes, usually appear in tribal lists together (Gen 35:25; 46:23; Exod 1:4; cf. 1 Chr 2:2). The relative position of Dan in the lists varies considerably from fourth (Num 34:22), fifth (Gen 30:6; Josh 21:5, 23–24; 1 Chr 6:46, 54—Eng 6:61, 69), seventh (1 Chr 2:2), the more frequently ninth (Gen 35:25; Num 1:38–39; 2:25–26; 7:66–71; 10:25; 13:12; 26:42–43), eleventh (Gen 46:23) to twelfth place (1 Chr 27:24). In Ezek 48:1 Dan is placed in the most northerly position, presumably reflecting its later geographical location. However, "the gate of Dan" (Ezek 48:32) is placed in sixth position but separated from Naphtali in twelfth. The size of Dan is also confused in the biblical traditions. In Num

26:43, the census after the plague in the wilderness, Dan is the second largest tribe with 64,400: this is remarkably attributed to one family. The equally large census figures (Num 1:39; 2:26) are at odds with the tradition that Dan was able to muster only 600 men for the expedition to capture Laish (Judg 18:11).

The treatment of Dan in Chronicles differs significantly from that in the Pentateuch. Dan and Zebulun are omitted from 1 Chronicles 2–8, suggesting that the Chronicler wanted to deemphasize Dan. The MT of 1 Chr 6:46—Eng 6:61 omits any mention of Dan but is emended by some commentators to read ". . . the tribe of Ephraim and from the tribe of Dan and from the half-tribe of Manasseh" on the basis of Josh 21:5, 25. The same is true of 1 Chr 6:54—Eng 6:69, where the MT is often emended to read ". . . from the tribe of Dan, Eltekah and its common land, Gibbethon and its common land, . . ." with Josh 21:23. This tendentious aspect of the genealogies and lists in 1 Chronicles 2–8 is further seen in the omission of Dan in 1 Chr 7:12. On the basis of Genesis 46 and Numbers 26, it is reasonable to expect Dan and Zebulun to be mentioned. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 106) reads ". . . and Shuppim and Huppim. The sons of Dan: Hushai, the sons of Aher." This seems reasonable since Hushim is mentioned in Gen 46:23 as the son of Dan. It is at this point in the genealogy that one would expect Dan and Zebulun. This is further indicated by the next verse which begins with "the sons of Bilhah," i.e., Dan and Naphtali. In 1 Chr 12:24–38, Dan and Naphtali are relegated to a position following Issachar and Zebulun; but Dan is relegated to last place in 1 Chr 27:22, having been separated from Naphtali.

The traditions of Dan's migration have been used by historians to show that Israel was originally confined to the hill country and prevented by stronger Canaanite city-states from settling in the Shephelah and coastal plain. The relevance of the list of towns in Josh 19:40–46, which indicates that the Danite settlement stretched well into the coastal plain, is disputed. However, many scholars believe that this list dates from the monarchic period, particularly the reign of Josiah, and thereby does not provide evidence for premonarchic Dan. In Judg 1:34–35, Dan is said to have failed to conquer Aijalon, Harhares, and Shaalbim. They were pressed back by the "Amorites" out of the Shephelah and forced back into the mountains. Many scholars view this as reliable information from the premonarchic period indicating that Israel was forced to settle in the central hill country owing to the military superiority of the Canaanite city-states. The stories of Samson (Judges 13–16), a Danite, are also thought to preserve traditions of Philistine pressure on early Israelite settlement. The narrative of Dan's migration and capture of Laish in Judges 17–18 is seen by Malamat (1970) as based on a pattern like the Conquest traditions. Dan's search for a new settlement culminates in the capture of the isolated city of Laish and its renaming after the eponymous ancestor of the tribe (Judg 18:29). Josh 19:47 preserves a similar tradition but names the city Leshem. These traditions of migration and the "conquest" of Laish/Leshem have been used as evidence that the Israelite settlement was a protracted process. Yadin (1968) has argued that the reference in Judg 5:17 to Dan's remaining with the ships may indicate that the Danites had their origins among the Danuna as part of the Sea Peoples. Spina (1977) interprets these traditions in light of the revolt hypothesis: he proposes that the tribe of Dan had its origins in a new social synthesis of indigenous Canaanites and groups of the Sea Peoples. Similarly, Gottwald (1979) also believes that these traditions contain much material which supports the revolt model. Other scholars argue that the sources are late or are literary creations which preserve little usable historical information.

The narrative of Judges 17–18 is important for its negative appraisal of the founding of the sanctuary at Dan and of its priesthood (Soggin *Judges* OTL, 263–78). The cult symbol is made from stolen silver (Judg 17:2) and is then stolen from the Ephraimite. The narrative implies that the cult of Dan was syncretistic. The origins of the Danite priesthood are called into question since the Levite is taken under the threat of force. Its claims to Mosaic descent (Judg 18:30) are called into question in the MT of Judg 18:30, which describes Jonathan as the grandson of Manasseh. The use of a suspended *nun* in the name *mnšh* has led many commentators to accept the reading "Moses" (*mšh*) along with some LXX mss, the Vg, and the OL. The ambiguity casts doubt on the legitimacy of the priests of Dan to be descendants of Moses. The polemical aspects of this narrative need to be understood in light of the Deuteronomistic condemnation of the cult of Jeroboam I, with its bull images, set up in Bethel and Dan to rival the Judean royal cult in Jerusalem (1 Kings 12; cf. Exodus 32). The puzzling reference in Judg 5:17, complaining that the Danites did not take part in the Israelite coalition against Sisera, indicates a negative attitude towards Dan. It is in line with the other negative references to Dan throughout the Hebrew Bible. Thus the blasphemer in Lev 24:11 was the son of an Egyptian and a Danite mother. In the blessing of Jacob (Gen 49:16) Dan is said to judge his people as one of the tribes of Israel but then is said to be ". . . a serpent in the way, a viper by the path, that bites the horse's heels so that his rider falls backward" (49:17). It is not clear if this is a commendation of Dan's military prowess or is a denigration of its trustworthiness. When considered in the light of the criticism of Judg 5:17, it might be read negatively. However, the military prowess of Dan is acclaimed in the Blessing of Moses (Deut 33:22) in the imagery of a young lion that leaps from Bashan. The stories of the Danite Samson (Judges 13–16), of the Danite migration, of the theft of the Ephraimite priest, and of the graven image (Judges 17–18) imply a negative appraisal. Klein's literary analysis (1988) of Judges 17–18 highlights the use of irony whereby Dan, the judge, in the book of Judges is shown to violate the laws of hospitality.

A Danite, Oholiab, was involved in the construction of the tabernacle with Bezelel (Exod 31:6; 35:34; 38:23). They were both skilled metal workers, designers, and craftsmen. A further interesting comparison comes in 2 Chr 2:13 where Huramabi (see HURAM), the son of a Danite woman, is said to be a skilled craftsman from Tyre (2 Chr 2:13). This is a significant variation from 1 Kgs 7:13–14, where Huramabi is reported as the son of a woman from Naphtali. Dillard (*2 Chronicles* WBC, 20) believes that the alteration was deliberate in order to draw a parallel with Oholiab. In fact, rabbinic exegesis made the connection even more apparent by declaring Huramabi to

be a descendant of Oholiab. He points out that the Chronicler parallels the construction of the tabernacle with that of the temple. In so doing, Solomon is compared with Bezalel and Huramabi with Oholiab.

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KEITH W. WHITELAM

DAN (PLACE) [Heb *dān*]. Tel Dan, formerly Tell el Qadi, is identified with ancient Dan of the phrase "from Dan to Beersheba" (i.e., 1 Sam 3:20). The identification was first suggested by E. Robinson in 1838 (1841: 358) and has been universally accepted. A bilingual inscription mentioning the "god of Dan," found in 1976 in the course of the archaeological excavations, confirms the identification.

Dan is first mentioned in the Bible in Gen 14:14. At that time, the name of the city was Laish (Josh 19:47; Judg 18:29). The name Laish appears in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 18th century B.C.E. and in Mari. Thutmose III lists Laish among the cities he conquered. See also LAISH (PLACE). The tribe of Dan, after conquering Laish, changed the city's name to Dan. A few decades afterward the city was attacked by Arameans. In the days of the prophet Amos, the people of Israel swore "by the god of Dan" (cf. Amos 8:14). The last biblical reference to Dan is in Jeremiah (4:15; 8:16).

A. Location and Topography
B. History of the Excavations
C. History of the Settlement

A. Location and Topography

Tel Dan is located in the N of Israel (M.R. 211294), at the foot of Mt. Hermon and near one of the main sources of the Jordan river, and the tel itself has several perennial springs. It is also on the main crossroads from the Mediterranean to the E and Damascus. Tel Dan is a large mound of some 50 acres, rising close to 20 m above the surrounding plain, with a 40° sloping rampart. A gentle slope from the high circumference of the mound towards the center of the site gives a slightly concave appearance to the mound.

B. History of the Excavations

Excavations began in 1966, initially as a rescue operation, and have continued almost without interruption under the direction of A. Biran. By 1987, 20 seasons of excavation had taken place.

The very nature of a rescue excavation dictates the strategy of the excavation; and at Tel Dan it also determined, to a large extent, the strategy of subsequent seasons. Thus for a number of seasons work concentrated on the S slopes of the mound in area A, where a trench was cut from top to bottom in 1966 and in a number of squares opened on the mound itself in area B.

In 1966 the excavations in area A revealed the MB glacis and a flagstone pavement. This flagstone pavement was discovered later to have formed part of the Iron Age gateway. To study further the method of construction of the MB ramparts discovered in 1966, a trench was opened in 1972 on the NE slope of the mound (area Y) and another on the SE corner in 1978 (area K).

In the third season of excavations, area H was opened E of area B and on the N side of the mound near the spring area T, where the cult center was discovered. A number of squares were opened in 1980 in the center of the mound (area M), an area which was undisturbed by later burials. The main areas of excavations from 1982–86 have been in areas B and T, at the S and N edge of the mound respectively.

C. History of the Settlement

Tel Dan was first settled in the Pottery Neolithic period, around 5000 B.C.E. Evidence for this conclusion came from a small section in area B where bedrock was reached. Because of the small area excavated, the nature of the settlement could not be determined. It may be assumed, however, that it extended to other parts of the site. The abundant water supply would justify such an assumption.

There followed a gap in the history of occupation until the EB II, approximately the 27th century B.C.E. Undisturbed levels of occupation of the 3d millennium were reached in a number of sections spread over an extensive area, and we concluded that the EB remains cover the entire 50-acre site. This conclusion was supported by the fact that in practically every basket of excavated material EB shards were found. These, together with the complete vessels found in the stratified areas of excavation, indicate that a large and prosperous city, probably called Laish, with a rich material culture, existed at our site around the middle of the 3d millennium B.C.E. Storage jars with combed patterns, a decorated bone handle, platters with a red burnished slip, jugs, and juglets some of which are of the Abydos type, animal figurines, and a large number of seal impressions are but a tantalizing indication of the wealth of the city in the EB II and III periods still to be excavated.

The following period, EB IV, is not well represented at our site. Nevertheless, sufficient evidence was brought to light to indicate that the site had not been abandoned, although the nature of the settlement cannot be determined at this stage of our research.

The beginning of the 2d millennium B.C.E. witnessed the gradual development of the city we know was called Laish in the 18th century B.C.E. Three strata of occupation belonging to the MB I period were found. A stone-built tomb with a characteristic MB I juglet and decorated vessels similar to the so-called Khabur ware from N Syria precede the massive fortifications, which gave the site the shape it has to this day.

This system of defenses consisted of a central core with sloping earthen ramparts against both sides of the core.

The earth for the ramparts came from the debris of earlier strata (esp. from the large EB city) and from the natural soil of the surrounding plain. The core on the S slope was 6.3 m thick and built of undressed stone. It is preserved to a height of about 10 m. The same principle of construction was discovered on the NE side of the mound, where the builders used an existing sloping stone structure as the core. In area K the core was built of stone and mudbrick. The base of the rampart construction is about 50 m wide. It is estimated that in order to build the ramparts about 800,000 tons of material had to be used, a task which would require a thousand workers three years to complete. The most remarkable feature of this construction was the triple-arched gate discovered at the SE corner of the rampart in area K. See Fig. DAN.01 and Fig. FOR.01.

The gate is built of sun-dried mudbrick with stone steps approaching it from the E plain and similar steps descending into the city on the W. The gate structure, the N half of which was partially excavated, stands 7 m high and consists of two towers, each about 5.15 m wide, which flank on the E and W a recessed arched gateway 5.15 m wide. Some 47 courses of mudbrick are preserved and the remains of white lime and calcite plaster which covered the brick still adhere to the joins between the courses. The interior of the gate is bisected by a N-S brick wall found standing to a height of approximately 4 m. In the center of this wall is an archway. A third arch was uncovered on the W side of the gate structure. The passage through the arches divides the gate into four chambers. The length of the passage is 10.5 m and that of the entire structure 13.5 m. Examination of the pottery found in the composition of the mudbricks, on the steps, and on the floor of the gate lead us to conclude that the gate was built around the middle of the 18th century B.C.E., the date we had ascribed originally to the construction of the ramparts. The gate and ramparts may belong to the city of Laish mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts. Possibly they represent the historical memory reflected in Gen 14:14.

The gate apparently was not long in use. The discovery of retaining walls and of stone structures built to support the walls of the towers suggests structural defects; and, with these, it was still necessary to abandon the gate. The passageway and chambers were filled with compacted earth, and the entire structure was buried. Entrance to the city was then through one of the gates which no doubt existed in other parts of the rampart. Remains of such a gate were found in the course of the excavations on the S side of the city.

During the MB, the city was about 30 acres and was a city with a rich material culture, evidence for which comes

DAN.01. E facade of MB mudbrick gate with arch at Dan. See also Fig. FOR.01. *(Courtesy of Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion and the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)*

in the offerings found in well-built stone tombs and jar burials. A large assemblage of pottery vessels (some with a close affinity to the N), bronze weapons, and ivory cosmetic boxes were found. Especially numerous were the large open bowls, jugs and juglets, and carinated bowls of all sizes. Also found were Yahudiyeh type juglets and two scarabs. The vessels are to be dated to the MB II and III. Evidence of a destruction at the end of this period comes from two squares in which a thick layer of destruction by fire was found, containing cooking pots, bowls, and juglets of the end of the MB III.

While Laish appears in a historical context in the lists of Thutmose III, the excavations have so far shed no light on this campaign, but two finds reflect contacts with Egypt. One is a red granite statuette of a man in a sitting position, Nefertem by name, found in secondary use in a wall of the Israelite period. The statuette is of a well-known type used in the ritual of the dead, dated to the 19th Dyn., ca. the 14th century B.C.E. Another fragment of an Egyptian statuette was found on the surface. Originally from the Middle Kingdom, it bears a secondary inscription of the Ptolemaic period.

The LB is represented by a large building the stone walls of which are preserved to a height of 1 m. The S and E walls have been exposed to a length of 6 and 7 m respectively. The floor is of flat stones. A female ceramic figurine, possibly a mask, was found in the debris. See Fig. DAN.02. Other remains from the LB period were found in practically all areas excavated. Area B yielded a tomb built of rough basalt stones which contained 95 vessels (26 of which were imported), 4 basalt bowls and 2 stone vessels, 4 ivory boxes, 6 bronze bowls, a bronze shovel, a bronze oil lamp, 2 daggers, 2 swords, numerous arrowheads, and silver and gold jewelry; these indicate the wealth and cosmopolitan character of the city in the LB. Especially significant is the discovery of a complete charioteer vase.

In area Y a scarab of Rameses II and a stirrup jar were found. A large krater with four handles, two decorated storage jars, imported bichrome ware, a unique plaque of a dancer playing the lute, and remains of metal workshops (all from area B) add to our knowledge of the LB city.

The evidence for the arrival of the Danites is both textual and archaeological. Judges 18 gives a detailed account of the migration of the tribe of Dan and the conquest of Laish the name of which they changed to Dan. The excavations did not reveal the devastation implied in Judg 18:27, but the appearance of a stratum of occupation characterized by pits implies a drastic change in the material culture of the population. The new inhabitants, like their predecessors, lived within the ramparts, but their lifestyle was different. The new Danite inhabitants probably lived in tents and huts and stored their food in pits. These stone-lined pits were dug into the earlier levels of occupation and contained Iron Age cooking pots and a new type of storage jar, the "collared-rim" jar. The arrival of the Danites and the conquest of Laish took place around the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E.

According to Judges 18 the Danites brought with them a priest as well as the *pesel*, the *ephod*, the *teraphim*, and the *masekhah*. It is probable that the Danites erected a structure to hold these cult objects, possibly a temple, where the priests could also officiate. While the remains of this early

DAN.02. Terracota face of a woman, possibly a mask—LB period *(Photograph by Z. Radovan, courtesy of Hebrew Union College Jewish Institute of Religion and the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)*

sanctuary have not yet been found, its existence must have prompted Jeroboam to establish one of the golden calves at Dan towards the end of the 10th century B.C.E.

The seminomadic character of the tribe of Dan did not last long. Soon after settling in their new locale, they built houses of stone and developed a metal industry. A large number of crucibles containing bronze sediment and slag, clay tuyeres, basalt slabs, and tools were found in enclosed areas which served as workshops. Although some evidence for metallurgical activity occurs in the LB, the development of the metal industry into a major economic enterprise seems to have been the result of Danite initiative.

The Danites were to enjoy a period of relative peace and prosperity until about the middle of the 11th century B.C.E., when the city was destroyed in a fierce conflagration. The city, however, was not abandoned, and the houses were soon rebuilt using the original walls. The vessels continue the tradition of the previous period. Peace followed for about two centuries.

Toward the end of the 10th century, Jeroboam established the N kingdom and made Dan the main cult center in the N of the country. He set up a golden calf at Dan, which apparently became a more important sacred site than Bethel (1 Kgs 12:30). Remains of the sanctuary built by Jeroboam were uncovered in area T at the N edge of the site.

DAN.03. Base of canopied structure and bench within the gate at Dan—Iron Age. *(Courtesy of Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion and the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)*

A rectangular platform, ca. 7 × 19 m, built of large dressed limestone blocks was discovered; also found were parts of large storerooms in which were two large pithoi (ca. 300 liters each) decorated with a snake motif and numerous vessels. A decorated incense stand, chalices, a bowl with a trident incised on its base, and the broken head of a male figurine form part of an assemblage of a cultic nature dated to the late 10th or early 9th centuries B.C.E. Further S an installation consisting of a sunken basin flanked by two basalt slabs and two plastered jars was uncovered and found to contain faience figurines. North of the basin another pithos with a snake decoration was found. In a paved courtyard S of the basin, broken parts of a clay tub were discovered. The tub, 1.5 m long, .6 m wide, and .5 m deep, had a seat at one end. The stone pavement extended to the edge of a rectangular pool fed through a channel from the nearby spring. We believe the entire installation served as part of water libation ceremonies.

The establishment of a cult center at Dan called also for special security—remains of massive fortifications, a city wall, and a gate were uncovered at the S foot of the mound. In the 9th century B.C.E. a 4 m thick city wall and gate complex which included an outer gate with a large paved sqaure were built. The gate has four chambers and a monumental paved entryway leading up to the top of the mound. Between the two gates is a stone-paved piazza, 19.5 × 19.4 m, with a bench for the elders and a canopied structure where the king may have sat (see Fig. DAN.03; cf. 1 Kgs 22:10). Ahab, who had trading rights in Damascus, may have been the king who thus fortified Dan against possible attack by the Arameans. Also in the 9th century, considerable building activities took place in the area of the sacred precinct. A large almost-square structure, about 19 × 19 m, built of ashlars laid in headers and stretchers, was uncovered. The structure, probably a high place or *bamah*, was surrounded on three sides by a courtyard of crushed yellowish limestone. S of the *bamah* were two square surfaces of flat ashlars. A four-horned altar, one horn of a much larger altar, remains of the bases of circular columns, and pottery vessels were found. West of the *bamah* a complex of buildings, including an altar room with a sunken jar containing ashes and with three iron shovels, were excavated in the 1985–86 seasons. It appears that in the 9th and 8th centuries the sacred precinct at Dan had reached its zenith. See Figs. DAN.04 and DAN.05.

The city enjoyed a period of prosperity due perhaps to

DAN.04. Israelite altar at Dan consisting of five stones and sunken jar containing ashes. *(Courtesy of Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion and the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)*

the victories of Jeroboam II in N Syria. An upper gate was built on the ridge of the mound and in the houses a large repertoire of Iron II vessels came to light. How the Assyrian conquest of N Israel affected Dan is not clear. In any case, the stone pavement continued to serve as a road leading northward into the city and to the sacred precinct. The houses of the 7th century were well built and in one quarter they were built around a large stone-paved courtyard. A large quantity of vessels, including decanters, storage jars, cooking pots, oil lamps, and a shard with the name Baal-Pelet, indicate that the settlement at Dan continued to prosper until the Babylonian Conquest.

Following the Babylonian Conquest, there is little archaeological evidence of the history of the city—only scattered shards of the later periods were found in areas B, K, M, and Y. The chambers of the upper gate were blocked and benches were built along the walls. The pavement, however, continued in use through the Hellenistic period. At the foot of the mound where the Iron Age gate was originally located, two cisterns and clay pipes which brought water from the spring date to the Roman period. Another cistern or plastered pool and burials of the Roman period were uncovered on the slope. The Roman settlement was apparently limited to the SW area of the site, where a large number of shards were found on the surface. The sacred precinct, however, continued with those activities connected with the sanctuary.

West of the high place, the remains of a wall and shards of storage jars and oil lamps of the Persian period were uncovered. On one shard the impression of a magnificent lion was found. A number of figurines, possibly from a favissa, belong to the end of the Persian or to the beginning of the Hellenistic period. A figurine of the god Bes, two of the god Osiris, one of a smiling Astarte, another of woman and child, a figurine of a rider, coins of Ptolemy I (4), of Antiochus III (2), and of Ptolemy II (4), and a

DAN.05. Iron shovels found with the altar at Dan. *(Courtesy of Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion and the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)*

figurine of a temple boy indicate activities in and around the sanctuary in the 4th–3d centuries B.C.E.

During the Hellenistic and Roman periods considerable building activities took place in the sacred precinct. A well-built enclosure wall with the entrance from the S surrounded the sanctuary during the Hellenistic period. A plastered circular basin, coins of Antiochus IV and Demetrius II, oil lamps, and a bilingual inscription attest to the fact that the sanctuary continued to serve the community of Dan and the surrounding area. The inscription is especially significant. Written in Gk and Aram, it reads: "To the god who is in Dan, Zoilos made a vow." See Fig. DAN.06.

During the Roman period the entrance in the Hellenistic wall was blocked and new walls were built next to it. West of the enclosure wall a fountain house was built. Steps led down to plastered basins which were fed by water brought from the spring through a clay pipe. The overflow was returned to the spring in an open channel. Some 38 coins of Constantine I and Constantine II may have belonged to the pilgrims who visited the sanctuary in the 3d and 4th centuries C.E. The last reference to Dan was by Eusebius, who stated that it was located 4 miles from Paneas.

DAN.06. Bilingual inscription (Greek and Aramaic) from Dan, reading "To the god who is in Dan." *(Photograph by Z. Radovan, courtesy of Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion and the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)*

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AVRAHAM BIRAN

DANIEL (PERSON) [Heb *dānî'ēl, dānîyē'l*]. **1.** The second son of David, born at Hebron (1 Chr 3:1), the firstborn of David and Abigail of Carmel, Nabal's widow (1 Samuel 25). He is called "Chileab" in 2 Sam 3:3, a reading which undoubtedly is corrupt (see CHILEAB). In Chronicles the textual problem is similarly confused. Greek mss had a variety of readings—*Daniēl* (one codex; so Rahlfs); *Damniēl* (Codex Vaticanus), *Dalouia(s)* (Codex Alexandrinus; Lucianic recension; Aquila)—and the Syriac had *klb*, reflecting the late Samuel reading. "Daluiah" or "Daniel" was most likely his given name.

2. The head of a postexilic Levite family descended from Ithamar, the fourth son of Aaron. He returned to Jerusalem with Ezra, along with other leading Israelites and their households (Ezra 8:2). In the parallel account in 1 Esdr 8:29, he is called Gamael (Gk *Gamēlos*). He was among those leaders who signed and sealed their names upon a covenant document (Neh 10:7—Eng 10:6). They were prompted, according to the text, by their awareness of their shortcomings exposed in the ceremony of reading the Law (Nehemiah 8–9), and were joined by the rest of the community (10:29–30—Eng 10:28–29). Specific sti-

pulations in this document are spelled out in Neh 10:31–40 (Eng 10:30–39).

3. The primary character in the narratives of Daniel 1–6, and the man who had the dreams and visions recounted in Daniel 7–12. See DANIEL, BOOK OF.

DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

DANIEL, ADDITIONS TO. The Additions (Adds) to Daniel consist of three extended passages in the Greek LXX which have no counterpart in the canonical text of Daniel: (1) "The Prayer of Azariah and the Hymn of the Three Young Men," consisting of 66 verses and located between what would correspond to vv 23 and 24 of the third chap. of canonical Daniel; (2) "Susanna," consisting of 64 verses; and (3) "Bel and the Snake," consisting of 42 verses, the latter two Adds usually appearing after the canonical chaps. of Daniel. All three Adds have their setting in Babylon and describe how some Jew who trusted in the Lord God of Israel was delivered from certain death through the intervention of an angel.

Evidently never a part of the Jewish canon (neither the one probably established by ca. 150 B.C. [*HJP*^{2} 2: 317]) nor as it existed in Josephus' day in the 1st century A.D. (*HJP*^{2} 3/2: 706–8), the Adds were regarded as part of the Christian canon of the Western Church until the time of the Protestant and Catholic movements, at which time they were rejected by Protestants and were termed "apocryphal" while the Roman Catholic Church at its Council of Trent in 1546 reaffirmed them and termed them "deuterocanonical."

A. Introduction
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C. "Susanna"
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D. "Bel and the Snake"
  1. Summary
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  3. Differences between "Θ" and the LXX
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  7. Date and Place of Composition
  8. The Greek and Other Ancient Versions

A. Introduction

1. Their Secondary Character. The external evidence proves that these three compositions are, in fact, later additions. There is no ms evidence for their existence among the Jews of antiquity, not even among the Dead Sea Scrolls, where there have been found, to date, seven Semitic copies of Daniel, most of them quite fragmentary (Milik 1981), and three Aramaic texts containing hitherto unknown legends about him (Pseudo-Daniel^{a,b,c} [Milik 1956]).

Josephus mentions none of the Adds in spite of the fact that he does record some other noncanonical legends about the prophet Daniel (cf. *Ant* 10.11.6–7). Nor is there a Gk translation of them by Aquila, the Jewish convert of the 2d century A.D. who translated the then-current rabbinic text into ridiculously literal Greek (for details on Aquila, see AQUILA'S VERSION). Both Origen (185?–?254) and Jerome (340?–420) expressly stated that they knew of no current Hebrew text of the Adds (on Jerome, see Braverman 1978: 49–52). Finally, the so-called Hebrew and Aramaic "survivals" of these Adds found in the medieval works of Josippon and Jerahmeel (so Gaster 1894–95; 1899) are actually translations of Gk and Lat versions of the Adds (Lévi 1933; Moore 1977: 49, 86, 117; for details on Josippon, see JOSIPPON). An examination of the internal evidence (see below *passim*) also confirms the secondary character of the Adds.

2. The Two Greek Texts. The Gk text of Daniel occurs in two quite different forms: the Septuagint (LXX) and the so-called Theodotion ("Θ"), both of which are printed for purposes of convenient comparison in Swete (1894), Rahlfs' *Septuagint*, and Ziegler (1954). While the "Θ" has many witnesses (Ziegler 1954: 7–76), the LXX has only three: (1) the Chester Beatty-Cologne papyrus 967, dating to ca. A.D. 150 (its fragments are scattered among the works of Ziegler 1954; Geissen 1968; and Hamm 1969, 1977); (2) Codex Chisianus 88, a 9th-century cursive ms; and (3) the Ambrosian Syro-Hexaplar, a very literal Syriac translation of Origen's text made by Paul of Tella in 615–617. Inasmuch as the LXX of Daniel was used by the translator of 1 Maccabees (Bludau 1897: 8, n. 6; Montgomery, *Daniel* ICC, 38), virtually all scholars agree that the LXX of Daniel existed by 100 B.C. and that it originated in Egypt, probably Alexandria (Pfeiffer 1949: 440).

For reasons not altogether clear (Moore 1977: 31), the LXX of Daniel was replaced by "Θ" in the Christian Church sometime between 150 and 250.

Regardless of who the scribe Theodotion (i.e., "Θ") was in other LXX books (Montgomery, *Daniel* ICC, 24–29, 35–42, 46–55; Hartman and DiLella, *Daniel* AB, 74–84), the "Θ" of Daniel does not represent that 2d-century recensionist; for many phrases from "Θ" of Daniel are found in the Greek of Baruch and in Hebrews and Revelation (Hartman and DiLella, 80–81). Nor is the "Θ" of Daniel of the same tradition as Proto-Theodotion (*kaige*) in other books of the LXX (Schmitt 1966: 11–16, 100–12; but see Grelot 1966: 392; Delcor 1971: 22). Rather, the "Θ" of Daniel is best regarded as a separate translation of the Semitic book of Daniel (i.e., not a recension of the LXX), albeit its Gk translator sometimes adopted the wording of the LXX. The "Θ" of Daniel probably dates to the 1st century of the pre-Christian era; the 1st century A.D. is its latest possible date. On the basis of the list of officers in Dan 3:2, Koch (1973) proposes Syria-Mesopotamia as the translation's place of origin.

The origin and relationship of the deuterocanonical sections of the LXX and "Θ" in Daniel are even more puzzling. For even though the LXX and "Θ" are virtually identical in "The Prayer of Azariah and the Hymn of the Three Young Men," they differ considerably (in both wording and content) in "Susanna," while "Bel and the Snake" occupies in this matter a midposition. Schmitt (1966: 100–12) would account for these differences in the Adds by arguing that the canonical and deuterocanonical sections of "Θ" had different translators, the Adds probably being done by Symmachus of the 2d century A.D. By contrast, Schüpphaus (1971: 49–72) maintains that the Adds of "Θ" are but an extensive reediting of both the style and content of the LXX and not a new translation (he ignores, however, the question of whether the Adds had a Semitic *Vorlage*). The consensus of scholars is that in neither the LXX nor "Θ" is there a difference between the Greek of the canonical and deuterocanonical sections, that is, in each case the canonical and deuterocanonical sections were done by the same Gk translator. That being the case, differences between the LXX and "Θ" of Daniel are, in essence, a reflection of their different Semitic *Vorlagen*.

In all the ancient and modern versions of Daniel, the Adds are based upon "Θ", the only exceptions being the Syro-Hexaplar and the earliest edition of the *Vetus Latina* (or OL) (Montgomery, *Daniel* ICC, 29–32; Charles 1929: lviii). Moreover, the Syriac Peshitta and the Vulgate, as well as the Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Armenian, are all quite literal translations of "Θ".

B. "The Prayer of Azariah and the Hymn of the Three Young Men"

1. Component Parts. This LXX material is located between what would correspond to vv 23 and 24 of the third chap. of the canonical book of Daniel, where three Jewish youths (i.e., Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego) were miraculously preserved by God's angel after being thrown into the fiery furnace by King Nebuchadnezzar for refusing to worship a large gold idol. So impressed was the king at their deliverance that he decreed that anyone who spoke against their God should be killed and his house destroyed, for there is no other God who could deliver in that way.

The Add contains three (more likely, four) separate and independent compositions: (1) the prayer (3:24–45 of the LXX); (2) the narrative (3:46–51); (3) the ode (3:52–56) or, as it is called in the Roman Catholic liturgy, *Benedictus es;* and (4) the psalm (3:57–90), or *Benedicite* (for a discussion of their liturgical use, see Daubney 1906: 83–97). Those scholars who regard the ode and psalm as one composition commonly refer to it as the "hymn" (Moore 1977: 75–76).

With the possible exception of the narrative, these four compositions are clearly secondary, being added after the completion of the canonical book (i.e., sometime after 163 B.C.) but before the latter's translation into Greek (ca. 100 B.C.). Questions concerning the original language, date, and provenance must be asked about each of the additions, because there is no justification for treating them en masse.

a. The Prayer. Azariah's prayer (so "Θ") was actually offered by all the martyrs (so the older LXX) while inside the blazing furnace, miraculously unaffected by its searing heat. That the prayer was a separate and independent entity that originally had nothing to do with the fiery furnace is indicated by four lines of argument: (1) the clumsy and repetitious character of the prayer's own introduction to itself in vv 24–25 of the older LXX; (2) its use in v 24 of the heroes' *Hebrew* names, whereas in the fiery furnace account of the MT their Aramaic names are always used (13 times); (3) the obvious inappropriateness of much of the prayer for its context; and (4) the logical and chronological misplacement of the prayer when compared to the narrative (3:46–51).

As for the prayer's inappropriateness, it is clearly a communal prayer of repentance and supplication, the basic theme of which is well expressed in vv 30–31:

> We have not obeyed them [i.e., your commandments] or done them, as thou hast commanded us that it might go well with us. So all that thou hast brought upon us, and all that thou hast done to us, thou hast done in true judgment.

While such a prayer is never out of date, it is totally inappropriate for its present context where the three youths are in their present predicament precisely because they *have* been true to their God. (Admittedly, 3:41–44 *is* appropriate to their situation and perhaps that is why the prayer was initially inserted.) The prayer is reminiscent of national laments such as Psalms 44, 74, 79, and 80, and of such prose confessions as Dan 9:4–19; Ezra 9:6–15; Neh 9:6–37; and Bar 1:15–3:8.

That the prayer was originally in Hebrew is suggested by four lines of evidence: (1) the prayer calls the martyrs by their Hebrew names while the MT uses their Aramaic names; (2) the prayer has a few commonplace Hebraisms (cf. 3:27, 33) and a few unusual ones (e.g., 3:34, 40 [for lists of Hebraisms scattered throughout the Adds, see Bludau 1897: 160; Daubney 1906: 49–53; and *APOT* 1: 628]); (3) Hebrew is ipso facto the language of Jewish prayer and worship; and (4) Kuhl (1940: 132–54), without taking too many liberties with the Gk text, has retranslated the Gk version of the prayer into a rather literal biblical Hebrew poem with a metrical pattern of 3 + 3 (or 2 + 2 + 2) / 3 + 3 (or 2 + 2 + 2).

The melancholy tone of the prayer in general (and of vv 29, 32, 38, and 40 in particular) is especially appropriate for Israel's darkest days under Antiochus Epiphanes IV, the Seleucid king who tried to wipe out Judaism in 167–163 B.C. But if composed then, the prayer was not inserted until later. It was, however, inserted prior to the LXX's translation of the Semitic text of Daniel. Palestine is the probable place of the prayer's composition, especially if it was originally composed in Hebrew.

b. The Narrative. This brief narrative (3:46–51 of LXX), coming between the prayer and the hymn, tells how God's angel kept the interior of the fiery furnace safe and cool for the martyrs even though Chaldeans standing near it were burned to death. In contrast to the other sections of the Add, there is almost complete agreement between the LXX and "Θ," v 46 being the one exception (Moore 1977: 62–65).

The narrative is the most troublesome of the Adds. Some scholars do not regard it as an addition but rather as either identical to (so Bludau 1897; Rothstein 1900) or

similar to (Oesterly 1914: 388; *APOT* 1: 625–37) a section that, they believed, was part of the original book of Daniel but was erroneously deleted from it when the Adds were removed from the canonical book.

The root of the problem probably rests with the MT itself, for a number of scholars have noted "a gap" between vv 23 and 24 of the third chap. of the MT. But the "presence" of such a gap does not necessarily prove that this narrative is the particular material that fell out of the MT (so Kuhl 1940: 84–86; Charles 1929: 72–75), since vv 46–48 of the narrative repeat yet contradict v 22 of the MT (i.e., in the MT those who tossed the martyrs into the fiery furnace were themselves consumed, not later, but immediately).

Either the narrative or, more likely, the prayer is out of place: both logically and chronologically, the prayer should follow, not precede, the description of the youths being thrown into the fiery furnace. Kuhl (1940: 161–64) maintains, probably rightly, that originally the narrative was a prelude to the hymn that a scribe had inserted, and that a still later scribe prefixed the prayer, thereby making what was once a logical sequence an illogical and contradictory one.

If the narrative was originally a prelude to the hymn, then it would have probably been written in Hebrew, the probable language of the hymn. That the martyrs are known in the narrative by their Hebrew names also gives a presumption to a Hebrew *Vorlage*.

If the narrative was erroneously deleted, then it would probably have been in Aramaic, the present language of the fiery furnace narrative in the MT. There is a medieval ms containing an Aramaic text which clearly follows "Θ" 's account of the fiery furnace (Gaster 1894–95), but unfortunately, it has no reading which decisively shows which version was necessarily based upon the other. In any event, the narrative was added to the canonical Daniel after its composition but before it was translated into Greek.

c. The Hymn. This addition, consisting perhaps of two separate compositions, the ode (3:52–56 of the LXX) and the psalm (3:57–90), is antiphonal in character and appropriate for public worship. Thus, it was probably originally in Hebrew, a likelihood considerably strengthened by the fact that Kuhl (1940: 154–59) has, with close fidelity to the Greek text, accomplished the retroversion of the ode back into biblical Hebrew with a 4/4 meter; the psalm, with 2+2/3. There is, however, little internal evidence for a Semitic original for the hymn.

(1) The Ode (3:52–56). Uttered by the martyrs in the fiery furnace, the ode is an antiphonal hymn of praise consisting of six (originally seven [Christie 1928]) verses, or bicola. The first colon always blesses God, while the second offers a refrain which, while differing slightly in phraseology from verse to verse, is always essentially the same in meaning. Verse 52a is typical of the ode:

> "Blessed art thou, O Lord, God of our fathers,
> and to be praised and highly exalted for ever."

Although most scholars do not distinguish between the ode and the psalm, there are three good reasons for doing so: (1) they have different addresses: God in the ode, his creation in the psalm; (2) they have different types of refrains: the psalm's always the same, the ode's ever changing; and (3) their presumed metrical patterns are quite different.

The ode's date of composition depends, in part, upon one's interpretation of its phrase "temple of your sacred glory" (v 53), i.e., was the temple still standing (a case that contradicts v 38 of the prayer) or is it the heavenly temple? Inasmuch as Tob 8:5 contains the opening lines of the ode as well as the general theme of both the ode and the psalm, the Tobit passage *may* have inspired the writing of the ode (or at least its inclusion with the psalm [but for the opposite view, see Nickelsburg 1984b: 151]), in which case the terminus a quo for the ode would be the date of Tobit's composition, namely, sometime during the late 3d or early 2d century B.C.

(2) The Psalm (3:57–90). The psalm, a beautiful hymn of praise, consisting of four stanzas, is reminiscent of the structure of Psalm 136, in that its second colon is always the same, namely:

> "Sing praise to him and highly exalt him for ever."

Its author enjoins a different group in each stanza to praise the Lord: creations in the highest heavens (vv 57–63); elements coming from the heavens (vv 64–73); earthly creatures (vv 74–81); and all mankind (vv 82–90). In its message and content, the psalm is especially reminiscent of Psalm 148.

Like the ode (and for all the same reasons), the psalm was probably composed in Hebrew, in Palestine, during the 2d century B.C. Its frequent mention of water in such forms as dew, rain, and snow (cf. vv 60, 64, 68, 70, and 77–78) probably precludes an Egyptian provenance and therefore the psalm's being composed originally in Greek.

2. The Effect of These Additions. Although the original intent of the Jewish editors who first supplied these additions to the fiery furnace incident of the MT is unknown, the effect of these interpolations is quite clear, namely, the spotlight shifts from Nebuchadnezzar and his lavish surroundings to the faith of the martyrs and the greatness of their God. In the MT, for instance, the reader knows more about the feelings of Nebuchadnezzar than those of the heroes themselves. The Add changes all that. The prayer underscores the piety and humility of the martyrs while the narrative and the hymn remind the reader of God's power and majesty.

As for the relative literary merit of the four Adds, if usage or popularity be the criterion for judgment, then the ode and the psalm (but not the prayer) have considerable literary merit; for from the days of the early Church Fathers they figure prominently in the liturgies of both the Eastern and Western churches.

3. Concerning Canonicity. a. Among Jews. There is no clear evidence of the fiery furnace apocryphon's use by Jews prior to the Middle Ages, when it appears in the works of Josippon and Jerahmeel. Whatever the reason(s) for this Add's exclusion from the Hebrew canon as determined by the Jewish Fathers, it cannot have been that the Add was adjudged by them as containing heretical ideas or teachings incompatible with Judaism. Its basic message

(i.e., that God works in human history, esp. for those Jews who trust in him and praise him as the Lord of all creation) is compatible with postexilic Judaism in general, and with the canonical book of Daniel in particular. Ideas, phrases, and entire lines in the Add are redolent of older biblical passages, notably in Isaiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Nehemiah, and, esp. Psalms.

b. Among Christians. Unfortunately, canonical lists of the Church Fathers, who nearly always regarded the book of Daniel as canonical, do not distinguish between it and its Adds. Nevertheless, the Add under discussion was quoted as Scripture by Justin Martyr (d. 165), Clement of Alexandria (d. before 215), Hippolytus of Rome (170–235), and others (Moore 1977: 50–51). Although Jerome (340?–420) expressed reservations about the Add's canonicity, he did not place it (as he did for "Susanna" and "Bel and the Snake") at the end of his Latin translation of the canonical Daniel. Polychronius, brother of Theodore of Mopsuestia (350?–428), was convinced that the Add was not part of the original text of Daniel. Nonetheless, the overwhelming majority of Church Fathers regarded it as an integral part of the canonical text of Daniel (for such fathers through the 6th century, see Daubney 1906: 76–80 and *HJP*^{2}, 725–27; for an exhaustive list down through the centuries, see Julius 1903).

C. "Susanna"

The story is named after its virtuous heroine, Susanna (Heb *šôšannāh* 'lily'). Framed by two lecherous judges because she had just rejected their adulterous proposal, she would have been executed for adultery but for the divinely inspired intervention of the young Daniel. As the story stands in the Gk texts of Daniel, it is strangely out of place. This is true whether, as in "Θ", it precedes chap. 1 of the canonical text (so also OL, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Arabic versions) or follows the 12 chaps. of the canonical text as in Daniel 13 (as in LXX, Syro-Hexaplar, and Vg).

1. Summary. Among the frequent visitors to the home of Joakim, a wealthy Babylonian Jew in Babylon, were two highly respected judges who had developed a secret passion for Joakim's wife Susanna, the daughter of Hilkiah and a very beautiful and God-fearing woman (vv 1–12). One day these two lechers caught Susanna while she was alone in the garden bathing. They insisted that she have sexual intercourse with them, right then and there, or they would frame her for adultery. Perceiving herself in a no-win situation, she no sooner started screaming for help than one of the elders threw open the garden gate, and as the household came running in, the two wretches described how Susanna's lover had just escaped! (vv 13–27).

At Susanna's trial the next day the two scoundrels testified against her, saying that they had caught the two lovers in the very act, but that the young man had escaped. Her accusers were so above suspicion that their testimony was taken at face value. And without even allowing Susanna to speak in her own defense, everyone condemned her to death by stoning. But as she was being led away, she prayed out loud, insisting that she had been framed. Whereupon the Lord aroused the holy spirit of the young boy Daniel, who shouted, "I am innocent of the blood of this woman." He then castigated the community for condemning Susanna without first confirming the evidence by cross-examining her accusers (vv 28–48).

At the scene of the "crime," Daniel had the two villains separated so that they could not hear one another's testimony. Then he asked each of them the same question: "Under what tree did you see them being intimate with each other?" They each gave a different answer, thereby confirming the correctness of the charge of wickedness and perjury that earlier Daniel had made against each of them. In accordance with the law of Moses, the wicked judges were punished in the way that they had intended for Susanna: they were stoned to death. From that day on the boy Daniel enjoyed a great reputation among his people (vv 49–64).

Brief though the story is (only 114 lines of Greek in "Θ", as printed in Ziegler 1954), its characters are clearly delineated; the plot is simple and direct, with mounting suspense and a sudden, clear denouement. The story is a skillful admixture of three of the most basic and universal concerns of humanity: sex, death, and God. But unlike some other tales with the same ingredients where a moral is "tacked on" at the end of an otherwise titillating and prurient tale so as to make it more acceptable to the "prudish," here religious concerns pervade the story.

2. The Two Greek Accounts. The preceding summary reflects that of "Θ", which differs at a number of points from the older and less polished LXX version of "Susanna." The reason for such striking differences between the two texts constitutes the central problem of the Add.

When the two Gk texts are printed on the same page (see Ziegler 1954), one does not have to know Greek to see how different they are (the two Gk texts, side-by-side with a German translation of the two texts, may be found in a sleeve in the back of Engel 1985). More specifically, "Θ" has a number of additions, notably, vv 11 (the elders were ashamed of their passion for Susanna), 15–18 (the bath scene in the garden), 20–21 (the elders propositioned Susanna and explained how they could frame her), 24–27 (at Susanna's screams the household rushed in and learned of the alleged crime), 31b (Susanna was shapely), 36b (she had quite deliberately made preparations for her lover), 39 (the lover was too strong to be captured), 41b (the assembly condemned her to death), 46–47 (Daniel dissociated himself from the verdict), 49–50 (after advising resumption of the trial at the scene of the alleged crime, Daniel was invited to sit with the presiding elders), and 63 (all of Susanna's relatives praised God for the trial's outcome). Some of these additions in "Θ" improve the logic of the tale (e.g., 20–21, 36b, 39, 49–50) while others increase the story's drama and tension (e.g., 24–27, 41b); and a few do both (15–18, 46–47). Hebraisms, it should be noted, are far more common in "Θ" than LXX.

In spite of these and other differences in "details of fact" (e.g., the alleged crime occurred "at dawn" in the LXX; "at midday" in "Θ"), the plot remains essentially the same. The principal difference is one of emphasis: Daniel himself is given far greater prominence in "Θ" (e.g., vv 46–47 and 49–50 occur only in "Θ"; cf. also vv 45b and 64 of "Θ" with the LXX). Inasmuch as Daniel is depicted in "Susanna" as a young male, possibly even a child, "Θ" 's placement of the story (i.e., before chap. 1 of the canonical version) seems more logical than the LXX's having it as

Daniel 13, where it fits neither chronologically nor typologically, its being a tale, while Daniel 7–12 are visions. The story's placement after the canonical text also attests to its secondary character. To what extent all this may explain the Church's preference for "Θ" over the LXX is unknown.

In terms of content and diction, the differences between the LXX and "Θ" of "Susanna" are sufficiently great to argue for their being separate translations of two Semitic texts. But if so, then the translator of "Θ" must have had the earlier LXX before him; otherwise, how can one account for their verbatim agreements in the Greek?

3. Original Language. There is no external evidence that the Gk "Susanna" is a translation of a Semitic text. To be sure, Milik (1981) has argued that three exceedingly small scraps from Dead Sea Cave 4 may represent the Aramaic *Vorlage* for the "missing" first five verses of the LXX of "Susanna." But if so, then as Milik himself frankly conceded after his detailed discussion of the reconstructed but still quite fragmentary text, "Not a word or phrase from these scraps of Aramaic text is sufficiently specific to affirm a certain identification" (1981: 357). Had the name of the heroine or even such a key word as "Babylon," "Joakim," or "Daniel" occurred in any of the fragments, Milik's case would have been much stronger. Certainly the title of his French article ("Daniel and Susanna at Qumran?" [Eng]) well expresses the uncertainty, if not the improbability, that these fragments are from "Susanna," let alone that they represent the Aramaic *Vorlage* for vv 1–5 of the LXX of "Susanna."

There is, however, some internal evidence for a Semitic *Vorlage* for "Susanna." A priori, the presence at Qumran of heretofore unknown Aramaic legends about Daniel (Milik 1956) argues for a Semitic *Vorlage* for "Susanna," as does the simple, straightforward character of both the LXX and "Θ". Both texts can be translated into Hebrew much more easily than is the case with acknowledged Gk compositions (e.g., Adds B and E of the Gk Esther). The LXX of "Susanna" has over 50 clauses beginning with *kai* ('and') and a verb, all of which is very reminiscent of the *waw*-consecutive construction of biblical Hebrew (so *APOT* I: 641). Further evidence of a Semitic *Vorlage* includes the frequent use of such Semitic idioms as *kai egeneto* (Heb *wyhy* 'and it happened' [vv 7, 15, 19, and 28 of "Θ"]), *idou* (Heb *hinneh* 'Behold!' [vv 13 and 44 of LXX; vv 20 and 43 of "Θ"]), the use of an idiom such as "as usual" (lit. "as yesterday and the third day") in v 15; as well as the very frequent use of a pronominal suffix in both the genitive and accusative cases (e.g., vv 30, 63, and passim), and the use of the definite article for the vocative (v 42 of "Θ"; v 48). Too often in older commentaries (e.g., Scholz 1892: 148; Daubney 1906: 134–39) the lists of Heb/Aramaisms are exhaustive of the possibilities rather than judiciously selective of probabilities (but see Bludau 1897: 183–85; *APOT* 1: 641–42).

Even more suggestive of a Semitic *Vorlage* are those variants between the LXX and "Θ" which are best explained by regarding them as different translations of the same Semitic text (e.g., vv 23, 53, 54, 55). Then too, there is at least one instance where a very puzzling Gk phrase is best explained by presupposing the misreading of a Semitic *Vorlage:* that the two elders "were wounded over her" in v 10 suggests a misreading of Heb *ḥlh* 'to be sick (with love),' as *ḥll* 'to be wounded' (so Zimmermann 1957–58: 239–40).

Approximately three-fourths of the Heb/Aramaisms in "Susanna" occur only in "Θ". Moreover, since there are no perceptible differences in the translation style between the Greek of "Susanna" and the canonical portions of Daniel, it is probable that the Greek translator of Daniel had in front of him a Semitic text of "Susanna." However, Engel (1985) argues for a Heb/Aramaic *Vorlage* for the LXX but views "Θ" as a revision of the LXX.

In his detailed linguistic analysis Milik (1981) concludes, quite reasonably, that the *Vorlage* of the LXX of "Susanna" was Aramaic, not Hebrew. While, unfortunately, none of his examples are decisive, Milik does give a persuasive answer to what has been a principal argument against "Susanna's" having been composed in anything other than Greek, namely, the paronomasia, or play on words, by Daniel (so Plöger 1973: 671; Nickelsburg 1981: 26) in his response to the two elders in vv 54–55 ("Under a mastic tree [*schinon*] . . . the angel of God . . . will immediately cut you in two [*schisei*]") and in vv 58–59 ("Under an evergreen oak [*prinon*] . . . the angel of God is waiting . . . to saw you in two [*prisai*]"). In the LXX (in contrast to "Θ") Daniel actually asked each elder *two* questions: in v 54 ("Under what tree and in what part of the garden did you see them with one another?") and in v 58 ("Under what tree and in what part of the garden did you catch them making love?"). Yet each elder answered only the first question: "Under a mastic tree" (v 54), and "Under an evergreen oak" (v 58). Milik (1981) suggests, quite plausibly, that the original answers in the Aramaic *Vorlage* of the LXX were *tḥt ʿrb' bʿrb'* ('Under the poplar in the West') and *tḥt ṣpṣpt' bṣpwn'* ('Under the willow in the North'). In other words, the Greek translator of the LXX did what other translators, ancient and modern, have done: he chose to create a pun in his own language rather than to translate the Aramaic literally. (For other "translations" of vv 54 and 58, see Ball 1888: 324; *APOT* 1: 650; and Moore 1977: 84, 110–12).

None of the above arguments proves that "Susanna" had a Semitic *Vorlage*, but taken together they do give a reasonable presumption of an Aramaic *Vorlage* for LXX, and a Hebrew one for "Θ"—or at least a "correction" of the latter by a then-current Hebrew text.

4. Genre. Even though quite believable, the story has rarely had advocates for its historicity. Among "modern" scholars, Michaelis (in 1770) was the first to contest its historicity. But twelve hundred years earlier Jerome had reported that a certain Jewish teacher regarded "Susanna" as "the fiction of some Greek" (*Preface to Daniel*).

Certain 19th-century scholars, such as Eichhorn and Jahn, viewed the story as fiction with a moral, although they did not agree as to what that moral is. In the early 19th century, esp. among German scholars, "Susanna" came to be regarded as a *historicized myth*, the heroine being either the virgin goddess Phryne, the Swan Maiden, or the sun goddess (for details of these and other comparable suggestions, see Baumgartner 1926: 259–67; Pfeiffer 1949: 452–53).

With greater justice, Fritzsche (1851: 185) and others viewed "Susanna" as an apocryphal tale featuring the modus operandi and downfall of that infamous pair, Ahab

ben Kolaiah and Zedekiah ben Maaseiah, the adulterous false prophets mentioned in Jer 29:21–23 and in the Babylonian Talmud (*Sanh.* 93a; for text, translation, and discussion, see Wurmbrand 1963). Critics of the theory point out that the lechers in "Susanna" were not identified by name and, more important, were judges, not prophets.

Another century-old but still popular interpretation of the story is that "Susanna" was originally a Pharisee polemic of the 1st century B.C., attacking the court procedures and theory of the Sadducees (Brüll 1877). In their interpretation of Deut 19:18–21, the Sadducees were strict constructionists, subscribing to the equivalency principle (i.e., "Your eye shall not pity; it shall be life for life, eye for eye . . . foot for foot" [v 21]) without consideration as to the intent or motive of the false accuser. By contrast, the great Pharisee layman Simeon ben Shetaḥ, brother-in-law of the Sadducean king Alexander Jannaeus (104–78 B.C.), was well-known for his insistence on the importance of cross-examining witnesses: "Be very searching," he cautioned, "in the examination of witnesses; but be guarded in your words, lest from them [the accusers] learn to lie" (*Pirqe Aboth* 1.10). So strongly did Simeon feel about this matter that—as an object lesson!—he allowed his own son to be executed *after* the youth's accusers had admitted that they had falsely accused him, that is, so that the self-confessed accusers would *have* to be executed because the falsely accused had been executed! Many scholars (e.g., Ball 1888; Marshall, *HDB* 4: 630–32; Oesterley 1914) agreed with Brüll that as the story currently stands, it eloquently underscores two important views of Simeon: (1) the necessity of interrogating witnesses with skepticism and care; and (2) the punishment of false accusers in accordance with their intent, not the accused's actual fate.

Critics of this interpretation point out, quite rightly, that Daniel's own "courtroom" conduct was far from exemplary, for he himself badgered each of the witnesses *before* he had established his guilt by cross-examination (cf. vv 49, 52–53, 56–57; Hammer 1972: 225). Arguably, Daniel himself had divine revelation to help him (so v 45), but presumably other interrogators would not. Moreover, there is an even better explanation for the story: it is a folktale (Pfeiffer 1949: 453–54; Doran 1986: 300).

Huet (1912) showed that in antiquity the folktale theme of "the wise child" who intervenes and corrects an unjust decision was a well-established genre found in such diverse folklore collections as *A Thousand And One Nights, The Tales of Sinbad,* and the Mongolian version of *The Throne of Vikramaditya.* Later, Huet (1917) provided additional examples of "the wise child" motif but also reluctantly conceded that in "Susanna" Daniel may have been, not a child, but a youth (so v 45 of LXX). Baumgartner (1926) supplied more examples of the same genre but later (1929) concluded that originally the story of Susanna was a purely secular tale that combined *two* folk motifs: (1) "the wise judge," who often was a child but need not be; and (2) "the Genoveva" theme, i.e., the chaste wife who is falsely accused, usually by a rejected suitor, but is subsequently vindicated. (For further examples, see Thompson 1957: J 1140–50; K 2111.) Nickelsburg (1984a: 38), however, argues that the story of Susanna "has been influenced by the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife" (Genesis 39), with the gender of the hero changed to that of a woman. Finally, Busto Saiz (1982) regards "Susanna" as an example story with the emphasis on the judicial role of Daniel and interprets the story as a midrash inspired by Hos 4:12–15.

Regardless of the origins of "Susanna," later variations of the tale are found in the Samaritan version, where the daughter of Amram, a high priest on Mt. Gerizim, was falsely accused of fornication by two rejected suitors (cf. Gaster 1925: 199–210; Heller 1936); in Josippon's account of Anna (Lévi 1933: 166–71), the wife of the priest Hannaneh in the days of Herod Agrippa II (A.D. 56–100); and in the Falashic version from Ethiopia, where the story's heroine is actually named Susanna (Wurmbrand 1963). Each account has a different hero. In the Samaritan version the heroine's father establishes the villains' perfidy; in Josippon's version, it is Nahman; and in the Falasha version, it is the angel Michael disguised as a mortal.

5. Religious Elements. Even if the original story was secular and intended to be enjoyed for its own intrinsic interest and drama, in the Greek it is thoroughly Judaized. God is mentioned 15 times in just 64 verses. (Only the wicked judges do not mention him.) Susanna herself was God-fearing (v 2), having been instructed in the law of Moses by her religious parents (v 3). Her community regarded adultery as a capital offense (v 41) and abhorred bloodguilt (vv 48b and 50a). Passages of Jewish Scriptures are paraphrased and quoted in vv 5 and 53. So strong was the community's sense of ethnic and religious identity that Daniel could say to the wicked judges: "You offspring of Canaan and not of Judah" (v 56); and "the daughters of Israel . . . were intimate with you through fear; but a daughter of Judah would not endure your wickedness" (v 57). The community rejoiced in the vindication of the innocent (v 60) and the punishment of the wicked (vv 61–62). In sum, both Susanna and her community were the embodiment of a simple but strong faith in the Lord God of Israel, a noble and needed example for Jews in any time or place.

6. Purpose. "Susanna," however, is not primarily an example story. To be sure, "Susanna," like the stories in Daniel 1–6, features the divine intervention whereby a condemned martyr is saved from certain death, with the category of women now added to that of men and children (MacKenzie 1957: 211–18). So also, the obligation not to commit adultery is put on the same level as not eating pork (Daniel 1) and not worshipping idols (Daniel 3).

Nonetheless, this originally separate and secular tale was evidently prefixed to chap. 1 of the Semitic Daniel to serve as an introduction to the young Daniel. But if so, that effort must be judged as unsuccessful. For one thing, Susanna, not Daniel (but see Doran 1986: 300), is the hero in the LXX (or better, its Semitic *Vorlage*), Daniel not even appearing until v 45, and then as little more than a representative of sensitive and idealistic youth (cf. v 64 of LXX: "Because of this the young are beloved of Jacob—on account of their simplicity. And let us watch over the young that they be courageous sons. For the youth are idealistic, and a spirit of knowledge and understanding will always be in them"). Moreover, the story's physical setting differs in mood and spirit from that of the stories in Daniel 1–6. In "Susanna" the setting is rural, not courtly; and the Jewish community appears to be a contented, independent, and self-governing group, with no

evident external oppression or threats to its religious faith or heritage.

Engel (1985: 54–64), however, would take strong exception to much in the preceding two paragraphs, arguing that the LXX of "Susanna," based upon either a Hebrew or Aramaic text (which was composed sometime between 152 and 63 B.C.), was a theological *Lehrerzählung*, that is, a critique of perverted Jewish authorities and institutions; whereas, "Θ" (a revision of the LXX rather than a separate Gk translation and made about 100 years later) *is* an example story featuring God-fearing Susanna.

7. Author, Place, and Date of Composition. The author was undoubtedly a Jew, possibly a Pharisee (Brüll 1877). Unfortunately, little can be added to Pfeiffer's statement (1949: 449): "It is of course impossible to tell where Susanna originated or when." Despite the story's Babylonian setting in v 1 of "Θ" (v 5 of LXX), present-day scholars, primarily on the basis of the social and political situation depicted in the story, prefer a Palestinian provenance, possibly even S Judea, that is, some place far removed from Greek influence (MacKenzie 1957: 218).

The secular tale may have originated in the Persian period, when the Jewish community in Palestine enjoyed a modicum of independence and self-governance and when the Jewish religion was unthreatened by Hellenism. In any event, the terminus ad quem, or lowest date, for "Susanna" is, as scholars from Bludau (1897) to Engel (1985) agree, the date of the LXX translation of Daniel.

8. Concerning Canonicity. a. Among Jews. How did "Susanna" get into the Christian canon when it failed to enter the Jewish one? The old answer was that, having been composed originally in Greek, the Add never even had a chance of being accepted into the Palestinian canon (so Pusey 1886). However, the probability of a Semitic *Vorlage* for "Susanna" argues against this. A more plausible explanation is that the story contradicted a pharisaic or mishnaic Halakah in the Mishnah (Zeitlin 1950: 236; *IDB* 4: 467; MacKenzie 1957: 214), namely, discredited witnesses could not be punished for false witnessing unless evidence from two other witnesses who had not been present at the scene of the "crime" at the time proved that the accusing witnesses had deliberately lied (*Sanh.* V 1).

Even more likely, the story was ultimately rejected because Jews regarded it as an intrusive and clumsy introduction to the canonical book. Not only were "Susanna" 's setting and mood dramatically different from the stories in Daniel 1–6, but Daniel himself was poorly represented, especially in the *Vorlage* of the LXX.

b. Among Christians. The earliest Christian citation of the story as Scripture is by Irenaeus of Lyons (140–?202) in his *contra Haereses* 5:26. Even though reservations about the story were expressed by Julius Africanus (died after 240) in his letter to Origen (185?–254 [for details, see Engel 1985: 17–24]), by the anti-Christian critic Porphyry (233–?304) in his *adversus Christianos*, and by Rufinus (345–410), Christian Church Fathers found ample occasion to refer it (for more details, see *HJP*^{2} 3/2: 725–27); for exhaustive lists, see Julius 1903; also Engel 1985: 24–54 for "modern" commentaries as well).

D. "Bel and the Snake"

"Bel and the Snake" represents two distinct "confrontation narratives" in which the prophet Daniel, a confidant of King Cyrus of Persia (550–530 B.C.), courted his own death by deliberately setting out to disprove the "divinity" of two much revered Babylonian gods: the idol Bel (Akk *Belu* 'He who rules,' i.e., Marduk of Babylon) and a large, living snake. In both stories Daniel's clever use of food proved the undoing of the false gods, that is, Bel could not eat and therefore was not a living god; and because of what the snake *did* eat he died immediately. These brief tales, each of which is only 22 verses long, are designated as Daniel 13 in "Θ"; Daniel 14 in the LXX and Vg.

1. Summary. When Cyrus of Persia was worshipping the Babylonian idol Bel and noticed that his confidant, Daniel, did not, the king asked him why. To Daniel's answer that he worshipped the living God but not man-made idols, the king countered with, "Do you not think that Bel is a living God? Do you not see how much he eats and drinks every day?" But when Daniel insisted that Bel was just clay on the outside and bronze inside, Cyrus summoned the priests of Bel and insisted that the matter be settled immediately (vv 1–9).

So the priests proposed that the usual enormous offerings be sealed within the temple. Then the next morning, depending upon whether the food had been consumed or not, either they or Daniel would be summarily killed. Now unbeknownst to the king, the priests had a secret entrance into the temple through which they and their families regularly came to get the offerings. But unbeknownst to the priests, that night after they had left the temple but before its door was sealed, Daniel had the floor dusted with ashes (vv 10–14). Later that night the priestly families came and, as usual, took all the offerings. The next morning after the sealed door was opened, the king saw the footprints in the dust! Infuriated, the king had all the culprits killed and handed Bel and his temple over to Daniel for destruction (vv 15–22).

The king then challenged Daniel by pointing to a very large snake the Babylonians worshipped and saying, "You cannot deny that this is a living god; so worship him." To justify his blunt refusal, Daniel got the king's permission to prove the snake's mortality. Daniel then fed it a concoction of pitch, fat, and hair, whereupon the snake burst open and died (vv 23–27).

Threatened by irate Babylonians whose god Daniel had killed, the king had Daniel thrown into the lion pit. But even after six days the seven ravenous beasts refused to eat him. At one point an angel of the Lord grabbed the prophet Habakkuk by the hair of his head and brought him and the stew he was carrying to Babylon to feed the famished Daniel. The meal having been delivered, the angel returned Habakkuk to Judea (vv 28–39). On the seventh day when the king went to the pit to mourn for Daniel, he discovered him alive. After acknowledging Daniel's God as the only true God, the king hauled Daniel up from the pit and tossed in his enemies, who were devoured instantly (vv 40–42).

The preceding summary, while based upon "Θ", is general enough to cover most of the variant "details of fact" in the LXX. The two stories, in the Greek at least, are clear, concise, and conclusive.

2. Genre of the Two Tales. The plot for "Bel," the world's first detective story, is certainly plausible. And whether believable or not, Daniel's being safe in the pres-

ence of ravenous lions and a prophet's being transported by the hair of his head do have biblical antecedents (cf. Daniel 6 and Ezek 8:3).

Yet few, if any, scholars argue for the historicity of either tale. For one thing, "Bel" has a couple of historical errors: Cyrus did not "succeed" (v 1) but rather took by force the kingdom of his grandfather, Astyages (cf. Herodotus *Hist.* 1: 130); and more important, classical authors like Herodotus, Strabo, and Arrian agree that it was the Persian king Xerxes I (486–465 B.C.) who destroyed Bel and his temple not Daniel [v 22 of "Θ"], or Cyrus the Great [the LXX]). Second, both "Bel" and "The Snake" are typologically identical with other unhistorical stories in Daniel 1–6, where Daniel, described in the third person, is always the hero (except in Daniel 3), and the then-reigning king is the other principal. Moreover, it is always Daniel's strong adherence to his faith that is responsible for bringing him into a dangerous situation *and* for saving him from it, with the result that Daniel is rewarded by the king, his enemies are destroyed, and the God of Israel is recognized as the one true God.

Over the past century three quite different genres have been proposed for the two tales, each genre having its present-day proponents. First, around the turn of this century especially, a number of scholars, following Gunkel 1895: 320–23), viewed the Snake narrative as simply *the historization of a myth,* the myth being that most exciting part of Enuma Elish (The Babylonian New Year Creation Epic), where Marduk, the tutelary god of Babylon, kills Tiamat, the primordial goddess of salt water:

> "Stand thou [i.e., Tiamat] up, that I and thou meet in single combat!"
> When Tiamat heard this, she was like one possessed.
> . . . . . .
> They joined issue Tiamat and Marduk, wisest of gods.
> They strove in single combat, locked in battle.
> The lord spread out his net to enfold her,
> The Evil Wind, which followed behind, he let loose in her face.
> When Tiamat opened her mouth to consume him,
> He drove in the Evil Wind that she close not her lips.
> As the fierce winds charged her belly,
> Her body was distended and her mouth was wide open.
> He released the arrow, it tore her belly,
> It cut through her insides, splitting the heart.
> Having thus subdued her, he extinguished her life.
> He cast down her carcass to stand upon it.
> After he had slain Tiamat, the leader,
> Her band was shattered (*ANET*[3], 67).

After this, Marduk proceeded to fashion from the corpse of Tiamat the universe: the heavens and the earth, the sun and moon and stars—everything except man.

Echoes of this struggle between Marduk and Tiamat, suggest some scholars, are to be heard even in the ingredients Daniel fed the snake in v 27 (i.e., "pitch, fat, and hair"). For example, Aram *wêpi*ʾ 'pitch,' represented an early confusion with Aram *waʿâpi*ʾ 'south wind' (so *HDB* 1: 267). The patties eaten by the snake represented "barley" (= Aram *sʿrʾ* or *sʿrtʾ*), which in Aramaic can also mean "storm/whirlwind," which, in turn, is cognate with Bab *sâru,* 'wind,' one of the weapons Marduk used to kill Tiamat. As for the deadly ingredient "hair," it represents the Gk translator's misreading of Aram *sʿrtʾ* 'storm/whirlwind,' as Aram *sʿrtʿ* 'hair' (so Zimmermann 1958). A priori, there is no reason why these proposed errors could not have happened just as easily with the Gk translator's working from a Heb text (Moore 1977: 143).

The Hebrew Bible does indeed have echoes of some such titanic battle between Yahweh and a draconic monster, variously known as Leviathan (Ps 74:14; Isa 27:1), Rahab (Job 9:13; 26:12; Ps 89:10), or Yam (Job 7:12). But critics of this theory have pointed out that Tiamat was envisioned by the Babylonians as a female dragon, not a snake (for details, see *APOT* 1: 653–54); and that while the Neo-Babylonians did have snake worship as part of their religion (Landersdorfer 1913), there is no evidence of their worshipping *living* snakes.

Second, some other scholars have preferred to view "Bel" and "The Snake" as popular or priestly *anecdotes of Haggadah* inspired by Jer 51: 34–35, 44:

> "Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon has devoured me, he has crushed me; he has made me an empty vessel, he has swallowed me like a monster; he has filled his belly with my delicacies, he has rinsed me out. The violence done to me and to my kinsmen be upon Babylon," let the inhabitants of Zion say, "My blood be upon the inhabitants of Chaldea," let Jerusalem say. . . . And I [i.e., God] will punish Bel in Babylon, and take out of his mouth what he has swallowed. The nations shall no longer flow to him; the wall of Babylon has fallen.

Although no extant texts illustrate any intermediate stages in the evolution of "Bel and the Snake" from Jeremiah 51, the process of subsequent midrashic elaboration and embellishment *is* documentable. For example, Daniel's concoction of "pitch, fat, and hair" (v 27) is described in later Jewish literature as concealing a variety of lethal objects: pointed nails (*B'reshit Rabbah*), iron combs with sharp tines (Josippon), iron hatchets (Chronicles of Jerahmeel), and very hot coals (*Jer. Nedarim* 37d). By contrast, Nickelsburg (1981: 27) suggests that "Bel and the Snake" may be a midrashic treatment of Isaiah 45–46. In any event, for other stories of "Bel and the Snake" in later Jewish literature, see Ginzberg 1909: vols 5 and 6, *passim.*

The third and most recently proposed genre for the two tales is *idol parody,* a motif well illustrated by Isaiah 44 and 46. As "a Daniel confrontation it [i.e., "Bel and the Snake"] sought to ground the rejection of idol worship, typically formulated in the inherited parodies, in the historical act of a well-known hero of the faith in the period . . . in which it [the idol parody] appeared as a recognized oral genre" (Roth 1975: 43). Roth also maintains that the idol parodies of "Bel" and "The Snake" were written to counteract the appeal of idolatry, and esp. zoolatry, to Egyptian Jews of the 1st century B.C. (cf. Wis 15: 18–19; *Let. Aris.* 138). Egypt did indeed have a long history of snake worship; for example, Apophis, the wicked enemy of Re, was depicted as a snake, as was Buto, the snake goddess of Lower Egypt.

Needless to say, such tales were designed for Jews, not gentiles. Any impact on the latter would have been most negative, the gentiles resenting such Jewish pretensions:

"the stories were designed to reassure Jews that the pagan religions were absurd and that their own God was superior" (Collins 1981: 128–29). Critics of the idol-parody theory point out that it assumes that "Bel and the Snake" was originally composed in Gk rather than translated from Heb or Aram.

3. Differences between "Θ" and the LXX. The story of Bel is told more effectively in "Θ". It is better integrated into the canonical book and raises fewer questions in the reader's mind (cf. vv 1–2 of the Gk versions). Then too, "Θ" has more emotive words ("Daniel *chuckled*" [v 7]; "*Infuriated,* the king" [v 21]), more direct quotations (cf. v 18), and greater specificity in terms of the king's name (v 1) and the terms of the wager (vv 8–9, 12), and more accurate and precise chronology (cf. vv 15–16). "Θ" also has more Hebraisms, including *kai egeneto* (vv 14, 18, 28) and in v 14 eight *kai* 'and' in comparison to the LXX's three. From an ethical or moral point of view, Daniel is less deliberately ruthless in the prosecution of his enemies (cf. v 21 of "Θ") yet more successful in that he himself, not the king, destroys Bel and its temple (v 22).

By contrast, "The Snake" is told far more effectively in the LXX. The latter's disagreement with "Θ" is substantial. Apart from the pronounced verbatim agreement of the two Gk texts in the Habakkuk episode (vv 33–39), all of which is a clear indication of the latter's having been circulated independently and then of having been added later to one of the Gk accounts and then having been adopted from there by the other (see Fenz 1970), only vv 23–24 of the two Gk texts of the Add show substantial (i.e., 75 percent) verbatim agreement. "Θ" has the greater number of Hebraisms, but the LXX is the better edited (e.g., "in that place" in v 23) and more simple and precise in its content (e.g., vv 24, 27, 36, and 42).

4. Original Language of the Stories. The best explanation for the literary superiority of "Θ" in "Bel" and of the LXX in "The Snake" is that their Greek reflects differences in their respective Semitic *Vorlagen,* that is, the "Bel" and "The Snake" narratives were originally separate and independent tales in which the "Bel" narrative was more effectively told in the Semitic *Vorlage* of "Θ"; "The Snake" narrative, in the *Vorlage* of the LXX (but see Nickelsburg 1981: 26–27, who also views them as "inextricably interwoven into a single plot—the conversion of Cyrus" [1984a: 39]). That "Θ" has the greater number of Hebraisms in both tales suggests that, as in "Susanna," "Θ" had a Hebrew *Vorlage* while the LXX probably had an Aramaic one. The fact that the only Aramaic narrative of "The Snake" more clearly resembles "Θ" (Gaster 1894–95: 75–94) *may* mean only that it is a medieval translation of "Θ".

5. Concerning Canonicity. If "Bel and the Snake" was originally composed in Gk, then its exclusion from the Jewish canon is quite understandable. But if, as seems more likely, "Bel" and "The Snake" were originally Hebrew/Aramaic compositions, then their exclusion from the Jewish or Palestinian canon is more puzzling—unless, of course, they were added to the book of Daniel *after* its canonization.

In all likelihood, "Bel and the Snake" (whether placed after Daniel 12 [so "Θ"] or after "Susanna" [so the LXX and the Vg]), was added after the composition of the canonical Daniel but before Daniel and its Adds were translated into Gk. However, the reason(s) for "Bel and the Snake" 's being excluded from the older and more venerated text of Daniel is a matter of sheer speculation. Certainly the traditional view (i.e., that the Council of Jamnia [in A.D. 90] rejected the Adds to Daniel) is rapidly losing supporters (Cohen 1987: 186).

Although Christian Church Fathers never expressly say that they consider "Bel and the Snake" as canonical, they evidently did; for a number of the fathers quoted it as if it were Scripture: Irenaeus of Lyons (140–?202) in *Haer.* iv 5,2 and iv 26,3; Clement of Alexandria (d. before 215) in *Stromata* 1:21; Tertullian of Carthage (160?–220) in *de idololatria* 18; Cyprian of Carthage (d. 258) in *ad Fortunatum* 2; and others (for more details, see *HJP*^{2} 3/2: 725–27; for exhaustive list, see Julius 1903). It was always the text of "Θ" that was used.

6. Religious Ideas and Purpose. "Bel and the Snake" was the least quoted of the Adds to Daniel, probably because the Church Fathers found the two stories lacking in literary and/or religious value, a view shared by such modern scholars as Pfeiffer ("Jewish fiction of little literary and no religious significance" [1949: 456]) and Metzger ("the motifs of these yarns, grotesque and preposterous as they appear to us today" [1957: 119]).

Neither "Bel" nor "The Snake" offers much in the way of inspiringly stated religious ideas, only rather prosaic monotheistic affirmations (vv 5, 25b–26). To be sure, the king ended up acknowledging the Lord as the one true God; but without the intrusive Habakkuk incident (vv 33–39; Nickelsburg 1981: 39, n. 24) Daniel, not God, is glorified. In fact, Daniel's praying to God is not even mentioned until five verses from the end of the second story (v 38) and only after Daniel had been in the lions' pit for six days! Evidently the primary purpose of both tales was to ridicule paganism in Jewish eyes, although Nickelsburg (1984a: 40) argues that they were intended to supply "a story about the last of the kings under whom Daniel served according to Dan 6:28."

7. Date and Place of Composition. Like the stories in canonical Daniel, "Bel and the Snake" may date to the 3d century B.C., or, quite possibly, somewhat later. Certainly there is nothing in either narrative to preclude its having originated as haggadic elaborations of Jer 51:34–35, 44, or Isaiah 45–46 sometime during the late Persian period, there being nothing distinctively Gk in either narrative.

It is likely that "Bel and the Snake" was added to the Semitic text of Daniel several decades after 163 B.C., i.e., the date of canonical Daniel. Antiochus VII Sidetes' invasion of Judea and his razing a portion of the walls of Jerusalem in 135 B.C. could have provided an appropriate Sitz im Leben for inserting "Bel and the Snake" into canonical Daniel.

Virtually every major Jewish settlement has been suggested as the place of composition for "Bel and the Snake." Because zoolatry was a temptation for some Egyptian Jews, many scholars, ranging from Fritzsche (1851) to Roth (1975: 42–43), have argued for an Egyptian provenance. But scholars who believe that "Bel" and "The Snake" are Semitic compositions look to either Babylon (Bissell 1880; *EncJud* 4: 412) or Palestine (Brüll 1887; *APOT* 1: 652–64). The discovery of Pseudo-Daniel at Qumran makes a late 2d or early 1st-century B.C. Palestinian provenance for

"Bel and the Snake" more likely than ever before (but see *HJP*² 3/2: 724, n. 341).

8. The Greek and Other Ancient Versions. Differing from one another in both style and content, the LXX and "Θ" of "Bel and the Snake" represent separate Gk translations of two different Semitic texts, possibly not even in the same Semitic language (Moore 1977: 139, 146–47). The LXX is the better translation, in that it usually avoids a number of the clumsy Semiticisms of "Θ".

With the exception of the Syro-Hexaplar, which slavishly follows the LXX, all the ancient versions of "Bel and the Snake" were based upon "Θ". The Vg does append to v 42 a doxology: "Then the king said, 'Let all the inhabitants in the whole world fear the God of Daniel because he is the savior, working signs and wonders in the earth, who has delivered Daniel from the lions' pit.' "

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CAREY A. MOORE

DANIEL, APOCALYPSE OF. One among several medieval apocalypses (Denis 1970: 309–14) attributed pseudepigraphically to the biblical prophet Daniel or to the Church Father Methodius of Patara. These documents are extant in several different languages, but seem for the most part to have been associated with the Greek world of Byzantium. The subject matter contained in these texts usually centers around the centuries-long series of wars that took place between the Byzantines and the invading Arabs during the period from the 7th through the 9th centuries. However, the document referred to here as the *Apocalypse of Daniel* contains several parallels with substantially older texts. These parallels at least raise the possibility that elements of this particular apocalypse perhaps had a separate, earlier origin than the A.D. 801–2 date of the document as a whole.

The *Apocalypse of Daniel* may be divided into two major sections, each with its own distinctive historical setting and literary character. The first section, consisting of chaps. 1–7, refers to certain major events of the Byzantine-Arab conflicts of the 8th century which culminated in the sole reign of the Byzantine empress Irene (797–802), and the contemporaneous coronation of Charlemagne in the West. These historical events are veiled in secretive language and are related as *ex eventu* prophecy. In the second major section (chaps. 8–14), history abruptly gives way to apocalyptic eschatology, and Byzantine foreign and domestic politics are displaced by the concerns of a newly reconstituted Jewish state ruled from Jerusalem by the antichrist.

Much of the apocalyptic material in *Apoc. Dan.* appears to be related to imagery contained in the NT book of Revelation. It is conceivable that the apocalypse as a whole could have derived its inspiration from the description of the final two bowls of God's wrath in Rev 16:12–21 and the ensuing judgment of the great harlot Babylon in Revelation 17 and 18 (*OTP* 1:759). This possible literary dependence of *Apoc. Dan.* upon the biblical apocalypse is further supported by the existence of numerous parallels in smaller details between these two documents.

But however strong the connection between the book of Revelation and *Apoc. Dan.*, the existence in the latter of apocalyptic elements demonstrably not from Revelation suggests the possibility of other apocalyptic sources underlying it. For example, in 13:8–13 of the present apocalypse, a dragon is portrayed as an enemy of the antichrist. The opposite situation exists in Rev 13:2, 4, 11; and 16:13, where Satan himself appears as a dragon.

In *Apoc. Dan.* 3:12 a Roman emperor is identified cryptically by giving the first letter of his name in Greek. This seems to contradict the method of identifying the antichrist in Rev 13:18, where the sum total of the numerical values of the Greek letters making up his name is given as 666. The method described above as found in the *Apoc. Dan.* is also extensively used in book 5 of the *Sibylline Oracles* 5 to identify a series of Roman emperors. The *Sib. Or.* 3:75–77 also agrees with *Apoc. Dan.* 6:10–11 in presenting a woman as the last ruler before the apppearance of the evil political deceiver who will bring about the end of the world.

There are further indications of possible connections between the *Apoc. Dan.* and other ancient sources. Chap. 10 describes the overabundance of the fruits of the earth just before the end of the world. The terminology used in *Apoc. Dan.* 10:3–4 is similar to comparable passages found in *1 En.* 10:19, *2 Bar.* 29:5, and in Papias as referred to in Irenaeus' *Haer.* 5,33,3 (Charles *APOT* 2: 497).

Another possible hint of an underlying source may perhaps be seen in the considerable confusion in the ms tradition of *Apoc. Dan.* 9:25–26 over the three identifying letters on the forehead of the antichrist (Zervos OTP: 756, n. 7; and 768, n. 2d). Each of the three Greek ms witnesses to the text of our apocalypse at this point contains a different set of letters and a different explanation of their meaning. The scribe who wrote the most important of the extant mss of *Apoc. Dan.* (Ms B) appears to have been unfamiliar with the letters that he was attempting to interpret, thus leaving the strong impression that he was working with a separate, possibly even Semitic, source.

Finally, there seems to be substantial evidence to support the hypothesis that chap. 13 of *Apoc. Dan.* has had part of another written source inserted into its text (*OTP* 1: 760–61). Verses 13:8–13 contradict the rest of the chap. both in the tense in which they are written and with regard to the Greek words used in them to describe a rock which is the object of an attempted miracle by the antichrist. It is highly relevant to note here also that 13:8–13 contains the previously mentioned reference to a dragon as an enemy of the antichrist, a concept which is incompatible with the major source of *Apoc. Dan.*: the canonical book of Revelation.

The preceding evidence suggests that *Apoc. Dan.* is not totally dependent upon the NT book of Revelation for its eschatological imagery but contains elements which seem to be associated more with the early Pseudepigrapha. Such a possibility would characterize this particular document as being more than just another medieval apocalypse which is subservient to the traditional concepts found within the confines of the biblical canon. Consequently, *Apoc. Dan.* itself may be viewed as a possible source of substantially earlier apocalyptic material which could have had its origination within the historical and literary milieu which produced both the canonical and intertestamental literature.

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GEORGE T. ZERVOS

DANIEL, BOOK OF. A 12-chapter book in the Sacred Writings (Hagiographa) section of the Hebrew Bible, recounting stories about and visions of the prophet Daniel.

A. Introduction
B. The Text
C. Authenticity
D. The Composition of the Book
E. Genre
F. The Setting
G. Theology
H. The Additions to Daniel

A. Introduction

In the book of Daniel, the first six chapters are narratives in the third person. Daniel is introduced as one of the Jewish youths deported to Babylon by King Nebuchadnezzar "in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah" (1:1). He and his friends are trained to serve in the royal court and have many wonderful exploits. Daniel distinguishes himself as an interpreter of dreams and mysterious signs (chaps. 2, 4, and 5), his companions are preserved in the fiery furnace (chap. 3), and he himself emerges unscathed from the lions' den (chap. 6).

In chap. 7 (v 2) the narrative switches to the first person. The following chapters present a series of revelations which Daniel allegedly received and which are explained to him by an angel. In chaps. 7 and 8 the revelation is in the form of symbolic visions, in chap. 9 it is the interpretation of a biblical prophecy, and in chaps. 10–12 it is conveyed in a discourse by an angel. These revelations are eschatological in the sense that they describe a definitive divine intervention in history. The ancient Gk translations contain four noteworthy additions to this text: "The Prayer of Azariah and the Hymn of the Three Young Men" added to chap. 3 and the stories of "Susanna" and "Bel and the Snake."

Daniel presents the interpreter with an exceptional number of introductory problems. Most obvious, perhaps, is the bilingual character of the book: chaps. 1:1–2:4a and 8–12 are in Hebrew, while chaps. 2:4b–7:28 are in Aramaic. The division between the two languages does not coincide with the formal division between the stories (1–6) and the revelations (7–12). Moreover, the book does not proceed in simple historical sequence. Chapters 1–4 are set in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, in chap. 5 the king is Belshazzar, and in chap. 6 Darius the Mede. Chapters 7 and 8 revert to the reign of Belshazzar, followed in sequence by Darius in chap. 9 and Cyrus of Persia in chap. 10. (The Old Greek translation found in Chester Beatty papyrus Codex 967 avoids this anomaly by placing chaps. 7–8 before chaps. 5–6). Most significant are the numerous glaring historical problems. These begin with the statement in the opening verse that Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim (Jer 25:1 says that the fourth year of Jehoiakim was the first of Nebuchadnezzar). The most famous problems concern the claim that Belshazzar was king of Babylon and that he was succeeded by Darius the Mede. Further, the revelations in chaps. 7–12 seem especially appropriate for the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (168–164 B.C.E.) and have raised serious doubts about the authenticity of the book. (See Bentzen *Daniel* HAT; Porteous *Daniel* OTL.)

B. The Text

Fragments of the Hebrew and Aramaic text have been discovered at Qumran. Fragments of two mss from Cave 1 (1Q Dan^{a,b}) were published in DJD 1:150–52 and Trever 1964–65: 323–44, and another from Cave 6 in DJD 3:114–16. Fragments of five mss from Cave 4 are being prepared for publication by E. C. Ulrich. The Qumran fragments range in date from the late 2d century B.C.E. to the end of the occupation of Qumran. In general, they support the Masoretic Text. The transition from Hebrew to Aramaic at Dan 2:4 is preserved in 1Q Dan^{a}, and fragments of chap. 7 in Aramaic and of chap. 8 in Hebrew are preserved in 4Q Dan^{a} and 4Q Dan^{b}.

The Gk versions have their own set of problems. We are told by Jerome in the preface to his translation of Daniel that "the churches of the Lord Savior do not read the prophet Daniel according to the Seventy Interpreters, but use the edition of Theodotion." Whether Theodotion-Daniel conforms to the Theodotionic translation of other books is disputed (Hartman and DiLella *Daniel* AB, 81). The OG is now known from Chester Beatty papyrus Codex 967, which is pre-Hexaphlaric, as well from the Hexaphlaric Codex Chisianus, Ms 88, and the Syro-Hexaphlar. The most noteworthy feature of the OG is that it diverges widely from the MT in chaps. 3–6. Since the divergence in these chapters is greater than elsewhere, scholars have speculated that these chapters circulated independently or were based on a different Semitic original (Montgomery *Daniel* ICC, 37). Some scholars have argued that an Aramaic *Vorlage* existed prior to the MT of these chapters (so Charles 1929 and most recently Wills 1986). Others have maintained that the divergences are interpretative in character (so Montgomery Daniel ICC, 37 and most recently Satran 1985). At present there is no consensus on this question, but the existence of a variant Aramaic text of Daniel 3–6 (or at least 4–6) is widely accepted. Another significant variant in the OG occurs at 7:13, where the "one like a son of man" is said to come *as* an Ancient of Days. In this case the variant may be due to theological correction (to avoid the impression of di-theism) or to simple error, but it is unlikely to represent an independent tradition.

C. Authenticity

Apart from the book that bears his name, Daniel does not appear as a historical personality of the exilic period in any biblical book. The name occurs twice in Ezekiel, one time in conjunction with Noah and Job (14:14) and once as a prototype of wisdom (Ezek 28:3: "are you wiser than Daniel?"). Neither passage can have the biblical Daniel stories in mind, but it may be significant that the name was

associated with a legendary wise man in the exilic period. The name *Dnil* is also attached to a legendary figure at Ugarit, in the Aqhat legend, where he is, among other things, a judge. (The name means, most probably "my judge is God" or possibly "judge of God"). In *Jub.* 4:20 Daniel is the uncle of Enoch. The fact that the name Daniel was widely associated with a legendary hero may raise some doubts about the historicity of the biblical figure.

Quite apart from the historicity of the figure of Daniel, the authenticity of the book had already been questioned by the 3d century Neoplatonist philosopher Porphyry. We are informed by Jerome that: "Porphyry wrote his twelfth book against the prophecy of Daniel, denying that it was composed by the person to whom it is ascribed in its title, but rather by some individual living in Judaea at the time of that Antiochus who was surnamed Epiphanes; he further alleged that 'Daniel' did not foretell the future so much as he related the past, and lastly that whatever he spoke of up till the time of Antiochus contained authentic history, whereas anything he may have conjectured beyond that point was false, inasmuch as he would not have foreknown the future."

Porphyry's insight was resisted for well over a millennium, but its validity has been widely acknowledged by modern critics, beginning in the 18th century (see Koch 1980: 186–87). Daniel refers to no events later than the time of Epiphanes, and evidently expected the end of history shortly thereafter. Such preoccupation with the Maccabean period is most easily explained if the author lived at that time. The references to the Babylonian period, in contrast, are notoriously confused.

The story of Nebuchadnezzar's madness in Daniel 4 is now known to be derived from a tradition about Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon. The publication of the Nabonidus Chronicle in 1882 revealed that Nabonidus had withdrawn from Babylon for several years to the desert oasis of Tema. Scholars soon suggested that this episode underlay the story of Nebuchadnezzar's banishment in Daniel 4 (see McNamara 1970). Further light was thrown on the sojourn at Tema by the Harran inscriptions, published by Gadd in 1958. The suggestion that the tradition was originally about Nabonidus was dramatically confirmed, however, by the discovery of the Prayer of Nabonidus at Qumran (Milik 1956; Cross 1984). This fragmentary text contains a first person narrative in the name of Nabonidus. The king says that he was smitten with a bad inflammation for seven years in the city of Tema, until a Jewish seer, one of the exiles, explained the situation and reproached the king for idolatry. While the precise literary relationship between this text and Daniel 4 remains in dispute, it it clear that 4QPrNab contains an older form of the tradition and that Daniel's identification of the king as Nebuchadnezzar is secondary.

Another problem of Babylonian history concerns Belshazzar. Inscriptions discovered in the 19th century show that Belshazzar was the son of Nabonidus, not of Nebuchadnezzar. He was in command in Babylon while his father was absent in Tema, but he was never actually king and could not take the place of the king at the New Year Festival. The modern discovery that Belshazzar was the name of a crown prince has shown that the story in Daniel 5 may draw on old traditions, but the historical confusion suggests that the story comes from some time later than the Babylonian era.

Again, no such figure as Darius the Mede is known to history. Attempts to identify him with Gobryas (Ugbaru), the general of Cyrus who occupied Babylon, have failed to explain why he should be called Darius the Mede. The name Darius is almost certainly derived from Darius I of Persia (522–486), who in fact organized his empire in satrapies (cf. Dan 6:1). In Dan 9:1 Darius is said to be the son of Ahasuerus (Xerxes). In fact, Xerxes I was son of Darius. Darius put down two revolts by Babylonian pretenders, and one of these may have been confused with the original conquest. The designation as a Mede is most probably due to the fact that the author accepted the widespread belief that the Near East had been governed by a sequence of four kingdoms—Babylonia, Media, Persia and Greece (Swain 1940; Flusser 1972). This schema probably originated in Persia, where the Medes had in fact ruled. (The more usual sequence began with Assyria, but the Jewish author substituted Babylon for obvious reasons). Also, in biblical prophecy Medes were to destroy Babylon (Jer 51:11, 28; Isa 13:17–19; 21:2).

All but the most conservative scholars now accept the conclusion that the book of Daniel is not a product of the Babylonian era but reached its present form in the 2d century B.C.E. Daniel is not a historical person but a figure of legend.

D. The Composition of the Book

In the 19th and early 20th centuries critics who dated the book to the Maccabean era also affirmed its unity. This position found its most notable 20th-century advocate in H. H. Rowley. Beginning in the late 19th century, however, the view began to gain ground that the Aramaic section, or part of it, was older than the Hebrew. Discoveries such as 4QPrNab showed that the tales contained older traditions, but this in itself did not decide the question of unity. The crucial argument here is that the tales of Daniel 1–6 do not reflect the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, which dominates chaps. 7–12. Rowley argued that "point can be found for every story of the first half of the book in the setting of the Maccabean age" (Rowley 1952: 264–67), but none of these stories *requires* a setting in that period. The kings of Daniel 1–6 cannot be regarded as types of Antiochus Epiphanes; as Montgomery correctly observed, they are "amiable religious minded monarchs" (Montgomery *Daniel* ICC, 89—an exception should be made for Belshazzar). An author of the Maccabean period found these stories relevant to his situation, but they were not composed with that situation in mind.

The precise delineation of the pre-Maccabean stratum is more difficult and is bound up with the problem of the two languages. There is now a widespread consensus that the tales in chaps. 2–6 are pre-Maccabean. Since these stories are now bound together, but without any clear reference to the period of Antiochus Epiphanes, it is probable that they already constituted a collection before that time. (As we have noted above, some scholars suggest that chaps. 3–6 circulated independently, because of the different character of the OG translation of these chaps.). The collection, however, presupposes an introduction such

as we find in chap. 1, and so it is likely that chap. 1 was composed in Aramaic as a prologue to the tales. Many German scholars, following G. Hölscher (1919), argue that the core of chap. 7 was also part of the pre-Maccabean Aramaic collection. (So also, Gammie 1976). This view draws support from the fact that chap. 7 is in Aramaic and that chaps. 2–7 exhibit a chiastic structure (2 and 7 contain "four kingdom" prophecies, 3 and 6 are tales of miraculous deliverance, 4 and 5 illustrate divine judgment on two kings). Yet chap. 7 as we have it is clearly from the Maccabean period. Attempts to distinguish an earlier form of the chapter by literary means are inconclusive (see Collins 1984a: 74–78). Moreover, the tone and idiom of chap. 7 are vastly different from those of 2–6 and cannot in any case have originated in the same setting. The most probable division then is between the tales in 1–6 and the revelations in 7–12.

The problem of the two languages remains. Some scholars (Ginsberg 1948; Hartman and DiLella *Daniel* AB) have argued that the entire book was composed in Aramaic at different times and that chaps. 8–12 were translated for reasons of nationalistic fervor. There is no textual evidence for this theory: the Qumran fragments show the transitions between the two languages. Besides, it is unclear why only chaps. 8–12 should have been translated. (For discussion of the supposed Aramaisms of chaps. 8–12 see Collins 1977: 15–16). It is more probable that the two languages reflect the history of composition. Chapters 2–6 (and probably chap. 1) were composed in Aramaic and chap. 7 was added in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Then either the same author or others of the same circle composed chaps. 8–12 in Hebrew (possibly because of nationalistic fervor). Chapter 1 was either translated from Aramaic or composed in Hebrew in order to form a Hebrew *inclusio* around the Aramaic chapters. The fact that chap. 1 is now in Hebrew and chap. 7 in Aramaic provides an overlap which connects the two halves of the book in an editorial unity. The parallelism of chaps. 2 and 7 also serves this purpose. On the other hand, the division of the book at 7:1 is literarily affirmed by the fact that the dating reverts to the reign of Belshazzar, who had already been succeeded by Darius in chap. 6.

The Hebrew-Aramaic book had probably reached its present form by 164 B.C.E. (the year in which Antiochus Epiphanes died: Daniel 11 gives a mistaken prophecy of his death). The strongest arguments for a later addition to the text concern the prayer in Daniel 9. This is a traditional piece, quite different in style and theology from the remainder of Daniel. Yet it may well have been placed in its present context by the author of Daniel since the contrast helps to clarify the theology of the revelations (Collins 1984a: 90–91). Nonetheless, we know from the Greek version that prayers were inserted into the text of Daniel (chap. 3) and therefore the authenticity of the prayer in chap. 9 is not beyond question.

E. Genre

Daniel is classified with the Major Prophets in the LXX and was regarded as a prophet already in antiquity (Matt 24:15; *Ant* 10.11.7 [266]). Yet in the Hebrew Bible the book of Daniel is found in the Writings, in the fourth place from the end (before Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles). The position in the Hebrew Bible reflects the late date of Daniel (after the collection of Prophets had been standardized) but may also reflect an awareness that Daniel does not belong with the Prophets in genre.

Taken as a whole, the book of Daniel is an apocalypse, understood as "a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an other-worldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality, which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world" (Collins 1984b: 4). The genre takes its name from the NT book of Revelation. Other Jewish examples of the genre include the various components of *1 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch, 2 Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham.* Daniel is the only full-fledged apocalypse in the Hebrew Bible.

While all apocalypses have some narrative framework, Daniel is exceptional in the fact that it includes a collection of tales which introduce and establish the identity of the apocalyptic visionary. These tales are formally distinct from the apocalyptic visions. Our understanding of their genre is shaped in part by the realization that they are not historically accurate. The insight that the tales are not meant to be history writing, however, does not depend on their inaccuracy, since historiography can contain errors. Rather, it rests on two observations: (1) the tales have stereotypical patterns which are paralleled in the folklore of the world and (2) they frequently introduce marvelous elements, such as the writing on the wall or the transformation of Nebuchadnezzar into a beast. These elements suggest that the purpose of the stories is not to report facts but to arouse awe and wonder. The wonderful aspects of the tales are underlined by occasional doxologies.

The tales may be most appropriately categorized as *legends,* narratives "primarily concerned with the wonderful and aimed at edification" (Collins 1984a: 41). Their genre can be further specified by their fictional setting: they recount adventures at a royal court. As such, they belong to a broader category of court tales of which examples are found in the Greek writers Herodotus and Ktesias and in the internationally popular tale of Ahikar (which was found in Aramaic among the papyri from the Jewish colony at Elephantine in Egypt from the late 5th century B.C.E.). Biblical parallels are found in the stories of Joseph and Esther and less directly, in *3 Ezra* 3. It is noteworthy that all the Jewish examples are set in the Diaspora (including the Greek *3 Maccabees*)—hence the occasional designation "Diaspora novel" (Meinhold 1975–76). The most satisfactory form-critical category, however, is court legend, as this takes account of the nonbiblical material in a way that "Diaspora novel" does not.

It has become customary to distinguish further within the genre between "tales of court contest" (e.g. Daniel 2) and "tales of court conflict" (Daniel 3, 6; see Humphreys 1973).

In the "conflict" tales the heroes are endangered because of a conspiracy, but are miraculously delivered from certain death. These stories bear considerable similarity to later martyr legends. The "contest" stories describe the rise of the hero from lowly status to an exalted position because of his ability to solve insoluble problems. In the case of Daniel, the peculiar skill lies in the interpretation

of dreams and mysteries. The story is given a distinctively religious stamp since he interprets dreams by divine revelation.

The apocalyptic revelations in Daniel 7–12 also contain a number of formally distinct units, allegorical visions in chaps. 7 and 8 and angelic discourses in chaps. 9 and 10–12. The juxtaposition of multiple revelations is a recurring feature of apocalypses—it is also found in *4 Ezra, 2 Baruch,* the *Similitudes of Enoch,* and the NT book of Revelation. These revelations should be understood as complementary, whether they all come from the hand of a single author or not. (The strongest case for separate authorship can be made in the case of chap. 7 since it is in Aramaic, while 8–12 are in Hebrew, and it appears to be slightly older than the other chapters.)

The symbolic dream visions in Daniel 7 and 8 are a typical form of revelation in "historical" apocalypses (i.e., apocalypses which contain an overview of history in the guise of prophecy, as contrasted with the "journey" apocalypses, such as *1 Enoch* 1–36 or *2 Enoch,* where the visionary is taken on a tour of inaccessible regions, and the emphasis falls on cosmological mysteries; see further Collins 1984b: 5–6). The visions of Daniel 7 and 8 can be viewed as a development of the symbolic visions of the prophets (Niditch 1983). A characteristic feature of the apocalyptic vision is that it requires an angelic interpreter. The interpreting angel is found already in Zechariah 1–6 but the visions of Daniel are much more elaborate than those of Zechariah. The apocalyptic dream visions are also indebted to the tradition of Babylonian dream interpretation. This point is especially significant in Daniel, since the visionary of chaps. 7–12 is cast as a Babylonian dream interpreter in chaps. 2 and 4.

The symbolism of the dream visions is rich in mythological allusion. In chap. 7 Daniel sees "four great beasts come up out of the sea." The description of the beasts is followed by a judgment scene, presided over by an "ancient of days." The beasts are judged, and the last one is destroyed. Then "one like a son of man" appears "with the clouds of heaven" and to him is given the kingdom. The angel's interpretation informs us that the beasts represent four kings or kingdoms and that "the holy ones of the Most High" will receive the kingdom. This interpretation however stops far short of explaining the significance of the vision. There have been many attempts to identify the mythological background of the imagery (see *TDNT* 8: 408–20). By far the most satisfactory explanation sees in the vision a reflection of a Canaanite myth, which is known to us from the Ugaritic texts of the 2d millennium B.C.E. In that myth, the high god is El, "father of years," but the hero is the god Baal, "rider of the cloud." Baal is challenged by Yamm or "Sea," but attacks and defeats him (See *ANET,* 129–142). There are, of course, significant differences between Daniel's vision and the Ugaritic myth, e.g., the battle of the myth is replaced by a court scene. Yet the main figures in the vision correspond to those of the myth: the high god on his throne, the quasi-divine figure riding on the clouds (imagery associated with Yahweh in the Psalms) and the sea as a symbol of chaos (see further Collins 1977: 95–106). We do not know how or in what form the old myth reached the author of Daniel, but we do know that Canaanite imagery plays an important role in the poetry of the Hebrew Bible, where Yahweh is said to do battle with sea monsters (e.g., Isa 27:1; 51:9–11; see further Day 1985).

The mythological imagery is crucial to the meaning of Daniel's vision. The kingdoms mentioned in the angel's interpretation are seen as manifestations of primeval chaos. Equally, the righteous Jews are assured of the coming judgment, and of the support of heavenly allies: the "one like a son of man" and the "holy ones." Many scholars (e.g. Hartman and DiLella *Daniel* AB) take the "son of man" figure and the "holy ones" as mere ciphers for the Jewish people, but this interpretation is inadequate. Elsewhere in Daniel (4:13, 17; 8:13) "holy ones" are angels and angels can also appear in human form (8:15; 9:21; 10:5; 12:6–7). The "one like a son of man" of Daniel 7 should most probably be understood as the archangel Michael, who is explicitly portrayed as the deliverer of Israel in 10:13, 21; and 12:1. Michael takes the place of Baal in the Canaanite myth as a supernatural figure under the supreme God, who overcomes the beasts from the sea. The holy ones are the angelic host, but the faithful Jews, as "the people of the holy ones" (7:27), share in their victory and dominion. (See further Collins 1977: 123–47.)

The symbolic vision in chap. 8 also makes use of an old mythic pattern. It tells how a "little horn," representing a gentile king, rose above the stars of heaven and challenged the Prince of the Host, God himself, but was then cast down. The pattern is familiar from the taunt in Isaiah 14 against "Lucifer, Son of Dawn," who aspired to set his throne "above the stars of God." This myth too can be traced back to the Canaanite myths found at Ugarit, in this case the myth of Ashtar, the Day Star, who aspired to sit on Baal's throne (*ANET,* 140).

The angelic discourse in chap. 9 takes the form of an interpretation of biblical prophecy, specifically of Jeremiah's prophecy that the subjection of Jerusalem would last 70 years. The number is explained by an angel as 70 weeks of years. The division of history into a set number of periods is characteristic of apocalyptic literature; the division into "weeks" is found in the "Apocalypse of Weeks" in *1 En.* 93:1–10; 91:11–17. The reinterpretation of biblical prophecy gave rise to a whole genre of literature in the Dea Sea Scrolls—the Pesher. While the Hebrew term Pesher is not used in Daniel 9, it is used for dream interpretation in Daniel 2 and 4.

The book ends with another angelic discourse in chaps. 10–12. In this case the apparition of an angel, which is reminiscent of the epiphany in Ezekiel 8, is described (chap. 10). The discourse is a thinly veiled account of the history of the Hellenistic era, which is set in the context of a heavenly battle between angelic "princes." At the end, the archangel Michael, "prince" of Israel, will prevail, there will be a resurrection of the dead, and the righteous teachers will shine like the stars (12:3) which, in apocalyptic idiom, means to become companions to the angelic host (*1 En.* 104:2, 4, 6).

The apocalyptic visions are distinguished on the one hand by the supernatural character of their revelation, which is indicated by the angelic interpreter, and on the other by its eschatological content. In each case the visionary looks beyond known history to a definitive judgment of God. The technique of the genre can be clearly seen in

chaps. 10–12. As Porphyry already was aware, the "predictions" in chap. 11 are correct down to the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, but incorrectly prophesy that he would die in the land of Israel. The conclusion is inescapable that the accurate "prophecies" were written after the fact. The real author lived in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. By identifying with Daniel in the exilic period, he could convey the impression that all of postexilic history was foretold and predetermined. This impression strengthened the assurance of the real eschatological prophecy with which the discourse concludes.

The revelation is not only presented as a prophecy of Daniel but it is actually given to Daniel by an angel. It therefore claims to provide a heavenly perspective on human history. The crucial insight of the revelation is that there is ongoing warfare among angelic "princes" in heaven. The human struggles on earth are only a reflection of this heavenly warfare. The outcome is finally decided, not by human armies, but by the victory of Michael and by the final judgment.

The final reward of the just is not only political independence or earthly sovereignty, but fellowship with the angels after the resurrection. This is an appropriate finale since Daniel acquires his wisdom from communication with the angels.

The genre of chaps. 7–12, then, is quite distinct from that of chaps. 1–6; but there is also some continuity. One theme of continuity is the revelation of mysteries. Daniel, the dream interpreter of chaps. 2 and 4, becomes himself the dreamer, but his dreams must be interpreted by an angel. The content of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in chap. 2 anticipates chap. 7 in its use of the four-kingdom schema. The final kingdom of chap. 2, however, lacks the angelic associations of chap. 7. It is also remarkable that the king in chap. 2 in no way resents Daniel's prophecy of a coming kingdom set up by God but rather rewards him for it. Such genial relations with a gentile king are no longer envisaged in chaps. 7–12. Finally, the theme of deliverance from acute danger is prominent in chaps. 3 and 6 and again in chap. 12. The difference is that the older legends describe miraculous deliverance in this life, while the apocalyptic vision anticipates vindication for the martyrs after death.

F. The Setting

The ostensible setting of the book of Daniel is in the Babylonian exile at the courts of Babylonian, Median, and Persian kings. Critical scholarship has established that the book actually comes from the 2d century B.C.E. The tales in chaps. 1–6 are older, and may have had lengthy prehistories, as appears from the cases of Daniel 4 and the Prayer of Nabonidus. In their present form, however, the tales can be no earlier than the Hellenistic age. The four-kingdom schema, which is explicit in chap. 2 and is implied by the introduction of Darius the Mede, requires a date after the rise of the Greek kingdom. The allusion to intermarriage in 2:43 most probably refers to one of the dynastic intermarriages between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. Since there is no clear allusion to Antiochus Epiphanes, a date in the late 3d or early 2d century B.C.E. is most likely.

The actual setting of the tales is, of necessity, hypothetical. The heroes of the tales are portrayed as courtiers, trained in "the language and letters of the Chaldeans." Their fortunes are closely bound up with good favor of the monarchs they serve. Success is reflected in advancement at court. There is no hint of rebellion. At the same time Daniel and his friends are pious Yahwists who are not prepared to compromise their religion. One purpose of the tales is to suggest that it is possible to gain advancement in the gentile world while remaining faithful. Indeed, the tales contend that religious fidelity is a key to success because of the power of the God of the Jews.

It has been suggested that the tales propose "a lifestyle for the Diaspora" (Humphreys 1973), specifically for upper-class Jews in the E Diaspora. While we cannot assume a direct correlation between the fictional setting of the tales and the actual setting of the authors, the suggestion is plausible. The wisdom of Daniel and his companions is markedly different from that of the Jerusalem wisdom circles represented by Ben Sira. The contrast is most striking in the evaluation of dreams. According to Sirach, one who gives heed to dreams is like one who catches at a shadow and pursues the wind (Sir 34:2; cf. Deut 13:1–5; Jer 29:8). In contrast, Daniel's wisdom is mantic wisdom (Mueller 1972) and is concerned with the interpretation of dreams and omens. There is no doubt that this mantic wisdom is influenced by the model of the Babylonian wise men, although there is also a biblical precedent in the Joseph story. It is certainly *possible* that the tales in Daniel were composed in Jerusalem, which was also subject to a gentile monarch in the Persian and Hellenistic periods. It is not apparent, however, why a Jerusalem author should have set the tales in the Diaspora. It seems more probable that the tales were composed in the E Diaspora, and that their tradents worked in the service of the gentile kings.

The setting of the visions is quite different from that of the tales. Nonetheless, it is likely that there is some form of social continuity between the tradents of the tales and the authors of the visions. In chap. 1 Daniel and his companions are said to be *maskilim* in all wisdom. In chap. 11 the heroes in the time of persecution are also called *maskilim* 'wise teachers.' There is widespread agreement that the author (or authors) of the visions belonged to this group. The common designation *maskilim* may reflect continuity with the mantic wise men of the tales. If so, we must assume that the Danielic circle had returned from the Diaspora to Palestine. Their theology and literary form of expression were then adapted to fit their new situation. This reconstruction must, obviously, remain tentative.

The setting of the visions is the prosecution of the Jews by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (168–164 B.C.E.). Daniel 7 may not yet know of the profanation of the temple (December 167) since it does not clearly reflect that event, although it knows of the suppression of the religious festivals (2 Macc 6:6). The desecrated sanctuary looms large in the other revelations. The author had presumably not heard of the death of Antiochus late in 164 since he predicts that the persecutor would die in the land of Israel (11:45). The duration of the persecution is variously predicted as 3.5 years (7:25), 2300 evenings and mornings (1150 days, [8:14] 1290 days (12:11) and 1335 days. The different figures presumably reflect attempts to adjust the prediction to accommodate the course of events. Since the dese-

cration of the temple had only lasted three years at the time of the reconsecration by Judas Maccabeus in 164 (see 1 Macc 4:52–59), it is quite possible that the final redaction of Daniel took place after that had happened but did not regard the reconsecration as a satisfactory end to the persecution.

Our primary sources for the history of the persecution are 1 and 2 Maccabees. Other documents, such as the "Animal Apocalypse" in *1 Enoch* 85–90, which were written closer to the events, are of little historical value because of their highly symbolic language. Daniel, however, is a significant historical source, esp. in chap. 11. Daniel "predicts" Antiochus' two campaigns against Egypt and his forced withdrawal by the Romans on the second occasion (11:30). This is followed by the desecration of the temple and suppression of the cult. Then we are told that "he shall seduce with flattery those who violate the covenant; but the people who know their God shall stand firm and take action. And those among the people who are wise shall make many understand, though they shall fall by sword and flame. . . . When they fall, they shall receive a little help, and many shall join themselves to them in flattery, and some of those who are wise shall fall . . ." (11:32–35). The "wise" *(maskilim)* are singled out in the resurrection to shine like the brightness of the firmament and like the stars forever. There can be little doubt that the author(s) of Daniel identified himself with these *maskilim*.

The books of Maccabees also record the activities of the renegade Jews who violated the covenant and then go on to describe the armed resistance led by the Maccabee brothers. It is uncertain precisely how Daniel should be related to this movement. The reference to "standing firm and taking action" might be read as a reference to armed resistance but nothing that follows supports that interpretation. Jerome already took the "little help" as a reference to the Maccabees. Whether the author regarded the Maccabees as any help is unclear. It is clear that he thought the decisive struggle was taking place in heaven between Michael and the "prince" of Greece. The contribution of the *maskilim* is "to make many understand" and let themselves be purified by enduring the persecution. We are not told the content of their instruction. It is reasonable to assume that it corresponded to the apocalyptic revelations of the book of Daniel itself. The stance of the wise is apparently quietistic. They are not said to fight but to let themselves be killed. A similar stance is found in the *Testament of Moses*, the original form of which dates from the same period (Nickelsburg 1973). The aspiration of the wise martyrs was to shine like the stars and become companions to the angels. Consequently, they could afford to lose their lives.

Scholars have often identified the *maskilim* of Daniel with the Hasidim who are mentioned in the books of Maccabees. In 1 Macc 2:42 we are told that Mattathias and his followers were joined by "a company of Hasideans" *(synagoge Asidaion)* mighty warriors of Israel, every one who offered himself willingly for the law." This follows on a report that a thousand people were slaughtered when they refused to defend themselves on the Sabbath, but these martyrs are not explicitly identified as Hasidim. 1 Macc 7:12–13 says that a company of scribes *(synagoge grammateon)* came to the high priest Alcimus and the general Bacchides to seek peace. The passage continues "and the Hasideans were first among the sons of Israel and they sought peace from them." The Hasideans here are usually thought to be identified with the company of scribes, but the passage is ambiguous. It is also uncertain whether the Hasideans were first in rank or simply took the initiative in seeking peace. Finally in 2 Macc 14:6 Alcimus complains to the Seleucid king that "those of the Jews who are called Hasideans, whose leader is Judas Maccabeus, are keeping up war and stirring up sedition and will not let the kingdom attain tranquillity. These passages provide only meager information about the Hasidim. They were evidently a militant group, who actively supported the Maccabees. Their willingness to make peace with Alcimus does not imply pacifistic inclinations—even Judas made a brief truce with the Seleucids when Alcimus arrived on the scene (2 Maccabees 14). They may have been scribes (1 Macc 7:12–13) but it is not clear how far they were organized—the word "company" *(synagoge)* can certainly denote an ad hoc gathering. Since the one clear piece of information, their militant activism, is counter to the quietistic tendency of Daniel, there is no evident reason why Daniel should be ascribed to this group.

Daniel has also been associated with the founders of the Qumran sect, and it has even been suggested that the author of the visions was none other than the Teacher of Righteousness (Trever 1985). There are indeed important links between Daniel and Qumran (Mertens 1971). Several copies of the canonical book, as well as other Danielic writings, were preserved there. Some of the technical terminology of the sect: *maskil* (the spiritual instructor at Qumran) *rabbim* (the "many," general members of the sect) and "seekers of smooth things" *(dwrsy hlqwt)* are all taken or adapted from Daniel 11, and there is also significant continuity between Daniel and the *War Scroll* (von der Osten-Sacken 1969). Yet there is no reason to ascribe Daniel to the Teacher of Righteousness. Other bodies of literature (e.g., the Enochic corpus) and traditions (especially halakic) also influenced the emerging Dead Sea sect. We can only say that Daniel belonged to the general milieu from which the sect emerged.

In all we can paint a limited picture of the piety and interests of the group which produced the book of Daniel. We can say very little, however, about its social location in Judaism and cannot identify it with any known group.

G. Theology

The theology of Daniel is a theology of history. Throughout, the book affirms a God who "does according to his will in the host of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth" (4:35) and whose kingdom is everlasting (4:3). This God is hidden and mysterious and is known through special revelations to the wise. His control of human affairs may not be immediately obvious but is a matter of a long-term plan. This plan has some deterministic overtones but never denies the freedom of human beings to make their own decisions and comments.

There is also a common dimension to the ethics of both parts of the book. Fidelity to the Mosaic law is a necessity which is established in the first chapter. It requires discipline and a willingness to subordinate personal needs and

even to risk life itself. Insofar as those who are faithful to the Mosaic covenant are rewarded, Daniel fits the pattern of convenantal nomism, which E. P. Sanders (1977) has argued is broadly typical of ancient Judaism. Yet the theology of Daniel is not adequately characterized in this way. Throughout the book, Daniel is given special understanding through revelation which is not available on the basis of the Mosaic covenant alone. The heroes of the book are the wise, to whom God has given special knowledge. This special wisdom then enables them to act in the appropriate way.

While Daniel is a wisdom book, as von Rad (1965) argued, it is important to note the difference between this wisdom and the Hebrew proverbial tradition. Biblical wisdom was empirical and inductive. Daniel's wisdom comes by revelation and has appropriately been called "mantic wisdom" because of the importance attached to the interpretation of dreams and mysteries. This mantic wisdom undergoes a development in the second half of the book, where the transcendent nature of the revelation is underlined by the role of the interpreting angel.

The differences between Daniel 1–6 and 7–12 are primarily due to the changed situation and are reflected in the portrayal of the pagan kings. In chaps. 1–6 the monarchs are relatively benign and Jews can advance and prosper under their rule. In chap. 7, however, the gentile powers are portrayed as beasts from the sea, enemies of God, with whom no compromise is possible. The quasi-demonic imagery of beasts, and the opposition of the "princes" of the nations to Michael, reflect an emerging dualism. In Daniel, however, the forces of evil are still closely identified with specific nations. We do not encounter here a force of evil at large, such as Mastema in the roughly contemporary book of *Jubilees* or Belial in the slightly later Dead Sea Scrolls.

The new situation in chaps. 7–12 also causes a significant difference in the way God is thought to act. In chaps. 1–6, most vividly in 3 and 6, the faithful Jews are delivered from mortal danger by miraculous means. In 7–12, most clearly in 11–12, the *maskilim* are offered no such deliverance. Some of them must die. Deliverance comes later with the resurrection of the dead.

The introduction of the notion of resurrection is one of the major contributions of the book of Daniel to Jewish and Christian theology. This is the only clear reference to reward and punishment after death in the Hebrew Bible. Other passages which are sometimes cited as references to resurrection (Isa 26:19; Hos 6:2) are more probably speaking metaphorically of the restoration of the Israelite people. Belief in judgment after death is attested in the "Book of the Watchers" in *1 Enoch,* which is older than the book of Daniel, but Daniel's influence on the subsequent tradition is undeniably greater. The context in Daniel is mythological rather than philosophical: the belief is presented as a revelation, without the support of rational argument. The cogency of the belief in Daniel derives from the underlying trust in divine retribution. Since the righteous lose their lives in this world, it is reasonable to believe that they will be rewarded hereafter. (In *1 Enoch* 22 the afterlife is not presented as a solution to persecution, so we cannot say that the belief arose only in that context). The idea is not systematically developed in Daniel—"many" of those who sleep in the dust of the earth will arise, not all. The function of the belief is to liberate the righteous from the fear of death. The aspiration to eternal life with the stars or angels also modifies the piety of the book and gives it an otherworldly character.

Another major contribution of the book of Daniel to Jewish and Christian theology concerns the figure of "one like a son of man" in chap. 7. The symbolism of the figure with the entourage of clouds, suggests a divine or quasi-divine being (Emerton 1958: 231–32). As noted above, the most probable reference is to the archangel Michael. In any case, Daniel 7 was influential in the development of the figure of an "exalted angel" in Judaism (Rowland 1982: 94–113). Possibly the earliest reinterpretation of the Danielic figure is found in the Similitudes of Enoch, which probably date from the early or mid-first century C.E. (Collins 1984b: 142–43). There we read of a figure who is referred to as "that Son of Man," "whose face had the appearance of a man, and his face was full of grace like one of the holy angels" (46:1) and who is seated on a throne of glory (62:5). This figure is more than an ordinary angel, since "even before the sun and the constellations were created . . . his name was named before the Lord of Spirits." He is also called "messiah" (48:10). In *1 En.* 71:14 Enoch is told "you are the Son of Man who was born to righteousness," but the identification is probably secondary (Collins 1984b: 151–53). This tradition reached its culmination in the late (4th or 5th century C.E.) mystical work Sefer Hekalot *(3 Enoch)* where the angel Metatron is "the little Yahweh" greater than all princes and is known by 70 names, one of which is Enoch, son of Jared.

The development of the idea of an exalted angel, a "lesser Yahweh," in Judaism was obviously of significance for the development of christology. Again, Daniel 7 played a crucial role in the development. One of the earliest christological scenarios was that which envisaged Jesus as the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven with his angels. It is still disputed whether Jesus used the expression Son of Man in the eschatological sense and if so whether he used it to refer to himself or to another figure. The use of "Son of Man" in the Danielic sense is found primarily in the Synoptic Gospels, although the expression is also used in John and in the Apocalypse. In Rev 14:14 an angel, not Christ, is "seated on a cloud, one like a son of man," perhaps a vestige of the original use of the expression in Daniel to refer to an angel.

H. The Additions to Daniel

The Greek text of Daniel includes four extensive passages which are not found in the MT. Two of these are inserted in chap. 3 in the story of the three young men in the fiery furnace. The first, the prayer of Azariah, is a foreign body here. It is a typical communal confession of sin and petition for mercy, similar to the prayer in Daniel 9. Such prayers are very common in the later books of the OT (Ezra 9, Nehemiah 9) and the apocryphal literature. It is a prayer for all Israel and starts from the premise that affliction is justified punishment for sin. The situation in Daniel 3 calls rather for a prayer for the deliverance of individuals, whose predicament is in no way due to sin but to their fidelity to the law. The Deuteronomistic theology of the prayer (distress follows from sin, deliverance from

repentance) also stands in contrast to the theology of Daniel, where distress usually follows from fidelity and calls for perseverance rather than for repentance.

The "Hymn of the Three Young Men" is more appropriate to its content. It is a hymn calling on all creation to bless and praise the Lord (compare Psalm 136). Its message is that God controls all the elements, as illustrated by the fact that the fire did not harm his servants. Both of the additions to Daniel 3 are traditional pieces, probably translated from Hebrew originals. It is impossible to discover the date or circumstances of their composition.

The story of Susanna is found after chap. 12 in the LXX but before chap. 1 in Theodotion. It tells of a beautiful God-fearing Jewish woman, who is falsely accused of adultery by two Jewish elders whom she has rejected. She is saved by the skillful interrogation of the elders by Daniel, who is introduced as a young boy (even in the Old Greek, where the story follows chap. 12). There are no cross-references to the stories of Daniel 1–6, and no suggestion that Daniel was a courtier. Since the setting of a judgment scene is in accordance with the etymology of the name Daniel, Lebram (1986) has suggested that Susanna, in Aramaic, was the original introduction to the tales of chaps. 2–6. In view of the lack of a court setting, however, it is more likely to be an independent tale. It is set entirely within the bounds of Judaism: all the characters are Jewish. It is a parabolic tale which plays on the favorite biblical theme of reversal of expectations. The venerable elder judges are convicted by a youth, while the woman, who at first is condemned on the mere word of the elders, is vindicated. Again, the provenance of this addition to Daniel is impossible to establish.

The final addition is the story of Bel and the Dragon (or snake). In the LXX it is said to be taken from the prophecy of Habakkuk (who appears in the story). This indicates that the tale once circulated apart from the book of Daniel. In this case there is a point of contact with the Hebrew-Aramaic book: Daniel is thrown into a lions' den after the death of the snake. There does not appear to be any literary dependence on Daniel 6, however. In both stories the king is sympathetic to Daniel, but in "Bel and the Dragon" he is Cyrus the Great, not the unhistorical Darius the Mede. The temple of Bel in Babylon was in fact destroyed by another Persian king, Xerxes I, but he was not motivated by any opposition to idolatry. It may well be that the Bel episode is an elaboration of Jer 51:44: "And I will punish Bel in Babylon, and take out of his mouth what he has swallowed." The motif of the lions' den was presumably associated with Daniel in oral tradition.

Both the episodes of Bel and of the snake are caricatures of idolatry, in the vein already familiar from Isaiah 44. There is no evidence that the Babylonians worshipped live snakes. Animal worship was most prominent in Egypt and polemic against it was common in Hellenistic Jewish literature. The charge that "the king has become a Jew" (v. 28) also suggests a Hellenistic date, when Judaism had come to be perceived as a cult rather than as an ethnic-political entity. One Mesopotamian ruler, Queen Helena of Adiabene, did in fact convert to Judaism in the 1st century C.E.

We know of at least one other Danielic composition from the ancient world which never made its way into the biblical canon. 4QPsDan from Qumran is closely related to Daniel 2. It presents a summary of world history which Daniel recites "before the ministers of the king." One the reconstruction of the editor (Milik 1956) it offered a schema of four kingdoms and an eschatological conclusion, but the text is very fragmentary and it is not certain that 4QPsDan^{c} is part of the same work as 4QPsDan^{a} and ^{b}. There are also several medieval apocalypses associated with the name of Daniel (Berger 1976).

For further discussion see Goldingay *Daniel* WBC.

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JOHN J. COLLINS

DANNAH (PLACE) [Heb *dannâ*]. A town situated in the S hill country of Judah (Josh 15:49), within the same district as Debir. The only reference to this settlement occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The location of the ancient settlement is unknown.

W. R. KOTTER

DAPHNE (PLACE) [Gk *Daphnē*]. According to 2 Macc 4:33, the deposed high priest Onias III took refuge from his opponent, the high priest Menelaus, at Daphne near Antioch. Only after being lured away from this sanctuary could he be assassinated by Adronicus at Menelaus' urging. Strabo notes that a famous temple of Apollo and Artemis encompassing an asylum was located at Daphne, which lay about 5 miles from Antioch (*Geog.* 16.2.6). Josephus notes that both Antony (*JW* 1.12.5 §243) and Herod stayed there (*JW,* 1.14.22 §277 and *Ant* 14.15.11 §451). That Onias, a saintly figure in 2 Maccabees, would have taken refuge there should not be taken as unseemly. There is nothing to suggest that the former high priest indulged in idolatry. Indeed, the pious author of 2 Maccabees saw nothing improper in Onias' flight to Daphne to save his own life. Daphne near Antioch should not be confused with the Daphne located S of Dan on a tributary of the Jordan (Abel *GP,* 303).

M. E. HARDWICK

DARA (PERSON) [Heb *dara*^{c}]. Var. DARDA. Dara was the son of Zerah and from the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 2:6). Zerah was the son whom Tamar conceived by her father-in-law Judah (Gen 38:30; 1 Chr 2:4). In 1 Kgs 5:11—Eng 4:31 he is listed as Darda (Heb *darda*^{c}), one of the sons of Mahol. Together with Ethan, Heman, and Calcol, he is listed as a wise man whose wisdom was excelled only by Solomon's.

There has been much argument concerning the identification of the sons of Zerah in 1 Chr 2:6 with the sons of Mahol in 1 Kgs 5:11—Eng 4:31. It is possible that the *benê māḥôl* should be identified with the musical personnel of the temple, the "sons of the choir" (Albright, *ARI,* 123; de Vaux, *AncIsr,* 382). Two of the *benê māḥôl* appear in the titles of Psalms 88 (Heman) and 89 (Ethan).

The fact that these musicians are not listed among the Levites but as descendants of Judah and his Canaanite wife Tamar probably indicates that the names of the *benê māḥôl* reflect the influence of Canaanite musical traditions upon the worship of Israel (Albright, 123). See DARDA (PERSON).

CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

DARDA (PERSON) [Heb *darda*^{c}]. Var. DARA. Listed among those wise men in 1 Kgs 5:11—Eng 4:31 whose wisdom was surpassed only by Solomon's. In the above reference in 1 Kings, Darda is listed as one of the sons of Mahol. In the parallel reference in 1 Chr 2:6, however, the variant spelling Dara is found, and he is listed as a son of Zerah, the son of Judah.

Some have tried to harmonize the two references by suggesting that Mahol was the actual father, while Zerah was a distant ancestor. Another possibility is that "sons of Mahol" does not refer to physical family but instead to members of the guild of temple musicians (*māḥôl* = dancing).

Although the background of Darda and the others listed is uncertain at present, it is clear that by the time of the writing of Kings these men symbolized the epitome of wisdom. They were likely well-known traditional figures, and the writer of Kings assures his readers that the wisdom of Solomon was greater even than that of these proverbial wise men. See DARA (PERSON).

PHILLIP E. MCMILLION

DARIC [Heb *darĕkmôn*]. See COINAGE.

DARIUS (PERSON) [Heb *dārĕyāweš*]. The first Achaemenid king of this name, usually called the Great. He ascended the throne in clouded and complicated circumstances in 521 B.C. Son of Vishtaspa, Satrap of Parthia, he belonged to a collateral branch of the Achaemenid family and claimed that he and Cyrus II, (see CYRUS (PERSON)) had a common great-great-grandfather. Darius may have been the commander of the immortal guard during Cambyses' conquest of Egypt.

Our principal source for the troubled times associated with Darius' rise to power is his own, hence prejudiced, great inscription at Bisitun in Iran. Here the new king says Cambyses killed his brother Bardiya before leaving for Egypt but that the people of Persia did not know of this. Then a Magian priest, Gaumata, lied to the people of Persia saying he was Bardiya and in that guise led a rebellion against Cambyses. En route back to Persia from Egypt to crush the rebellion, Cambyses either committed suicide or was accidentally killed. Darius continued on with at least parts of the army that had come from Egypt and, with the assistance of six other strong men, killed Gaumata. Darius was then chosen by the six strong men to be the next king from the Achaemenid house.

The truth of this story of Darius' rise to power has been

repeatedly challenged by historians. Whatever the truth in detail, there was clearly a major rebellion against the Achaemenid family. Cambyses apparently had no direct heir, and in crushing the rebellion Darius manipulated affairs so that he became king.

Revolt in Persia triggered widespread rebellion throughout most of the empire and Darius spent the whole of his first year as king putting down these uprisings. The most serious and persistent rebellions were those in Babylon, Media, and Armenia. Displaying great tactical skill as a military commander, Darius with his army was able to keep the several rebels separated and gradually to bring the situation under control by taking on his enemies one at a time. By June of 521 B.C., Darius was firmly in command of a reestablished Achaemenid empire.

There then began a concerted effort at imperial expansion. Sometime after the crushing of the rebellions, but earlier than 513 B.C., parts of N India, including the Punjab and Sind, were conquered by Darius. The great king then marched W about 513 B.C. and campaigned against the Scythians located N of the Danube River and the Black Sea. Campaigns which followed, led by subordinates, brought under Persian control all of the important cities, states, and islands in the N Aegean and around the Bosporus.

Peace was next broken on the European front by the Ionian revolt (499–494 B.C.), in which the Greek cities in Asia Minor attempted, unsuccessfully, to regain independence. The involvement of mainland Greeks in an effort to assist the Ionian cities guaranteed further conflict between Persia and Europe. By ca. 492–491 B.C. Macedonia and Thrace had been added to the Persian Empire and the great king's authority extended as far S in Greece as Mt. Olympus. The Persian defeat by the Athenians at the battle of Marathon in 490 B.C. temporarily checked westward expansion but did not loosen Persian control of NE Greece.

Darius I was not only an accomplished military commander, but also a shrewd administrator and a monumental builder. Herodotus in his *Persian Wars* provides considerable detail on the great king's reorganization of the empire into 20 provinces or satrapies for purposes of regularizing tax collection and local government (see SATRAP). These basic administrative structures created by Darius served the empire well for approximately the next 200 years. Around 520 B.C. Darius began his grand scheme of construction at Persepolis, the new Achaemenid capital in their homeland, Persia (see PERSEPOLIS). Apparently, for some reason, Darius felt it inappropriate to continue the capital at Pasargadae built by Cyrus, though the slightly more N site did not go out of use. Massive construction works were also undertaken by Darius at the second capital of the empire, Susa, and, we assume, at the third, Ecbatana (Hamadan). Most of what may have been built by him in Babylon, the fourth imperial capital, is lost.

Darius died in November 486 B.C. shortly before the planned second major invasion of Greece and just after the outbreak of a major rebellion in Egypt. His was the first of the great royal Achaemenid tombs set into the rock cliff, Naqsh-i-Rustam, near Persepolis.

T. CUYLER YOUNG, JR.

DARIUS THE MEDE (PERSON) [Heb *dārĕyāwæš mādājā'*]. The Median Darius was a 62-year-old man who, as predicted by Daniel, gained control over the Chaldean kingdom immediately following the death of Belshazzar (Dan 5:28–6:2). His first action as king was to set 120 satraps over the kingdom. On the king's behalf, but against his will, Daniel was put in the den of lions (Dan 6:14–17). Following his deliverance, Daniel prospered under both the Median king's rule and that of Cyrus the Persian (Dan 6:29—Eng 6:28). In the first year of this "Darius son of Ahasuerus by birth a Mede," who "was installed over the kingdom of the Chaldeans," Daniel had his famous vision of the 70 weeks of years (Daniel 9). The references in Daniel place this Darius between the reign of Belshazzar and that of the Persian emperor Cyrus (Dan 5:30–6:1; cf. 6:29—Eng 6:28; 9:1; cf. 8:1; and 10:1). At no other place in the Bible do we find a Median king named Darius.

A. Historical Difficulty

Both Greek and Babylonian sources clearly demonstrate that the Persian king Cyrus—and not Darius—was the conqueror of Babylon, and the real successor to the last Chaldean king (cf. 2 Chr 36:20). Historically, there was no Median invasion of Babylonia and no Median domination of that area. A Median king Darius is unknown. Consequently, the mysterious reference to Darius in the book of Daniel has posed a severe difficulty for exegetes since early times. Already in the 1st cent. B.C.E. the Greek version of (Proto-) Theodotion had tried to harmonize the biblical and the Greek traditions by substituting an Artaxerxes for Darius in Dan 6:1.

B. Median Rule over Babylonia

From the standpoint of tradition-history, two general conceptions presumably stand behind the Daniel narration. First, and most important for every faithful Israelite, there were the prophetic predictions of the conquest of Babylon by Median troops (Isa 13:17–18; 21:2; Jer 51:1, 27, 28; cf. Graf 1984: 21). For postexilic readers of Daniel these announcements were apparently fulfilled and had to be portrayed as such. Second, there was an extrabiblical pattern of a succession of the four world empires, Assyria, Media, Persia, and Greece, which was widely adhered to in the last centuries B.C.E. (Swain 1940). In order to bring this pattern into conformity with Israelite history, the biblical author simply substituted Babylonia for Assyria. Both of these concepts led the Daniel tradition to the conclusion that at least one Median king must have ruled over Babylonia (and Israel) between the otherwise known Chaldean and Persian kings (i.e., Belshazzar and Cyrus). But why was the name Darius chosen for this Median interregnum?

C. Proposals for Identification

While a number of solutions have been proposed since early times (Rowley 1935), only three of them are worth mentioning:

1. Nabonidus. There is a slight possibility that the king in question was really the last ruler on the throne of Babylon prior to the Persian invasion (for earlier representatives of this opinion see Rowley 1935: 9). As far as the indigenous population of Babylonia was concerned, this king was an alien. The Babylonian Dynastic Prophecy

(Grayson 1975a: 25, 33) assigns to him an independent dynasty of Harran, ruling between the last legitimate Babylonian kings and the kings of Elam (Persia). The city of his birthplace, Harran, lies in the N and does not belong to Babylonia, but to Assyria. It may have been dominated by the Medes for some time after 612 B.C.E. (*RLA* 4: 124).

2. The Persian Darius I. Most recent commentators propose a confusion of the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus (539 B.C.E.) (e.g., Rowley 1935: 54–60; Hartmann and DiLella, *Daniel* AB, 36) with the later suppression of two Babylonian rebels, both of whom claimed to be the son of Nabonidus (cf. Behistun inscription; Kent 1953: 120–31). It was this *Persian* Darius who reorganized the state and installed the 20 satrapies (Hdt. 3.89). Darius I is mentioned 16 times in the Bible. In his second year the prophets Haggai and Zechariah were exhorting the people to rebuild the temple, and under the guidance of Zerubbabel and Joshua the work was begun (Hag 1:1, 15; 2:10; Zech 1:1, 7; Ezra 4:24–5:2). The governor of the province Beyond-the-River stopped this activity and wrote a letter to Darius requesting an inquiry. But the king confirmed the decree of Cyrus. So the building activity continued until the house of God was completed in the sixth year of Darius (Ezra 5:3–6:15). However, this identification of Darius I with Darius the Mede is not without its problems.

a. Where Darius I is mentioned in the Bible, his *Persian* provenance is stressed (Ezra 4:5, 24; 6:14; Neh 12:22, also with Darius II). Daniel, however, underlines the *Median* affiliation of the conqueror of Babylon.

b. In the Chronicler's work there is a clear sequence from Cyrus to Darius, king of Persia, who reigns at the time of the dedication of the Second Temple (Ezra 4:5; 5:6–6:14). As the book of Daniel is closely related to the Chronicler's work in many instances (Koch, *Daniel* BKAT, 28–33, 37–40), it is difficult to imagine why the author should have disturbed the chronological sequence of his source.

c. Dan 9:25 mentions a time of 49 years (7 weeks of years), presumably between the beginning of the Exile and the coming of a messiah-*nagîd* (Cyrus or Zerubbabel?) He therefore seems to have reliable knowledge about the end of the exilic period.

d. In his inscriptions Darius I himself indicates his Persian origin: "I am a Persian, son of a Persian" (Kent 1953: 138; cf. 116, 134). His father's name is Vištaspa (Gk Hystaspes), whereas the father's name in Dan 9:1 is Ahasuerus.

3. Gaubaruwa (Akk *Gubaru/Ugbaru*, Gk *Gobryas*). This is the only candidate who fits the otherwise documented historical circumstances. Gaubaruwa was a governor of Gutium who, on behalf of Cyrus and as an old man (Xenophon), seized Babylon and was installed (cf. the passive *hamlak* Dan 9:1) as a vice-regent over Mesopotamia, appointing the governors of the country until his death eight months later (Nabonidus Chronicle, *ANET*, 306–7; Grayson 1975b: 104–11; cf. Whitcomb 1959; Shea 1971–72; Cälmeyer 1977; Koch 1983). The name of his father is never mentioned. He "ruled almost as an independent monarch" (Olmstead 1948: 56). As a man of Gutium, Gaubaruwa surely was no Babylonian. In fact, Gutium in the Babylonian omen literature (replacing an earlier Subartu) signifies the NE quadrant of the known world; in the 1st millenium B.C.E. it was compromised primarily of Media (*RLA* 3: 708–20). The historian Berossos (ca. 280 B.C.E.) identified the old dynasty of Gutium in the Babylonian King List with "tyrants of the Medes" (Burstein 1978: 21–23, especially n. 64). The same identification is made by Daniel. Yet the name "Darius" for Gaubaruwa still remains enigmatic. The old Persian word *Dārayarahu* 'He who holds firm the good' (Kent 1953: 189) is the name of several kings and princes (*RLA* 2: 121–23). Perhaps it was also the throne name for the vice-king Gaubaruwa in Babylonia, whose name was not otherwise documented because of the short time of his reign. For us Gaubaruwa seems to be an obscure figure. But his name and fate are not only documented in cuneiform sources, but are also known to Greek historians (*RLA* 3: 671–2). The statement of "a conflation of confused tradition" (Rowley 1935: 54) regarding Darius the Mede in Daniel therefore seems neither necessary nor probable.

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KLAUS KOCH

DARKON (PERSON) [Heb *darqôn*]. Head of a family of "sons of Solomon's servants" (see SOLOMON'S SERVANTS) which is listed among those exiles returning from Babylon to Jerusalem and Judah (Ezra 2:56 = Neh 7:58). Mendelsohn (1942: 17) believes this group was merged with the *nĕtînîm* 'temple servants' (see NETHINIM) under Ezra and Nehemiah. Weinberg (1975: 371) holds that the low social rank of these groups, originally composed of craftsmen in royal service before the Exile, in the 6th and 5th centuries resulted in their disappearance after the 5th century B.C. Noth (IPN, 225) derives the name from the Arabic *darkun* 'hard,' understanding it to signify firmness and strength, while Brown, Driver, and Briggs (BDB, 204b) suggest an origination from Arabic *daraqa* 'walk rapidly, hasten' or from Arabic *daraqatun* 'shield.' Blenkinsopp (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 91) believes the name may have originated as a nickname. Because *D-R-Q* does not produce any Semitic personal names, Zadok (1980: 115) assumes

darqôn to be the result of some metathesis of *daqrōn* which comes from *D-Q-R* 'bore through, pierce,' which does generate NW Semitic examples (Gröndahl *PTU*, 125). In the list of 1 Esdras 5, the name Lozon (v 33) seems to occupy the position held by Darkon.

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RODNEY H. SHEARER

DART. See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

DATE PALM. See FLORA.

DATHAN (PERSON) [Heb *dātān*]. Son of Eliab, a Reubenite, who with ABIRAM, KORAH, and 250 leaders of Israel conspired against the exclusive leadership of Moses and Aaron in the wilderness (Num 16:1–40). The conspiracy ended when, in the aftermath of a ritual contest with Aaron, the earth "swallowed" the leaders and fire devoured the 250. The name is derived from Akk *datnu* 'strong, heroic.'

The latest postexilic form of the story (P) is reflected also in Num 26:9. There Dathan, together with Abiram and Korah, is swallowed by the earth, and the rest of the conspirators are consumed by fire. However, both Deut 11:6 and Ps 106:16 give evidence of an earlier form belonging to the epic tradition (J) in which the story of Dathan and Abiram has not yet been interwoven with that of Korah. Belonging to the earlier Dathan-Abiram tradition are vv 12–14 (15) and 25–34, minus the note concerning Korah in v 32, plus fragments of vv 1–2, 24. The conspiracy of Korah is a strictly levitical concern directed against the exclusive claims of the Aaronide priesthood. That of Dathan and Abiram is a more directly political conspiracy against the exclusive governing authority of Moses, who would be "prince" (Heb *śar*) over the people (v 13). Whereas the priestly technical term "come near" (Heb *qārab*) is used of the Korah tradition, the Dathan tradition plays upon the verb "come up" (Heb *ʿālah*). While Korah is instructed to "come near," Dathan and Abiram refuse to "come up" *(Qal)* because the Lord only "brought up" *(Hipʿil)* the people of Israel from Egypt to kill them in the wilderness (vv 12–13).

This conspiracy story is one in a cluster of such narratives, including the revolt of Aaron and Miriam against Moses (Numbers 12), and of all the people (Numbers 14). They cluster at this point in the narrative likely to demonstrate the negative impact of the democratization of God's spirit in Numbers 11, and Moses' statement in particular that he wished "that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put his spirit upon them" (11:29). The story of Abiram is often understood as a reflection of the loss of prestige by the tribe of Reuben following the period of settlement. See also Budd *Numbers* WBC.

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RODNEY R. HUTTON

DATHEMA (PLACE) [Gk *Dathema*]. A city in Gilead with a fortress to which Jews fled to escape persecution from the surrounding gentiles (1 Macc 5:9). The Maccabean revolt met with early successes, including retaking the temple in 164 B.C., which led to gentile reprisals. Many Jews in Gilead fled to Dathema for refuge and sent to Judas for help. Leaving Simon in charge in Galilee, Judas and Jonathan set out for Dathema. After three days they encountered Nabateans, who told them of the persecution of Jews in other cities of Galilee, including Bozrah, Bosor-in-Alema, Chaspho, Maked, and Carnaim (see ALEMA). Detouring long enough to defeat the enemy at Bozrah, Judas then marched overnight to Dathema and defeated the army of Timothy there.

The location of Dathema is uncertain. Abel (1923: 516) rejected a traditional association with ʿAthaman and identified the site as Ramatha in the center of Gilead. The difference in the initial letter of the name can be explained from the easy confusion of the Heb letters *dalet* and *reš*. In 2 Macc 12:17 one reads that Judas reached a place called *charaka*, which is often taken as a proper name (Charax) and identified with Dathema.

This identification, however, is by no means certain. Simons (*GTTOT*, 425) separates the two, identifies Charax with the site of Kerak, and identifies Tell Hamad, E of Carnaim, as the possible site for Dathema based on the presence of ancient city walls and its location as a suitable place of refuge. Tell Hamid, however, lies a little over 50 km from Bozrah, quite a distance for an overnight march (1 Macc 5:29). Simons suggests that Judas came first to Charax, did not find Timothy there (2 Macc 12:17–18), divided his forces, and himself took part of his army to Tell Hamad, about 25 km away. The identification of Charax with Kerak, however, has been challenged. Goldstein (*2 Maccabees* AB, 440) argues that the Gk word *charaxa* is an inflected noun (meaning "palisaded camp") and not a proper noun at all. Since all of the proposed identifications of the site of Dathema rest on challenged speculation, one should conclude that the site has not yet been satisfactorily located.

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PAUL L. REDDITT

DAUGHTER. See FAMILY.

DAUGHTERS OF PHILIP. See PHILIP (PERSON).

DAVID (PERSON) [Heb *dāwîd*]. Israel's second and greatest king, David rose to power from humble circumstances and amid many difficulties; he captured Jerusalem, established it as his capital, unified the nation, and built an empire that stretched from Egypt to Mesopotamia during a 40-year reign, ca. 1010–970 B.C.E. He was a man of many talents—a shepherd, musician, poet, warrior, politician, administrator—but he is most prominent as the king par excellence, as the standard for all later kings, and as a messianic symbol.

A. Name
B. Family
C. Rise to Power
D. Consolidation of Power
E. Decline
F. A Man after God's Own Heart
G. Sources and Methods for the Study of David
H. Assessment

A. Name

David's name is rendered *dāwid* or *dāwîd* in Heb (*dauid* or *daueid* in Gk), and it occurs more than 1000 times in the OT, some 59 times in the NT. The name is attested in Old Babylonian (early 2nd millennium B.C.E.: *da-wi-da-nu-um*) and possibly in Moabite (9th cent. B.C.E.: *dwd*[*h*]).

The term "David" has been suggested as a title, perhaps a throne name, and not a personal name. Impetus for this suggestion has come from 2 Sam 21:19, which credits one "Elhanan" with the killing of Goliath, whereas 1 Samuel 17 has "David" killing him: the former would have been his personal name (Honeyman 1948: 23–24). This creates several problems, however, not least of which is the anomaly of "Elhanan/David" being considered one of his own mighty men (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 291; *2 Samuel* AB, 450). (1 Chr 20:5 states that Elhanan killed Lahmi, Goliath's brother. This statement has been seen as a harmonizing attempt [or textual corruption] by the Chronicler [Anderson *2 Samuel* WBC, 255]. It may also indicate textual corruption in 2 Samuel, however [Keil and Delitzsch n.d.: 465–66].)

Another support for seeing "David" as a title has come from a reading from the Mari archives *(dawîdûm),* originally understood as "general" or "commander-in-chief." However, that translation has been proven erroneous; the word is related to Akk *dabdûm,* and means "defeat" (Tadmor 1958: 129–31).

B. Family

David was the youngest of at least eight sons of Jesse of Bethlehem (1 Sam 17:12–14), and he had at least two (half-?) sisters, Abigail and Zeruiah, as well (1 Chr 2:16). His mother's name is unknown, unless it was Nahash (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 392, 394). Six of his brothers are named in the genealogy in 1 Chr 2:13–15; one may have died without heirs and thus been omitted in this list. (See also McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 276.)

David's previous ancestry is found in Ruth 4:18–22 and 1 Chr 2:1–15, as well as in Matt 1:2–6 and Luke 3:31–38. Each of these genealogies shows him as descended from Judah, with an important purpose of showing the continuity of the Judahite line, in keeping with the royal promise to Judah in Gen 49:8–12. His ancestry was partially non-Israelite: Moabite, via Ruth, and Canaanite, via Tamar. Theologically, these inclusions make the point that YHWH was not to be too tightly bound by nationalistic or ethnocentric expectations in his choice of David.

David had eight wives who are named in Scripture, seven of whom bore him children, the other being Michal, Saul's daughter (2 Sam 6:23); the most prominent were Abigail (1 Samuel 25) and Bathsheba (2 Samuel 11–12). He also had many unnamed wives and concubines, who likewise bore him children (1 Chr 3:9; 14:3).

David had 19 sons who are named, along with one daughter, in addition to numerous unnamed sons and daughters (see DAVID, SONS OF). His line continued unbroken among the kings of Judah, and the NT traces this line, via two routes, to Jesus (Matt 1:6–17; Luke 3:23–31). David's prominence as Israel's greatest king and his importance as a theological symbol (see DAVIDIC COVENANT) account for the special interest in his line.

C. Rise to Power

David's story begins with his dramatic rise in fortunes, from humble beginnings as an insignificant shepherd in his father's house to his acclamation as king over all Israel in his own capital city, Jerusalem. Through it all, we see YHWH favoring him and events consistently turning out in his favor (see G.2 below).

1. Samuel's Anointing of David. David is introduced in the Bible with the story of his anointing to be king by the prophet Samuel (1 Sam 16:1–13). The story unfolds dramatically—e.g., David is identified by name only at the end of the episode—with Samuel's going to Jesse's home in Bethlehem at YHWH's behest and reviewing seven impressive sons, who, nonetheless, were not YHWH's choice, before asking about any other sons. David, the youngest, was called from the fields where he was tending the sheep. He was anointed as king, after which YHWH's spirit came mightily upon him from that day forward.

2. David's Arrival at the Royal Court. At the same time YHWH's spirit was leaving the present king, Saul, and an evil spirit from YHWH was coming upon him (1 Sam 16:14–23). This spiritual transfer of power symbolized the inevitable political transfer of power as well. This episode brings Saul and David together, and the remainder of 1 Samuel focuses upon David's rise vis-à-vis Saul's decline. David was introduced into Saul's court as one skilled in many areas, including the ability to soothe Saul whenever he was afflicted by the evil spirit. He became armor bearer and musician to Saul, presumably at Gibeah, Saul's hometown (15:34; 22:6).

3. David and Goliath. We see David soon with an opportunity to demonstrate his military capabilities in the lengthy story of his encounter with Goliath (1 Sam 17:1–18:5). This is a complex story, with many difficulties, textual and otherwise (Klein *1 Samuel* WBC, 168–83; Barthélemy et al. 1986). The story in the MT presents a conflict between the Philistines and Israel at the valley of Elah, near Gath. The Philistines were represented by one "Goliath," of Gath (17:4, 23), a giant of a man who chal-

lenged Israel to send out a warrior to engage him in single combat; the winner of this contest of champions ostensibly would determine the overall victor (17:1–10). The Israelites' fear in the face of this challenge was put to shame by the fearlessness of the young shepherd boy David, who appeared on the scene from the fields with provisions for his brothers (17:11–30).

News of David reached Saul, who summoned him and sent him out against the Philistine warrior. We see David confronting the giant with nothing but stones and a sling, but nevertheless prevailing over him (17:31–50). Despite the apparent ground rules for the champion conflict, the Israelites pursued the Philistines W to Gath and Ekron (17:51–54). Saul, then, who earlier had known David in the context of the court (16:17–23), now inquired about his pedigree (17:55–58). David's success provided the basis for Saul's and the people's further trust of him, and, significantly, for Jonathan—who was a successful warrior in his own right (13:3; 14:1–15)—to declare his loyalty to David, as well, even to the point of giving David his armor (18:1–5).

4. Threats to David. Following David's success over Goliath and his further rise in fortunes, we see Jonathan and Michal, two of Saul's children, "loving" David (18:1, 3, 20). Saul could not go this far, however; indeed, his jealousy was soon aroused, and thus began his long hatred and pursuit of David (1 Sam 18:6–21:1—Eng 20:42). He was particularly infuriated by the popular women's taunt that compared him unfavorably with David:

> Saul has slain his thousands,
> but David his ten thousands
>
> (18:7; also in 21:12 [—Eng 21:11] and 29:5).

This taunt first appears after David technically had killed only one enemy—Goliath—but it reflects the rout of the Philistines and the popular attitudes that arose after that incident (cf. 18:16). Indeed, David's fortunes waxed as Saul's jealousy increased and his fortunes declined (18:9–16; Fokkelmann 1986). This was made even more evident by Saul's plots against David, by Saul's hoping the Philistines would kill David, and by Saul's use of his own daughters, Merab and Michal, as pawns in his struggle (18:17–30). Contrary to Saul's expectations, David succeeded even further, and all Israel "loved" him (18:28). Thus Saul feared and hated him all the more, while David's fortunes continued to rise (18:29–30).

Saul became obsessed with killing David and endeavored by various means to do so. Saul's daughter (now David's wife) Michal, however, helped David escape once (19:11–17), and his son Jonathan also allied himself with David (18:1–4; 19:1–7; 20:1–21:1—Eng 20:42; 23:16–18). The themes of Jonathan's love for David and the covenant between the two are prominent here, and they form the basis later for several of King David's acts of kindness to Jonathan's son. They also dramatically highlight the tenuous nature of Saul's hold on the throne—and its bankruptcy—since his own son, the presumed heir apparent, allied himself with YHWH's chosen heir apparent against his own father.

Finally, despite Michal's and Jonathan's help, David was forced to flee from Jerusalem permanently.

5. David the Fugitive. A lengthy account ensues, recounting the details of David's flight from Saul and his service as a mercenary for the Philistines (1 Sam 21:2 [Eng 21:1]–30:31). In each episode, David's character and his fortunes emerge enhanced. The stage is indeed set for David to assume his place as God's chosen king after Saul's death in 1 Samuel 31.

David first fled to Nob, a Benjaminite city near Gibeah and Jerusalem (Isa 10:32; Neh 11:31–32) and the center of religious activity after the destruction of Shiloh (cf. 14:3; Jer 7:14). Here he obtained provisions and Goliath's sword (via a deception) from Ahimelech, the priest. The worthiness of his person and his cause are highlighted by the priest's making available to him the holy Bread of the Presence, which normally was to be reserved for the priests (Lev 24:8–9). (A seemingly innocuous notice about Doeg the Edomite's presence in 21:8—Eng 21:7 later is shown to be rather ominous, since Doeg came to function as Saul's spy and then slaughtered the priests at Nob on Saul's behalf [22:6–19].)

Following this incident, David fled to Gath, in Philistine territory, where he certainly would have been safe from Saul. However, his reputation as an adversary of the Philistines had preceded him, and he was forced to flee (21:11–16—Eng 21:10–15). At Adullam, NE of Gath, he gathered around him—from among the marginal and disaffected members of society—the nucleus of what would become a formidable fighting force (22:1–2). He crossed into Moab to place his parents into the temporary care of the Moabite king (22:3–5). There his descent from the Moabite Ruth could only have helped him.

When he returned to Judah, Saul heard from Doeg of Ahimelech's aid to David and enlisted Doeg—Saul's personal bodyguards having refused to do so—to kill the 85 priests from Nob and their households (22:6–19). Abiathar, one of Ahimelech's sons, escaped, however, and joined David (22:20–23).

Next, David heard of Philistines' harassing Keilah, a Judahite town E of Gath, and he defeated them with YHWH's help, freeing Keilah (23:1–5). David learned from YHWH that, despite their rescue, the men of Keilah planned to give him and his 600 men into Saul's hand, so he fled once again, this time into the Wilderness of Ziph, SE of Keilah (23:6–14).

Here Jonathan met David, renewed their covenant, and reassured him (23:15–18). The men of Ziph, like those from Keilah earlier, plotted to give David up to Saul; thus he was forced to flee again, S into the Wilderness of Maon, just ahead of Saul and his men. Saul was diverted from his pursuit by a report that Philistines had raided the land, and David descended SE to the strongholds of En-Gedi, near the Dead Sea (23:19–24:1—Eng 23:19–29).

We now encounter the first of two related episodes in which David had Saul's life in his hands but chose to spare it (24:2–23—Eng 24:1–22; cf. 26:1–25). In this one Saul returned to the chase reinforced with 3000 chosen men. When Saul entered a cave near En-Gedi to relieve himself, one in which David was hiding, David refused to take advantage of the situation, displaying a respect for the office of the anointed king (24:7, 11—Eng 24:6, 10); he

himself, of course, would one day occupy that office. Upon David's disclosure to Saul of this, Saul repented—for the time being—of his pursuit of David, affirmed David's position as YHWH's chosen, and returned home (24:9–23—Eng 24:8–22).

A notice of Samuel's death and burial follows (25:1a), and then David resumed his wanderings, going into the Wilderness of Paran (25:1b). Here, in Maon, he met yet another man who would not help him in his flight, one Nabal, whose character lived up to the meaning of his name ("fool"). Nabal was rich, but he refused to provision David's men in spite of the latter's consideration of his shepherds; and only the intercession of Nabal's wife Abigail spared him from David's retribution since, unlike her husband, she was aware of David's special favor from YHWH (25:28–31). Fittingly, Nabal then died on his own, and David took Abigail as his wife, as well as Ahinoam of Jezreel. In the meantime Saul had given his daughter Michal as a wife to another man (25:42–44), as he already had done with Merab (18:19).

A second incident where David spared Saul's life follows (26:1–25). Its similarities to the first have prompted many to see them as variants of the same story (Klein *1 Samuel* WBC, 236–38). However, it does have a character of its own, and it serves to reinforce the picture given of David's fine character and his awareness of the significance of YHWH's anointed one (26:11, 16, 23). In this episode David encounters Saul asleep, rather than in a cave, and Saul again "repents" of pursuing David.

The last stage that we see of David's life as a fugitive from Saul was one in which he was able to consolidate even further his own position and following, thus facilitating his accession to power following Saul's death (chaps. 27–30). Despite Saul's occasional friendliness, David still feared for his life, so he went over to Achish, king of Gath, with whom he had had earlier contact (27:1–4; cf. 21:11–16—Eng 21:10–15). Achish gave him Ziklag as a city from which he could conduct raids, and David stayed there for 16 months. During this time, he curried favor with his Philistine overlord by conducting many raids, passing them off as raids against the Philistines' enemies in Judah, his own land; in fact, he was raiding to the S, against various desert bands, including Amalekites. These raids would naturally win him the loyalty of those living in Judah itself.

David's position was such that Achish would have taken him into battle against Israel and Saul himself had he not been overruled by the rest of the Philistine coalition because of their suspicions concerning David's loyalties (28:1–2; 29:1–11). This incident had the effect of removing David from any responsibility for Saul's death, which resulted in the ensuing battle (chap. 31). In the meantime David did further battle with the Amalekites (chap. 30), who had been raiding in Judah and had taken much booty and David's two wives. He recovered these and distributed the spoils throughout Judah, further demonstrating his military prowess and strengthening his position in Judah.

6. The Death of Saul. David's respect for the office of king was again demonstrated when he received the report of Saul's and Jonathan's deaths (1 Sam 31:1–2 Sam 1:27). The news was brought him by a self-serving Amalekite who attempted to ingratiate himself with David by claiming to have killed Saul. Instead, David had the Amalekite killed for his lack of respect for the royal office (2 Sam 1:1–16). David's lament (1:17–27) over the deaths of Saul and Jonathan is a model of grief and was recorded in the poetic "Book of Jashar" (1:18; cf. Josh 10:12–13; 1 Kgs 8:12–13 [LXX]).

7. Judah's Anointing of David. David now was able to return to Judah; and, in a public ceremony, he was anointed as king by the men of Judah at Hebron (2 Sam 2:1–4a), where he reigned 7.5 years (2:11). He immediately reached out to the men of Jabesh-Gilead, in N Transjordan (2:4b–7), a region that was claimed by Ish-bosheth, Saul's son (2:9). David could not pretend to the kingship of all Israel and Judah yet, however, because of the claims of his rival (2:8–4:12).

8. A Rival King. Ish-bosheth was installed as king over the N by Abner, commander of Saul's army, and ruled over Israel for two years (2:8–10). Chapters 2–4 reflect the natural rivalry that existed between Israel and Judah; the narrative is couched in terms of the rivalries between the houses of Saul and David (e.g., 3:1, 6). The kingdom had not yet been divided, yet "Israel" is referred to several times in contrast to "Judah" (e.g., 2:9–10; 3:10, 19, 37; 4:1), reflecting the very real divisions that existed throughout the nation's history. It was a testimony to David's personal magnetism and abilities, as well as to YHWH's favor upon him, that a unified kingdom was able to exist as it did under him.

In these chapters (2 Sam 2:8–4:12), the rivalry is played out especially through Abner, Saul's commander, and Joab, David's general: David's involvement is limited until Abner's death. First, in a deadly serious contest (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 95, 98), David's men handed Abner's men an initial defeat; and then Abner killed one of Joab's brothers, Asahel (2:12–23). Joab eventually killed Abner for this (3:26–30) despite the facts that he and Abner had declared a truce (2:24–32) and that Abner had had friendly contacts with David (3:12–21). David mourned Abner's death (3:31–39), in a manner reminiscent of his mourning Saul's death; this—and more—pleased the people (3:36). Ish-bosheth then was murdered, eliminating all effective rivalry to David's claim to the throne (chap. 4). David again mourned and he had the murderers executed, again displaying the concern for fairness in combat exhibited earlier. The way was now clear for David to assume sole power over a united Israel.

9. All Israel's Anointing of David. David was anointed for a third time, also at Hebron, this time over all Israel and Judah (2 Sam 5:1–5). The language of acclamation *(shepherd, prince, king)* is all part of standard vocabulary pertaining to royalty. The reference to him as *shepherd,* however, cannot help but recall the first reference to him, as an obscure shepherd, as well (1 Samuel 16). "How the lowly has risen!" Soon after he was to take Jerusalem, and he reigned there for 33 years, for a total reign of 40 years.

10. David's Capture of Jerusalem. The story of David's rise to power (2 Sam 5:6–10) climaxes with his capture of the city that was to serve as the nation's capital throughout its later history (see DAVID, CITY OF; JERUSALEM). Jerusalem afforded him numerous advantages. It was centrally located between Judah and the N tribes and was not strongly identified with any tribe: it had been included in the tribal allotment of Benjamin (Josh 18:28), but it ap-

peared as part of the borders of the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:8), and it was included in the list of cities the Judahites did not conquer (15:63). Thus it could well play the role of a "neutral" capital. It was an old, well-established, walled Jebusite city, strategically located in the inland hill country. David easily could have drawn on its established bureaucracies in running the city (Mendenhall 1975; Herion and Hill 1986), although Mendenhall has drastically overstated the case for David as a cynical and Canaanized despot.

The method of David's capture of the city is not entirely clear. The explanation that the route of capture was up through the water shaft discovered by Charles Warren in 1867 (see 5:8) has lost much of its earlier cachet (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 136–40; Anderson *2 Samuel* WBC, 81–85; but cf. DAVID, CITY OF).

The story of David's rise ends with the note that his present exalted position was due to "YHWH, the God of hosts" (5:10).

D. Consolidation of Power

The zenith of David's story now follows. Things went well for him militarily, administratively, and especially spiritually. It is telling, however, that this portion of his life receives such brief treatment.

1. Material Successes–I (2 Sam 5:11–25). There is little break in thought here from the comment in 5:10, for we see David being favored by God and man (5:11–12) and becoming a prolific father (5:13–16). Furthermore, he had his first true military successes against the Philistines; both came by means of YHWH's fighting on his behalf (5:17–25).

2. Spiritual Successes (2 Sam 6:1–7:29). David's religious sensibilities are shown here via his desires to bring the exiled ark back to Jerusalem and to build a suitable house for it. The account of the ark's return concludes several stories about its fortunes (1 Sam 4:1–7:1), usually collectively referred to as the "Ark Narrative." In this account, David is seen as somewhat insensitive to strict religious conventions regarding the ark (cf. Num 4:15), but nevertheless well-intentioned and enthusiastic. The ark eventually was brought to the City of David amid much celebration (2 Sam 6:5, 12–19). David's wife Michal was embarrassed by his vigorous celebrations, and she ended up barren as a result (6:16, 20–23), effectively eliminating the possibility that a descendant of Saul would have any hereditary claim to David's throne.

David's fortunes reached their peak with the significant royal-grant covenant that YHWH made with him (2 Samuel 7), assuring him that he himself would have a descendant on the throne in perpetuity (see DAVIDIC COVENANT; Kaiser 1974, 1989). It came in response to David's desire to build YHWH a house; YHWH instead promised David a sure "house" (i.e., dynasty) forever and assured him, using the language of divine adoption (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 207; Anderson *2 Samuel* WBC, 122), that his son would be YHWH's son (cf. Pss 2:7; 89:27–28—Eng 89:26–27). David's response was a prayer of gratitude (7:18–29). This chapter has aptly been called "the theological highlight of the Books of Samuel . . . if not of the Deuteronomistic History as a whole" (Anderson, 112), because of its significant content and its importance in later texts.

3. Material Successes–II (2 Sam 8:1–18). Following this theological highlight, we have a rather mundane catalog of David's further military victories, over Philistines and Moabites (8:1–2), Arameans (8:3–8), Edomites (8:13–14), and others (8:12), and of his acclaim by the king of Hamath (8:9–12). Its function is to show further that YHWH was with David and that he was an effective warrior and ruler (8:6b, 14b–15). The extent of David's kingdom was impressive: it reached the Mediterranean in the W, the N Sinai desert in the S, much of Transjordan in the E, and it approached the Euphrates in the N (cf. 24:5–7).

In connection with David's effectiveness as a ruler, the chapter ends with a list of David's chief administrative officials (8:16–18). Among these are Zadok and Ahimelech, who served as David's priests. (Later we see Zadok and Abiathar in this capacity [20:25; cf. McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 253–57; Keil and Delitzsch n.d.: 365–67].) David's sons also were "priests" (8:18).

E. Decline

The rest of the story of David concerns events in which he was largely a victim or a bystander. After an auspicious beginning, he fell into great sin, following which numerous troubles beset him (see G.2 below).

1. David and Mephibosheth. The early promises to Jonathan were now fulfilled: David sought to show kindness to a descendant of Saul's for the sake of his covenant with Jonathan (2 Sam 9:1–13; cf. 1 Sam 20:14–17, etc.). That his concern was more than merely a personal one for Jonathan is borne out by the several references to the "house of Saul." Ziba, Saul's servant, who later would prove to be somewhat devious in his dealings, introduced David to the lame (and loyal) Mephibosheth, who would not have been a major threat to his throne (but cf. 16:3), and David took him in.

2. The Ammonite War–I. David had a series of hostile encounters with an Ammonite-Aramean coalition (2 Sam 10:1–19; cf. 12:26–31 and the summary in 8:3–8). We see him initiating a friendly encounter with the Ammonite king, but being rebuffed (10:1–5), after which he sent an army against the Ammonites, who by this time had enlisted Aramean help. His general Joab's victory was followed by another attempt—also unsuccessful—by the coalition to defeat Israel (10:6–19). The account serves to show David making peace with the Arameans (10:19) and to set the stage for the story of his great sins (cf. 11:1).

3. David and Bathsheba. The "Bathsheba Affair" (2 Sam 11:1–12:25; McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 177) forms a critical turning point in David's life. Prior to this, he prospered greatly; afterward, his personal fortunes were greatly diminished.

For reasons unknown, David did not go with his army to do further battle with the Ammonites (11:1). His presence in Jerusalem afforded him an opportunity to notice Bathsheba bathing and to desire her. He sent for her and consummated his desire, after which she conceived (11:2–5). To cover his actions he sent for her husband, Uriah, who had been with the army; however, Uriah refused to enter his own house while his compatriots and the ark were away engaged in battle, so David arranged to have him killed (thereby achieving some personal satisfaction perhaps, but still not solving his problem of paternity)

(11:6–25). David then took Bathsheba as his wife, but YHWH was displeased, and sent Nathan the prophet to confront him. Nathan did so, via a cleverly contrived story that trapped David into admitting his own guilt (12:1–15a). Included in Nathan's oracle was a sentence upon David (12:10–12), one that was fulfilled in several ways after this. The son born to Bathsheba died because of David's sin (12:15b–23), but a grace note was struck for David and Bathsheba in the birth of another son, who was named "Solomon" (meaning "peaceable") and "Jedidiah" (meaning "beloved of YHWH") (12:24–25).

4. The Ammonite War–II. After this (or in the meantime), Joab captured Rabbah, the Ammonite capital, and David came out to take it officially and to subdue the Ammonites, who thereafter did not pose a threat to Israel (2 Sam 12:26–31).

5. Two Rebellious Sons. From the perspective of succession struggles, the next episodes (2 Sam 13:1–19:1—Eng 18:33) serve to clarify the picture somewhat, since two of David's oldest sons—Amnon and Absalom—are killed here. From the perspective of the story of David himself, however, these episodes show him to be "under the curse," the keynotes of which are struck in chaps. 10–12, esp. 12:10–12 (Carlson 1964: 129–259). He is a relatively passive figure throughout.

First, David's oldest son AMNON raped his half-sister Tamar (13:1–22). In retaliation for this, ABSALOM, David's third son, killed Amnon and then fled to Geshur, the home of his mother Maacah, E of the Sea of Galilee, where he stayed for three years (13:23–39; cf. 3:3). At this point, David did little to influence events; he mainly reacted to them (12:21, 37, 39), mourning the loss of these two sons.

Absalom finally was brought back through the efforts of Joab, David's general and nephew, who recruited a wise woman from Tekoa to masquerade as a bereaved mother whose remaining son's life was threatened (14:1–24). When David's compassion caused him to intercede, she pointed out to him that Absalom's lot was the same as her son's. Acknowledging her point, David restored Absalom from exile but did not allow him to come into his presence for two years (14:24, 28). Father and son finally were reconciled after some persistence on Absalom's part (14:29–33).

Soon afterward, however, Absalom began an active campaign of subversion against his father (15:1–12). He conspired to be made king at Hebron, his birthplace and the place of his father's acclamation as king and early reign over Judah and all Israel. His star rose steadily in Israel: this good fortune included the defection to his side of Ahithophel, David's counselor (15:12).

David was forced to flee from Jerusalem, along with most of his household and the warriors loyal to him (15:13–16:14). During the flight, a sad one (15:23, 30), David did work (rather effectively, as it turned out) to subvert Absalom's rebellion. He allowed Ittai, leader of 600 men from Gath, to stay with him (15:19–23); Ittai was one of the three generals who then led the successful battle against Absalom (18:2). He directed the priests Zadok and Abiathar to return with the ark to Jerusalem (15:24–29); their presence there would later help him (15:35–36, etc.). He asked YHWH to render the defector Ahithophel's counsel against him ineffective (15:31); this prayer was answered, and Ahithophel hanged himself (16:20–17:23). He met Hushai and enlisted his help as a spy and counter-influence to Athithophel (15:32–37); Hushai proved to be the answer to his prayer (16:15–17:23). He also met Ziba, Saul's servant, who attempted to ingratiate himself with David, and one Shimei, who cursed him as he fled (16:1–14). David dealt graciously with both (cf. also 19:17–31—Eng 19:16–30).

Following David's departure, Absalom entered Jerusalem (16:15). Ahithophel advised him to consolidate his position as king by taking his father's concubines, which he did (16:20–23). He also counseled a selective strike that would kill only David (17:1–4). To counter Ahithophel's advice, David's agent Hushai advised a large-scale mobilization instead, and Absalom took this advice, which prompted Ahithophel to hang himself (17:5–14, 23). YHWH's hand could be seen in this, since Ahithophel's had been good counsel (17:14): the delay in mobilization allowed Hushai to send word to David about Absalom's plans, via the two priests' sons, thus setting the stage for the military confrontation (17:15–22).

The confrontation took place across the Jordan in the dense forest of Ephraim in Gilead. Absalom's forces, under Amasa, were no match for David's seasoned followers, under Joab, Abishai, and Ittai, and many were lost to the sword or to the forest (18:1–8). Absalom himself was killed by Joab, and word of his death was brought to David (18:9–32); the moving climax of the story is reached abruptly in David's reaction to his son's death and his poignant lament (19:1—Eng 18:33).

6. David's Restoration. Immediately following Absalom's death (2 Sam 19:2 [Eng 19:1]–20:26), there was a power vacuum in Jerusalem and some confusion over David's proper role in a renewed Israel since he had, in effect, been deposed as king by his son. The situation was aggravated by David's prolonged preoccupation with Absalom's death, rather than with his loyal followers; after a sharp rebuke by Joab, David arose to take his rightful place in the gate at Mahanaim (19:2–9a—Eng 19:1–8a).

North-south tensions that had been visible earlier (chaps. 2–5) now resurfaced. To fill the power vacuum in Israel, David courted the elders of his own tribe, Judah, and was accepted by them as king upon his return to Cisjordan. He also courted Amasa, Absalom's general, to the exclusion of his own general, Joab (19:9b–16—Eng 19:8b–15).

This appointment by David of Amasa as commander of his army was typical of the magnanimity and of the forgive-and-forget attitude that are presented in connection with David's return. David also forgave Shimei, who had cursed him earlier, and he assured Mephibosheth of his favor despite questions that had arisen about his loyalties (19:17–31—Eng 19:16–30). Even Ziba, Saul's servant, retained David's favor despite his deception (19:30—Eng 19:29; cf. 16:1–4). David also invited Barzillai, who had helped him when he was in flight (17:27–29), to join him in Jerusalem; the feeble Barzillai sent his son instead (19:32–41—Eng 19:31–40).

While David had been acclaimed in Judah, the men of Israel felt they had not been properly included in his return (19:42–44—Eng 19:41–43). Their discontent formed the basis for the brief success of the revolt against

David by one Sheba, a Benjaminite (20:1–22). The Israelites responded to his call to withdraw from David, while David finally returned to Jerusalem. David then sent out two of his generals, Amasa and Abishai, to counter this new rebellion. Amasa was killed by Joab, whom he had replaced as general, and then Joab led the pursuit of Sheba, who was killed by the citizens of Abel of Bethmaacah, at the advice of a wise woman there.

David's restoration to power was complete with the return of Joab to Jerusalem (20:22d), and a second list of his administrative officials follows this notice (20:23–26; cf. 8:16–18).

7. David's Last Deeds. David's position as a theological symbol is reemphasized in the final chapters of 2 Samuel (2 Sam 21:1–24:25; Childs *IOTS*, 273–77). First, we have the story of David's execution of seven of Saul's sons, but he was not to be held responsible for this, since it was due to the bloodguilt of Saul. As for David, we see him sparing Mephibosheth (cf. chap. 9) and recovering the remains of Saul and Jonathan for proper burial (21:1–14).

Next, we have a list of David's heroes, who were involved in four Philistine wars (21:15–22). His military prowess here is downplayed; indeed, in his last battle (21:15–17) his weakness is particularly evident.

This weakness forms an appropriate lead-in to his poetic praise in chap. 22, where YHWH receives the credit for David's victories. The prose introduction (22:1) includes "all his enemies" (and not just Saul) as ones from whom YHWH delivered him, rendering appropriate the psalm's inclusion here, with other accounts of the end of his life. The psalm closes (22:51) with a reference to the all-important Davidic covenant.

Another poem follows in which we also see a theocentric emphasis: the "testament" of David (23:1–7). Here David, the "sweet psalmist of Israel," also is deemed the "anointed of the God of Jacob" (23:1), and the everlasting Davidic covenant is once again emphasized (23:5). The poem also speaks of the ideal ruler, of which David was the prototype (cf. Psalms 1–2).

Another list of David's heroes follows (23:8–39). The list ends, significantly, with Uriah, whom David had killed; this abrupt reminder of a major blot on David's record serves effectively to introduce another episode in which he also sinned (chap. 24), especially since the parallel list of his heroes in 1 Chr 11:26–47 occurs in a different context and adds some 16 additional names after Uriah's.

Another story now follows (24:1–25) in which David, responding to a kindling of YHWH's wrath, numbered the people in an apparent gesture of lack of faith. The punishment—which David was allowed to choose—was a great plague upon the people. David then purchased the land that ultimately would serve as the site of the temple, and he offered sacrifices there that averted YHWH's anger. The books of Samuel end with a note of YHWH's graciousness for the sake of the land (24:25; cf. 21:14).

8. Two Contentious Sons. David's final decline and demise were accompanied by a somewhat unseemly struggle for succession between Adonijah, his oldest surviving son, and Solomon, Bathsheba's favorite (1 Kgs 1:1–2:12). The feeble condition of David (1:1–4, 15) prompted Adonijah to claim the throne and have himself acclaimed as king (1:5–10). His boldness was partially due to David's failure as a parent (1:6; cf. the similar comment about David and Amnon in the versions of 2 Sam 13:21 [Ulrich 1978: 84–85]). Adonijah's actions prompted Nathan and Bathsheba, who were among those excluded from his celebrations (cf. 1:8–10), to champion Solomon's cause (1:11–27) even to the point of deceiving David (1:13; cf. 1:30). David placed his imprimatur upon Solomon along with instructions for his installation as king (1:28–37). Solomon was anointed and Adonijah disposed of (1:38–53) after which David gave Solomon his final charge (2:1–4) and instructions for disposition of various characters previously associated with David (2:5–9). David was buried in the city that bore his name after having reigned 40 years, and he was succeeded by his son Solomon (2:10–12).

F. A Man after God's Own Heart

Taken in toto, the biblical pictures of David are overwhelmingly positive. As a "historical" person he accomplished much and was greatly favored despite his flaws. As a theological symbol he was the godly king par excellence.

1. David in the Former Prophets. The books of 1 and 2 Samuel contain the most detailed "biographical" information about David. He is shown rising to the throne of Israel from humble beginnings as a shepherd, and then select portions of his life while he was king follow, until his death. The "reporting" displays close attention to detail and people, contains much dialogue and insight into people's mental processes, and is a masterpiece of literary composition.

In general, the image of David portrayed here is one of a talented and (more importantly) divinely chosen and favored figure who rises to power almost in spite of himself, who is the recipient of an important divine promise, but who then subverts much of his own accomplishment through his sin, after which his life is a series of troubles. A clear message here is that YHWH (and David's trust in YHWH) are behind his rise to kingship and that YHWH's covenant with David will not be derailed by David's flaws. He is a "flawed but favored" character (Bowman fc.); and this favor is the true key to whatever success he has, a point that especially is reiterated in subsequent texts. In 1 and 2 Kings David is important as the father of the Judahite dynasty, as the recipient of the divine promise, and as the standard for the righteous kings; significantly, his status as a warrior is downplayed (Gerbrandt 1986: 158–73).

2. David in Chronicles. The books of 1 and 2 Chronicles have "Davidism" (North 1963: 376–81; cf. Howard 1988: 26–30) as a major motif with David as the central character in 1 Chronicles. After an extensive genealogical section (chaps. 1–9) that highlights the interest in Judah, in the Davidic dynasty, and in the institution by David of centralized worship at Jerusalem and the temple, the book quickly dispenses with Saul (chap. 10) in order to highlight David's reign (chaps. 11–29). David now is presented as completely flawless and as very much concerned with religious matters.

Much of 1 Chronicles parallels the accounts in 1–2 Samuel, but it has its own selective omissions and additions and its own distinctive slant. Specifically, 1 Chronicles omits the entire story of David's rise to power (see C above), except for a cursory look at Saul (chap. 10), the list of his sons (3:1–4), his anointing at Hebron (11:1–3), and his

capture of Jerusalem (11:4–9). Most of the material related to his consolidation of power is included, but almost all of the story of his decline is missing (including the story of his sins related to Bathsheba), except for his Ammonite war (19:1–20:3) and some of the material from the Samuel "Appendix" (2 Samuel 21–24).

1 Chronicles does provide us with some significant, new information concerning David not found elsewhere. Significant additions include an expanded listing of David's supporters (chap. 12); an extended psalm (16:4–42); and details of David's preparations for building the temple, of levitical and priestly responsibilities, of instructions for musicians, gatekeepers, keepers of the treasuries, officers, judges, and other officials, and of David's last words to Solomon and the people, in which he encouraged them particularly in building the temple and in following their God (22:2–29:22a).

The picture of David that emerges in 1 Chronicles is one of a true "man after God's own heart" (cf. 1 Sam 13:14; Acts 13:22). His devotion to God, especially as expressed through his preparations for the future temple and everything associated with it and his place as God's favored king, the head of the Judahite (and messianic) dynasty, are important elements in the book. The notice of his death shows him to have had a full, honorable, and honored life (1 Chr 29:28, 30).

3. David in the Latter Prophets, the Writings, and the NT. Elsewhere in the Bible, David is important not so much as a "historical" character, but rather as a model for godly kings and especially as a symbol of Israel's monarchy and of YHWH's favor upon the nation (see DAVIDIC COVENANT; MESSIAH).

For example, in the Latter Prophets, David and his kingship take on eschatological significance; they appear as symbols of YHWH's favor in the past and present, but most especially in the future. In the Psalter David appears in the superscriptions of almost half the psalms; 14 of these tie in their psalms with incidents in David's life. (In the LXX some 14 additional psalms are attributed to him, and 11QPss[a], col. 27 states that he authored 4050 psalms.) The importance of the royal psalms in the Psalter—including their placement (Wilson 1986)—also points to the significance of David and the Davidic kingship. In the NT, David is significant as the ancestor of Jesus, who is the "son of David" and the Davidic king par excellence.

G. Sources and Methods for the Study of David

1. Literary Sources Identified in the Bible. The primary biblical sources for our knowledge of David are the books of 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 Chronicles. The Bible also mentions documents that no longer exist in which information about David was contained: the "Book of Jashar" (2 Sam 1:18), the "Chronicles of Samuel the Seer," the "Chronicles of Nathan the Prophet," and the "Chronicles of Gad the Seer" (1 Chr 29:29).

Modern textual criticism has added much to the study of David, particularly in 1 and 2 Samuel, where there are marked variations at many points (*NHT;* Ulrich 1978; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 5–11). In addition, the recent understanding of the Chronicler's stance as an exegete of his sources in Samuel and Kings also has helped in the study of David (Ackroyd 1977; Sailhamer 1989).

2. Literary Sources Not Identified in the Bible. Modern scholars have identified various hypothetical sources within the biblical texts for the accounts of David's life. One approach divides the texts (at least in 1 Samuel) into intertwined strands, attributed to different authors with different styles and perspectives (Wellhausen 1871); but it is not as common today as previously.

The dominant approach in this century has identified two major "documents" in 1 and 2 Samuel related to David and generally known as the "History of David's Rise" or "David's Rise to Power" (1 Samuel 16–2 Samuel 5) and the "Succession [or "Accession"] Narrative" (2 Samuel 9–20, 1 Kings 1–2). While larger documents have been proposed—such as Campbell's "Prophetic Record" (1986), Noth's "Deuteronomistic History" *(NDH)*, and Freedman's "Primary History" (*IDBSup*, 226–28)—the two primary Davidic documents are seen as having been incorporated into these largely undisturbed.

The "History of David's Rise" was first named in 1926 by Rost (1982; cf. Lemche 1978; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB), and its purpose has been seen to legitimate David's kingship by reporting on his rise to power in Jerusalem from humble beginnings as a shepherd boy, or by functioning as an "apology," a defense against various charges that David illegitimately usurped power from Saul. Although generally analyzed as political propaganda, its essential "historical" orientation usually has been accepted.

Positive evaluations such as this particularly have applied to the second document, the "Succession Narrative" (also called the "Court History of David") (Rost 1982; Whybray 1968). It has been analyzed as a review of the question of the succession to David's throne generally or as a Solomonic apologetic specifically. While its political or other agendas have been stressed, its "historical" character has been praised as perhaps the closest example in the Hebrew Bible of "objective" historiography, most likely written by a close observer of the court. Even this is now questioned, however (Gunn 1978; Hagan 1979; Whitelam 1984; Ackerman 1990). Nevertheless, its general historical orientation and its delightful literary artistry are not seriously questioned.

3. Literary Approaches. While the approaches just mentioned are, strictly speaking, "literary," a third approach has recently arisen that focuses upon the received or final forms of the texts, rather than upon hypothetical "documents" that may have existed prior to the texts' final writing or redaction. Here, the approaches vary widely, ranging from *structuralist* or *formalist* treatments that are primarily descriptive of literary techniques (Fokkelmann 1981, 1986; Garsiel 1985) or that go beyond this to identify larger narrative purposes or agendas (Gunn 1978, 1980; Polzin 1989; Bowman fc.) to *poststructuralist* or *deconstructionist* treatments that see meaning as indeterminate (whether intentionally so or not) in any text (Miscall 1983: 47–143; 1986; Gunn 1989; cf. Jobling 1978: 4–25).

4. Archaeological/Historical Approaches. Archaeology has provided another, albeit limited, avenue by which to study David. Here, the contribution is generally to provide an understanding of the various contexts—historical, political, economic, sociological—in which he lived. David became king at the beginning of the Iron II Age (ca. 1000–586 B.C.E.), which encompassed the golden

age of Israelite life and culture. It represented a resurgence of building activities and political expansion, after the relative "dark age" of Iron I (ca. 1200–1000 B.C.E.). David himself initiated several building projects in Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:9, 11), but only limited data have come from excavations there, including wall fragments and a few miscellaneous loose objects, such as ceramic chalices and a portion of a cultic stand (see DAVID, CITY OF). Elsewhere in Israel, the data are similarly limited. Some impressive building projects, particularly at Megiddo and Beersheba, may have come from that time (Aharoni 1982: 192–224); but their dating is disputed (cf. *EAEHL* 3: 830–56). Distribution patterns of pottery from the period are more productive, tending to correlate with the biblical data concerning David's military and governmental expansion (Rast 1989).

On the international scene the time of David was one in which the major empires of Mesopotamia and Egypt were relatively quiet. Thus, David was able to extend the borders and influence of Israel as far as he did. He established marriage alliances with several small kingdoms, and he had good relations with Tyre. Otherwise, his international relations were adversarial, especially with the Philistines, about whom a fair amount is now known (Dothan 1982; Brug 1985; cf. Ishida 1982 on the international scene in general).

Closely related to strictly archaeological approaches are various "historical" approaches. These tend to be biographical in nature, generally combining the literary approaches mentioned in G.2–3 with any illumination given by archaeology (*BHI*, 191–211; McCarter 1986; Merrill 1987: 223–84). However, many scholars are skeptical about the possibility of ever recovering a true picture of the "historical" David (Soggin 1984: 41–68; Miller and Hayes *HAIJ*, 149–88).

5. Other Approaches. The literary approaches mentioned in G.3 have been dominant in the 1980s, but another characteristic of the decade has been the wide diversification—even explosion—of interests in all directions. This is evidenced by the use of insights from many other disciplines (not just literature) in biblical studies with much overlap among many of these. Currently, sociological (Brueggemann 1985; Flanagan 1988; cf. Gottwald 1986), feminist (Laffey 1988: 108–28), and political/ideological (Rosenberg 1986: 99–199) approaches are among the most popular in the study of David. Most of these are "reader-oriented" approaches, in which concerns of the reader(s) participate in determining meaning (Gunn 1987). David has been a continuing focus of interest from other perspectives, as well (Frontain and Wojcik 1980; Weisfeld 1983: 149–279; Petersen 1985).

H. Assessment

Evaluations of the historical David necessarily depend upon evaluation of the reliability of the written sources in which he is presented. At the very least it can be said that this was an extraordinary individual to have stimulated as much historical and theological reflection as he did.

As he is presented in the Bible, David was ideally suited to the tasks of kingship that came to him. His popular following, his victories over the Philistines and others, and his establishment of a powerful kingdom show him to have been a shrewd military strategist and motivator. His successful courting of the factions in Israel and Judah, and his forging of a united Israel that retained its identity for close to 80 years, showed his political skills; and his descendants were able to retain their position on the throne in Jerusalem for centuries afterward. Administratively, his establishment of the military, civil, and religious bureaucracies displayed yet another dimension of his talents.

David's skills as a poet, musician, and sponsor of music were renowned as well. His compositions in 2 Samuel and the Davidic psalms demonstrate a poetic genius. His sponsorship of, and involvement in, religious celebrations in connection with the ark show his musical talents and interests. We even read of "instruments of David" that he created or that were somehow associated with him (2 Chr 29:26; Neh 12:36; cf. Amos 6:5).

In addition, David displayed a fine religious sensitivity for the most part. Certainly the Davidic psalms demonstrate this, although the actual composition of all of them by David is disputed. Even outside the Psalter, however, David's relationship with his God, his concern for others' welfare, his ready repentance when confronted with his sin, and his concerns for the religious matters pertaining to the temple and the cult all evidence this as well.

Ultimately, however, David's lasting significance lay in his position as YHWH's chosen king for Israel and as the father of the royal dynasty that YHWH chose to bless. He occupied a midpoint between his great ancestor Abraham and his great descendant Jesus. The promises made to David stood in continuity with those to Abraham, and they pointed to a messianic ideal of great promise for the world, an ideal that, so Christians have affirmed, found its expression in Jesus, the Christ.

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DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

DAVID'S CHAMPIONS. 2 Sam 23:8–39 (= 1 Chr 11:10–47) contains a list of the heroic warriors who served under David. The Hebrew term *gibbôrîm* (RSV "mighty men" after LXX *dunatoi*) is the usual designation of these fighters, who, like the Achaian warriors who fought at Troy, had distinguished themselves in single combat. The names of these warriors and the accounts of their exploits are included primarily in these two lists. The anecdotes in 2 Sam 21:15–22 are also to be mentioned, where four of these champions—Abishai, Sibbecai the Hushathite, Elhanan the Bethlehemite, and Jonathan, the son of Shimei, David's brother—are credited with slaying the last of the descendants of the Rephaim in Gath (contra McCarter [*2 Samuel* AB, 449–50], who interprets these folkloric figures as the "votaries of Rapha," apparently rejecting the traditional assumption that these persons were giants; that they were, however, is precisely the understanding of the text, which includes Goliath of Gath [see 1 Sam 17:4–7], attributes to Ishbi-benob a spear which weighed 300 shekels of bronze, and describes another as "a man of great stature, who had six fingers on each hand, and six toes on each foot, twenty-four in number" [2 Sam 21:20]).

A list of David's monthly levies in 1 Chronicles 27 names heroes (drawn mostly from the list in 1 Chronicles 11) as officers over monthly levies of 24,000 men each (288,000 per year!). 1 Chronicles 27, however, is probably an idealistic projection onto the history of David's reign using the list in 1 Chronicles 11 as a source (Williamson [*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 174–75] reaches a similar conclusion). Anachronisms and exaggerations in the list make this fact clear. For instance, the naming of Asahel in 1 Chr 27:7 would place the list in the time of David's reign in Hebron. Yet it is plain from all other sources that David relied in his early career not on a plentiful source of monthly levies for his military strength, but on a private army of retainers of disparate social and ethnic origin (see 1 Sam 22:1–2; 2 Samuel 23 = 1 Chronicles 11). The private army seems to

have been a key feature of his later years as well (see esp. 2 Samuel 18, 20). Moreover, it is questionable whether tiny Judah, or even Israel and Judah, could at any time have fielded an army of this size. At the height of Israelite power under the dynasty of Omri, Ahab of Israel led a contingent of 2000 chariots and 10,000 foot soldiers into battle at Qarqar, where the W alliance stopped the Assyrians in 853 B.C. (*ANET,* 279). Even more telling, the great Athenian expedition against Syracuse in the late 5th century B.C., which the historian Thucydides considered the largest ever fielded by a Hellenic city, comprised no more than 5000 native Attican troops, not counting auxiliaries. While many of the lists in the books of Chronicles contain valuable historical information, it would appear that the list of David's officers in 1 Chronicles 27, and the figures for, and even the idea of, monthly levies have been projected onto David's reign in accordance with the Chronicler's program of presenting the Davidic monarchy as an ideal state.

The Lists

	2 Sam 23:8–39	1 Chr 11:10–41
I.	Josheb-basshebeth, a Tahchemonite, chief of the *šālîš*	Jashobeam, the son of a Hachmonite, chief of the *šālîšîm*
	Eleazar, the son of Dodo, the son of an Ahohite	Eleazar, the son of Dodo the Ahohite
	Shammah, the son of Agee, the Hararite	[Omitted through haplography; the deeds of Eleazar and Shammah have been combined in a single episode.]
	The anonymous three.	The anonymous three.
	Abishai, the brother of Joab, the son of Zeruiah	Abishai, the brother of Joab, the son of Zeruiah (see 2 Sam 21:15–17: credited with killing Ishbi-benob, a descendant of the Rephaim)
	Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada	Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada
II.	Asahel, the brother of Joab	Asahel, the brother of Joab
	Elhanan, the son of Dodo of Bethlehem	Elhanan, the son of Dodo, from Bethlehem (see 2 Sam 21:19, which credits a Bethlehemite by a similar name with slaying Goliath of Gath)
	[Shammah the Harodite] (var. Hararite; Vg: *arari*)	[Shammoth the Harorite]
	Elika the Harodite	[omitted through homoeoteleuton]
	Helez the [Paltite]	Helez the [Pelonite]
	Ira, the son of Ikkesh of Tekoa	Ira, the son of Ikkesh of Tekoa
	Abiezer the Anathothite	Abiezer the Anathothite
	[Mebunnai] the Hushathite (corruption of Sibbecai?)	[Sibbecai] the Hushathite (see 2 Sam 21:18: credited with killing Saph, a descendant of the Rephaim)
	[Ṣalmon] the Ahohite	[ʿIlai] the Ahohite (corruption of Ṣilai = Ṣalmon?)
	Maharai the Nitophatite	Maharai the Nitophatite
	Heleb, the son of Baʿanah the Nitophatite	Heled, the son of Baʿanah the Nitophatite
	Ittai, the son of Ribai, from Gibeah of the Benjaminites	Ittai, the son of Ribai, from Gibeah of the Benjaminites
	Benaiah, a Pirathonite	Benaiah, the Pirathonite
	[Hidai] from the streams of Gaʿash	[Hurai] from the streams of Gaʿash
	[ʾAbi-ʿAlbon] the Arbathite	[ʾAbi-ʾel] the Arbathite
	Azmaweth the [Barḥunite]	Azmaweth the [Baḥarumite]
	Eliahba the Shaʿalbonite	Eliahba the Shaʿalbonite
	The sons of [Jashen]	The sons of [Hashem the Gizonite]
	Jonathan [pc Gk mss add *huios*]	Jonathan, the son of [Shageh] . . .
	[Shammah] the Hararite	. . . the Hararite
	Ahiʾam, the son of [Sharar the Ararite]	Ahiʾam, the son of [Shakar the Hararite]
	ʾElipelet, the son of ʾAḥasbai,	[ʾElîpal, the son ʾÛr]
	[the son of the Maʿakatite]	Heper the [Mekeratite]
	[ʾEliʿam, the son of ʾAḥitopel] the [Gilonite]	[ʾAhijah] the [Pilonite]
	[Heṣraw] the Carmelite	[Heṣrô] the Carmelite
	[Paʿarai the ʾArbite] (pc mss: ʾArkite)	[Naʿarai, the son of ʾEzbāi]
	[Yigʾal, the son] of Nathan [of Zobah]	[Yôʾel, the brother] of Nathan
	[Bani the Gadite]	[Mibḥar, the son of Hagri] (or: the son of a Hagrite)
	Zelek the Ammonite	Zelek the Ammonite
	Naharai the Beerothite, the armorbearer of Joab, the son of Zeruiah	Naharai the Beerothite, the armorbearer of Joab, the son of Zeruiah
	Ira the Ithrite	Ira the Ithrite
	Gareb the Ithrite	Gareb the Ithrite
	Uriah the Hittite	Uriah the Hittite

Additional Names in 1 Chr 11:41b–47

Zabad, the son of Ahlai	Abina, the son of Shiza the Reubenite, a chief of the Reubenites
Hanan, the Maacathite	Joshaphat the Matanite [fr. Matanayim?]
Uziyya the Ashterathite	Shama and Jeiel
the sons of Hotham, the Aroerite	
Jediael, the son of Shimri, and Joha his brother, the Tizite	
Eliel the Mahavite [read the Mahanite, or the Mahanaymite?]	
Jeribai and Joshaviah, the sons of Elnaʿam	
Ithmah the Moabite	
Eliel and Obed and Ja-asiel from Zobah	

2 Sam 23:8–39 and 1 Chr 11:10–47 exhibit a similar bipartite structure. The first section (2 Sam 23:8–23 = 1 Chr 11:10–25) details the exploits of three of David's most distinguished warriors—Josheb-basshebeth (= 1 Chr 11:11: Jashobeam), Eleazar the son of Dodo, and Shammah the son of Agee, the Hararite—then lists a feat by three anonymous heroes, and concludes with the deeds of two others: Abishai and Benaiah. The second section (2 Sam 23:24–39 = 1 Chr 11:26–41 [1 Chr 11:42–47 contains the names of warriors not listed in 2 Samuel]) is a list of the remaining warriors, widely accepted as "the thirty" since the work of Karl Elliger (1935) and taken up in the major translations (see RSV, JB, NEB). A cursory reading of these lists would therefore seem to yield a simple structure based on the juxtaposition of "the three" with "the thirty."

Yet this interpretation is not the only possibility. Another, raised by Thenius (1864) and recently revived by Mastin (1979) and Naʾaman (1988), is that the Heb term *šĕlōšîm* ('thirty') should here be read *šālîšîm* (the meaning of which will be discussed below). Not only does neither

list testify to 30 names (2 Samuel 23 contains 32, not counting the unnamed sons of Jashen; 1 Chronicles 11 has 46, also omitting various unnumbered groups), the reading *šālišî/šāliššîm* appears in variant mss. The MT designates Josheb-basshebeth as *rō'š haššālišî*—"chief of the *šālîššîm*" (the use of *haššāliší/hšlyšy* probably reflects a collective gentilic derivative of *šālîš/šālîššîm*)—in 2 Sam 23:8, and in 1 Chr 11:11 the Qere of the corresponding Ketib *hšlwšym* is *haššāliššîm*, thus testifying to a muted tradition in which *šāliššîm* was read instead of *šělōššîm*. The same phenomenon is repeated in 1 Chr 12:19—Eng 12:18. Such an obscure reading is probably original to the text. It is at any rate far easier to explain how such a reading could be standardized in terms of the related terms, "the three, the thirty," than to explain how *šālîš/šālišî/šāliššîm* were introduced into the clear schema that now structures the lists. The Lucianic reading *(tōn triōn* = Heb *haššělōšâ)* preferred by McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 489) in 2 Sam 23:8 almost certainly reflects a harmonization of the problematic reading *haššālišî* (in other mss, the Ketib is *hšlyšy*) in terms of the final schema, "the three, the thirty." The similar suggestion by Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 102) that "the three" *(haššělōšâ)* should be preferred on the basis of context is no different. Indeed, it was precisely on the basis of *context* that ancient scribes frequently attempted to harmonize problematic readings. Neither Williamson nor McCarter deals with the fact that enigmatic yet consistent variants such as *haššālišî* and the Ketib *hšlyšy* in 2 Sam 23:8 and the Qere *haššāliššîm* (Ketib *hšlwšym*) in 1 Chr 11:11 did not arise irrationally within an accurate, consistent textual tradition. Rather, the reverse is true: earlier, difficult readings often were suppressed in later versions in favor of simpler, more easily understood ones, according to which the later textual tradition was then standardized. Thus, the difficult *šālîš/šālišî/šāliššîm* should be the preferred reading in 2 Sam 23:8 = 1 Chr 11:11. Further references in these passages to "the thirty" *(haššělōššîm;* e.g., 2 Sam 23:13, 23; 1 Chr 11:15, 25) should be interpreted as representing the *šālîššîm*, since the term "the thirty" most likely represents a harmonization of the enigmatic *šāliššîm* and its other forms (now preserved in only isolated instances: 2 Sam 23:8; 1 Chr 11:11; 12:19—Eng 12:18).

The question remains, who were the *šāliššîm?* Thenius had argued that these were the king's principal retainers. Later, the term *šālîš* was taken as designating the "third man in the chariot" (see Mastin 1979 for bibliography). Rabin (1963) traced the term to the Hittite *šalli[š]*, meaning "great, powerful," a derivation which would go far in explaining certain instances of the word (esp. Exod 14:7; 15:4), as well as the apparent parallel with the Heb *gibbôr* in 1 Chr 11:26 (= 2 Sam 23:24). Rabin's explanation also accords well with Thenius' earlier interpretation. Mastin (1979) and Na'aman (1988) also go back to Thenius. However, where Thenius had seen retainers, Mastin and Na'aman find "officers of the third rank" (after the king and commander of the army). While this explanation has gained in popularity, other instances of the term *šālîš/šālišî* make this meaning unlikely. Solomon's lists of officials name the *šāliším* as a separate category alongside the officers (*śārím;* 1 Kgs 9:22). In 2 Kgs 10:25 the *šāliššîm* are twice grouped with the *rāṣîm*, or runners ordered by Jehu to exterminate the worshippers of Baal. Similarly, Jehu ordered his *šālîš* to cast the body of the slain Jehoram on the ground of Naboth's vineyard (2 Kgs 9:25). These *šāliššîm* do not seem to have had primarily command responsibilities: that is, they are not depicted as officers. Instead, they appear to have belonged to a special class of warrior attached directly to the king (see Thenius) who carried out special assignments for him.

All of the anecdotes about the *šāliššîm* in 2 Samuel 23 fit this definition. The term *šālîš* in this context, and its apparent association with "three," as with the initial three *šāliššîm*—Josheb-basshebeth, Eleazar, and Shammah—and the three anonymous warriors who broke through the Philistine line at Bethlehem to draw water from the well there for David, may be derived from the division of these warriors into three-man squads. Such a division in the Israelite army would have been in contrast to the usual divisions of tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands. The structure of the lists in 2 Samuel 23 and 1 Chronicles 11 would preserve the memory of these squads, naming first "the three," beginning with Josheb-basshebeth, the "chief of the *šāliší*," then giving the exploits of three anonymous *šāliššîm* and of two more of their number (Abishai and Benaiah) who attained important posts in the Davidic court. Finally, the remaining *šāliššîm* (not *šělōššîm*) who served under David are listed (2 Sam 23:24–39 = 1 Chr 11:26–41, 42–47). To sum up, David's champions comprised a special cadre of warriors, organized into three-man squads, who were attached directly to the king, and who carried out special assignments for him.

When the *šāliššîm* became a formal division within David's army is unclear, though the presence of Asahel suggests a fairly early date. Informally, a collection of heroic warriors, who later became *šāliššîm*, probably began to assemble around David when he was a fugitive from Saul, and perhaps even earlier, when David was a condottiere commanding his own troop of men in Saul's service (see 1 Sam 18:5–7). Others, including members of his family, joined David after he had fled from the court of Saul and was hiding in the cave of Adullam (1 Sam 22:1–2). The sons of Zeruiah, David's nephews, who became the leading military figures of his reign, are portrayed as accompanying David during his pursuit by Saul (Abishai: 1 Sam 26:6–12) and during the long war between the house of David and the house of Saul (during which Asahel was killed; 2 Sam 2:8–3:1). Still others distinguished themselves during the Philistine wars; indeed, most of the deeds recounted about David's champions derive from this period. Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, on the other hand, was a latecomer to the group. David made him commander of the *mišma'â* (RSV: bodyguard, from the [explanatory?] Lucianic reading *tēn phulakēn autou; mišma'â* may also refer to those "obedient," or answering directly to the king; perhaps the Cherethites and Pelethites [2 Sam 20:23b]), probably late in his reign, and he was a key player in the coup which brought Solomon to the throne. In return for this service, Solomon set Benaiah over the army in Joab's place (2 Kgs 2:35).

Besides family members and Israelite followers, David's champions included a significant number of non-Israelites. Best known of these is Uriah the Hittite; others included Eliphelet, the son of Ahasbai of Maacah (in S Syria), Igal, the son of Nathan of Zobah (also in S Syria), and Zelek the Ammonite (see 2 Sam 10:1–2 for David's

early ties to the Ammonite court). From 1 Chronicles 11 come Hanan, son of Maacah, Shama and Jeiel, the sons of Hotham the Aroerite (from Aroer in Moab), Ithmah the Moabite (note David's ties to the royal house of Moab during his exile from Saul's court: 1 Sam 22:3–4), and Eliel, Obed, and Jaasiel from Zobah (RSV Mezobaite, which simply means "the one from Zobah"). These foreign nationals were most likely "soldiers of fortune" who had attached themselves to David during his service under Saul and had stood by him out of personal loyalty during his years as a fugitive. Their loyalty would have been rewarded with lands and spoil when David ascended the thrones, first of Judah, and later of Israel, and conquered the smaller nations on Israel's borders. The N Israelites who served under David would also have reaped these benefits. The crucial point is that these champions, from disparate backgrounds, were attached to David by a bond of personal loyalty that withstood the vicissitudes of his career and led to personal reward. They were, in this sense, loyalists as well as mercenaries.

After David had been crowned in Judah, these champions were probably organized into the cadres which came to be known as the *šālîšîm*. As such they did not comprise a royal bodyguard, but a trusted body of retainers who carried out special assignments for the king. At the same time, they served with the militia in war (see 2 Samuel 11) and may have been set along the battle line to stiffen the resistance of the levies, who had proved notably unreliable in pitched battle (e.g., Saul and his men were forced to make a last stand after the flight of the Israelite militia from the field at Gilboa; 1 Sam 31:1–7). David took to heart the hard lessons of Saul's demise: throughout his reign he relied on his professional troops and loyal retainers to secure both the peace of the kingdom and his throne.

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D. G. SCHLEY

DAVID, CITY OF (PLACE) [Heb *ʿîr dāwîd*]. A term appearing in the OT which refers both to the Jebusite "Stronghold of Zion" *(mĕṣudat ṣiyyôn),* captured, occupied, and renamed by David (2 Sam 5:6–9), and to the burial ground in which at least nine Judean kings were interred (e.g., David, 1 Kgs 2:10). In modern usage it is largely a historical-geographical term denoting that part of Jerusalem inhabited during the time of David. See also JERUSALEM (PLACE).

A. Name
B. Topography
C. History of Excavation
D. History of Settlement
  1. Neolithic-Chalcolithic Ages
  2. Early Bronze Age
  3. Early Bronze Age IV
  4. Middle Bronze Age II
  5. Late Bronze Age
  6. Late Bronze Age II/Iron Age I
  7. Iron Age
    a. 10th Century B.C.E.
    b. 9th–8th Centuries B.C.E.
    c. 7th–6th Centuries B.C.E.
  8. Persian Period
  9. Hellenistic Period
  10. Roman Period
E. Subterranean Water Supply Systems
  1. Gihon Spring
  2. Warren's Shaft
  3. Shiloah (or Siloam) Channel
  4. Hezekiah's Tunnel
F. Burial Grounds
  1. Bronze Age
  2. Iron Age
    a. "Tombs of the Davidic Dynasty"
    b. The Silwan Tombs
G. Size and Population

A. Name

The term "City of David" appears in the OT 43 times bearing at least three connotations. Firstly, it denotes the Jebusite "Stronghold of Zion" *(mĕṣudat ṣiyyôn),* which David captured (2 Sam 5:7 = 1 Chr 11:5), occupied (2 Sam 5:9 = 1 Chr 11:7, 8:11) and renamed *ʿîr dāwîd.* In this connotation the term also denotes the compound to which David conveyed the ark of the covenant (2 Sam 6:10 = 1 Chr 13:13; 2 Sam 6:12, 16 = 1 Chr 15:29) and that in which the ark was housed prior to the completion of Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 3:1; 8:1 = 2 Chr 5:2; 1 Kgs 9:24 = 2 Chr 8:11). In addition, this compound was that which Solomon occupied and renovated prior to the construction of his new abode (1 Kgs 11:27).

Secondly, the term denotes the location of a burial ground used to inter kings of the Davidic dynasty. The books of Kings and Chronicles clearly state that these Judean kings were buried in the City of David: David (1 Kgs 2:10), Solomon (1 Kgs 11:43 = 2 Chr 9:31), Rehoboam (1 Kgs 14:31 = 2 Chr 12:16), Abijam (1 Kgs 15:8 = 2 Chr 13:23—Eng 14:1), Asa (1 Kgs 15:24 = 2 Chr 16:14), Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs 22:51[—Eng 22:50] = 2 Chr 21:1), Jehoram (2 Kgs 8:24 = 2 Chr 21:20), Joash (2 Kgs 12:22[—Eng 12:21] = 2 Chr 24:25), and Jotham (2 Kgs 15:38 = 2 Chr 27:9). Although other kings are also said to have been buried in the City of David, the books of Kings and Chronicles preserve variant traditions concerning each of these additional kings. Thus while 2 Kgs 9:28 indicates that Ahaziah was buried in the City of David, 2 Chr 22:9 implies that he was buried somewhere in the kingdom of Israel. According to 2 Kgs 14:20 Amaziah was buried in the City of David, while the MT of 2 Chr 25:28

records only that he was buried "in the city of Judah." Similarly, 2 Kgs 15:7 states that Azariah was buried in the City of David, while 2 Chr 26:23 calls his place of rest "the burial field which belonged to the kings." In 2 Kgs 16:20 Ahaz was buried in the City of David, while 2 Chr 28:27 indicates just the opposite—"they buried him in the city, in Jerusalem, for they did not bring him into the tombs of the kings of Israel." Additionally, the priest Jehoiada was also buried in the City of David (2 Chr 24:16). The cemetery of "the City of David" appears to have been synonymous with "the tombs of the kings of Israel" (2 Chr 28:27) and, in the time of Hezekiah, with "the tombs of the sons of David" (2 Chr 32:33). By the time of Nehemiah, however, the City of David (Neh 3:15) and "sepulchers of David" (Neh 3:16) appear to have been two distinct entities (cf. also 2 Chr 21:20; 24:25).

Thirdly, by the time of Nehemiah, and perhaps as early as the reign of Hezekiah, the term "City of David" was also used in the general sense to denote the oldest area within Jerusalem, i.e., the SE hill (2 Chr 32:5, 30; 33:14; Isa 22:9; Neh 3:15; 12:37).

Josephus later equated the "City of David" with the entire city of Jerusalem (*Ant* 7.3.2 §65–67). This equation caused him, mistakenly, to locate the citadel of David on the city's high, strategically advantageous W hill, known in his day as the "Upper City" (*JW* 5.4.1 §137). Josephus' identification of the W hill passed into Christian tradition, with both the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (Bernard 1891: 22–23) and Eusebius (Klostermann 1904: 74) calling it "the Mount of Zion" (see Simons 1952: 35–59). Modern research into the historical geography of Jerusalem began therefore with the presumption that the original City of David lay on the city's W hill. Archaeological excavation, however, has demonstrated that the Davidic city was situated below the Temple Mount on the S spur of the lower, E hill. Hence within the scope of this discussion, "City of David" is used in the broad sense, as a historical-geographical term denoting that part of the E ridge shown by archaeological excavation to have been occupied during the time of David.

B. Topography

The City of David is the long, narrow, triangular-shaped ridge that stretches S of the Temple Mount. Its E boundary is formed by the Kidron Valley, which separates it from the Mount of Olives. Its W and S boundaries are formed by a once-steep valley called only *haggay(')* 'the valley' in the OT but known to Josephus as the Tyropoean, or Cheesemakers' valley (*JW* 5.4.1 §140). This central valley divides ancient Jerusalem's E and W ridges and converges with the Kidron Valley at the City of David's S apex. The width of the City of David's N base, which rests against the Temple Mount, is 220 m; its length from there to its S apex is 630 m; the level area along its crest comprises approximately 49 dunams; its decrease in height from N to S is approximately 80 m. Of the hills in its immediate vicinity, the City of David is situated on the lowest (Ps 125:2).

The City of David's only perennial source of water, the Gihon Spring, lies at the foot of its E slope, on the edge of the Kidron Valley. Because the Gihon was the only defendable spring in the area, its location determined that of the initial settlements in Jerusalem, and from earliest times the city expanded along the E slope in proximity to it.

Geographically, the City of David is located in the central hill country. Geologically, it is a tilting block composed of two types of limestone, the soft, porous *meleke,* and the hard, nonporous *mizzi ahmar* (Gil and Shiloh 1982: 33). The bedrock along its E slope rises at an angle of approximately 25 degrees. The ascent is punctuated by steep escarpments. In antiquity these escarpments were largely exposed but today are covered with deep deposits of archaeological debris that have created a 45 degree slope.

The archaeological composition of the site conforms to a pattern common in the central hill country where buildings were generally constructed of stone rather than mudbrick. Because ancient builders at these sites often excavated to bedrock in order to secure both firm foundations and building stones, they prevented the eventual buildup of superimposed archaeological strata characteristic of tell sites. Consequently, the best preserved structures at these sites tend to be the last ones constructed, with earlier remains being preserved only when exploited or avoided by later builders. The City of David provides a unique opportunity for investigating the remains of ancient Jerusalem because the last city built along its E slope was destroyed at the end of the Iron Age by the Babylonians (586 B.C.E.). The topography of the area is therefore largely responsible for the nature of the archaeological evidence described herein.

C. History of Excavation

Modern archaeological investigations of the City of David began in 1838, when Edward Robinson traversed Hezekiah's Tunnel. The largest and most recent excavations conducted there were directed by Kathleen M. Kenyon from 1961 to 1967 and by Yigal Shiloh from 1978 to 1985. Although these last two projects provide the basis for the current understanding of the City of David's development, many other archaeologists have also excavated the site: E. Robinson and E. Smith (1838); C. Wilson (1864–65); C. W. Warren (1867–70); Ch. Clermont-Ganneau (1873); H. Guthe (1881); C. Schick (1880–1901); E. W. G. Masterman (1901); F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie (1894–97); M. Parker and L. H. Vincent (1909–11); R. Weill (1913–14, 1923–24); R. A. S. Macalister and J. G. Duncan (1923–25); J. W. Crowfoot and G. M. Fitzgerald (1927–28); N. Avigad (1945–47); D. Ussishkin (1968); B. Mazar, M. Ben-Dov, and E. Mazar (1968–87); and D. Adan-Bayewitz (1977). For a plan showing the areas of these investigations, see Shiloh (1984a: fig. 3). It is possible to reconstruct the stratigraphy and chronology of the City of David on the basis of Shiloh's 1978–83 excavations (see Table 1).

Table 1: City of David: Preliminary Scheme of Strata (Shiloh 1984a:3)

Stratum	Period*	Date
1	Medieval to Modern	11th–20th centuries C.E.
2	Ummayyad-Ayyubid	7th–13th centuries C.E.
3A	Byzantine	6th–7th centuries C.E.

3B	Byzantine	4th–6th centuries C.E.
4	Late Roman	1st–4th centuries C.E.
5	Early Roman	1st century C.E.
6	Early Roman	37 B.C.E.–70 C.E.
7A	Hellenistic (Hasmonean)	1st century B.C.E.
7B	Hellenistic (Hasmonean)	Second half of 2d century B.C.E.
8	Early Hellenistic	4th–2d centuries B.C.E.
9	Persian	6th–4th centuries B.C.E.
10A	Iron Age III	6th century B.C.E.
10B/C	Iron Age IIC	Second half of the 7th century B.C.E.–586 B.C.E.
11	Iron Age IIC	7th century B.C.E.
12	Iron Age IIB	8th century B.C.E.
13	Iron Age IIA	9th century B.C.E.
14	Iron Age IC	10th century B.C.E.
15	Iron Age IA–B	12th–11th centuries B.C.E.
16	LB IIA–B	14th–13th centuries B.C.E.
17	MB II	18th century B.C.E.
18A	MB II	18th century B.C.E.
18B	MB II	18th century B.C.E.
19	EB II	29th century B.C.E.
20	EB II	31st century B.C.E.
21	Chalcolithic EB I	Second half of the 4th millennium B.C.E.

*Periodization has been brought into conformity with *ABD* guidelines.

D. History of Settlement

1. Neolithic-Chalcolithic Ages. Artifacts which may date to the Neolithic Age include a single shard bearing an incised band with a herringbone pattern like that typical of the "Yarmukian culture," and a flint arrowhead. Shards ascribed to the Chalcolithic Age were recovered from natural depressions in the bedrock. Although most of these shards were found mixed with others from the EB, an uncontaminated layer of Chalcolithic material was found in area B, at the foot of the E slope.

2. Early Bronze Age. The earliest architectural remains date to the EB. They are rectangular, broadroom structures with benches lining the interior walls. Built on and against the bedrock slope, these structures were preserved beneath the MB II fortification wall and associated structures at the E edge of area E1 (Shiloh 1984a: 11–12, 25; 1985b: 303, pl. 36c). Although some pottery found in association with these structures may be dated to the EB I, shards belonging to the EB II–III were also present. Consequently, the exact date of the construction and use of these EB buildings has yet to be established. Similarly planned broadroom structures, known as the "Arad-type house," are well-known from other EB sites (Aharoni 1982: 64).

EB pottery has also been found on the bedrock atop the City of David's hillcrest (Macalister and Duncan 1926: 177, fig. 186) and along its W slope (Crowfoot and Fitzgerald 1929: 66, pl. 11:11, 22). EB tombs have been cleared along the upper reaches of the E slope (see below F.1; Vincent 1911: 24–30) and, possibly, at its foot (Kenyon 1963: 11).

3. Early Bronze Age IV. The City of David has no clear evidence of a settlement from the late 3d millennium B.C.E. Rock-cut "shaft tombs" typical of this period have been excavated on the Mount of Olives, and Gonen (1985) has suggested that some of the caves and cisterns on the Temple Mount may have originated as similar EB IV tombs.

4. Middle Bronze Age II. MB II Jerusalem is mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts (B. Mazar 1982) and is also represented by several phases of occupational remains, the earliest of which are associated with a massive fortification wall (Kenyon 1974: 82–84; Shiloh 1984a: 3, 12, 26). Several tombs have also been found on the Mount of Olives (see below F.1).

The first phase of the MB II occupation witnessed the construction of a fortification wall built of cyclopean limestone boulders. Standing partially atop some EB structures, this wall skirts a steep scarp about midway between the hillcrest and the Gihon Spring. During its initial phase the wall was approximately 3 m thick (Shiloh 1984a: 12; Kenyon 1974: 83), but buttressing was later added to its inner face and living surfaces were laid up to it (Shiloh 1984a: 12).

Kenyon (1974: 83) cleared 12.5 m of this wall and noted the presence of two angular turns, which she initially interpreted as the corner of a gate tower (Kenyon 1967b: 30). She later concluded that they indicated the presence of a succession of offsets and insets (Kenyon 1974: 84). Shiloh (1984a: 52) uncovered an additional 30 m of this wall and identified a second "offset" or jog in the wall line similar to that exposed by Kenyon. An additional segment of this wall appears to have been unearthed by Parker above Warren's Shaft (see below E.2) and between those segments subsequently exposed by Kenyon and Shiloh (Vincent 1911: 29, pl. 6; Reich 1987a: 163–64; Steiner 1988). Kenyon (1974: 83) and Shiloh (1984a: 26) both ascribe the wall's construction to the 18th century B.C.E., but portions of it became part of a later fortification system built during the Iron Age II (Shiloh 1984a: 26). No clear sign of either the wall's N or W course has been revealed, and Kenyon's (1974: 89–94) claimed reconstruction is based on negative evidence.

Fragmentary remains of MB II structures and floors have been found at the upper, W end of trench A beneath a series of substructural terraces ascribed to the LB II (Kenyon 1974: 94, but see below D.5). Shiloh (1984a: 12; 1985a: 66, pl. 12B), who located them at several points along the E slope in areas E1 and E3, found floors bearing ceramic vessels, including one which yielded an assortment of carved bone inlays and pieces of gold leaf. MB II pottery recovered from the hillcrest (Macalister and Duncan 1926: 177–78, pl. XVIII) and from fissures in the bedrock immediately S of the Temple Mount (B. Mazar 1971: 23) could possibly indicate the extent of settlement during this period.

5. Late Bronze Age. Architectural remains from the LB are known only from the upper part of the E slope. The earliest of these are fragments of two poorly preserved rooms belonging to a structure built on the bedrock and tentatively dated to the LB I, ca. 15th century B.C.E. This building, located in the NW corner of Shiloh's area G, may be contemporary with a fragmentary structure which Kenyon (1974: 94) found farther to the S and which she dated to the MB II (see D.4).

Evidence for Jerusalem's status as an Egyptian satellite during the Amarna period, LB IIA, is witnessed by six letters from the city's king, Abdi-heba, discovered in the Amarna archive (Na'aman 1975: 88–104; B. Mazar 1982: 3–5). Although archaeological remains ascribable to this period have been retrieved from nearby tomb deposits (see below F.1), none has been found within the City of David.

6. Late Bronze Age II/Iron Age I. Substantial remains of the transitional period between the LB II and the Iron I belong to a massive stone structure of undefined boundaries built along the upper reaches of the E slope in the 13th–12th century B.C.E. See Fig. DAV.01. Macalister and Duncan (1926: 51–55, 57–61, plan facing p. 49, pls. II, V, XXIV); Kenyon (1974: 95–97, 100–103, pl. 31–34), and Shiloh (1984a: 16, 26, 54–58) each unearthed sections of this structure, which is formed of two component parts: a substructure and a superstructure.

The substructure is composed of a series of interlocking terraces formed by N-S "spine" walls and closely spaced, E-W "rib" walls which, together, created rows of rectangular compartments. These, in turn, were filled with loosely packed boulders topped by layers of compact soil. To date, segments of two, and possibly three, substructural terraces have been revealed, descending from the E edge of the hillcrest towards the Kidron Valley for a distance of ca. 20 m (Shiloh 1984a: 16).

The substructural terraces were capped by a stone-built superstructure itself composed of two parts: a rubble core and a stepped mantle. The rubble core served as an interface, keying the mantle to the substructure. The mantle was constructed of partially dressed, dentiform limestone blocks laid like roof tiles in a series of overlapping courses rising from E to W in a stepped fashion toward the hillcrest.

Macalister and Duncan (1926: 51–55, plan facing p. 49) revealed the mantle's uppermost courses and interpreted them as the "Jebusite Rampart." Kenyon, who questioned Macalister and Duncan's early date for the structure, dismantled a stone buildup which she mistakenly believed to be its S continuation (Kenyon 1962: 79). On the basis of this removal, Kenyon (1962: 81; 1963: 14–15) concluded that the stepped stone mantle's upper courses could not predate the Iron Age II. Kenyon's excavations farther downslope in trench A and Shiloh's excavations in area G, however, each revealed an additional number of stepped mantle courses, which lay under Iron Age II buildings (Kenyon 1962: pl. 22B; Shiloh 1984a: 17, 56–57, fig. 22).

Kenyon (1974: 95, 103) and Shiloh (1984a: 16–17, 26–27) both interpreted the substructural and superstructural components as independent architectural units, dating to the LB II and Iron Age II, respectively. Although they each based their dates for the substructural compartments on the ceramic evidence found within them, Kenyon probably, and Shiloh definitely, dated the superstructural mantle on the basis of the pottery recovered from soil layers *covering* it (Shiloh 1984a: 17, 27). Pottery recovered from a probe in which a rectangular section of the mantle's lower courses was removed, however, was identical to the pottery recovered from the substructural fills dating to the 13th–12th century B.C.E. The "stepped stone structure" therefore appears to have been contemporary with the substructural compartments, and these two features are best interpreted as a single architectural unit.

Kenyon (1974: 95, 100) interpreted the substructural compartments as platforms intended to provide level surfaces on which to construct "civilized" buildings along the City of David's E slope. Shiloh (1984a: 16, 26), in contrast, interpreted them as a means for expanding the level of the hillcrest, atop which he located the Canaanite "Citadel of Zion." Kenyon (1974: 101–3) and Shiloh (1984a: 17, 27) both interpreted the stepped stone mantle as a buttress added to the original substructural fill sometime during the 10th century B.C.E. The substructure and superstructure could, however, be recognized as two features of a single architectural unit constructed at the end of the LB, ca. the 13th–12th century B.C.E.

LB II pottery has been located at the N end of the hillcrest (Macalister and Duncan 1926: 33, 74; Kenyon 1965: 12, pl. 1XB; 1974: 94, pl. 77) and on the midslope in area E1 (Shiloh 1984a: 12, 26), and LB II tombs have been excavated on the Mount of Olives (see below).

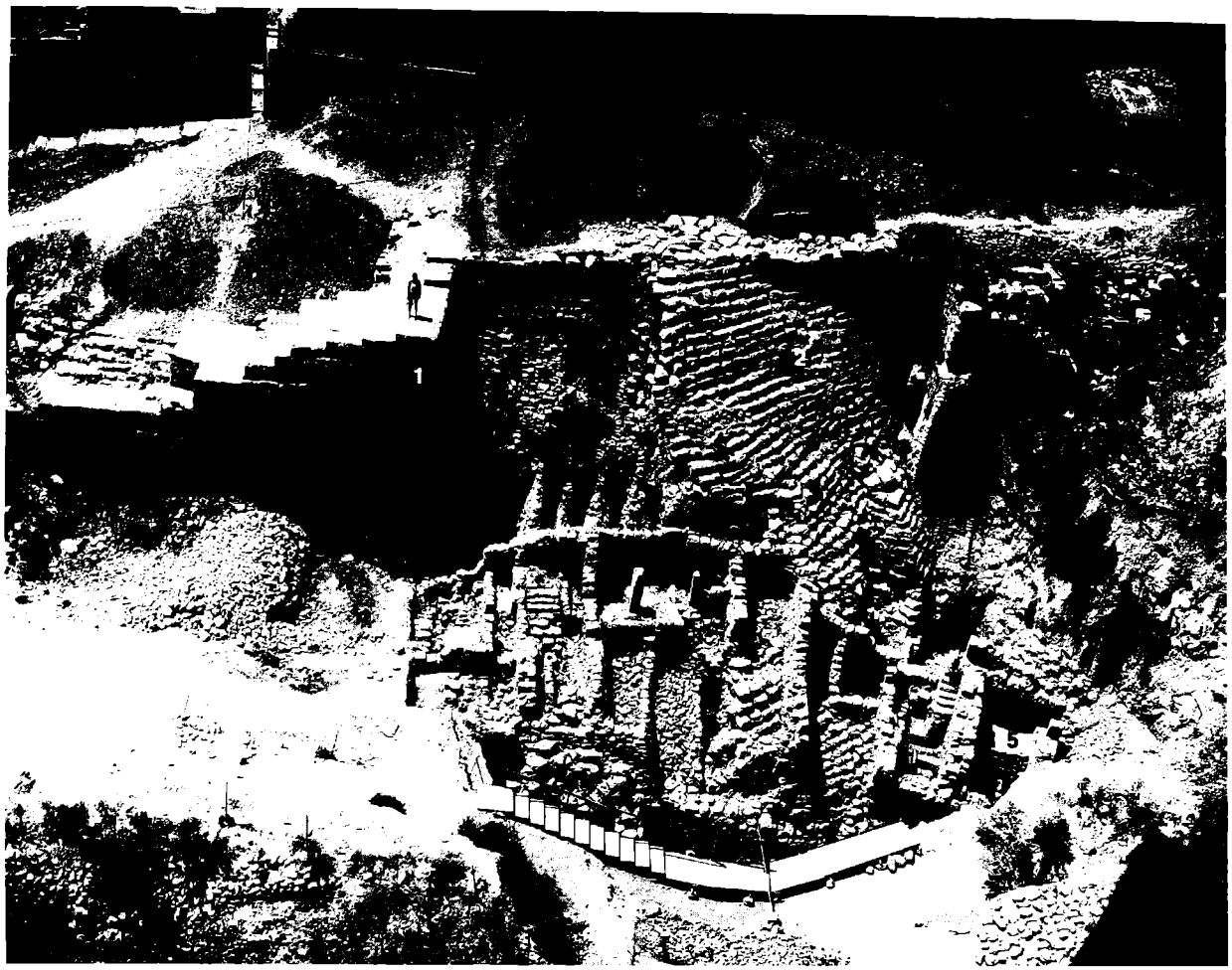
Sparse archaeological evidence of Iron Age IB–C has been found in areas B, D1, and E1 (Shiloh 1984a: 26–27). To date, however, archaeological data useful for illuminating the status of Jerusalem during the emergence of Israel have yet to be found.

7. Iron Age. The Iron Age II is the period of Jerusalem's preeminence as the capital of both the United Monarchy and the S kingdom of Judah. Archaeologically, it is the period best represented, because the last city to have been built along its E slope was that destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.E.

a. 10th Century B.C.E. Early in the 10th century B.C.E. David captured the Jebusite Citadel of Zion and made it his capital (2 Sam 5:6–9). The OT account of Jerusalem's transformation from a Jebusite city-state to the Israelite capital names and describes various constructions that were either incorporated, rebuilt, or added to the city in the 10th century, including the temple, the royal precinct, and the *millô'*. Although each of these features has been discussed at length in numerous treatments, none of them has been conclusively identified with any archaeological remains.

Macalister and Duncan (1926: 49–65, plan facing p. 49) revealed a fortification wall and tower standing at the E edge of the hillcrest above the Gihon Spring which they dated to the time of David and Solomon. Kenyon (1974: 192), however, recovered archaeological evidence indicating that the tower actually dated to the Hellenistic period, ca. 2d century B.C.E.

Remains from the 10th century B.C.E. have been located both by Kenyon (1974: 100–103, 114–16) in trench A and areas H and M and by Shiloh (1984a: 4, 27; fc.) in areas B,



DAV.01. Aerial view of Area G at Jerusalem, looking W (excavation by Y. Shiloh). *1*, S tower and wall apparently built during the Hasmonean period; *2*, "stepped stone structure" mantle apparently built during the 13th/12th century B.C.E.; *3*, stone-filled, substructural LB terraces beneath the "stepped stone structure" mantle; *4*, "House of Ahi'el"; *5*, "Burnt Room." *(Photograph by Z. Radovan, 1983, by permission, City of David Society)*

D1, E1, and G. Slightly N of the fortification wall found by Macalister and Duncan, Kenyon (1974: 114–15) unearthed a wall fragment which she dated to the 10th century. Identifying this wall fragment as part of a casemate fortification wall similar to those at Gezer, Hazor, and Megiddo, which are popularly attributed to Solomon (Yadin 1970), Kenyon interpreted it as evidence for the expansion northward to the Temple Mount (Kenyon 1974: 92). This interpretation led Shiloh (1984a: 27) to interpret the stepped stone structure in area G to its S as the SE corner of the royal compound erected in Jerusalem in the 10th century B.C.E. This structure, Shiloh maintained, had been built over the terraced foundations of the Canaanite citadel at that time. Subsequent evaluation of both the architectural and ceramic evidence from area G, however, indicates that the stepped stone structure and the stone and soil filled compartments beneath it are actually two components of a single architectural unit constructed in the 13th–12th century B.C.E. (see above D.6). In area G therefore the 10th century is represented solely by the fragmentary remains of structures and soil fills found *covering* the lower courses of the stepped stone structure (Shiloh 1984a: 17, 27; fc.). Among the 10th century small finds are a small area (E1) containing clay installations, two ceramic chalices, and the lower half of a fenestrated cultic stand (Shiloh 1984a: 12).

b. 9th–8th Centuries B.C.E. The remains ascribed to the 9th century consist of a large architectural unit and soil fills found in areas E1 and G respectively (Shiloh 1984a: 4).

During the 8th century B.C.E., however, the city expanded greatly. Possibly fueled by the arrival of Israelite refugees fleeing the Assyrian conquest of the N kingdom of Israel in 721 B.C.E. (Broshi 1974) and by Judahites possibly displaced during the course of upheavals along the Judah-Philistia border, the city's growth appears to have peaked during the reign of Hezekiah.

Sections of a massive fortification wall ascribed to the 8th century were found by Kenyon (1974: 130–31, 146, pl. 43; Steiner 1986), who cleared ca. 30 m of its length at

the E end of trench A, and by Shiloh (1984a: 28; 1984b: 57; fc.), who unearthed an additional 120 m. This wall, which was preserved in places to a height of 3 m, was constructed in a jagged, sawtooth line reaching 5 m in width (Shiloh 1984a: 12–13). Standing near the middle of the E slope above a vertical escarpment, it followed virtually the same course as its MB II predecessor and, in places, incorporated remnants of the older wall (Shiloh 1984a: 28).

Both Kenyon (1965: 11; 1966: pl. 25B; 1967a: pl. 13A; 1974: 144, pl. 63) and Shiloh (1984a: 9; 1984b: 57) revealed outside and abutting the city wall the remains of a 2–3 m wide cobbled pavement revetted by a retaining wall. Kenyon traced this extramural street along the entire 30 m length of the Iron Age II city wall, which she exposed (Steiner 1986), and Shiloh traced its remains further. Presumably, this extramural passage ran the entire length of the city wall and formed a component part of the fortification system.

Shiloh (1984a: 10, 12–13, 28) found that the fortification wall supported a system of structurally integrated buildings linked by a stepped alleyway equipped with a drainage channel emptying into the Kidron Valley via a small rectangular opening built into the city wall (Shiloh 1984a: 53). An important structure for understanding both the building technology and the relative stratigraphy of the Iron Age II on the E slope is the "Lower Terrace House," also called the "House of *mḥmm*," excavated in area E1 (Shiloh 1984a: 13). Integrated with the fortification wall to the E, the structure had three parallel rooms, each of which was built on a successively higher level, following the rise in the bedrock (Shiloh 1984a: pl. 22:1). Like the fortification wall, it served throughout the final three phases of the Iron Age II, each phase being represented by a floor bearing a chronologically indicative assemblage of ceramic vessels (Shiloh 1984a: pl. 22:2). The label "House of *mḥmm*" derives from the Hebrew inscription *lmḥmm ṣl* incised on a storage jar recovered from the middle floor and ascribed to stratum 11, ca. 7th century B.C.E. (Shiloh 1984a: 13).

A number of structures dating to the 8th century B.C.E. were found in areas B, D1, D2, and E2 (Shiloh 1984a: 7, 9–10, 28–29; 1984b: 57). Unlike the "House of *mḥmm*," however, these structures were founded on the lower slopes of the bedrock, *outside* the fortification wall. Because 8th-century pottery was found in and around these buildings, their abandonment may have coincided with the Assyrian siege of 701.

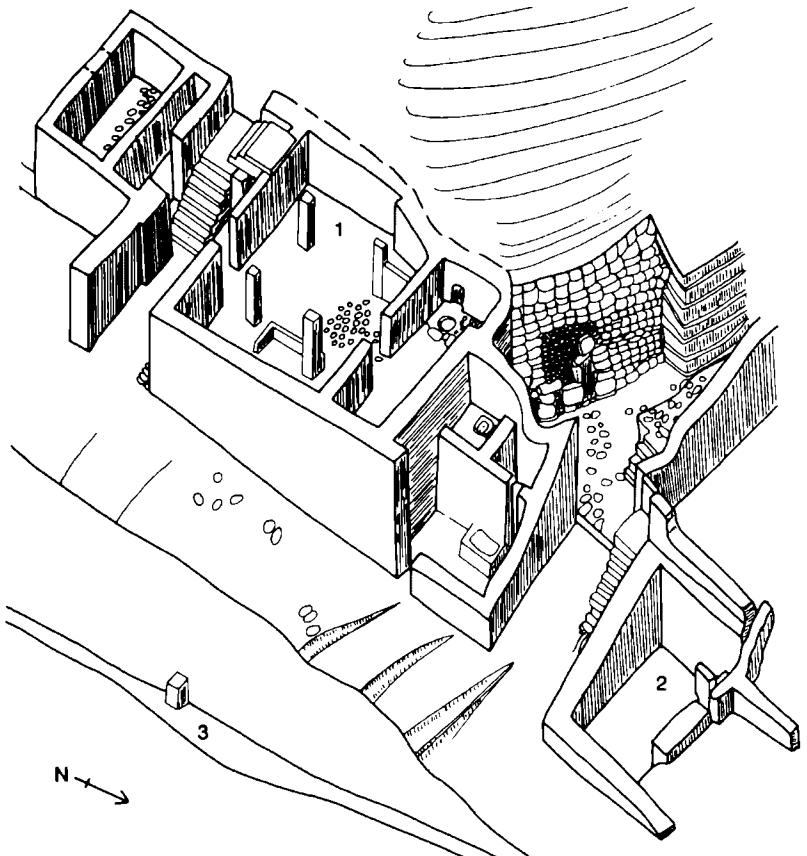
The excavations in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, N and W of the City of David revealed an additional segment of the 8th-century fortification wall, which has been attributed to Hezekiah (Avigad 1983: 46–49). Avigad's discovery at the N edge of the W hill ended the "maximalist-minimalist" controversy over the size of the Iron Age II city (Simons 1952: 226–81; Broshi 1974; Geva 1979; Avigad 1983: 27–31, 46–60). Moreover, Avigad found that this wall segment had been constructed over the remains of an earlier structure, also dated to the 8th century B.C.E. The archaeological evidence from the Jewish Quarter, as well as from other excavated areas on the W hill, such as the Citadel near the Jaffa Gate (Johns 1950: 129, fig. 6; Amiran and Eitan 1970: 9–10, 16; Geva 1983: 56–58; Solar and Sivan 1984: 48) and the Armenian Garden (Bahat and Broshi 1975: 56; Tushingham 1985: 9–24) appears to indicate that the entire W hill was occupied during the 8th century, first as an unwalled settlement, and later as part of the expanded, fortified city.

The W and S lines of the fortification wall which enclosed the W hill were reconstructed by Geva (1979: 87) and Avigad (1983: 58), both of whom located it along roughly the same line as that followed by the "First Wall" described by Josephus (*JW* 5.4.2.142–45). According to this reconstruction the wall enclosing the W hill continued W from the Jewish Quarter to the Citadel, turned S following the crest above the Hinnom Valley, crossed the mouth of the Tyropoeon Valley at the City of David's S apex, and joined the city wall unearthed by Kenyon and Shiloh. Thus, the S end of the Tyropoeon Valley, which houses the Pool of Shiloah (i.e., the reservoir to which Hezekiah's Tunnel [see E.4] conducted water from the Gihon Spring) was brought within the bounds of the fortified city. The archaeological evidence deriving from the 8th century B.C.E. in Jerusalem may be compared with Isaiah's description of the emergency measures adopted by Hezekiah in the face of the Assyrian siege of Jerusalem (Isa 22:9–11).

c. 7th–6th Centuries B.C.E. Most intramural areas excavated within the City of David have produced evidence for occupation at the end of the Iron Age II. Four prominent structures, however, are particularly significant for elucidating both the material culture and the intensity of the 586 B.C.E. Babylonian destruction. These are the "Ashlar House," excavated in area E1, and the "House of Ahiel," the "Burnt Room," and the "Bulla House," excavated in area G (Shiloh 1984a: 13–14, 17–19, 28–29, 53, 61; fig. 25).

The "Ashlar House" is a large (13 × 13 m) structure spreading across two terraces located in the upper reaches of area E1. Its .8 m thick walls (preserved in places to a height of 3 m) were built of roughly dressed, rectangular blocks of limestone and well-dressed ashlars situated in places bearing the most structural stress. Although its entire floor plan was not revealed, Shiloh believed that it followed the so-called four-room, or pillared-house plan, ubiquitous throughout the monarchic period (Shiloh 1970; 1973; 1984a: 14, 18). Its large size, its raised topographical position, and its quality of construction led Shiloh (1984a: 14) to identify it as a public structure. The ceramic and stratigraphical evidence indicated that the "Ashlar House" was constructed in stratum 11, ca. 7th century B.C.E. and destroyed in stratum 10 at the end of the Iron Age II.

The "House of Ahiel" is an 8 × 8 m, four-room, or pillared house, situated along the higher of two structural terraces in area G. See Figs. DAV.01 and DAV.02. Its name derives from the discovery there of a storage jar fragment bearing a Hebrew ink inscription containing the personal name *ʾḥyʾl*. Portions of the structure had already been excavated by Kenyon (1974: 162–65). The walls were of roughly dressed fieldstones and ashlars strategically placed at stress points such as corners and doorjambs. Two stone monoliths and two built piers supported the first floor ceiling and divided the central courtyard from the two side chambers. An external staircase led either to an upper story or to a higher terrace.



DAV.02. Isometric reconstruction of Area G at Jerusalem—Stratum X. *1*, "House of Ahi'el"; *2*, "Burnt Room"; *3*, location of "Bullae House." *(Redrawn from Shiloh 1984a: 61, fig. 25)*

Attached to the N wall of the "House of Ahiel" was a three-room addition housing a storeroom with over 40 ceramic vessels, almost all of them storage jars. The floor of a small room (1.4 × 1.4 m) adjoining the storeroom was plastered with a thick layer of lime. Embedded in one side of the floor was a limestone toilet seat beneath which lay a plaster-lined cesspit (Shiloh 1984a: 19, pl. 31:1). Similar limestone toilet seats have also been found in Iron Age II structures excavated by Shiloh (1984a: 10–11, pl. 16:2) in area E3 (in situ) and by Kenyon (1967a: pl. 13B) in square AXXIV (ex situ) and, perhaps, in debris cleared by Parker (Vincent 1911: 29).

An alleyway separated the addition to the "House of Ahiel" from the building containing the "Burnt Room" (see Figs. DAV.01 and 02; Shiloh 1984a: 18–19, pl. 32:2). An external staircase built of ashlars abutted the S wall of this building and led to an upper story (Shiloh 1984a: pl. 31:2). The rectangular "Burnt Room" was the S, ground floor room in a building which was only partially excavated. Evidence for the second story was provided by both the position of the landing atop the external staircase and the corresponding ledge in its W wall, 2.5 m above the floor, along which were found the carbonized remains of ceiling beams similar to those recovered from the top of a monolith in the room's N wall.

The "Burnt Room" earned its name from the thick (.9 m) layer of carbonized debris found covering its lime-plaster floor. Among the charred remains were pieces of burnt wood, including fragments that had been carved in motifs identical to those known from ornamental Iron Age ivories (Shiloh 1984a: 19, pl. 34:1; 1985c: 139). Although most of these wood samples appear to have derived from local species, some of the finely carved pieces were of boxwood (*Buxus* gen.), a nonindigenous species native to Cyprus, N Syria, and S Turkey (Shiloh 1984a: 19, 34 n. 81; 1985c: 139–41; Meiggs 1982: 279–83).

East of the "House of Ahiel," on the next, lower terrace, lay the "Bulla House" (Fig. DAV.02), named after the cache of 51 clay sealings found in its NW corner (Shiloh 1984a: 18–19; 1986). Since only a narrow strip (1 × 7–8 m) at the structure's W edge was excavated, little can be said about its plan. Its W wall, however, served both as the building's exterior boundary and as the support wall for the upper terrace of structures. As in the "Burnt Room," a thick (.7 m) layer of charred debris covered its plaster floor. Forty-nine of the 51 bullae recovered from the floor

of the house were well preserved, primarily because they were fired in the conflagration which destroyed the building. The bullae bear oval seal impressions averaging 12 × 10 mm. Their reverse sides bear impressions of the warp and weft of the papyrus documents they sealed, as well as, in most cases, the impressions of the string used to tie the rolled papyrus prior to its sealing. Four bullae have only graphic representations, while 45 are inscribed with the Hebrew formula, "belonging to x, son of y," commonly appearing on personal seals; the other two are too fragmentary to interpret.

The corpus includes 51 personal names, all of which are known in the Hebrew onomasticon. Two of the precise combinations of name and patronymic, moreover, are cautiously identified with biblical personages (Shiloh 1984a: 20; 1986: 33; Schneider 1988). These two are Gemariah ben Shaphan (*gmryhw (b)n špn;* bulla no. 2; Shiloh 1984a: 20, pl. 35:3; 1986: 28, fig. 8:1, pl. 6:13); and Azariah ben Hilkiah (*ʿzryhw bn ḥlqyhw;* bulla no. 27; Shiloh 1984a: 19, 61, fig. 26; 1986: 28–29, fig. 8:6). Gemariah son of Shaphan, a *śar* in the royal court of Jehoiakim, appears four times in the book of Jeremiah (36:9–12, 25–26); Azariah son of Hilkiah, a priest, is named in two priestly genealogical lists (1 Chr 5:39—Eng 6:13; 9:10–11) and in the list of Ezra's forebears (Ezra 7:1; Schneider 1988: 140). Moreover, a seal of unknown provenance bearing the name Azariah ben Hilkiah (Avigad 1970: 307) may also be linked to the historical personage of that name. See GEMARIAH (PERSON); AZARIAH (PERSON). Shiloh (1984a: 20; 1986: 37) viewed the multiplicity of ostensibly unrelated names appearing in the bullae corpus as indicative of the public nature of the archive housed in this building.

More than 20 ceramic vessels (Shiloh 1986: 24, fig. 6), a group of stone weights, and four soft limestone stands (Shiloh 1986: 22–23, 26, pl. 6:A; Herzog 1987; Prag 1987: 122–23) were found in proximity to the bullae. These finds, like those recovered from the "House of Ahiel" and the "Burnt Room," all date to the final phase of the Iron Age II.

In her square AXVIII, located just below the E edge of the summit and immediately N of area G, Kenyon (1963: 16; pl. VIIIB) also discovered remains of collapsed Iron Age II structures deriving from the 586 B.C.E. destruction. These remains included ashlar stones and a Proto-Aeolic capital such as those associated with ashlar masonry (Shiloh 1979b). Additional ashlar blocks were also found in the adjacent area G. Although the exact location of the monumental ashlar structure to which these materials belonged is uncertain, it most likely stood either on the hillcrest or on the terrace of structures immediately beneath it.

The massiveness of Jerusalem's destruction by the Babylonians is evidenced not only by the thick layers of charred debris unearthed in structures such as the "Burnt Room" and the "Bulla House," but also by the deep accumulation of collapsed building stones found covering the entire E slope (Kenyon 1962: pl. 21B; 1974: 170, pl. 71; Shiloh 1984a: 29). The biblical descriptions of the city's destruction (2 Kgs 25:8–10; Jer 39:18; 2 Chr 36:18–19) complement the archaeological evidence, and the 586 B.C.E. date is documented in the historical sources (Malamat 1968). Moreover, the ceramic evidence from the destruction level uncovered along much of the City of David's E slope is identical to the corpus of pottery typifying the final phase of the Iron Age II at other Judahite sites, e.g., Lachish stratum II, Ein Gedi stratum V, Arad stratum VI, and Ramat Rahel stratum Va.

8. Persian Period. Following the Persian conquest of Babylonia in the late 6th century B.C.E., the Judean exiles received permission to return to Jerusalem and rebuild their temple (Ezra 1:1–4; 6:2–5). Although reconstruction initially focused on the temple itself (Ezra 3:8–10), the City of David and its fortifications were eventually rebuilt.

Apparently due to the massiveness of the stone collapse covering the City of David's E slope, new structures were not built there (Kenyon 1974: 182; Shiloh, fc.). Immediately below the hillcrest, however, the "Ashlar House" in area E1 was partially reused (DeGroot, fc. b). In addition, sloping layers of limestone chips revetted by flimsy walls have also been found along the E slope of the City of David in areas D1, D2, and E1. These stone chips may be interpreted as refuse originating from a stone quarry located atop the hillcrest (Shiloh 1984a: 29).

The line of the fortification wall built under Nehemiah's direction has not yet been traced with certainty, for no correlation exists between the landmarks listed in his description (Neh 3:1–32) and the archaeological remains. Nevertheless, the biblical description clearly indicates that large portions of the old wall were repaired rather than built anew (Tsafrir 1973; Williamson 1985). The repaired portions are commonly identified with the W line of the pre-8th-century B.C.E. fortifications (Kenyon 1974: 182–83; Tsafrir 1973) the position of which may be indicated by the gateway unearthed by Crowfoot and Fitzgerald (1929: 12–23) along the City of David's W slope. Because Nehemiah described the ruins along the E slope as impassable (Neh 2:12–14), the earlier wall line located at the midslope is thought to have been abandoned in favor of a new line running along the E edge of the hillcrest. A short segment of fortification wall excavated there by Macalister and Duncan (1926: 49–50, plan facing p. 49, pl. V) and reinvestigated by Kenyon (1974: 92, 183, pls. 77, 79) and by Shiloh (1985a: 67) was identified by Kenyon (1974: 183–84) as "Nehemiah's Wall." Built of roughly dressed limestone blocks laid in successively receding courses atop a steep escarpment, this wall fragment was clearly the earliest component in the fortification line in this particular area of the hillcrest (Shiloh 1985a: 67; Kenyon 1974: 183). Kenyon's ascription of it to the Persian period was based on her discovery of "a series of midden tip-lines" containing pottery attributable to the 5th–3d centuries B.C.E., "lapping up against" the lower courses of its E, *outer* face (Kenyon 1974: 183). Although this wall may have served during the Persian period, both its manner of construction and Kenyon's discovery of LB deposits on the bedrock in area P, close to its inner face (Kenyon 1974: 92), suggest that it may actually have originated much earlier.

Sandwiched stratigraphically between the stone collapse of the 586 B.C.E. destruction and strata dating to the early Hellenistic and Hasmonean periods, the Persian period

layers in the City of David have yielded a varied ceramic assemblage, including storage jar handles and body shards bearing several types of stamp seal impressions (Ariel and Shoham, fc.). The well-stratified deposits of the Persian period discovered in the City of David stand in sharp contrast to the absence of comparable stratigraphy from other excavated areas of Jerusalem. The archaeological evidence therefore suggests that Jerusalem's occupation during this time centered on the SE hill, i.e., the City of David.

9. Hellenistic Period. Historically this period has two major subdivisons: the early Hellenistic period, which began with the conquest of Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.E. and ended with the Maccabean revolt in the mid-2d century B.C.E., and the Hasmonean period, which began with the Jewish revolt and ended with Jerusalem's fall to the Roman general Pompey in 63 B.C.E. (Gafni 1984: 1–17). Archaeologically, the early Hellenistic period, during which Jerusalem attained the status of a Greek *polis* named Antiochia, is poorly known. The Hasmonean period, however, during which Jerusalem served as the capital of an independent Jewish state, is represented on both the E and W hills of Jerusalem.

Archaeological evidence of the early Hellenistic period includes part of a structure uncovered just below the hillcrest in area E1 which had been destroyed in a conflagration (DeGroot, fc. b). Additional evidence of the period comes from a large corpus of ceramic handles deriving from imported E Greek amphorae (the majority of which are from Rhodes with a few from Kos, Chios, and Knidos) bearing stamp seal impressions ranging in date from the late 4th to the early 1st centuries B.C.E., but clustering between 260–150 B.C.E. (Ariel, fc.). Although most of these stamped handles derive from post-Hellenistic stratigraphic contexts, the large number of them from the City of David, in contrast to the small number recovered from other excavated areas of Jerusalem, suggests that the City of David remained the center of occupation during the early Hellenistic period.

Following the establishment of the Hasmonean dynasty in the mid-2d century B.C.E., Jerusalem experienced a period of expansion, during which the populated area spread from its ancient nucleus in the City of David to the W hill. Subsequently, the City of David became the "Lower City," while the W hill became the "Upper City." During this period, the defensive system described by Josephus as the "First Wall" was erected (*JW* 5.4.2 §142–45). Although the N and W lines of this defensive wall largely followed the course of its Iron Age II predecessor, and in places even incorporated it (Geva 1979), its E line presumably followed the course established during the Persian period, skirting the crest atop the E slope of the City of David. Large segments of this wall line have been investigated by Clermont-Ganneau (1899: 296), Guthe (1882: pl. IV), Bliss and Dickie (1898: 126–31, 315), Macalister and Duncan (1926: 49–74), Weill (1920: pl. III), Kenyon (1974: 191–93), and Shiloh (1984a: 30, 40–41). In addition, the remains of a sloping glacis uncovered in area G (Shiloh 1984a: 20–21, 30) may also have been constructed during the 2d century B.C.E. Although the direct relationship between the glacis and the "First Wall" had been obscured by earlier excavators, Shiloh (1984a: 63) projected its continuation to the base of the fortification wall skirting the upper edge of the E slope.

Farther S, in areas D1, D2, E1, and E3, the E slope was covered by a series of stepped, agricultural terraces, formed of single-faced, dry-built, stone walls securing layers of soil fill. These terraces were apparently linked by stone-built stairways.

10. Roman Period. Like the previous period the Roman period may be divided historically into two unequal halves: the early Roman period, beginning with Pompey's campaign in 63 B.C.E. and ending with the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., and the late Roman period, beginning with the end of the Jewish revolt and ending with the opening of the Byzantine period during the reign of Constantine the Great in the 4th century C.E. (Gafni 1984: 17–31; Safrai 1976: 307–56).

The archaeological evidence for the early Roman period in the City of David, or "Lower City," is largely the same as that described in relation to the Hasmonean period. The line of the city wall running along the crest above the E slope remained unchanged, and alternating, uniform layers of compact soil and pebbles were added to the glacis in area G. Similarly, the soil-filled terraces farther S, along the E slope were maintained and supplemented throughout the period.

The addition of a vaulted ceiling above the entrance chamber to Warren's Shaft and of a subterranean passageway with a gabled ceiling leading to the vaulted chamber suggested to Shiloh (1981: 35, 39; 1984a: 24) that this water system continued in use despite the fact that it lay outside the line of the city's fortification wall (see below). The reservoirs at the S end of the Tyropoeon Valley also continued to function and appear to have been supplemented by a pool close to the floor of the Kidron Valley (Adan 1979).

Although by the early Roman period the focus of the city's life had clearly shifted to the W hill or "Upper City," the City of David appears to have been the site of an early synagogue. While excavating a cistern on the hillcrest above area D1, Weill (1920: 186; 1947: pl. XXVa) found a Gk inscription commemorating the construction of a synagogue by Theodotos, whose father and grandfather were identified as synagogue leaders. Dated epigraphically to the Herodian period (Roth-Gerson 1987: 76–86), this inscription provides tangible evidence for the existence of a synagogue in Jerusalem prior to the end of the Second Temple period.

Sometime after the Roman destruction in 70 C.E., tons of debris originating on the hillcrest were dumped down the E slope, destroying and completely covering the soil-filled terraces. These dumps were found preserved to a depth of several meters (Shiloh 1984a: 30). The deposition of debris along this slope inhibited any further construction and determined its appearance from that time forward.

During the late Roman period when Jerusalem was rebuilt as the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina, the City of David was thought to have served mainly as a stone quarry (Kenyon 1974: 31–32, 263–64). Ceramic roof tiles stamped with the insignia of the Roman Tenth Legion *Fretensis* have, however, been recovered from excavations at the N end of the hillcrest (Macalister and Duncan 1926:

167–68; Crowfoot and Fitzgerald 1929: 76–77, pl. XIII: 13). Nevertheless, the focus of activity during this period lay farther N and W, and the City of David remained largely unoccupied until, perhaps, the late 3d or early 4th century C.E. (Kenyon 1974: 263; Geva 1984: 253). Bliss and Dickie (1898: 225), however, found a colonnade erected around the Pool of Shiloah which some thought may have served as the Tetranymphon, one of the bath complexes built in Aelia and mentioned in the *Chronicon Paschale* (see Vincent and Abel 1926: 860–61; Avi-Yonah 1976: 612; B. Mazar 1975: 236).

E. Subterranean Water Supply Systems

1. Gihon Spring. Ancient Jerusalem's only perennial source of water lies in a cave located in the Kidron Valley, beyond the bounds of the fortified city. The Gihon does not maintain a constant flow; it is a syphon type, karstic spring, fed by groundwater that bursts forth through cracks in the cave's floor at intermittent periods. This geological phenomenon is reflected in the spring's name, which derives from the Hebrew root *gyh* "to gush." The frequency with which the Gihon gushed depended both on the season of the year and the annual amount of rainfall. Gushes could last for as long as 30–40 minutes at intervals varying from 4–6 hours during the winter and 8–10 hours during the summer. In unusually dry years, however, the water might burst forth as infrequently as once a day, or even less. Hecker (1957: 193) estimated the flow to vary from 200–1200 m^3 per day.

Water from the Gihon could be drawn either from the spring cave or from a small pool which was cut in the bedrock close to it (Vincent 1911: 6; Hecker 1957: 193). In addition, three subterranean systems were devised to capture, store, distribute, and protect its waters. These three water systems are known as Warren's Shaft, the Shiloah Channel, and Hezekiah's Tunnel. Although the absolute chronology of the systems is difficult to determine, their relative chronology is fairly well established (Vincent 1911: 31; Shiloh 1984a: 23; 1987: 219).

2. Warren's Shaft. See Fig. DAV.03. Jerusalem's earliest strategic subterranean water system is Warren's Shaft, discovered by Charles Warren in 1867 (Wilson and Warren 1871: 248–55). It was cleared initially by the Parker expedition (Vincent 1911: 11–16), recleared by Shiloh (1981; 1984a: 21–22, 68–69; 1987: 215–17), and surveyed geologically by Gil (Gil and Shiloh 1982). The system has five major components: an entrance area, an "abortive" shaft, a cavernous tunnel, a vertical shaft, and a feeder tunnel linking the Gihon to the bottom of the vertical shaft.

The entrance into the system is located on the City of David's E slope, within the bounds of the MB II and Iron Age II city walls, but beyond the walls of the postexilic periods. The entrance area consists of rock-hewn chamber and two secondary features: a barrel-vaulted ceiling and a gabled passageway (Vincent 1911: 11; Shiloh 1981: 31–35; 1984a: 23) leading from the hillside into the entrance chamber. Because the barrel vault is an architectural feature unknown prior to the postexilic period, these two features appear to have been added to the original entrance sometime after the Iron Age II (Shiloh 1981: 35–36; 1984a: 24; 1987: 215, 220).

In the floor of the entrance chamber lies the mouth of the "abortive" shaft, a narrow, 20-meter-deep, irregularly shaped depression which has not been exposed since the Parker expedition. Vincent (1911: 13) thought that the depression represented an abortive attempt to reach the water table by sinking a vertical shaft from the entrance chamber. The endeavor was abandoned, he believed, when an impenetrable vein of rock was reached. As a result of their hydro-geological survey, however, Gil and Shiloh (1982: 34) suggested that this depression actually represents a natural, karstic sinkhole.

A rectangular opening cut through the entrance chamber's N wall opens into a cavernous tunnel consisting of an upper, sloping part and a lower, horizontal part which range from 2–2.3 m in width and from 2–6 m in height. See Fig. DAV.04. This 36 m long, curved tunnel descends 14 m through the bedrock until it reaches the top of an irregularly shaped vertical shaft the average diameter of which is 0.6 m. At a depth of ca. 12.3 m, the shaft intersects a feeder tunnel, which carries water from the Gihon Spring for a distance of 22 m (Shiloh 1981: 32; 1984a: 21, 68–69; 1987: 230–31). People reaching the top of the vertical shaft via the underground tunnel could therefore draw water up through the shaft as if from a well. Excavations below the level at which the vertical shaft meets the feeder tunnel revealed that the shaft descended an additional 3 m which were devoid of toolmarks (Gil and Shiloh 1982: 32, 34; Shiloh 1984a: 21, 69; 1987: 215, 217).

That the water system's final shape resulted from tooling is clearly evidenced by the chisel marks and lamp niches on the walls of the cavernous tunnel. Nonetheless, anomalies pertaining to the tunnel's excessively long, curved path, by which it traverses 36 m to connect points which are linearly only 19 m apart, its irregular dimensions, the exceedingly steep (33 degree) gradient of its upper, W part, and the vertical shaft's apparently unnecessary 3 m continuation below the level of the feeder tunnel were addressed by the hydro-geological survey (Gil and Shiloh 1982).

Gil detected the presence of natural encrustations adhering to the walls of the vertical shaft and cavernous tunnel. The absolute age of one crust sample subjected to carbon 14 analysis proved to be greater than the dating capability of the technique, i.e., 38,000 years B.P. (Gil and Shiloh 1982: 34). Gil and Shiloh concluded, therefore, that both the vertical and "abortive" shafts are natural karstic sinkholes, or solution shafts, and that the cavernous tunnel is the enlargement of a natural solution conduit. The engineers who designed Warren's Shaft successfully integrated a network of natural and artificial components in a manner which allowed Jerusalem's residents to draw water from the Gihon Spring without leaving the protected confines of the city.

Although Warren's Shaft is chronologically the earliest *strategic* water system, its absolute date is still debated. Birch (1878: 179; 1885: 62) and Vincent (1911: 33–37; 1912: 141–61) identified it with the *ṣinnôr* (2 Sam 5:6–10), mentioned in David's successful conquest of Jebus and associated with the exploits of Joab (1 Chr 11:4–7). Such an identification, which requires a pre-Davidic date for the water system, has, however, been rejected on various grounds by most scholars (Albright 1922; Yadin 1963: 267–70; Braslavi 1970; B. Mazar 1982: 9; Aharoni 1982:

235; Shiloh 1981: 39; 1984a: 23; 1987: 219–20). Because no stratigraphical or other archaeological evidence useful for dating its construction has been recovered, any date proffered must rely on historical logic and analogy to other subterranean water systems. On that basis, Shiloh (1981: 39; 1984a: 23–24; 1987: 219–20) concluded that Warren's Shaft was contemporary with similar underground water systems at Megiddo and Hazor, both of which have been dated stratigraphically to the 9th century B.C.E. (Shiloh 1987: 204–9). The discovery that Warren's Shaft incorporates a number of natural geological phenomena, all of which existed long before David's conquest of Jerusalem suggests, however, that the question of its relationship to the biblical *ṣinnôr* should be reassessed. Moreover, as similar subterranean water systems were operative in Mycenaean Greece as early as the 13th century B.C.E. (Mylonas 1966: 15, 31–33, 40–43), the possibility that the technology for constructing such systems was introduced into the Levant during the LB or early Iron Age should not be summarily rejected.

3. Shiloah (or Siloam) Channel. This water system is thought to be either contemporary with or slightly later in date than Warren's Shaft (Vincent 1911: 31; Hecker 1957: 196; Shiloh 1984a: 23; 1987: 219). Parts of it have been explored by Schick (1886), Bliss and Dickie (1898: 115, pl. XIII), Masterman (1902), Parker (Vincent 1911: 6–8), Weill (1947: 57–96), and Shiloh (1979a: 168–70; 1984a: 23–24; 1987: 218). Although less than half of its estimated 400 m length has been investigated, the water system is known to vary in width from 0.4–0.6 m and in height from 1.4–2.75 m (Vincent 1911: 8; Hecker 1957: 194–95; Shiloh 1987: 230–31). Unlike the other two water systems connected to the Gihon Spring, both of which are entirely subterranean, the Shiloah Channel is a composite system, consisting partly of a narrow, rock-hewn tunnel, and partly of a rock-hewn and stone-capped channel. A number of windowlike apertures pierce its E side and an additional number of openings penetrate its roof.

The Shiloah Channel appears to have served three purposes: (1) it carried water from the Gihon downhill along the E slope of the City of David to a reservoir at the S end of the Tyropoeon Valley, generally identified with modern Birket el-Hamra (Simons 1952: 189–90; Wilkinson 1978: 118); (2) it released water into agricultural plots located in the Kidron Valley through the windowlike openings in its E wall; and (3) it gathered runoff water from upslope through the openings in its roof. Because the course it followed lay outside the city's fortifications, it was not a strategic system. Indeed, the construction of Hezekiah's Tunnel prior to the Assyrian siege of 701 B.C.E. superseded and partially cancelled the Shiloah Channel, both by blocking it and by changing the direction in which water flowed through its S end (channel IV; Weill 1947: 70–71; Simons 1952: 187–88; Shiloh 1984a: 23–24; 1987: 218). The Shiloah Channel must, therefore, predate Hezekiah's Tunnel, and may be identified with "the waters of Shiloah that flow gently" (Isa 8:6).

4. Hezekiah's Tunnel. See Figs. DAV.03 and 04, and Fig. JER.09. The third, and chronologically latest, water system, Hezekiah's Tunnel, carries water from the Gihon Spring to a reservoir located in the S reaches of the Tyropoeon Valley. This water system consists of three component parts: a sinuous, rock-cut tunnel; a reservoir; and a so-called overflow channel.

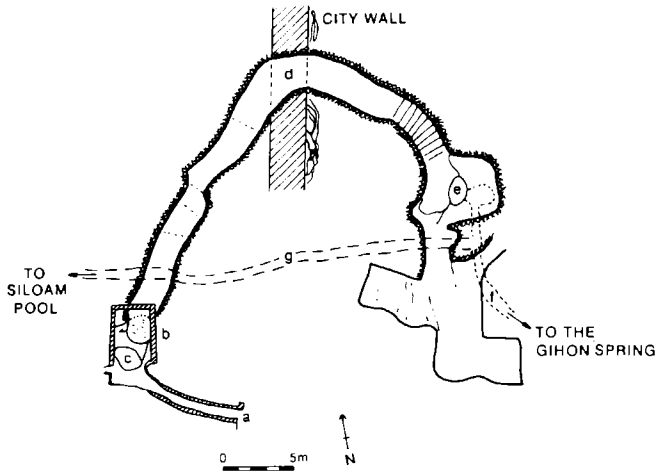
The tunnel was cut through the bedrock by two teams working toward each other from opposite directions. Toolmarks visible on its walls indicate both the direction in which the tunnel was cut and the point at which the teams met. The minute, .3-meter difference in level between the tunnel's starting point and its present outlet in the Tyropoeon Valley was originally measured by Conder (1882: 129) and reaffirmed by Shiloh (1984a: 23; 1987: 230–31).

The N segment of Hezekiah's Tunnel incorporates the feeder tunnel joining the Gihon Spring to the base of Warren's Shaft. Shortly before reaching the shaft, however, the tunnel makes a 90 degree turn to the W and meanders along a sinuous course, traversing 553 m to link two points located only 320 m apart. Although the tunnel's width varies only slightly, from .58–.65 m, its height is extremely irregular, ranging from 1.5–5.0 m (Shiloh 1987: 230–31).

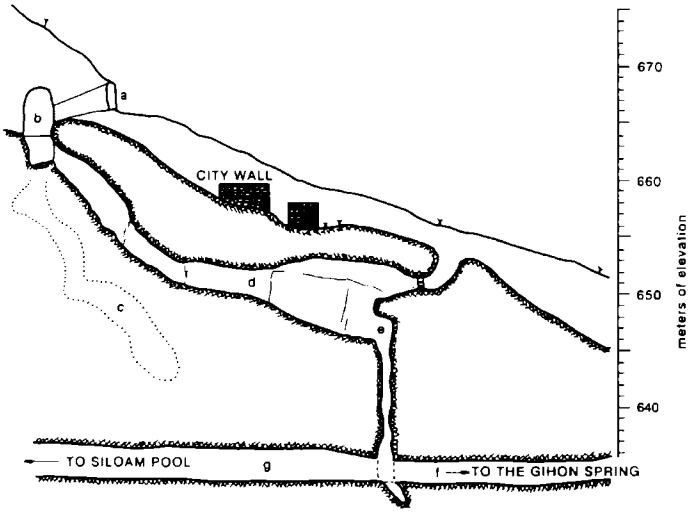
Today the tunnel empties into a small reservoir called Birket es-Silwan, also known as the Pool of Shiloah or Siloam, which is located close to the S end of the Tyropoeon Valley. Excavations conducted within the vicinity of Birket es-Silwan and Birket el-Hamra to its S by Guthe (1881; 1882: 52–133, pl. II), Bliss and Dickie (1898: 154–55), and Kenyon (1974: 246–47) have yielded evidence of reservoirs which were in use during the early and late Roman periods and, probably, during the Byzantine period. Despite the fact that no physical remains of earlier reservoirs have yet been found there, those Iron Age reservoirs associated with the water systems are best located or restored in the same vicinity.

Beyond Birket es-Silwan, a rock-cut canal known as channel IV carries water in an easterly direction, around the S tip of the City of David, towards the Kidron Valley. At its S extremity this canal incorporated the S end of the Shiloah Channel (or channel II) and reversed the flow of water through it. Its excavator, Weill (1947: 65–73), believed that channel IV represented a later addition to Hezekiah's Tunnel. Kenyon (1974: 159) and Ussishkin (1976), however, suggested identifying it as the final segment of Hezekiah's Tunnel which, they believed, emptied in the vicinity of the Kidron rather than the Tyropoeon Valley. Although the construction date of this "overflow channel" has not been conclusively determined, channel IV appears to have conveyed water from the Pool of Shiloah to the area of the Kidron Valley either for purposes of irrigation or for storage in an additional reservoir (Shiloh 1984a: 23; 1987: 219). The channel IV system underwent various changes over the course of time, yet seems to have remained in use until it was blocked by a stone wall tentatively dated to the Middle Ages (post-Ayyubid period; DeGroot fc. a).

The ascription of this water system to the time of Hezekiah, late 8th century B.C.E., is based primarily on biblical evidence. Hezekiah's efforts to prepare Jerusalem for an Assyrian siege by bringing the waters of the Gihon within the fortified area of the city is acclaimed in both the OT (2 Kgs 20:20; Isa 22:11; 2 Chr 32:2–4, 30) and the Apocrypha (Sir 48:17). On this basis the incised, lapidary Hebrew inscription describing the process of hewing the tunnel and found on the wall near its present-day outlet, serves as



DAV.03. Top plan of Warren's Shaft. *a*, entrance; *b*, vaulted chamber; *c*, "abortive" shaft; *d*, cavernous tunnel; *e*, vertical shaft; *f*, feeder tunnel; *g*, Hezekiah's Tunnel. *(Redrawn from Shiloh 1984a: 68, fig. 31)*



DAV.04. Cross-section (looking N) of Warren's Shaft. *a*, entrance; *b*, vaulted chamber; *c*, "abortive" shaft; *d*, cavernous tunnel; *e*, vertical shaft; *f*, feeder tunnel; *g*, Hezekiah's Tunnel. *(Redrawn from Shiloh 1984a: 69, fig. 32)*

a chronological indicator for other paleo-Hebrew inscriptions.

The tunnel's sinuous shape, the variability of its height, and the way in which separate teams of tunnelers working toward each other managed to meet have been the subject of considerable debate. The various theories can be divided into three main groups: (1) that proposed by Conder (1882: 128) and advocated by Hecker (1957: 195–97), which proposed that the tunnelers followed a relatively soft, easily quarried stratum in the bedrock; (2) that suggested by Clermont-Ganneau (1897, 1898), who attributed the tunnel's winding course to the tunnelers' desire to avoid disturbing the tombs of the Davidic dynasty; and (3) that initially proposed by Sulley (1929: 124) and subsequently adopted by Amiran (1975: 77–78) and Issar (1976: 133), who believed that the tunnelers followed a natural subterranean conduit, perhaps connoted by the word *zdh* in the Hebrew inscription found in the tunnel.

The results of the hydro-geological survey of the City of David published by Gil and Shiloh (1982) substantiate the theory advocated by Sulley, Amiran, and Issar. Geologist Gil concluded that the sinuous tunnel, cut entirely within the hard, *mizzi ahmar* stone, is most probably an enlargement of a preexisting natural solution conduit which originally carried water towards the Gihon Spring. The original level of the natural conduit, according to Gil and Shiloh (1982: 34), is evidenced by the varied heights of the tunnel's ceiling which reflect the downcutting required to reverse the water flow from the direction of the spring to the direction of the reservoir. The meeting of the two teams of tunnelers was thus ensured by their following the line of a preexisting channel.

During the Second Temple period the Gihon Spring ceased to serve as the primary source of water in Jerusalem. The increased demand for water during this period was met by the construction of aqueducts designed to convey water to Jerusalem from springs located S of Bethlehem (A. Mazar 1975, 1984). Hezekiah's Tunnel and the Pool of Shiloah, however, continued to function throughout the Second Temple period, and Shiloh (1984a: 24) believed that Warren's Shaft may also have remained in use. Although the true location of the Gihon Spring was long thought to have been forgotten during this time (Simons 1952: 48; Hecker 1957: 198), Reich (1987b) has shown that this may not have been the case.

F. Burial Grounds

1. Bronze Age. The earliest tombs found on the City of David hill date to the EB I. Caves containing multiple burials and line-painted pottery were cleared on the upper reaches of the E slope by the Parker expedition. The best example of these tombs was Cave 3, which contained a number of disturbed human skeletons (Vincent 1911: 24–30). Although the EB I burial caves in the City of David are located slightly N of the area in which Shiloh (1984a: 25; 1984b: 303) found evidence for EB occupation, burial within occupied areas of settlement was not unusual during this period. The caves' location, therefore, does not necessarily indicate the limits of the contemporary occupation.

Unlike their earlier EB predecessors, EB IV tombs have only been found across the Kidron Valley, on the Mount of Olives (Wilson and Warren 1871: 475; Sa'ad 1964; Kenyon 1966: 74–75; 1974: 80–81). Like contemporary tombs from other sites (Kenyon 1979: 12–39), these tombs are entered through round, vertical shafts with openings in their sides leading to burial chambers containing disarticulated bones. In addition to these Mount of Olives tombs, Gonen (1985) has suggested identifying some of the caves and cisterns located on the Temple Mount as tombs from this period.

Although no published evidence exists for burial within the City of David proper during either the MB II or the LB, tombs dating to these periods have been found on the Mount of Olives. A tomb excavated by Saller (1964) on the grounds of the Dominus Flevit Church, on the W slope of the Mount of Olives, consisted of two rock-cut, lobe-shaped burial chambers separated by a stone ridge. Because the tomb's ceiling had collapsed prior to excavation, the location of the original entrance was not determined. Nonetheless, morphologically, the tomb is comparable to the "bilobate tomb" type found at other sites (Petrie 1930: pls. XVII–XVIII; Stiebing 1971). More than 2000 objects, including both local and imported vessels spanning the MB II–LB II, were recovered from this tomb, indicating that it was used over a long period of time. A tomb from the E slope of the Mount of Olives described by Loffreda (1974) similarly appears to have been used continuously from the MB II to the LB II.

2. Iron Age. Rock-cut and cist tombs dating to the Iron Age II have been found around the perimeter of Jerusalem's E and W hills (Rahmani 1981: 231–34; Broshi, Barkai, and Gibson 1983). None, however, has been conclusively identified within the City of David, as burial within the occupied area of the city was not permitted during this period (Rahmani 1981: 232). Nevertheless, the OT indicates the existence of a cemetery equated with the term "City of David," in which kings and at least one priest were buried (see A above).

a. "Tombs of the Davidic Dynasty." Clermont-Ganneau (1897, 1898), theorizing that the S curve in Hezekiah's Tunnel was designed to avoid contact with the royal tombs of the Davidic dynasty, suggested locating them in the S part of the City of David. Excavating on the S hillcrest in 1913–14, Weill (1920: 157–73, pls. V, XVII–XIX) thus identified two narrow, rock-cut galleries as the royal tombs. The best preserved of these galleries is a 16-meter-long tunnel ending in a trough which Weill believed had originally contained a sarcophagus. Although many authors accepted Weill's identification, scholarly consensus has rejected it on the grounds that no chronological evidence has been found linking these rock cuttings to the Iron Age (Simons 1952: 221; Yeivin 1948: 45; Kenyon 1974: 156). Moreover, typologically, no such tomb plan is known from the Iron Age (see Ussishkin 1986: 260).

b. The Silwan Tombs. At least three types of finely quarried Iron Age tombs have been surveyed in Silwan on the E side of the Kidron Valley, facing the City of David (Avigad 1947; 1953; 1954: 18–36; Ussishkin 1970, 1986). These include tombs with straight ceilings, tombs with gabled ceilings, and "monolithic" tombs.

The tombs with straight ceilings (Ussishkin 1970: 38–39; 1986: 233–36) are comprised of two or three rectangular burial chambers arranged in a straight line, one behind the other. They are entered through large openings cut in the vertical face of the bedrock scarp. Burials were placed either on rock benches or in simple troughs lining the chamber walls.

The tombs with gabled ceilings (Ussishkin 1970: 35–38; 1986: 229–33) had a single rectangular chamber with a deep trough hewed into one of the sidewalls. In the bottom of each trough was a ledge at one end in which one or two headrests were carved. Narrow ledges running around the upper sides of the troughs indicate that they were covered with stone slabs. Noting differences in length exhibited by the troughs, Ussishkin (1970: 38; 1986: 238) concluded that the tombs were cut to order prior to the owners' deaths.

Three "monolithic" tombs (Ussishkin 1970: 39–44; 1986: 236–37), in which both the burial chamber and the monument's outer shape were hewed out of the bedrock so as to resemble a stone building, have also been found in Silwan. The most familiar of these tombs is that known as the "Tomb of Pharaoh's Daughter," located at the N end of Silwan. This rectangular tomb is freestanding on three sides but remains attached to the bedrock on the fourth. Its nickname derives from its Egyptian cornice and its pyramidal roof, which is today almost completely missing. An entrance in its W face led to a rectangular burial chamber with a rock-cut shelf running along the wall (Ussishkin 1970: 40; 1986: 47–63). A recessed panel above the entrance bears traces of a paleo-Hebrew inscription of which only two letters survive.

Each of the other two "monolithic" tombs in Silwan also bore Hebrew inscriptions, incised in sunken panels cut into their facades. One of these had two burial chambers side by side, and bore two inscriptions, which were discov-

ered by Clermont-Ganneau (1899: 305–13). The two inscriptions were subsequently deciphered by Avigad (1953: 137–52; 1955: 163–66) and republished by Ussishkin (1975: 64; 1986: 220–26). The tomb is known as the "Tomb of the Royal Steward," because its owner, whose name, apart from the theophoric suffix *ywh*, has not been preserved, bore the title "He who is over the House" or "the Steward of the House." This title or a form thereof occurs eight times in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Gen 41:1; 1 Kgs 16:9; Isa 22:15; 36:3). Although Clermont-Ganneau (1899: 309) also noted the location of the third "monolithic" tomb, the accompanying inscription was discovered and published by Reifenberg (1948) and reexamined by Ussishkin (1975: 64–65; 1986: 217–20).

The "monolithic" tombs and the tombs with gabled ceilings found in the Silwan necropolis are without parallel in the rest of Jerusalem. Although the Silwan tombs were found emptied of their original contents, their ascription to the Iron Age II is supported by the text and paleography of the Hebrew inscriptions, by the quarrying technique, and by the comparative corpus of Iron Age tombs both inside and outside of Israel (Ussishkin 1970: 44–46; 1986: 279–87).

G. Size and Population

Despite the numerous excavations conducted in Jerusalem over the last century and a half, the city's boundaries in many periods of its history remain ill defined and controversial. Nevertheless, estimates of its size and extent can be postulated for most major historical periods. Quantitative estimates of the city's geographical area in each of these periods have been published by Broshi (1978), whose data were updated by Shiloh (1984a: 3, 72).

The occupied area of pre-Davidic Jerusalem is estimated to have been close to 60 dunams: 49 dunams along the hillcrest and 11 on the E slope. The inclusion of the Temple Mount during the United Monarchy is thought to have added ca. 100 dunams to the city's overall size. Following the settlement of the W hill and its inclusion within the fortification wall in the 8th century B.C.E., the city's area increased again by ca. 460 dunams (Shiloh 1984a: 3) for a total of some 620 dunams. During the Persian period the city shrank to ca. 149 dunams (assuming that it encompassed only the Temple Mount and the City of David's hillcrest). However, during the course of the Hasmonean period, the city once again expanded to the W hill, reaching its preexilic peak of ca. 620 dunams. Experiencing additional periods of growth during the reign of Herod, who increased the area of the Temple Mount to ca. 145 dunams in the 1st century B.C.E., as well as in the period immediately preceding the Great Revolt, Jerusalem reached its maximum extent of ca. 1705 dunams around the year 66 C.E. The city then decreased in size during the Late Roman period. By the time of Justinian's reign, however, in the mid-6th century C.E., it is thought to have grown again to approximately 1200 dunams (Broshi 1978: 12).

No consensus exists regarding the size of Jerusalem's population (Wilkinson 1974; Broshi 1978; Stager 1975: 242–45; 1982: 121). This situation derives primarily from the lack of scholarly consensus concerning the methodology by which the size of ancient populations can best be determined (see Shiloh 1980: 26–27). Several studies, however, have found a tentative correlation between a settlement's physical size and the size of its population (Broshi 1978; Marfoe 1980: 317–21; Shiloh 1980; Broshi and Gophna 1984). According to these studies therefore the size of a settlement's population may be estimated by multiplying the overall inhabited area by a density coefficient representing the number of inhabitants per unit of area. Because density coefficients ranging from 20 (Stager 1982: 121) to 114 persons per dunam (Wilkinson 1974: 50) have been proposed for ancient Jerusalem, the following summary chart provides both low and high estimates of the ancient city's population using somewhat more moderate coefficient figures of 25 and 40 as advocated by Broshi and Gophna (1984: 42; 1986: 74) and Shiloh (1980: 30) respectively. Nonetheless, the chart remains oversimplified by virtue of the fact that it fails to consider several issues, including the extent of occupation on the City of David's W slope during the Bronze and early Iron Ages, the extent of the extramural population in any period, and the extent to which the area allocated to the Temple Mount was actually inhabited in any given period.

The Size and Population of Jerusalem During Major Historical Periods

Period	Area (in dunams)	Population Low	Population High
Bronze Age	60	1,500	2,400
Solomonic	160	4,000	6,400
Hezekiahan (ca. 700 B.C.E.)	620	15,500	24,800
Persian	150	3,750	6,000
Hasmonean	620	15,500	24,800
Herodian	770*	19,250	30,800
Eve of Roman destruction	1560*	39,000	62,400
Late Byzantine	1055*	26,375	42,200

*Does not include area of Temple Mount.

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DAVID TARLER
JANE M. CAHILL

DAVID, SONS OF. David had 19 sons and one daughter who are named in Scripture. All were born to his wives. In addition, he had numerous unnamed sons and daughters born to wives and concubines (2 Sam 3:2–5; 5:13–16). Of these only four sons—Amnon, Absalom, Adonijah, and Solomon—and one daughter—Tamar—are known in any detail. Solomon is the most prominent of these, since he succeeded David on the throne of Israel; and his descendants carried on the family line as the Judahite kings. Matthew's genealogy traces Jesus' ancestry through Solomon, while Luke's does so through Nathan. These six children—the most prominent—were among the eldest: all were born in Hebron, or in Jerusalem to Bathshua (Bathsheba).

Ironically, given the importance and prestige afforded David in most of the Scriptures, the accounts of his sons mainly show how poorly they turned out. This is seen as a direct consequence of David's great sins in committing adultery and murder (2 Samuel 11–12). Nathan's sentence foretold the troubles that would ensue (12:9–12, 14). From this point on, David appears as a relatively passive and tragic figure.

Amnon (David's firstborn) and Tamar appear together in a grim story in 2 Samuel 13, where Amnon brutally

rapes his sister. Absalom, his brother, then conspires to kill Amnon in revenge.

Absalom (David's third son) figures prominently in David's life (2 Samuel 13–18), since he murdered David's firstborn and especially since he rebelled against his father. He forced his father to flee for his life from Jerusalem, and he then announced his consolidation of power by going in to David's concubines in full view of all Israel. Eventually he was killed in battle by David's general, Joab.

Adonijah (David's fourth son) was the oldest living son at the end of David's life, and he seized power briefly in a short-lived kingship (1 Kings 1–2). David—enfeebled, senile, and having lost effective control of his children—was passively growing old; and factions of officials and others built up around Adonijah and Solomon. It was only after personal appeals on Solomon's behalf by his mother Bathsheba and by Nathan the prophet that Solomon was sanctioned as the chosen heir to the throne. Solomon spared Adonijah's life initially, but he eventually felt threatened by him and had him executed after David's death.

Solomon, the tenth son of David in the lists preserved, was David's successor to the throne (1 Kings 1–11). He was blessed with incomparable wisdom by YHWH, and he initially followed YHWH. He built the temple and an ornate palace for himself and succeeded in gathering riches and in establishing an international reputation. YHWH established a conditional covenant with him (9:1–9), but, in the end, Solomon's heart, under the influence of his foreign wives, turned away from his God. As a result, the kingdom was divided, and his son Rehoboam was made king over the S remnant, Judah.

The rest of David's sons are known only from four genealogical lists and a few references elsewhere. The table below serves to highlight their relationships with each other.

SONS BORN IN HEBRON

2 Sam 3:2–5	**1 Chr 3:1–4**
1. AMNON (mother, Ahinoam)	1. AMNON (mother, Ahinoam)
2. CHILEAB (mother, Abigail)	2. DANIEL (mother, Abigail)
3. ABSALOM (mother, Maacah)	3. ABSALOM (mother, Maacah)
4. ADONIJAH (mother, Haggith)	4. ADONIJAH (mother, Haggith)
5. SHEPHATIAH (mother, Abital)	5. SHEPHATIAH (mother, Abital)
6. ITHREAM (mother, Eglah)	6. ITHREAM (mother, Eglah)

SONS BORN IN JERUSALEM

2 Sam 5:13–16	**1 Chr 3:5–9**	**1 Chr 14:3–7**
Mother: Bathshua (Bathsheba)		
7. SHAMMUA	7. SHIMEA	7. SHAMMUA
8. SHOBAB	8. SHOBAB	8. SHOBAB
9. NATHAN	9. NATHAN	9. NATHAN
10. SOLOMON	10. SOLOMON	10. SOLOMON
Unnamed Mothers (Wives of David)		
11. IBHAR	11. IBHAR	11. IBHAR
12. ELISHUA	12. ELISHAMA	12. ELISHUA
13. ———	13. ELIPHELET	13. ELPELET
14. ———	14. NOGAH	14. NOGAH
15. NEPHEG	15. NEPHEG	15. NEPHEG
16. JAPHIA	16. JAPHIA	16. JAPHIA
17. ELISHAMA	17. ELISHAMA	17. ELISHAMA
18. ELIADA	18. ELIADA	18. BEELIADA
19. ELIPHELET	19. ELIPHELET	19. ELIPHELET
20. ———	20. TAMAR	20. ———

The lists are almost identical, both with respect to forms of names and orders of listings. Eight differences appear, at nos. 2, 7, 12, 13 (2), 14, 18, 20. Of these, five are either variant spellings, alternate names, or scribal slips: 2. Chileab/Daniel; 7. Shammua/Shimea; 12. Elishua/Elishama; 13. Eliphelet/Elpelet; 18. Eliada/Beeliada. The other three are omissions. Of these, two undoubtedly are scribal slips, as well; the names Eliphelet and Nogah likely appeared in the original mss of Samuel, as well. The last difference—the inclusion of Tamar in 1 Chronicles 3—represents an original contribution by the Chronicler at this point, based on knowledge he had from elsewhere in his sources, mainly 2 Samuel 13.

The natural presumption is that these lists are given in the correct birth order. Indeed, the sons born during David's 7 years in Hebron are given first in the two places they are listed, and then they are followed by those born during David's ensuing 33 years in Jerusalem. However, of the four sons born to Bathsheba, Solomon is listed last in all three lists; whereas, it would appear from the narrative texts (2 Samuel 12; 1 Kings 1) that he was her firstborn of David (excluding the son that died: 2 Sam 12:15–18).

The first list is of David's sons born at Hebron (2 Sam 3:2–5). It names six sons and their six mothers. It is impossible to know anything of any earlier existence it may have had, but its appearance here serves to highlight the comment in 3:1 about the ascendancy of David's house vis-à-vis Saul's (see McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 102).

The second list is of David's sons born in Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:13–16). It mentions concubines and wives and sons and daughters and names 11 sons without naming their mothers. Its occurrence here naturally fits the narrative context, since David's capture of Jerusalem and consolidation of power have just been mentioned (5:1–12). The OG traditions add at the end of v 16 a list of 13 names that is not found in the MT. This list essentially duplicates the one just completed in vv 14b–16a, but it adds the two names that are missing (found in the Chronicles lists), and it has different forms for almost every name (some radically so).

The third list is the most comprehensive, and it combines the two Samuel lists, briefly adding to them (1 Chr 3:1–9). It is only here that Bathshua (= Bathsheba) is named as mother of four of David's sons, as well as of Tamar. It adds two names—Eliphelet and Nogah—that are not found in the MT of the Samuel list. Its larger context is the genealogies that introduce the books of Chronicles (chaps. 1–9). It appears as part of a large genealogy of Judah (2:3–4:23), immediately preceded by a list of de-

scendants of Caleb and Jerahmeel, sons of Hezron, who was a grandson of Judah (2:18–55). It picks up from the list of David's ancestors in 2:3–17, and it is immediately followed by a list of Solomon's descendants (3:10–24).

The fourth list is essentially identical to the third in terms of the sons included, but it omits numerous other details found in that list. Its narrative setting is similar to the second list's, as it occurs in a context of David's consolidation of power after his capture of Jerusalem. However, the Chronicler adds material between this list and the actual account of the capture of Jerusalem (11:4–9) that appears elsewhere (or not at all) in 2 Samuel: lists of David's heroes (11:10–47; cf. 2 Sam 23:8–39) and supporters (chap. 12; missing in 2 Samuel), and the account of the ark's removal from Kiriath-jearim to the house of Obed-edom (chap. 13; cf. 2 Sam 6:1–11). Despite these differences, this Chronicles list functions in the same way that the Samuel list does: they both show YHWH's blessing on David through the proliferation of his family, a blessing that is found in the preceding and following narrative texts, as well.

DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

DAVIDIC COVENANT. In Ps 89:4 the Lord says, "I have made a covenant with my chosen one, I have sworn to David, my servant." Among the "last words of David," we find, "He has made with me an everlasting covenant" (2 Sam 23:5). The Davidic covenant refers to God's promise to David, the king, to preserve his dynasty forever.

A. Historical Questions
1. Emergence of Monarchy
2. Ideology of Kingship
B. Davidic Covenant
1. Davidic Theology
2. Model of Royal Grant
C. Related Ideas
D. Influence on Southern Traditions
E. Relation to the Mosaic Covenant
F. The Prophets
G. The New Testament

A. Historical Questions

The Hebrew people, having fled Egypt and, under Moses' leadership, entered into covenant with Yahweh at Sinai, took possession of the land of Canaan about the year 1200 B.C.E. For approximately the next 200 years they formed a loose organization of tribes united in their faith and worship of Yahweh. Gradually, things began to change.

1. Emergence of Monarchy. Kingship emerged in Israel as a response to two kinds of problems, external and internal. Externally, the continuing threat posed by the Philistines, a non-Semitic people living along the W plain and expanding more and more into the Israelite territory in the central hill country, pointed to the need for a stronger government and defense. In addition, internal pressures (e.g., population growth, economic, agricultural, political factors) pushed the Israelites in the same direction (Coote and Whitelam 1986). The people asked for a king (1 Sam 8:1–9), and, despite warnings (1 Sam 8:10–18), persisted in their demands (1 Sam 8:19–22). Saul was anointed king first (1 Samuel 9–10) but was later replaced by David (1 Sam 16:1–13), who progressively consolidated his power, conquered Jerusalem, and established his rule there.

2. Ideology of Kingship. About the year 1000 B.C.E., the period of the Monarchy had begun. This represented not only a major political reorganization but also a serious religious crisis (1 Sam 8:6–8). What exactly was the problem? Kingship certainly was not an Israelite innovation. It was an old institution in the ANE and with it came its own ideological beliefs. A whole religious mythology was associated with kingship.

A conflict existed in the world of the gods between the god of life, creation, and order (in Canaan, Baal; in Babylon, Marduk) and the god of chaos and destruction, usually represented as a sea monster (in Canaan, Yam = The Sea; in Babylon, Tiamat = The Deeps). In the struggle between the two (repeated regularly, perhaps annually), the god of order and creation is victorious and then is proclaimed king. He builds a palace in which to dwell and celebrate his victory. Creation is "in order" once again (McCurley 1983: 12–71). The earthly king stood in a special relation to the king-god, one often described as "father-son." If the king was a healthy and good king, society and creation were in order; if he was a poor king or was ill and unable to exercise kingly functions, then chaos threatened. A special responsibility in this regard was the concern to maintain justice in the realm. Injustice is a form of disorder, of chaos, and flows from the failure of kingship. H. H. Schmidt has maintained (1968) that *ṣĕdāqâ*, often translated "justice," in fact means "world order." This concern of the king for justice was a commonplace in the ANE (Lohfink 1987: 18–23; Whitelam 1979: 17–37). As the god's earthly representative, the king was basically the custodian and guardian of the stability of the cosmos. When the Israelites took over the political form of kingship, a real danger existed that they would take over the mythology along with it. They would then truly be "a nation like all the rest" (1 Sam 8:5, 20).

B. Davidic Covenant

1. Davidic Theology. The problem posed by the introduction of monarchy into Israel was how this new institution was to be related to the older religious traditions, especially that of the Mosaic covenant between Yahweh and the people (see MOSAIC COVENANT). A new idea of covenant developed: God had made a special covenant with David. The so-called oracle of Nathan (2 Sam 7:8–16) is considered the charter of the Davidic covenant. Closely related to this is Psalm 89 (Ishida 1977: 81–117).

As David enjoyed a period of rest after the struggles that brought him to the throne, he contemplated building a house, a temple, for Yahweh. The prophet Nathan came to him with a message from the Lord. Several points are worth noting. (1) The oracle was delivered through a prophet, a spokesman for Yahweh, so the prophet's words would be recognized as authoritative. This was a point of continuity with the older tradition. (2) The oracle makes very clear that the source of David's position and authority is only Yahweh, the God of Israel, who had led the Israelites out of Egypt and established a covenant at Sinai. And

it is Yahweh alone who chooses, appoints, and raises up to kingship (2 Sam 7:8b–12). (3) Yahweh promises David two things, land and dynasty. David had wanted to build a house for God; God will, rather, build a house for David. The Hebrew word for house *(bêt)* can refer to a building or family. The latter verses (12–16) of the oracle develop the theme of dynasty. (4) The "father-son" imagery familiar from ANE kingship is used (v 14; Pss 89:27–28—Eng 26–27; 2:7–8). The king is not divine but is raised up above the common person in his relationship to God (Weinfeld *IDBSup*, 190–91). (5) The king does not have absolute authority; he is under Yahweh and is expected to obey the covenant obligations. This is a serious requirement; failure will bring on punishment (v 14b; Ps 89:31–33—Eng 30–32). (6) Failure, however, will not terminate the covenant. Yahweh is committed to David and his dynasty; the covenant is an eternal one which cannot be broken (vv 15–16; Ps 89:4–5, 21–22, 29–30, 34–38—Eng 3–4, 20–21, 28–29, 33–37); it is rooted in Yahweh's promise and fidelity (Ps 89:3—Eng 2). Sin will bring punishment, but the last word is with God's grace.

Two further aspects of the Davidic covenant, not explicit in 2 Samuel 7, can be added. (7) The stability of David's throne is rooted in the order of creation: ". . . as long as the sun before me. Like the moon, it shall be established forever" (Ps 89:37–38—Eng 36–37). The activity of the king is related to cosmic stability. Psalm 89:10–15—Eng 9–14 depict Yahweh as establishing creation through a victory over Sea and Rahab (another name for the sea monster); in v 26—Eng 25, the king is shown as sharing this activity. (8) The responsibility of the king in this regard is spelled out in the two concepts of justice *(ṣĕdāqâ)* in the realm, and peace *(šālôm)* within and without. It has been noted that names connected with Jerusalem and the monarchy are often derived from these roots (e.g., Melchizedek (Gen 14:18); Adonizedek (Josh 10:1); Zadok (1 Kgs 1:8, 32); Solomon (2 Sam 12:24); and Absalom (2 Sam 13:1; Humphreys 1979: 59–60). Psalm 72 is a virtual summary of Davidic royal theology: the king's justice derives from God (v 1); his rule is rooted in the cosmos (vv 5–7) and also effects fertility (life) of the soil (vv 6, 16); he is related to other nations round about (vv 8–11) for whom he is a source of blessing (v 17); he is the protector of the poor and the helpless (vv 12–14).

2. Model of Royal Grant. The type of covenant represented here has parallels elsewhere in the ANE. These have been described as "covenants of royal grant" (Weinfeld 1970; *TDOT* 1: 270–72; Mullen 1983) and are attested in the Hittite and Syro-Palestinian areas. See also COVENANT. They were gifts (often land and dynasty) bestowed by a king upon individuals who had loyally served their masters. Parallels to the Davidic covenant in form and vocabulary are striking.

C. Related Ideas

While the number of texts which explicitly treat it are relatively few, the Davidic covenant is intimately connected, even intertwined, with a number of other important ideas. Three are particularly significant. (1) *Zion:* David had wanted to build a house (temple) for Yahweh; Yahweh said, "No, but I will build a house (dynasty) for you." It is no surprise then to see a connection between the traditions about David and those about Mt. Zion and the temple. Yahweh, the great king, has chosen Zion for a dwelling place; Zion is then the sacred mountain where earth and heaven meet. The temple there is the focus of the order and stability of creation (Roberts 1982; McCurley 1983: 149–60; Levenson 1988: 78–99; Ollenburger 1987). (2) *Creation:* Yahweh subdues the forces of chaos and destruction and brings about an ordered universe (Ps 89:1–15—Eng 1–14); the anointed king shares in this task (Ps 89:26—Eng 25). Thus the role of the Davidic king, while deriving from Yahweh and focusing on Israel, operates within a much wider horizon: all people and all of creation are involved (Anderson 1984). (3) *Wisdom:* The connection of the king with wisdom was a commonplace in the ANE. The king was to rule wisely (Kalugila 1980). The great patron of wisdom in Israel was, appropriately, King Solomon (e.g., 1 Kgs 3:4–15). A number of Israel's wisdom works were attributed to Solomon (Proverbs, Song of Songs, Qoheleth), and it is not uncommon to find references to kings and ruling in this literature (e.g., Prov 8:15–19; 29:14; 31:1–9).

Each of these three themes (Zion, creation, wisdom) is independent and has its own history. However, the figure of the king appears in each in an important way. In light of this, the role of the king can be summarized: the Davidic king, as Yahweh's representative, by ruling wisely is guardian of the cosmic and social order (justice and peace). As these themes interact and overlap, one can describe them as presenting a theology of blessing within the Bible (Westermann 1982: 85–117).

D. Influence on Southern Traditions

Another area where the importance of the Davidic covenant can be noted is in its influence on the pentateuchal traditions, which have their roots in Jerusalem with its court and temple, namely, the Yahwist (J) and the priestly (P) writers. Several points of contact can be noted. (1) It is only these two traditions that appear in the primeval history, that is, which situate Israel's narrative traditions squarely within a cosmic context. (2) The human role in creation is described in royal terms. Humans, men and women, share in God's royal dominion (Gen 1:26–28); the creation of Adam and Eve, who share responsibility for the Garden (Brueggemann 1970), is described in royal phrases: taken from the dust (Brueggemann 1972) and receiving the breath of life (Wifal 1974). (3) The stories of the Yahwist's primeval history (Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Flood, Tower of Babel) all show a similar development: humans sin, punishment follows, the last word is one of Yahweh's grace (Clines 1978: 61–79). This is exactly the pattern of the Davidic covenant (2 Sam 7:14–15). (4) The covenant with Abraham (in both J—Gen 15:7–20—and P—Gen 17:1–8) is, like the Davidic covenant, a promissory covenant rooted in Yahweh's choice and fidelity and entails the promise of land and offspring (Weinfeld *TDOT* 1: 270–72). Likewise, the covenant with Abraham (as also with Noah, Caleb, and Phineas) is an everlasting covenant (Gen 17:7; 9:16; Num 14:24; 25:13; Cross *CMHE*, 261–63). (5) The promises to Abraham involve not only Israel, but all nations as well (Gen 12:3b; Ps 72:17). In fact, the patriarchs are shown to bring blessing, in various ways, to the nations round about them, nations

which in fact had been subdued by David (2 Samuel 8; Wolff 1982: 55–63).

E. Relation to the Mosaic Covenant

The Davidic covenant stands in obvious contrast with the Mosaic covenant. Whereas the latter is made with all the people and is dependent on their obedience for its perdurability, the former is rooted in God's faithful promise and is unconditional. In the latter, God is known primarily through historical experiences; in the former, through creation. How are these tensions to be handled (McCarthy 1972: 45–52, 80–85; Levenson 1985: 187–217)?

The Mosaic covenant is the basic covenant which gives Israel its distinct identity. No text in the OT suggests that this covenant is ever replaced by the Davidic. The two covenants cannot be contrasted on the basis of covenant obligations; the king, too, is expected to be a faithful Yahwist and to obey the covenant commandments, especially in their concern for justice (2 Sam 7:14; Ps 89:32–33—Eng 31–32). The Davidic covenant is a further development and specification that took place within certain circles in Jerusalem. Attempts to localize the two traditions (the Mosaic covenant flourished in the N, the Davidic in the S) seem oversimplified (Levenson 1985: 192–200). Some texts do suggest that attempts were made to bring the Davidic in line with the Mosaic by making its promises conditional (e.g., 1 Kgs 2:4; 8:25; 9:4–5; Ps 132:12), but this was not carried out consistently (Weinfeld *IDBSup*, 191).

Both covenants were accepted in Israel and appear in the canon of Scripture; responsible exegesis must do justice to this fact. It is better to view the two not as contradictory but as complementary. For example, the Mosaic covenant has an inherent particularism or sectarianism; the Davidic is more universal, even cosmic in scope (Levenson 1985: 207–8). How is the tension between king and people to be addressed? Deuteronomy, with its overriding Mosaic concerns, admits kingship but stresses that the king is simply one of the people, "one of your kinsmen" (Deut 18:14–20); the Davidic maintains, as it were, a high view of kingship, but "democratizes" it by raising up into it not only all Israel, but all human beings (Gen 1:26–28; Levenson 1988: 112–16). The Mosaic covenant, with its stress on history and morality, calls Israel to be serious about its covenant life; the covenant is one of human obligation and is precarious. The Davidic covenant stresses creation and the constancy of God; this is a covenant of divine commitment that assures Israel that even though it sins, God's promises can be trusted (Freedman 1964). As R. E. Brown has said, ". . . while the Covenants of Divine Commitment gave Israel an undying hope, the Covenant of Human Obligation gave Israel a conscience" (1965: 115).

F. The Prophets

When the kings failed to rule as true representatives of Yahweh and abused their position and power, the prophets were not intimidated. They addressed squarely the problems they saw. While most of the prophets spoke more out of the Mosaic traditions, the Davidic traditions are not absent. Perhaps the prophet who embodies these the most is Isaiah (Tucker 1985: 332–33, 334). However, in prophetic texts which look to a hope beyond the coming punishment, the Davidic theology occupies a prominent place (e.g., Isa 8:23–9:6; 11:1–9; Amos 9:11; Mic 5:2–5; Jer 17:24–27; 23:5–6; 30:8–9; 33:14–26). Since the Hebrew word for anointed king is messiah, the Davidic covenant plays a central, even crucial role in the development of OT messianic expectation.

G. The New Testament

The Davidic covenant is of central importance in the faith of the NT. Jesus preaches the arrival of the kingdom of God, a kingdom marked by justice and peace. In himself, he is the son "descended from David according to the flesh" (Rom 1:3). When Christians acknowledge in faith that Jesus is Christ (= Messiah = anointed king), they are affirming that in Jesus the Davidic covenant has reached its culmination and highest fulfillment.

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MICHAEL D. GUINAN

DAWN, THE. See SHAHAR (DEITY).

DAY OF ATONEMENT. A day of fasting, self-denial, and rest on the tenth day of the seventh month (Tishri) on which the sanctuary is cleansed of impurities and the Israelites' sins are sent away on the scapegoat.

A. The Rite in Leviticus 16
1. Purification of the Sanctuary and Sanctums
2. The Scapegoat Rite
3. Self-Denial and Rest
4. Miscellaneous Sacrifical Elements
B. Near Eastern Parallels
C. The Development of the Biblical Rite
D. The Day of Atonement in Later Literature

A. The Rite in Leviticus 16

The Day of Atonement is attested only in the Priestly legislation (= P) of the Pentateuch. P's main discussion is in Leviticus 16, which lists the prescriptions for the occasion. As chap. 16 now stands, the ritual is an annual sanctuary purgation ritual occurring on the tenth day of the seventh month (Lev 16:29, 34). The prescriptions contain two main expiatory or purgative rites: the purification of the sanctuary and some of its sanctums with blood from priestly and communal *ḥaṭṭā't* (purgation) sacrifices (vv 3–19), and the dispatch of the scapegoat, which bears the people's sins (vv 20–22). For details pertaining to the following discussion of these rituals, see in particular J. Milgrom (1983: 67–95; *Leviticus* AB on Leviticus 16; Wright 1987: 15–86, 129–59).

1. Purification of the Sanctuary and Sanctums. The purification of the sanctuary and sanctums reflects P's carefully conceived system of ritual practice. The cleansing is achieved by a combination of blood sprinkling and daubing in the three main locales of the sanctuary, beginning with the most sacred and ending with the least sacred (see HOLINESS (OT)). The blood manipulations in each locale, while differing in manner and order, appear in pairs with each pair including a sevenfold sprinkling of blood: (a) In the adytum (the most holy room of the tent) blood is sprinkled once on the front of the E side of the *kappōret* (the cover of the ark) and then seven times in front of it (Lev 16:14–16b). (b) The shrine (the outer room of the tent), the text says, was treated similarly (v 16b). This probably presumes the blood manipulation in Lev 4:5–7a, 16–18a, where purgation offering blood is sprinkled toward the veil seven times (apparently not touching it) and then placed on the four horns of the incense altar (cf. Exod 30:10). (c) Outside the tent, blood is placed on the horns of the burnt-offering altar and then sprinkled on it seven times (Lev 16:18–19).

The systematic character of this ritual is made more apparent when the blood manipulations are viewed as discrete acts. The blood of the priests' and the blood of the people's purgation offerings are apparently manipulated separately in the adytum and shrine (Lev 16:14–16), but the bloods of the two animals are presumably mixed before application to the outer altar and are applied together (cf. vv 18–19). The total of each separate act of sprinkling and application to an altar horn is forty-nine, the square of the number seven. The latter number is generally expressive of completeness and wholeness. The seven-times-seven sprinkling thus represents the thoroughness of the rite's effects (see NUMBERS AND COUNTING).

The place where blood is manipulated also reflects the conception of the holiness of the portable sanctuary reflected in other prescriptions. The blood manipulations in the adytum and shrine purify not only the furniture pieces to which they are applied, but also the rooms generally. The sevenfold sprinklings occur in the air space of the rooms and fall on the floor. Outside the tent, however, blood is applied only to the burnt-offering altar and not to the court. This demonstrates the lesser holiness of the sanctuary court vis-à-vis the outer altar and tent and also the higher holiness of the outer altar, which is somewhat less than, but comparable to, that of the other sanctums to which blood is applied—see HOLINESS (OT).

The sanctuary purification rites are part of the larger system of *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices. The purpose of *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices generally is to remove impurity from the sanctuary and its sanctums. The purgative effect is clearly stated for the *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:16, 19). The verb *ḥiṭṭē'*, a privative *Pi'el* meaning "purify," is used to describe the effect of this sacrifice elsewhere (Exod 29:36; Lev 8:15; Ezek 43:20, 22, 23; 45:18). This verb, in fact, is evidence that the noun *ḥaṭṭā't* is to be properly understood as a privative *Pi'el* noun meaning "purgation-offering" rather than "sin-offering" or the like. The blood acts like a detergent and removes the impurity that affects the sanctums. This removal renders the entire offering, including the carcass, impure and it in turn may pollute others (cf. Lev 16:27–28). This impurity, however, does not seem to become effective until after the carcass leaves the sanctuary precincts (*m. Yoma* 6:7; *Zebaḥ.* 12:6). This observation would apply only to *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices the blood of which is used in the sanctuary or to those which are brought for the benefit of the priests themselves. Only the carcasses of these *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices are burned outside the camp. The *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices of individuals, the blood of which is used at only the outer altar, can be eaten by priests inside the sanctuary court (cf. Lev 6:17–20; 10:16–20; see UNCLEAN AND CLEAN (OT)).

The blood of the *ḥaṭṭā't* offering is only applied to holy furniture or sprinkled in the rooms of the tent (Exod 29:12; Lev 4:6–7, 17–18, 25, 30, 34; 5:9; 8:15; 9:9; cf. Ezek 43:20; 45:18): it is never applied to a person. The effect the offering has for a person is indirect and is described by the verb *kipper* plus the prepositions *'al* or *bĕ'ad*. The verb has a general meaning of "appease; propitiate; expiate" and when used with the purgation offer-

ing has more the notion of "purify" though the other meanings can be present (e.g., Lev 16:16, 20, 33; cf. vv 18, 27, 32 see UNCLEAN AND CLEAN; Milgrom 1983: 67–84; *Leviticus* AB; cf. Levine 1974: 55–77; Janowski 1982 passim). When the verb and prepositions are used with a person, the expression means the purification or expiation performed on the sanctum is done "on behalf of" that person (e.g., Lev 16:6, 11, 17, 24, 30, 34). P uses the verb *kipper* mainly to describe the effect of purgation offerings. This led to designating this ritual occasion, where these offerings figure so prominently, as *yôm (hak)kippurîm*, "the day of expiation/purification" (Lev 23:27–28 [LXX *hēmera exilasmou*]; 25:9 [LXX: *tē hēmera tou hilasmou*]; cf. Exod 30:10; Num 29:11).

That *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* sacrifices purify the sanctums on behalf of persons reveals the human factor in the dynamics of the sacrifice: it is people who cause the impurity in the sanctuary; that is, when they sin or suffer severe impurity, the sanctuary is soiled. People do not have to be in the sanctuary area for this pollution to occur; it occurs aerially. This pollution follows a graded scheme according to the gravity of the impure situation. The more severe the sin or impure situation, the more extensively the sanctuary is polluted. Permissive tolerance of severe impurities and inadvertent sins committed by individuals pollute only the outer altar (cf. Lev 4:22–35). Sins by the community in concert or by the high priest pollute the incense altar and the shrine (4:2–21). Intentional sins and presumably other unrectified sins and impurities pollute the adytum and the *kappōret* and implicitly the ark. This is evidenced by the term *piš'ĕhem* 'their crimes' in Lev 16:16a, which seems to refer to brazen, deliberate sins (cf. Num 15:30–31) and which, together with impurities, is the express evil removed from the adytum. In view of this scheme of pollution, the purpose of the Day of Atonement ritual becomes lucid: while throughout the year the impurity of individual or community sins may be purged as they arise (Leviticus 4), once a year a special rite must be performed that cleanses the sanctuary of impurity from deliberate sins and from any other lingering impurity not yet rectified. The implication following from this is that were the sanctuary left sullied by these impurities, God's presence, which manifests itself in the tent, could not dwell there and would leave (cf. Ezekiel 8–11).

The sanctuary purification is a very dangerous chore, so special precautions must be taken. If these were not observed, the officiator would perish (Lev 16:2, 13). An indication of the chapter's concern about the danger of what is holy is the linkage of the chapter with Lev 10:1–7, which recounts the death of two of Aaron's sons who encroached on the sanctuary (cf. 16:1). Part of the reason why Leviticus 16 refers back to this episode is to underscore the care with which sanctuary service must be performed. Since the Day of Atonement purification is the most comprehensive and intensive of all *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* rituals, the strictest rules apply. Only the high priest, the holiest human, may enter the adytum. He wears special holy clothing (vv 4, 32), different from what he normally wears. He is to bathe his entire body before officiating (v 4; cf. the Samaritan and LXX). In other cases of sanctuary service, priests only need to wash their hands and feet (Exod 30;18–21; 40:30–32; cf. 2 Chr 4:6). After the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* and scapegoat rites the high priest bathes again, presumably to desanctify after working in the adytum (Lev 16:24). He then changes to his regular high priestly clothing to finish the ritual (vv 23–24). When entering the adytum, he must offer special holy incense, which probably includes an ingredient to cause a thick cloud of smoke to cover the *kappōret* (vv 12–13; cf. v 2). This is to hide the sanctum so that he will not die. On the danger of what is holy, see HOLINESS (OT).

2. The Scapegoat Rite. At the beginning of the rite two goats brought by the people were distinguished by lot, one for the Lord and one for Azazel, an attenuated demonic figure living in the wilderness perhaps representing in the present text more a geographical locale than an active supernatural figure (Lev 16:8–10, 26; see AZAZEL). The goat designated for the Lord is offered as a *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* sacrifice, as seen above; the one designated for Azazel is the scapegoat, which bears the people's sins to the wilderness to Azazel. The scapegoat ritual follows directly after the purgation with *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* sacrifices (v 20). To transfer the sins to the goat, the high priest places his two hands on the head of the animal and confesses over it the Israelites' transgressions (v 21; see HANDS, LAYING ON OF (OT)). The goat is then sent out to a remote land *('ereṣ gĕzērâ)* in the wilderness (vv 21–22).

Though the purpose of the rite is to banish the people's sins, it is not unrelated to the purgation with *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* sacrifices. As already noted, sins and impurity have an intimate connection; the former cause the latter in the sanctuary. Carrying sins to the wilderness removes the cause of impurity to an innocuous locale. The impurity-sin connection is found also in the fact that the scapegoat, though bearing sins, pollutes the person who dispatches it (v 26). The relationship of the scapegoat rite to the foregoing is also seen in its denomination, together with the slaughtered goat, as a *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* (v 5). The Priestly legislation has placed both goats into a complementary relationship. Despite this denomination, the scapegoat is not really an offering according to the Priestly context of sacrifice attested elsewhere. It is merely a vehicle for carrying impurity away from the temple and the people's habitation.

3. Self-Denial and Rest. The first part of Leviticus 16 deals with prescriptions pertaining to the sanctuary and priesthood; the last part (vv 29–31) deals with the people's obligations. These chiastically arranged prescriptions require self-denial (Heb *'innâ nepeš*) and complete cessation from work. The former requirement mainly denotes fasting, but perhaps also abstention from other physical pleasures such as anointing and sexual intercourse is intended too (cf. Num 30:14; Dan 10:3, 12; 2 Sam 12:16–20; *m. Yoma* 8:1; Heb 9:10). The requirement of complete rest is found only elsewhere with the Sabbath. Other holidays that have prescriptions of rest only require cessation of laborious work (see HOLINESS (OT)). While the people have certain obligations on this day, there is no requirement in any of the legislation that they appear at the sanctuary. Presumably they remain at their homes abstaining from work and pleasures while the priesthood purifies the sanctuary. The rules for fasting and rest are repeated in 23:26–32; Num 29:7 (see FAST, FASTING).

4. Miscellaneous Sacrificial Elements. After the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* and scapegoat rites the high priest changes his clothes and offers a burnt offering for the priestly household and one

for the people (Lev 16:24b, cf. vv 3, 5). If the text indicates the actual order of the rite, the fat pieces of the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* sacrifices are then burned on the altar (v 25; cf. the rule in *m. Zebaḥ.* 10:2) and the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* carcasses are taken outside the camp and burned (v 27). The Mishnah keeps these particular acts in the order listed in the Bible (*m. Yoma* 6:6–7; *m. Zebaḥ.* 10:2), but the *Temple Scroll* puts them between the blood rites in the sanctuary and the scapegoat rite (11QTemple 26:6–10; 27:3–5). Numbers 29:8–11 lists other offerings to be brought on this holiday: a bull, ram, and seven one-year-old lambs for burnt offerings with their accompanying cereal offerings, a goat for a *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* in addition to the other *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* animals, plus the daily burnt offering with its accompanying cereal offerings and libations. One controversy growing out of these prescriptions is whether the burnt-offering ram prescribed in this list is the same as the ram of the people in Lev 16:5 or whether it is in addition to it (see 11QTemple 25:12–16; Philo *Leg All* I.187–88; Josephus *Ant* 3.10.3 §§240–43; *Sipra,* Aḥare Mot, Par. 2:2; *b. Yoma* 70b). Lev 16:25b ascribes to the burnt offerings of the people and priests an expiatory function (cf. Lev 1:4). This may implicitly apply to the extra burnt offerings listed in Numbers 29 as well. Thus all of the animal offerings on the day serve the general purpose of expiation and purification.

B. Near Eastern Parallels

Purification and elimination rites similar to those in the biblical Day of Atonement ritual are well attested in the religious literature of the ANE. For a full discussion, see Wright (1987: 31–74 and passim).

Parallels to the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* ritual include the purification of the cella of the god Nabû on the fifth day of the Babylonian New Year Festival (the *akītu* festival; see Wright 1987: 62–65). A ram is decapitated and its carcass is wiped on the temple to remove the impurity. The wiping is described with the verb *kuppuru,* cognate with Heb *kipper.* The ram carcass and its head are then discarded in the river. This disposal removes the impurity that has been collected in the carcass of the ram. Those who discard the carcass and head are apparently impure; they may not enter the city Babylon until Nabû leaves. The Hittite ritual of Ulippi is more similar to the biblical *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* rite since it uses blood as a ritual detergent. When a new temple is being purified and dedicated for a god, the last rite performed is slaughtering a sheep and smearing its blood on the god's statue, the wall of the edifice, and cultic utensils. The text explicitly says this application renders the god and its temple pure. The sheep is then burned up (perhaps in the temple building); it is not to be eaten (Kronasser 1963: 30–33, iv 35–41). The similarities to the biblical *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* are patent, particularly with respect to the animal the blood of which is used inside the sanctuary and which cannot be eaten by the priests: animals, sometimes their blood, are used to remove impurity from a sanctuary. The carcasses become impure and must be discarded; they cannot be eaten.

Rites similar to the scapegoat include the Hittite rituals of Huwarlu and Ambazzi (Wright 1987: 57–60). These are the closest examples to the biblical scapegoat rite in that they use live animals as bearers of the evil and lack the motif of substitution, where the carrier of evil suffers in place of the human sufferers. Substitution is lacking in the biblical scapegoat rite. In the Huwarlu ritual, a dog is waved over the king and queen and inside the palace. The "old woman" officiator recites an incantation expressing the hope that the dog will carry away evil and utters a "magical word," ending with the words: "Wherever the gods have designated it, there let him [the dog] carry it [the evil]." The live dog is then taken away and apparently let loose. In the Ambazzi ritual the woman officiator wraps tin on a bowstring and then puts the string on the right hand and feet of those suffering evil. She then removes the string and puts it on a mouse with the request: "Let this mouse take it [the evil] to the high mountains, the deep valleys (and) the distant ways." The god Alawaimi is called on to drive the mouse away. Mesopotamian literature does not have a clear example where a live animal bears evil away from sufferers, but it does have elimination rituals that are otherwise conceptually similar to the biblical scapegoat ritual. A good example is from the Utukkī Lemnūti series (Wright 1987: 65–67). Ea instructs Marduk, his son, how to cure a person plagued by demons and accompanying diseases. Marduk is to bring a goat into some sort of contact with the patient. An incantation adjures the evil to leave the man and go to the underworld. The skin of the goat is removed from the man and thrown into the street, a place where polluted items are often discarded. In the Shurpu ritual series (Wright 1987: 68–69) Marduk, again, is commanded to take loaves of bread on a skewer and wipe with it a patient who has been seized by a "curse." The patient is also to spit on the skewer. After an incantation the materials are taken out to the open country and placed near a bush. A request follows for the Lady of the Open Country and Plain to receive the patient's curse and that his illness be transferred to the "vermin of the ground." Finally, a ritual similar to the scapegoat may be attested in Ugaritic literature. A model lung contains a list of sacrifices ending with a ritual in which, if the translation of the crucial words is correct, a goat apparently carrying evil connected with an attack on Ugarit or a plague is driven into a remote locale (*KTU* 1.127: 29–31; Aartun 1976; 1980: 91–92; Janowski 1982: 214–15; Loretz 1985: 35–49; cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1969: 171–72; Tarragon 1980: 41).

C. The Development of the Biblical Rite

Consideration of these extrabiblical rituals, of other elimination rites in the Bible, and of literary- and tradition-critical evidence from biblical passages dealing with the Day of Atonement has generated different explanations of the development of the Day of Atonement prescriptions. The evidence is susceptible to various interpretations depending upon one's methodological or theoretical framework and emphasis. A speculative reconstruction based on recent scholarship is offered here (see Milgrom *Leviticus* AB; Knohl 1987: 86–92; Wright 1987: 16–30, 72–74, 78–80; Aartun 1980).

The analysis begins with the present text of Leviticus 16 and moves backwards. This chapter is clearly a composite work. Most critics argue that vv 29–34a are an addition to the first part of the chapter. Reading the first part of the chapter without these verses has led to the generally accepted conclusion that the fixed date of the rite, the tenth

day of the seventh month, did not apply originally. Either the ritual was performed annually on another date, or it was an emergency purification rite performed when necessary. The latter interpretation is suggested by the connection of Leviticus 16 with Leviticus 10 (cf. 16:1). Aaron's two sons had just polluted the sanctuary by their encroachment; hence it required immediate purification. God's wrath was aroused; and presumably to prevent further destruction, purification of the sanctuary was necessary. Emergency appeasement rites for arresting divine wrath are not unknown to the Priestly literature (Num 17:9–15). It is likely that the biblical designation *yôm (hak)kippurîm* 'day of expiation,' which points to a particular fixed occasion, arose after the fixing of the date.

Leviticus 23:26–32 and Num 29:7–11, which reflect the text of Leviticus 16 that contains vv 29–34a, are probably composite themselves. The holiday they name for the tenth day of the seventh month may have originally not included the expiation ritual in Lev 16:1–28. Later the ritual was associated with this date because the day was part of—perhaps the last day of—the fall new year period, which began on the first day of the seventh month (cf. Lev 23:23–25; Num 29:1–6; the cultic calendar elsewhere lists multiday holidays where the first and last days are more important than intervening days). Leviticus 25:9 clearly shows the tenth day with the Day of Atonement to be connected with the new year ceremonial (cf. Ezek 40:1). The new year was a proper occasion for sanctuary purification. Ezekiel prescribes a threefold sanctuary purification for the first and seventh day of the first month in the spring, another new year in Israel (Ezek 45:18–20; perhaps this is a ritual to balance the Day of Atonement rite in the seventh month, which he does not explicitly mention; cf. the LXX on v 20). Recall also the purification of Nabû's cella in the Babylonian new year rite, noted above.

While it may be argued on the basis of separating Lev 16:29–34a from the rest of the chapter that self-affliction which includes fasting was not originally associated with the ritual, fasting is often associated with crises elsewhere in the Bible (Judg 20:26; 1 Sam 7:6; 14:24; Joel 1:14; Esth 4:3; Ezra 8:21–23; etc.). It may be that an original day of abstention on the tenth day of the seventh month helped attract the purification rite to it since it too was accompanied by self-denial. As for cessation from work, this may have been originally associated with an emergency rite, but it seems its specific formulation derives from the rite's insertion into the fixed cultic calendar.

Literary-critical criteria do not give hints about the development of Lev 16:1–28 adequate to lead to an understanding of the character of the ritual before its attachment to the fixed fall date. It would seem that various ritual elements were added together, perhaps over time, to arrive at the rite described in these verses. To speculate about the development requires comparison of ritual practices in other places of the priestly writings. The discussion here is limited to the development of *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* and scapegoat rites. Since these two rites form discrete ceremonies, one may surmise that they existed independently and were joined together to form the present ritual. This is supported by the difference in evils they remove (Lev 16:16, 19, 21–22; impurity versus sins) and by the existence elsewhere in P of *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* sacrifices without a scapegoat element. But a comparison with the rite for purification from *sāraʿat* (so-called leprosy; see LEPROSY) suggests a different development (cf. Lev 14:2–7, 48–53). In this rite two animals—birds—are used to purify a person or a house. One bird is killed to obtain blood to serve as a ritual detergent; the other bird carries away the impurity that the blood removes. This may suggest that what lies behind Lev 16:1–28 is a ritual where two animals, perhaps the two goats, were used, one providing blood for purification and the second carrying away the evil the blood of the first animal had removed. To compose the original stage of the text such a two-goat rite would have been combined with a *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* bull rite which consequently led to designating the two-goat rite a *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* offering (in contrast, the *sāraʿat* bird rite was never drawn into the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* system). The bull would have been designated for the benefit of the priests and the goat for that of the people. The portion of the rite where blood is manipulated in the sanctuary was given the purpose of removing impurity in accord with the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* system. The release of the goat was given the goal of removing sins, the cause of impurities.

What the two-goat rite may have been like prior to its adoption as a sanctuary cleansing rite can only be guessed. The nonbiblical rituals give some hints. The two-goat rite may not have been connected with a sanctuary at all but with purification of individuals or their houses or other property, like the Hittite and Ambazzi rituals. The evils removed might have been much more like those in nonbiblical rites: sorcery, slander, demonic attack, sickness, and so forth, rather than impurity in the priestly sense. The goat sent out to the wilderness could have functioned merely as a carrier of the evil or, as other Near Eastern rituals show, an offering to an offending demon. The obscure figure Azazel could have been an original element in the ritual actively functioning as a custodian of evil or as an attacking demon needing appeasement (see AZAZEL).

Some have argued that the scapegoat element of the ritual derives from a N Syrian (Hittite-Hurrian) origin (Kümmel 1968: 318; Janowski 1982: 213–15; Loretz 1985: 40–41). From there it spread to Ugarit (hence *KTU* 1.127) and Canaan (hence Leviticus 16) and westward to Greece (appearing in pharmakos rituals; cf. Burkert 1979: 39–77). Other biblical ritual elements seem to have a N Syrian origin or connections with Hittite ritual practice, for example, the burnt offering (see Kümmel 1967: 23–24) and the gesture of hand placement (see HANDS, LAYING ON OF (OT)). Though caution must be used in determining genetic relationships (see Moyer 1983: 19–21, 37–38), there is good reason for looking into Hittite-Hurrian ritual for some of the influences upon Israelite ritual practice (cf. Weinfeld 1983: 102–3).

D. The Day of Atonement in Later Literature

Because the Day of Atonement embodies the central concerns of priestly religion and sacrificial worship, its treatment and reflexes in postbiblical literature are extensive. For example, the Mishnah devotes an entire tractate (*Yoma*, lit. 'The Day') to the ceremony and prescriptions. Additional details, perhaps reflecting Second Temple practice, are found about the priests' and people's roles and how the ceremony is to be precisely performed. The *Temple*

Scroll (11QTemple 25:10–27:10) reworks and conflates many of the rules found in different places of the Pentateuch into a succinct new law written in the tone of biblical prescription. By its rearrangement of text and with careful additions, it solves for its readers some of the difficulties of the biblical text and, as it seems, engages in a polemic with ritual practice at Jerusalem later reflected in rabbinic documents. The NT calls the day "The Fast" (*hē nēsteia*, Acts 27:9). The main reflex of the ritual is in Hebrews, where the writer metaphorically describes Jesus' work of salvation as a Day of Atonement ceremony performed in heaven (cf. Hebrews 6–9). Jesus is the high priest of the heavenly sanctuary, who entered into the adytum with his own blood to achieve eternal redemption for the people. See also, for example, Sir 50:5–21; *Jub.* 5:17–18; 34:18–19; *Ps-Philo* 13:6; Philo *Leg All* II.52, 55–56; *Spec Leg* 1.72, 186–88; 2.195.

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DAVID P. WRIGHT

DAY OF CHRIST. Use of the term "Day of Christ," together with synonymous and related expressions in the NT, indicates that the early Christian communities expected that Jesus would soon return as Lord or Christ (= Messiah). His return would mark the beginning of the time or day of judgment, after which the faithful would inherit the kingdom of God. Most scholars maintain that Jesus himself expected to come again either as the Christ or as the supernatural Son of Man at the time of the coming of the kingdom of God. Some scholars urge that Jesus proclaimed the kingdom of God had already come or been "realized" in connection with his own ministry or activity and that he did not expect any significant future eschatological occurrences. Others propose that it was the early Church that first came to believe that some eschatological events had already been realized in connection with Jesus' ministry or his death and resurrection. The majority of scholars agree that the early Christian communities looked for Jesus' return as the Christ or Lord in the (then) near future.

A. The Term Itself
B. Related Expressions in Pauline Writings and Hebrews
   1. The Day of the Lord
   2. That Day
   3. The Day; the Day of Judgment
C. Related Expressions in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts
D. Expressions in the Fourth Gospel, Catholic Epistles, and Revelation
E. Modern Scholarly Opinion
F. Summary

A. The Term Itself

The term "day of Christ" occurs only twice in the NT: in Phil 1:10 and 2:16. Mowinckel (1956: 302–4) suggests that it derived from certain intertestamental terms, most notably, "the day of the Messiah." Similar and evidently synonymous expressions appear elsewhere in Paul's letters: "the day of Jesus Christ" (Phil 1:6); "the Day of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Cor 1:8); and "the day of the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor 5:5; 2 Cor 1:14). These passages refer to a future time when, Paul hoped, the recipients of his letters would be found pure and blameless. Implicitly, Paul expected the day of Christ to be the time when Christ would return and Christians (if not the whole world) would be judged. In the meantime he urged his readers to live faithfully and righteously so that he might be proud of them and, implicitly, so that they would be found acceptable on that day and inherit the kingdom of God or enter the heavenly commonwealth.

B. Related Expressions in Pauline Writings and Hebrews

The same pattern of understanding is borne out in other Pauline passages containing variations on the term "day of Christ": "the day of the Lord," also "that day," simply "the day," and "the day of judgment." The names Christ or Jesus do not appear in these expressions, but frequently the contexts indicate that Paul was thinking of Christ's or Jesus' coming on the "day" referred to. Paul's letters contain numerous indications that he hoped and expected that Christ would come during his own lifetime

and the lifetime of at least some to whom he was writing, e.g., 1 Cor 15:50–52; 16:22b; Phil 3:20–21; 1 Thess 2:19; 3:13; 4:13–17; 5:23.

1. The Day of the Lord. In three of the passages cited above (section A), Paul refers to Jesus as "the Lord" or "our lord" (Gk *kurios*). In the other two instances where Paul (or a secondary Pauline writer) refers simply to "the day of the Lord" (1 Thess 5:2; 2 Thess 2:2), the preceding verses in each context indicate the writer was thinking of the coming of Jesus (1 Thess 4:13–17; 2 Thess 2:1). The saying in 1 Thess 5:2 compares the day of the Lord to the coming of a "thief in the night," pointing to its sudden and unexpected arrival and also to the destructive consequences for those unprepared for it (1 Thess 5:3–4). The saying parallels particularly the Matthean version of Jesus' parable about the coming of the Son of Man and the importance of readiness (Matt 24:42–44 = Luke 12:39–40). The comparison of the coming of the day or of Jesus to that of a "thief in the night" reverberates in later NT writings as well (2 Pet 3:10; Rev 3:3; 16:15). The writer of 2 Thess 2:2 insists that this "day of the Lord" has not yet come, contrary to the beliefs of some excited people. All these Pauline passages refer to the future coming of this day, understood as within the lifetime of some of those to whom he was writing.

2. That Day. When Paul writes about "that day," he evidently means the day of the Lord, i.e., the day of Christ. In 1 Thess 5:4 "that day" clearly refers back to the future and sudden arrival of the "day of the Lord" in 5:2. Similarly, references to "that day" in 2 Thess 1:10 and 2:3 relate back to earlier passages that look for the coming of the Lord Jesus (2 Thess 1:7–9; 2:1–2). These passages in 2 Thessalonians are distinctive: one anticipates that the coming of the Lord Jesus is to be accompanied by "mighty angels in flaming fire, inflicting vengeance" on nonbelievers and the disobedient (2 Thess 1:7–8); the other cautions that before "that day" can come, "the rebellion" and "the man of lawlessness" must come first (2:3–4; cf. 1 John 2:18). The author of 2 Timothy also uses the term "that day" to designate the future time when Christians who are found worthy will be recompensed: 2 Tim 1:12, 18; 4:8. The last of these passages identifies the Lord (Gk *kurios*) as the one who will be "the righteous judge" on that day; an earlier passage (4:1) indicates that this judge would be "Christ Jesus."

3. The Day; the Day of Judgment. Twice Paul uses the term "the day," each time with reference to the expected time of judgment (Rom 2:16; 1 Cor 3:13). The former passage, in contrast to 2 Tim 4:8, names "Christ Jesus" as the *agent* at the judgment, but God as the judge. In the latter, Paul does not mention a judge but says that "the day" itself will disclose "each man's work." Rom 2:5 looks for "the day of wrath," the time of God's judgment. Other verses in the same context indicate that Paul visualizes God as the one who will judge (Rom 2:2–13). The same expectation evidently is expressed in Heb 10:25, 30–31.

C. Related Expressions in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts

The Synoptic Gospels do not employ the expressions "day of Christ," or "day of the Lord Jesus," or "day of the Lord," but contain many passages that suggest related meanings. In some, Jesus refers to his own future activity "on that day," and he speaks of the "day(s) of the Son of Man," and of "the day" or "that day" when the kingdom of God or the central figure in a parable about the kingdom of God would come. Jesus refers to his own future activity in two Matthean passages, one of which is paralleled in Mark. In Matt 7:22 he says that "on that day" many will tell *him* that they have invoked his name, and, implicitly, that they desire to enter the kingdom. Here Jesus expects to be judge in the day of judgment. In Matt 26:29 (= Mark 14:25), "that day" seems to refer to that time when new conditions of life will dawn in the future kingdom of God; then, Jesus tells his followers, he will again drink wine, this time in the kingdom of God. Various other synoptic sayings about "the day" or "that day" anticipate either the future coming of the kingdom of God or future conditions there: Matt 25:13 (see Matt 25:1); Luke 21:34 (see Luke 21:31; cf. Luke 17:20–31).

Some synoptic passages refer to "the day" (or "days") in which the Son of Man will come. The expression "that day" in Matt 24:36 = Mark 13:32 clearly refers to the coming of the Son of Man (see Matt 24:26–33; Mark 13:24–29). The coming of the Son of Man is contrasted here with the premature and false claims to have found "the Christ" (Matt 24:23–25 = Mark 13:21–23). Moreover, a further saying in this context appears to identify the expected Son of Man as "your Lord" (Matt 24:42–44). These passages imply that the coming of the Son of Man on "that day" will mark the time of judgment. (Cf. Matt 25:31–46, which portrays the Son of Man as judge [and "king"] but does not mention "day.") The same understanding is expressed in several Lukan passages concerning the future appearance of the Son of Man, most notably, Luke 17:22–35; 21:34–36. See references to "the day(s)" or "that day" in Luke 17:22, 24, 26, 30, 31; 21:34; cf. "that night" in 17:34.

In Acts 17:31 Luke writes that Paul warned the Athenians that God would judge the world by "a man" on "a day" that God had fixed. Luke's Paul identifies this "man" as the one God had raised from the dead—necessarily meaning Jesus. This usage may suggest cognizance of Paul's characterization of the risen Jesus as "the last man," and "the man of heaven" (1 Cor 15:45–49). It may also represent a slight modification of the synoptic traditions that characterize the coming judge as the Son of Man.

D. Expressions in the Fourth Gospel, Catholic Epistles, and Revelation

John's gospel identifies Jesus as the Christ, but does not use the expression "day of Christ." In several Johannine passages, however, Jesus refers to his actions on a future "day." A series of verses in John 6 promise that Jesus will raise certain persons "at the last day" (John 6:39, 40, 44, 54; cf. 11:24; 12:48). The Johannine Jesus also promises to return to and be with his followers in or on "that day": John 14:18–20; 16:22–23, 26. In John 8:56 Jesus speaks of "my day," apparently referring to his current presence among his contemporaries.

The catholic letters and Revelation do not refer to the "day of Christ" specifically, but nearly all appear to look for Jesus' return in the near future, using various similar phrases to express this. James 5:7–9 promises that the

coming of the Lord is near, indeed, that the "judge" is about to appear. 1 Peter looks for the coming "day of visitation" (2:12), and warns that Christ (or God) is "ready to judge the living and the dead" (4:5), and that "the end of all things is at hand" (4:7). 2 Peter is cognizant of the delay of the Parousia hitherto (3:3–9), but hints that "the day of the Lord" might now come like a thief at any time (3:10). The writer uses two other related terms to denote this future time: "the day of God" (2 Pet 3:12) and "the day of eternity" (3:18). 1 John urges contemporaries to believe that their time is the "last hour" (2:18) of the old world and to look for the appearing of God (3:2) and the "day of judgment" (4:17). The author of Jude anticipates "the judgment of the great day" and considered his own days to bear the marks of "the last time" (vv 17–19).

The book of Revelation also refers to "the great day"—"the great day of God the Almighty" (Rev 16:14). Implicitly, this is also the day when Jesus will come; the next verse contains the parenthetical commentary, "Lo, I am coming like a thief!" Jesus seems to be the speaker here, as in much of Revelation, through "his angel" (see Rev 1:1; 22:16). Throughout, the author of Revelation assured his late 1st century readers that Jesus was coming soon. See also Rev 6:17, which refers to the coming great day of wrath. Like the writers of 1 and 2 Peter, the writer of Revelation evidently expected that both Jesus and God would soon be revealed. Like Paul (1 Cor 16:22b), the author of Revelation concludes with a prayer for Jesus' coming as Lord (Rev 22:20b); evidently, prayer for Jesus' coming was replacing the earlier petition for the coming of the kingdom of God (Matt 6:10; Luke 11:2).

E. Modern Scholarly Opinion

Traditional Christianity has always maintained that Jesus himself expected to return at *some* future time as the Christ or Son of Man. Near the beginning of the 20th century, the eschatological school represented by Weiss (1985: 114–29) and Schweitzer (1985) precipitated a major crisis in NT theology by proposing that the biblical evidence showed that Jesus expected to return with the coming of the kingdom of God—a world-transforming, supernatural event—in the then *near* future. But he did not so return, nor did the kingdom of God come. Was Jesus therefore mistaken? Rather than so conclude, a few interpreters undertook to contend that Jesus believed that all or virtually all of the anticipated eschatological events had *already* occurred or been "realized" somehow in connection with his own appearance and ministry. Dodd (1961) is the most notable proponent of this idea; see also Robinson (1957) and Perrin (1976). "Realized eschatology" has been severely criticized, however, most recently by Sullivan (1988). Several interpreters tilt strongly in the direction of realized eschatology, maintaining that in some—though not very significant—way, Jesus also anticipated a future fulfillment or "consummation" of some kind (e.g., Perrin [1963: 185–202; 1976: 194–204] and Käsemann [1969]). The great majority of NT scholars have subscribed to a mediating position, affirming that Jesus understood both that he had already come as Messiah (and that the kingdom of God had thereby come also), *and* that he and the kingdom would come again in the near, or possibly more remote future. Various mediating positions are reviewed in Hiers (1970: 15–20) and Epp (1987: 35–52).

Many interpreters acknowledge indications in the gospels that Jesus recognized certain occurrences as signs that the kingdom of God or other eschatological phenomena—including his own appearance as the Christ—had begun to be manifested. Achtemeier (1983) has proposed that these texts largely derive from the Christian community's eventual efforts to reconcile the earlier, imminent expectation with the fact that history continued, i.e., that the community modified or added texts to show that some of these expectations *had* been fulfilled. Allison (1985), on the other hand, contends that such modifications or additions were based upon the disciples' taking seriously Jesus' belief that the kingdom of God would come after he had completed his mission in Jerusalem; thus the disciples *perceived* certain events associated with Jesus' death and resurrection as instances of realized eschatology.

In his later work, Schweitzer (1968: 103–8; 148–53) continued to insist that Jesus had expected the whole pattern of eschatological events to occur in the (then) near future. A number of interpreters agree, e.g., Koch (1972), Hiers (1981), Allison (1985). See Sullivan (1988: 61, n. 42). Some scholars, however, urge that while Jesus expected to come again in the future, this expectation can readily be extended to the more distant future and so remain a vital hope for latter-day believers. Thus Cullmann (1964: 81–93) proposes that while Jesus expected the Parousia to occur within the generation of his contemporaries, that "error in perspective" was "corrected" within the NT itself (2 Pet 3:8) and was of little theological importance in the NT Church in view of the revelation that had already occurred in Christ. Buzzard (1988: 13–62) urges that Jesus' message of the future coming of the Messiah can and should be central to the faith of modern Christianity. Sauer's pastorally oriented study (1981: 58–73) likewise implies that Jesus' and the NT churches' Parousia expectation can be detached from their imminent expectation and so rendered valid and vital for contemporary Christian faith. See also De Haan (1944). These last two writers utilize the popular nonbiblical term "the Rapture" to characterize the future resurrection and elevation of the faithful into the heavens. (Cf. 1 Thess 4:13–17.) Conzelmann (1961: 98–136) urges that Luke intended to handle the problem of the delay of the Parousia by showing that Jesus understood that its occurrence was "still far away." Mattill (1979) effectively challenges Conzelmann's contention. It appears more likely that Luke was attempting to explain why the Parousia had not yet occurred and was not intending to show that it would not occur until some remote future time. See Hiers (1973).

Modern scholars agree that the early churches expected Jesus to come or be revealed as the Christ or Son of Man. Tödt (1965) suggests that whereas Jesus himself had proclaimed that those who followed him and his teaching would be vindicated by the supernatural Son of Man—who was, implicitly, someone other than himself—the presynoptic Christian communities concluded, after Easter, that Jesus was the one who would come as Son of Man. Other interpreters emphasize the Christian communities' experience or understanding that salvation had already occurred through Jesus' incarnation or death and resurrec-

tion and imply that the NT churches' future expectations were or are of little consequence. Thus hold Schmithals (1975: 151–71) and, of course, Rudolf Bultmann. Bultmann proposed that the future expectations of both Jesus and the early communities should be understood to refer to the ever-recurring "crisis of decision" confronting believers regarding the "meaning of existence." Others consider the NT churches' hope for the future as central to both early and subsequent Christian faith. Thus holds Minear (1954, 1981); but see Käsemann's (1964) disparaging treatment of 2 Peter.

F. Summary

Nearly all NT writers looked for the "day of Christ" or its equivalent in the near future. Then Jesus would return as Son of Man or Messiah, and as Lord. He, or God, would judge the living and the dead; and those found righteous would enter into the kingdom of God or era and realm of transformed existence. Modern scholars disagree as to whether Jesus himself expected to come again at some future time. Nearly all agree, however, that the early Christian communities expected Jesus to come or be revealed in the near future. Some suggest that this expectation has little place in contemporary faith and that the decisive events have already occurred. Others consider this future expectation the central feature of Christian hope.

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RICHARD H. HIERS

DAY OF JUDGMENT. Generally this term refers to that time in the future when God or some divinely authorized agent would intervene in history, condemning the unrighteous and vindicating the faithful and obedient. In earlier biblical and intertestamental texts, it is usually nations which will be judged, while in later, particularly NT texts, more attention is devoted to the prospective judgment of individuals. Modern scholars have tended to avoid or neglect this topic. Synonymous terms, appearing mainly in popular literature, include the "great" or "last" judgment. Although a few OT formulations approximate it (e.g., Isa 34:8; Jer 51:52; Mal 3:5–6), the term "day of judgment" does not appear in the OT as such. It does occur several times in the OT Apocrypha (e.g., 2 Esdr 7:38, 102, 104, 113; 12:34; Jdt 16:17) and Pseudepigrapha (e.g., *1 En.* 22:11; *T. Levi* 3:2–3) and seven or eight times in the NT (Matt 10:15; 11:22, 24; 12:36; Mark 6:11 [variant reading]; 2 Pet 2:9; 3:7; 1 John 4:17; cf. 2 Tim 4:8; Heb 10:25–27; Jude 6). In addition, the noun "judgment" and various forms of the verb "to judge" occur in numerous OT, intertestamental, and NT contexts with substantially similar meanings.

A. OT and Intertestamental Usages
   1. Agents of Judgment
   2. Recipients of Judgment
B. NT Usages
   1. Agents of Judgment
   2. Recipients of Judgment
   3. Time of the Judgment
C. Modern Scholarly Opinion

A. OT and Intertestamental Usages

Often, expressions like "that day" refer to the future time when God or Yahweh would act in judgment against foreign nations, Israel, Judah, or the Jewish people (see DAY OF THE LORD). A similar meaning is indicated frequently, even though no particular terms are used, in, e.g., Hos 11:5–7; 13:7–16; Amos 8:2–3; 9:1–4; Dan 12:1–3. A few instances relate to Yahweh's past acts of judgment against Israel: Ezek 20:36; 23:10; 36:19. Hosea

5:11–12 seems to say that Ephraim was then being judged; but the context (vv 9, 14) points to future punishment. In most cases references to Yahweh's judging or judgment look to the future. A few texts state that—from the speaker's or writer's standpoint—judgment would take place soon, e.g., Ezek 7:3, 8. In intertestamental apocalyptic and NT writings it is generally understood that the day of judgment will mark the transition between the present age and the age to come. See esp. 2 Esdr 7:113–14; *2 En.* 65:6–11; Matt 25:31–46.

1. Agents of Judgment. Usually Yahweh is represented as the one who will do the judging, e.g., Pss 58:11; 96:10, 13; Eccl 11:9; 12:14; Isa 33:22; Ezek 11:8–11; Mal 3:5. Pseudepigraphic texts also commonly expect God to be the judge, e.g., *T. Benj.* 10:8–10; *1 En.* 91:7, but sometimes name other figures in this connection, e.g., "the Son of Man" or "Elect One" (*1 En.* 45—55), a "new priest" (*T. Levi* 18:2), "the Son of God" (*Apoc. El.* 5:30–31), or Christ (*L.A.E.* 51:9). See also citations in *OTP* 2: 971. Some passages in Ezekiel refer to the prophet himself ("Son of Man") as the one who will judge by declaring YHWH's word against Israel, e.g., Ezek 20:4; 22:2. Isaiah 11:1–4 suggests that a Davidic messiah will judge. In Daniel's vision "the court" would "sit in judgment" (Dan 7:10, 26). Perhaps the seer was thinking of the "heavenly council" (see, e.g., Job 1:6–12; Tob 3:16–17).

2. Recipients of Judgment. Prophetic oracles against foreign nations often speak of Yahweh's pending judgment against other nations, e.g., against the Ammonites (Ezek 21:28–30), Babylon (Jer 51:9, 52), Edom (Isa 34:5; Ezek 35:11), Egypt (Ezek 30:14, 19), and Moab (Jer 48:21–25). Joel 3:2, 11–12, and Jdt 16:17 refer to Yahweh's judgment against all nations—at least all that have oppressed Israel (cf. Zech 14:2–3, 12). Ezekiel expected Yahweh to bring the quasi-cosmic Gog to judgment: Ezek 38:21–22. Daniel 7:26 promised, in a likely reference to Antiochus Epiphanes, that the last of the beast's horns, i.e., gentile kings, would be judged. Most inclusively, Isa 66:16 and Jer 25:31 look for Yahweh's judgment against "all flesh." A few oracles declare that Yahweh ultimately will judge *for* gentile nations: for Moab (Jer 48:47; cf. Isa 16:4–5), for other nations (Jer 12:14–15; 46:26; 49:6, 39), or for "many" nations (Isa 2:4 = Mic 4:3; cf. Isa 19:19–25).

Most frequently, the prophetic oracles of judgment are directed against the nations Israel or Judah. Such oracles are generally said to characterize classical prophetism, which condemned these nations for breaking their covenant with Yahweh by turning to other gods and failing to do justice and mercy in dealing with the poor, fatherless, widowed, and oppressed. Such oracles appear typically in Hosea (e.g., 5:11–12; 6:5), Amos (7:4; 8:4–14), Isaiah (1:2–9; 5:1–30), Micah (2:1–4; 3:9–12), Jeremiah (2:33–35; 5:1–9), and Ezekiel (7:2–27; 24:3–14).

Individual Judahites or Jews will be judged for their own offenses. Interpreters commonly say that the idea of individual accountability (sometimes misleadingly designated "individualism") first appeared in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Several oracles to this effect are found in their writings, e.g., Jer 17:5–11; 31:29–30; Ezek 18:1–32; 33:17–20. Jeremiah pronounced Yahweh's judgment against particular individuals or groups: e.g., Jer 22:13–19; 23:1–2, 9–40; 28:15–16. Yet Amos and Hosea earlier had singled out certain groups or individuals for special punishment, e.g., Amos 4:1–3; 6:4–7; 7:17; Hos 4:4–6; 5:1. Isaiah, too, proclaimed Yahweh's judgment against individuals for their particular offenses, e.g., 1:28; 3:10–11, 13–15, 16–26; 10:1–4.

Postexilic and intertestamental traditions focus almost exclusively on the future judgment of individuals. The Wisdom of Solomon differs from traditional wisdom (which held that the righteous are rewarded and the wicked punished in this life) by promising that the righteous who die will live forever with God, while the ungodly perish without hope (Wis 3:1–5:23). Isaiah 66:24 looks for the perpetual torment of the wicked, who will be subjected to fire and worm(s); cf. Jdt 16:17. The prospect of perpetual torment is also held before the wicked in *4 Maccabees* (e.g., 9:8–9; 12:12). Several passages in *4 Maccabees* anticipate that the righteous dead, at least those martyred for keeping Jewish tradition, will immediately enjoy immortality with God or the patriarchs (e.g., 17:12; 18:23). See also *3 En.* 43:1–3; 44:7; and 1QS 3:13–4:26. In *T. Ab.* (recension A) the souls of the dead are to be judged 3 times before entering their final places of reward or punishment.

Various biblical and intertestamental apocalyptic texts link future judgment with the resurrection of the dead. In some cases judgment is not mentioned, but it is implicit in the respective destinies to be accorded the righteous and the wicked. Thus, according to Dan 12:2, some of the dead will be raised to everlasting life, but others to "shame and everlasting contempt." See also 2 Macc 7:9, 14, 23; 12:44; 14:46, which look for resurrection to eternal life but do not mention intervening judgment. 2 Esdras and *1 Enoch*, on the other hand, apparently expected a time of judgment to follow the resurrection of the dead: 2 Esdr 7:32–44; *1 En.* 51:1–5 (but see *1 En.* 22:2–13, which refers to the future judgment of the "spirits of the souls of the dead").

According to *T. Levi* 3:3 Belial and "the spirits of deceit" or "error" also are to be punished on the day of judgment. Cf. *T. Levi* 18:12, which states that the "new priest" will "bind" Belial and give his followers power to "trample on" evil or wicked spirits. Apostate angels would be judged also, e.g., *1 En.* 90:24–27; *2 En.* 7:1–2.

B. NT Usages

In the NT the day or time of judgment is generally associated with the future coming or Parousia of the Son of Man, the resurrection of the dead, and entrance into the kingdom of God.

1. Agents of Judgment. Several synoptic passages suggest that the coming Son of Man will be judge, e.g., Mark 13:26–27; Matt 25:31–46; Luke 21:36. Later NT traditions frequently name Jesus Christ as the one who will judge, e.g., Acts 10:42; 17:31; 2 Cor 5:10; 2 Tim 4:1. The coming of Jesus as judge is sometimes described as "the Day of Christ" or "the Day of the Lord," e.g., Phil 1:10; 1 Thess 5:2. See DAY OF CHRIST. Certain texts assign "the Twelve" or "the saints" (faithful Christians) a share in the task of judging "Israel" (Matt 19:28; Luke 22:30), the Church (1 Cor 5:12), the world (1 Cor 6:2), or even angels (1 Cor 6:3). Nevertheless, God himself is frequently represented as the one who will judge: Matt 18:35; John 8:50;

Rom 2:2–11; 3:6; 14:10 (cf. 2 Cor 5:10); Heb 10:30–31; 1 Pet 1:17; 2:23; Rev 18:8. A few Pauline passages suggest that God and Jesus will both take part in judging: Rom 2:16; 1 Cor 4:5. In John 12:48 Jesus warns that the word he has spoken will be his hearers' judge "on the last day."

2. Recipients of Judgment. Those whom Jesus addressed in the synoptic sayings were mainly Jews, since few gentiles seem to have been present and Christianity had not yet emerged as a separate community of faith. These sayings warned his contemporaries that individuals (e.g., Matt 5:22; 12:36) and unresponsive towns (e.g., Matt 10:15; Luke 10:14) stood in peril of condemnation at the time of judgment. Later NT traditions warned individual Christians that they would be judged, e.g., 2 Tim 4:8; Heb 4:1–12; Jas 5:7–11; 1 Pet 1:13–17. Several texts imply that all persons are to be judged: Rom 2:2–16; 1 Cor 6:2; Heb 4:13; Jude 14–15 (quoting *1 En.* 1:9). The wicked (e.g., Heb 13:4) and enemies or persecutors of Christians (e.g., 2 Thess 1:5–10; Rev 6:10; 19:1–3) are singled out for special retribution. Angels, too, are to be judged: 1 Cor 6:3; 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 6.

Not only the living, but the dead also will be judged. Several synoptic texts intimate that the dead of earlier times will be raised and then judged, e.g., Matt 10:15; 12:41–42; cf. John 5:25–29. Some texts, however, say that both the living and the dead will be judged (Acts 10:42; 2 Tim 4:1; 1 Pet 4:5), and others refer simply to the judgment of the dead (1 Pet 4:6; Rev 11:18; 20:12–13), as if the dead would be judged but not raised. Luke 14:14 says that the righteous will be raised, without mention of judgment (cf. Dan 12:2). In the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31), after each dies, he enters his apparently final place of habitation without first being raised or judged.

3. Time of the Judgment. Most NT references to judgment look for this event in the future (e.g., Matt 25:31–46; Acts 24:25; Rom 2:5; 14:10; 1 Cor 4:5; 2 Pet 3:7; 1 John 4:17), some explicitly in the near future (e.g., Heb 10:25; Jas 5:9; 1 Pet 4:5, 17). A few texts suggest that judgment has already taken place or been pronounced: John 16:8–11; 1 Cor 5:3–4; Rev 19:2. Some others represent judgment as present, either in connection with the presence of Jesus (e.g., John 3:19; 5:30; 9:39), or as "now" (then) imminent: John 12:31; Rev 14:6–7.

C. Modern Scholarly Opinion

Numerous biblical texts, particularly in the NT, refer to the coming day or time of judgment. Nevertheless, little scholarly attention has been devoted to this topic, in contrast, for example, to closely related topics like the coming of the Son of Man and the kingdom of God. One suspects that modern scholars prefer to deal with more congenial subjects. So suggest Brandon (1967: 56–75, 98–135), who provides an excellent review of NT and subsequent Christian traditions concerning the judgment of the dead, and Fairhurst (1970). Scholarly squeamishness is articulated occasionally, e.g., by Dalton (1968: 7): "God is primarily a God who loves, a God who saves. Hence any eschatological statement set in the context of future judgment must take into account the inadequacy of this context and must allow for this inadequacy if conclusions unworthy of God are to be avoided."

Only those willing to acknowledge as significant the eschatological orientation within apocalyptic Judaism, Jesus' teaching, and the NT churches are prepared to recognize the nature and importance of their beliefs and expectations concerning the coming time or day of judgment. Among those who do are Weiss (1985: 96–101), Schweitzer (1985: 54–56, 124–27), Burrows (1946: 203–15; 1977: 218–34), Hiers (1973: 28–36; 1981: 19–61), and Milikowsky (1988). On the idea of judgment by fire in the OT and intertestamental literature, see Gaster (1981: 649–51). A few scholars who take the position that Jesus did to some extent proclaim or embody the presence of the kingdom of God also undertake to examine his message of coming eschatological judgment. Among them are Jeremias (1963: 162–88; 1971: 122–58), Manson (1951: 269–77), Kümmel (1957: 43–48), and Hooker (1967: 148–73).

Proponents of "realized eschatology" do not ordinarily find any NT passages suggesting that Jesus looked for a future day of judgment. Glasson (1982: 528–39) urges that faithful followers of Jesus would not have to face the last judgment and cautions against a literal reading of the NT judgment passages. Instead, he concludes, "The Judgment should be regarded as a pictorial representation of a transcendent reality" (Glasson 1982: 538). Perrin (1974: 47, 300) went so far as to suggest that all gospel sayings that anticipate a future judgment are inauthentic, i.e., originated in the concerns of the early Palestinian church. Though Bultmann sometimes acknowledged that Jesus expected a future time of judgment, both he and the so-called post-Bultmannians urged that the real meaning of Jesus' eschatological preaching was that human beings continually face an existential "crisis of decision." Proponents of the recent "theology of hope," such as Moltmann and Pannenberg, tended to ignore the biblical expectation of prospective adverse judgment or condemnation.

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RICHARD H. HIERS

DAY OF THE LORD. "The Day of the Lord" (= "the Day of Yahweh") is a central feature of the prophets' message to their contemporaries. This phrase and such closely related expressions as "the day of the anger of Yahweh," or "Yahweh has a day," occur over two dozen times in prophetic books (most frequently in Isaiah, Joel, and Zephaniah), and once in Lamentations (2:22). Similar terms, particularly "that day," "the day of," and "the day when," appear nearly 200 times in the prophets, occasionally in Lamentations, and twice in Psalms (Pss 110:5; 137:7). These terms often are used interchangeably with the fuller expressions or in contexts that refer specifically to one or the other of them, e.g., Isa 2:12–22 (see vv 12, 17, 20); Jer 46:10; Ezek 7:5–27 (see vv 7, 10, 12, 19); and Ezek 30:2–3. In most instances, the same ranges of meaning are suggested.

A. Yahweh's Judgment against Foreign Nations
B. Yahweh's Judgment against Israel, Judah, or the Jewish People
C. Future Deliverance or Blessing for Israel, Judah, Other Nations, and All Creation
D. Day of the Lord in the NT
E. Scholarly Literature

A. Yahweh's Judgment against Foreign Nations

A few scattered passages seem to refer to Yahweh's previous acts of judgment against foreign nations. "The day of Midian" (Isa 9:4) refers to the Midianites' earlier defeat. Most other such expressions refer to Yahweh's future punishment of various nations, e.g., Jer 50:31 (to Babylon, "your day has come"); Ezek 21:29 (the "day of the Ammonites"); Ezek 26:18; 27:27 ("day of the fall" or "ruin" of Tyre); Ezek 32:10 (to Egypt, "the day of your downfall").

Most of the prophetic books contain oracles against foreign nations. The "Day of Yahweh" and similar expressions frequently appear in these oracles. Commentators generally agree that in Amos' time "the Day of Yahweh" popularly was thought to mean the time when Yahweh would vindicate Israel by defeating its enemies. See the expressions "day of battle" and "day of the whirlwind" in Amos' denunciation of the Ammonites (1:14). In contrast, Amos warns his Israelite hearers that "the Day of Yahweh" will not be what they wanted (Amos 5:18, 20. See part B, below.). Several later prophets declared that the Day of Yahweh would be one of disaster for certain other nations, namely, Egypt (Isa 19:16; 20:6; Jer 46:10, 21; Ezek 30:9, 18), Edom (Isa 34:8; 63:4; Jer 49:22), Ethiopia (Ezek 30:9), Babylon (Isa 47:9; Jer 50:27, 30, 31; 51:2), the Ammonites (Ezek 21:29), Damascus (Jer 49:26), Moab (Jer 48:41), the Philistines (Jer 47:4), and Tyre (Isa 23:15). A few prophetic texts suggest that "that day" will be one of judgment against many or even all nations: Isa 24:21 ("the kings of the earth"; cf. Ps 110:5–6), Jer 25:33 (see 25:30–32 for context), Ezek 30:2–5 (particularly Arabia, Egypt, and other African nations), Joel 3:14 (see 3:11–12 for context), and Obadiah 15–16. The Ezekiel and Obadiah passages warned that the day was "near." Zechariah declared that "on that day" Yahweh would destroy all the nations opposed to Jerusalem (Zech 12:3–9; 14:12–13). See also Ezek 38:17–39:8 as to the fate in store for Gog and Magog.

Zephaniah proclaimed more broadly that YHWH would destroy "all the inhabitants of the earth" on the day of his wrath (Zeph 1:7–18). According to Isa 2:12–17 Yahweh's "day" will be a time of judgment not only against the pride of men, but against "all that is proud and lofty." The author of Isa 13:6–13 declared that the whole world would be punished for its evil on the Day of Yahweh which was then "near." The Isaiah Apocalypse announced that "on that day" Yahweh would even punish the cosmic powers (Isa 24:21–22), and the quasi-cosmic sea monsters (Isa 27:1).

B. Yahweh's Judgment against Israel, Judah, or the Jewish People

Yahweh's past judgment (on "the day of his anger") is emphasized in Lamentations, with reference to the events marking the end of the S kingdom of Judah and the beginning of the Exile (Lam 1:12; 2:1, 21–22). Compare Obad 11–14 and Ps 137:7, where "the day" of Judah or Jerusalem signifies the same events, which, however, are not viewed as Yahweh's judgment, but only as evil deeds perpetrated by their enemies. Isaiah 22:1–14 may also refer to an already experienced "day" of Yahweh's judgment. Ezekiel 21:25 states that "the day" of a prince of Israel "has come," but the context suggests that his punishment had yet to occur.

Characteristically, the classical prophets warned their contemporaries in Israel and Judah that "the Day of Yahweh" would soon come upon them in the form of cosmic or meteorological catastrophes or of powerful enemy armies which would bring Yahweh's judgment against them for breaking the covenant requirements of the law. Thus Amos warned Israel that the day of Yahweh would be "darkness, and not light" (Amos 5:18, 20; cf. Joel 2:1–2). The prophets point to Yahweh as the one who will ultimately cause the coming disasters as judgment against his people; most of them refer to "the Day of Yahweh" (or equivalent terms) in this connection. Examples include Amos 2:13–16; 3:14; 8:3, 9; Hos 1:4–5; 5:9; Isa 3:18–4:1; 7:18–20, 23; 10:3; 22:5; Mic 2:4; Jer 17:16–18 ("the day of disaster," "the day of evil"); 18:17 ("the day of their calamity"); 39:16; Ezek 7:7–12, 19; 13:5; 24:25–27; 38:14–19; Zeph 1:7–18; 2:1–3; Joel 1:15; 2:1–2, 11, 31; Mal 4:1, 5. Second Isaiah, Obadiah, Jonah, and Nahum, which looked only for Yahweh's blessings on Israel or Judah or for disaster for other nations, do not include this usage.

In general, the preexilic prophets proclaimed that God would punish Israel or Judah through oppression by other nations; e.g., Hos 11:5; Amos 3:9–11; Isa 5:26–30. After the Exile, when the nations Israel and Judah had ceased to exist, prophets looked for Yahweh's judgment against the Jewish people in one of two forms: "natural" disasters, such as plagues, drought, and crop failure, or "supernat-

ural" demonic hordes, as in Hag 1:5–6; 2:14–19; Mal 3:9–12; Joel 2:1–11.

Some texts indicate belief that the Day of Yahweh was near: Ezek 7:7, 12; 22:4; Joel 2:1; 3:14; Zeph 1:7. A few others state that the day "comes" or "is coming," implicitly in the near future—e.g., Ezek 7:10; 39:8 and Mal 4:1. Malachi 3:1–2 warns that Yahweh's "messenger" is coming and warns of "the day of his coming," when he would cause the priests to offer right offerings. None of the prophetic texts, however, that look for the "Day of Yahweh" as a time of judgment against Israel, Judah, or the Jewish people refers to the "coming" of a messiah or of Yahweh himself in connection with it.

C. Future Deliverance or Blessing for Israel, Judah, Other Nations and All Creation

Some 60 occurrences of "the Day of Yahweh" and similar expressions refer to the future time when Yahweh would reestablish the fortunes of Israel/Judah or the Jewish people. A few, particularly in Isaiah, look for the redemption of other nations as well: Isa 2:2–4 (= Mic 4:1–3); 11:10; 19:18–25; 25:6–9; Zech 2:11.

Relatively few of these texts explicitly mention a future messiah or Davidic king: Isa 11:10; Jer 23:5–6; 30:8–9; 33:15–16; Hag 2:23; Zech 3:8–10; Amos 9:11; cf. Hos 1:11. (Some messianic passages do not refer to the Day of Yahweh or related terms, e.g., Isa 9:6–7; Ezek 34:23–24; 37:24–25; Zech 6:9–13; 9:9–10.) More typical are texts that look for Yahweh himself to act (Mal 3:17; 4:3), manifest his glory (Isa 2:11, 17, 19; Ezek 39:13), and rule as king over a restored Israel (Mic 4:6–7) or over all the earth (Isa 2:2–4 = Mic 4:1–3; Obad 21; Zech 2:11; 14:9) on that day.

On or in anticipation of that new day, according to Isaiah, those who had been sick or disabled would be restored to full health: Isa 29:18–19; 30:26; cf. Mic 4:6–7. Then all will enjoy the preternatural abundance of milk, honey, fruit, and produce (Isa 4:2; 7:21–22; 25:6–9; 30:23–24; Joel 3:18; Amos 9:13–15). Every man shall sit with his neighbor under his own vine and fig tree (Mic 4:4; Zech 3:10); peace will obtain throughout all creation (Hos 2:18; Isa 11:1–10; cf. Ezek 34:25–28); and all Israel (Isa 10:20; 52:6; Ezek 39:22), if not all nations (Isa 19:19–25; cf. Ezek 38:23), will know that Yahweh is God. In that day exiled Jews will return (Isa 11:11–12; 27:12–13; Jer 27:22), and Jerusalem and the Jewish people will experience God's special favor (Isa 12:1–4; 28:5–6; 30:26; Jer 31:1–6; Ezek 36:33–36; Zeph 3:11–20; Zech 9:16–17; 14:1; Mal 3:17).

D. Day of the Lord in the NT

This and similar terms often occur in NT contexts referring to the future appearance of Jesus. In reading the Greek OT (or LXX), Jews and early Christians very likely rendered the OT expression "Day of Yahweh" as "Day of the Lord." Early Christian leaders likely took over the OT expression but now understood it to refer to Jesus' return as their Lord, as the Christ, or as the supernatural Son of Man. See DAY OF CHRIST and DAY OF JUDGMENT.

E. Scholarly Literature

For many years OT scholars have accepted the view that Israelites up to the time of Amos regarded the Day of Yahweh as that time when Yahweh would deliver Israel by punishing foreign nations and that Amos radically altered this understanding by proclaiming that on that day Yahweh would also punish Israel for all her offenses (Amos 1:1–3:2). See Bright (1955: 60–70).

Not all agree as to the nature of Israelite beliefs concerning the Day of Yahweh before the time of Amos, and at least two books (Nahum and Obadiah) attributed to prophets well after the time of Amos consist entirely of oracles against foreign nations. There is wide agreement, however, that for most of the prophets, the Day of Yahweh meant that time in the relatively near future when Yahweh would punish not only his people's enemies, but also his people (Israel, Judah, or the Jewish people) for breaking the covenant. Then, either through a new Davidic king or messiah or by acting directly, Yahweh would establish his own rule or kingdom over all the earth. See Robinson (1946: 135–47); Baab (1949: 156–97); and Jacob (1958: 319–21). See, generally, Muilenburg (1961: 128–50); Heschel (1962: 159–94); and Hiers (1988).

There have been a variety of other suggestions, however, particularly as to the origins of biblical traditions concerning the Day of Yahweh. Mowinckel (1956: 143–54) urged that the prophetic expectation of a coming Day of Yahweh derived from a cultic New Year Festival which celebrated Yahweh's enthronement as king and gave expression to hope for the beginning of a new era of blessing. Others, following von Rad (1959), have concluded that the Day of Yahweh represented Yahweh as "Holy Warrior" who had overwhelmed Israel's enemies in battle in the past, and would do so again. Thus Hanson (1975: 354–401) interprets Zechariah 12–14 as the work of a visionary group which looked for Yahweh to punish particularly the Jerusalem temple hierarchy, deliver the faithful from foreign hordes, and renew the order of nature. Everson (1974), on the other hand, finds that the Day of Yahweh passages do not justify any of the theories as to the origin of the expression. He observes that several of these passages refer to different historical events. On that basis he concludes that the prophets likewise looked for separate future events of divine judgment or deliverance and that interpreters therefore should refer to the prophets' beliefs concerning the Days rather than to a single Day of Yahweh.

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DAY OF YAHWEH [Heb *yôm yhwh*]. An expression found in the following OT passages: Isa 13:6, 9; Ezek 13:5; Joel 1:15; 2:1, 11; 3:4; 4:14; Amos 5:18–20 (three times); Obad 15; Zeph 1:7, 14; Mal 3:23. There occur also the related expressions *yôm lyhwh* 'a day of Yahweh' (Isa 2:12; Ezek 30:3; Zech 14:1); *yôm nĕqāmâ* 'a day of retribution' (Jer 46:10); *yôm nāqām lyhwh* 'Yahweh's day of retribution' (Isa 34:8); *yôm ʿebrat yhwh* 'the day of Yahweh's wrath' (Ezek 7:19; Zeph 1:18); *yôm ʾap yhwh* 'the day of Yahweh's anger' (Zeph 2:3; cf. Lam 2:22); and *yôm zebaḥ yhwh* 'the day of Yahweh's feast' (Zeph 1:8). There is also the phrase, "My Lord Yahweh of hosts has a day of tumult and din and confusion" (Isa 22:5).

Some scholars would insist on restricting any investigation of the meaning of the Day of Yahweh to these passages; and G. von Rad has even proposed eliminating some of them, arguing that "they do not provide the interpreter with any sure exegetical basis" (von Rad 1959: 97). But it is not really possible to ignore any of these passages. In addition, the prophetic books contain many references to the phrase *bayyôm hahû*ʾ 'on that day.' Furthermore, there are other passages (e.g., in the oracles against the nations) which may well be linked to the concept of the Day of Yahweh. R. H. Charles included Nahum in his discussion of the Day of Yahweh, and subsequent study of the text of Nahum seems to support this view (Charles 1913; Gray 1974: 19–20, 32; Cathcart 1975: 72–76).

A. Earlier Scholarship: The Eschatological Problem

In 1899 Charles gave the *Jowett Lectures* on "Hebrew, Jewish and Christian eschatology from pre-prophetic times till the close of the New Testament Canon" (Charles 1913). He believed that there existed already before Amos a popular expectation of the Day of Yahweh, an expectation that the day would be one of judgment against Israel's enemies. The Day of Yahweh was understood by Charles to be "a day of battle," a view that was to influence much subsequent scholarship on the concept. "This conception is related to the people as a whole, and not to the individual. It means essentially the day on which Yahweh manifests Himself in victory over his foes" (Charles 1913: 86–87). It is evident from the title of Charles' lectures that he understood eschatological hopes to be part of the Day of Yahweh concept from the beginning; however, he may have been mistaken, since eschatology *proper* arose in the Exile at the earliest and since the eschatological aspect of the Day of Yahweh belongs to late prophecy.

In 1901 J. M. P. Smith also understood the *popular* conception of the Day of Yahweh as a great day of battle, with Yahweh leading the armies of Israel to an overwhelming victory over their enemies. However, he believed that Amos then transformed the concept into the day of Israel's humiliation and punishment by Yahweh; the preexilic concept as reflected in Amos and Zephaniah is a day of battle and judgment against *both* Israel and her enemies. The righteousness of Yahweh demands corresponding righteousness from his people and the need for reform on their part (Smith 1901: 505–33).

Yet another scholar at this time was proposing the existence of eschatological elements in preexilic prophecy. Gressmann rejected as inadequate the view of Charles and Smith that the Day of Yahweh was a day of battle, storm, and slaughter; rather, he emphasized the cosmic frame of reference of the day, which showed its eschatological character (Gressmann 1905: 143). Gressmann believed that Israelite eschatology was borrowed from an already-developed foreign (Babylonian) eschatology, an assumption he took from Gunkel. Inspired by Gressmann's work, S. Mowinckel proposed in 1917 that the Israelite New Year Festival was the enthronement festival of Yahweh (Mowinckel 1917: 13–79). However, he differed from Gressmann, and from others before him, by rejecting the existence of a preprophetic eschatology. For him the Day of Yahweh originally means the day of Yahweh's manifestation in the cult at the New Year Festival. Eschatology and the eschatological significance of the Day of Yahweh have their ultimate source in the autumn festival, but strictly they belong to later prophecy (Mowinckel 1956: 127–33). In 1948 L. Cerny rejected outright any dependence of the origin of the Day of Yahweh on the kingship of Yahweh and on God's annual re-enthronement as king during the New Year Festival. He argued that the real meaning of the day was a day of divine decree, but he tended to overemphasize the disastrous nature of the day (Cerny 1948: 73–77).

B. Von Rad and His Critics

Although the concept of the Day of Yahweh has often been investigated, surprisingly there has not been any major study of it in recent times. For example, the German commentator on the prophets H. W. Wolff (*Joel and Amos*, Hermeneia) and the English commentator L. C. Allen (*Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah* NICOT) are content simply to refer to the brief 1959 study by von Rad. As already mentioned, von Rad urges caution in the admission of evidence for the study of the concept. He is convinced that "the Day of Yahweh encompasses a pure event of war, the rise of Yahweh against his enemies, his battle and his victory" (von Rad 1959: 103). He pays particular attention to Isaiah 13 and 34, Ezekiel 7, and Joel 2, but criticizes those scholars who take Amos 5:18 as the starting point; for in his view this text is "not sufficiently unequivocal to be used as a suitable starting point for the examination" (1959: 98). But if Amos 5:18 is somewhat difficult to interpret, it cannot be conveniently ignored. Perhaps even more serious is von Rad's view that Isa 2:12ff. "does not amount to more than an allusion" to the Day of Yahweh (1959: 105). To claim that there is no support in the Day of Yahweh texts for any association of the enthronement of Yahweh with the concept of the Day of Yahweh and yet to omit any proper discussion of Isa 2:12ff. seems suspicious. Thus von Rad excludes from his investigation the two oldest witnesses to the concept. Also problematic is his claim that the origin of the concept is to be found in the Holy War tradition. What do we know about Holy War in early Israel? The Deuteronomistic sources are scarcely sufficient for informing us about it. Von Rad's claim that "the entire material for this imagery which surrounds the concept of the Day of Yahweh is of old-Israelite origin" (1959: 104) is not convincing. An examination of von Rad's study shows that he tends to dismiss elements which might contaminate his "pure event of war." In point of fact, a good part of all the Day-of-Yahweh texts has no reference to an event of war (Schunck 1969: 16).

One of the severest critics of von Rad's position, J. Gray,

has argued effectively that the Day of Yahweh "signified essentially the moment of the epiphany as King, which was the highlight of the autumn festival" (Gray 1974: 16). With this view Gray is following in the tradition of Mowinckel and J. Pedersen among others. Utilizing evidence gathered from Canaanite sources, and esp. the Baal myth from Ugarit, Gray stresses the importance of *mišpāṭ*, i.e., "the imposition of the effective rule of Yahweh as king, the main theme of the liturgy of the autumn festival with its ultimate origins in the Canaanite festival at the same seasonal crisis" (1974: 14). Furthermore, Gray argues that Yahweh's conflict with the enemies of Israel, the *Völkerkampfmythus*, is the "historification in Israel of the cosmic conflict to sustain the effective Kingship of Yahweh in the liturgy of the autumn festival" (1974: 34). Thus those features of the Day of Yahweh texts which von Rad attempts to trace back to early Israelite tradition of the wars of Yahweh are in fact to be linked with this particularization of the cosmic conflict. In Gray's view there developed later an association of the autumn festival with covenant, and he is ready to accept the full eschatological development of the Day of Yahweh in later prophetic circles.

F. M. Cross, in his study of Israelite religion *(CMHE)*, believes that the views of Mowinckel and von Rad on the Day of Yahweh are not incompatible, but complementary. Cross and his student P. D. Miller are both influenced to some extent by von Rad's work on the Holy War, but Cross in particular chides von Rad for not dealing with either the origins of the Holy War in ancient Israel or the mythological elements in it. He says von Rad "fails to perceive, therefore, the reutilization of some of these mythological elements in the royal cult, in prophecy, and above all in the apocalyptic development of the concept of the Divine Warrior" (*CMHE*, 89). Despite this criticism of von Rad, it is clear that Cross and Miller take the view that the origins of the Day of Yahweh are in the Holy War traditions of ancient Israel but as these traditions were carried through the royal cult. Although Cross and his students have made a considerable contribution by their studies of the Divine Warrior and Holy War motifs, they have not yet produced a systematic study of the Day of Yahweh texts.

If there was eventually an association of the autumn festival with covenant, then serious consideration should be given to the view of F. C. Fensham, who sees the Day of Yahweh as the day when the blessings and curses of the covenant were to come into effect (Fensham 1967: 96). Whether the Day of Yahweh was a day directed against foreign enemies (e.g., Babylon or Edom), or against an unfaithful Israel, in all cases it was a day on which Yahweh punished the guilty. Yahweh is not only king and warrior, but also judge (Cathcart 1975: 75).

Whatever position is adopted concerning the Day of Yahweh, it seems necessary to distinguish between a primary day—one of intervention by Yahweh with limited effect—and a secondary day—one of universal cosmic judgment. The developed, eschatological Day of Yahweh is secondary. But granted that there is an organic continuity between prophetic preaching and apocalyptic eschatology, then there should be no problem in accepting this distinction. Finally, two principles laid down by Y. Hoffmann should guide further research: (1) the investigation should start with Amos 5:18–20; and (2) we must not draw conclusions about an earlier text from a later one (Hoffmann 1981: 38–39).

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K. J. CATHCART

DEAD SEA. See SALT SEA (PLACE).

DEAD SEA SCROLLS. The name given to deposits of ancient texts written in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek, on papyrus or leather, that since 1947 have been discovered near the W shore of the Dead Sea. This label is used in both a narrow and a broad sense. The narrow definition is restricted to mss found in 11 caves in the vicinity of Khirbet Qumran. The broad usage includes documents found at Masada, Wādî Murabbaʿat, Naḥal Ḥever, Naḥal Ṣeʾelim, and Naḥal Mishmar. In this review we will focus primarily upon the Qumran scrolls and will refer to the others only when they are relevant to the discussion. See also WADI MURABBAAT.

A. Discovery and Publication
B. Provenance of the Scrolls
C. Community Rule Books
   1. The *Rule of the Community*
   2. The *Damascus Document*
D. Biblical Texts
E. Biblical Interpretation
   1. Continuous Pesharim
   2. Thematic Pesharim
   3. Other Use of Biblical Material

F. Halakic Works
1. 4QMMT
2. The *Temple Scroll*
G. Hymnic and Liturgical Works
1. Nonsectarian Works
2. Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH)
3. Angelic Liturgy (4QShirShabb)
4. Other Works
H. Eschatological, Apocalyptic, and Related Texts
1. The *War Scroll* (1QM)
2. Other Texts
I. Miscellaneous Compositions
J. History of the Community
K. Character and Significance

A. Discovery and Publication

The initial find, in 1947, consisted of seven rolls of leather from Cave 1. The eleventh cave was discovered in 1956. Only Caves 1 and 11 have produced relatively intact mss. The largest find, however, was in Cave 4 in 1952, which yielded thousands of fragments from more than 500 mss. The larger, relatively intact scrolls were published promptly—three by M. Burrows for the American School of Oriental Research (the Isaiah scroll, 1Q Isa^{a}, and a commentary on Habakkuk in 1950; and the *Rule of the Community*, then called the *Manual of Discipline*, in 1951, all now reprinted, Cross et al. 1974), and four by the Hebrew University (the *War Scroll*, *Hodayot*, and a fragmentary scroll of Isaiah, 1Q Isa^{b}, in 1954 [see Sukenik 1955], and the *Genesis Apocryphon* in 1956 [Avigad and Yadin]). Beginning in 1955 the series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* from Oxford University Press (DJD) became the main vehicle for publication of the fragmentary material. DJD 1 (1955) contained the fragments from Cave 1; DJD 2 (1961) contained the Murabba^{c}at fragments; DJD 3 (1962) the material from the "minor caves" 2, 3, and 5–10, including the *Copper Scroll* from Cave 3 and the Aramaic "New Jerusalem" text from Cave 5; DJD 4 (1965) is devoted to a single scroll, the Psalms scroll from Cave 11; DJD 5 (1968) contains a batch of material from Cave 4 edited by J. M. Allegro (but note the book length review by J. Strugnell in *RQ* 7: 163–276); DJD 6 (1977) contains another batch of Cave 4 material edited by J. T. Milik; DJD 7 (1982) yet more material from the same cave edited by M. Baillet; and DJD 8 (1990) contains the Greek Scroll of the Minor Prophets from Naḥal Ḥever (8 Hev XII gr) edited by E. Tov in collaboration with R. A. Kraft. A number of mss have received preliminary publication in scholarly journals (notably 11QMelch by van der Woude in *OTS* 14: 354–73), but there have also been major critical editions outside the DJD series: the *Targum of Job* from Cave 11 (ed. van der Ploeg and van der Woude 1971), the Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch* from Cave 4 (ed. Milik 1976), the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* (ed. Newsom 1985), the Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll (ed. Freedman and Matthews 1985), a collection of noncanonical Psalms (4Q 380–81, ed. Schuller 1986), and the fragments of Daniel (Ulrich 1987, 1989). At the time of writing, the publication of the "halakic letter" 4QMMT is awaited in *Revue de Qumran*. The latest discovery from Qumran is the so-called *Temple Scroll* (11Q Temple), which was acquired by Y. Yadin in 1967. His edition was published by the Israel Exploration Society in 1977. Much of the material from Cave 4 still awaits publication. (For an inventory of publications up to the mid-seventies, see Fitzmyer 1975, revised and updated edition currently in press).

B. Provenance of the Scrolls

These documents are usually thought to constitute the library of an Essene community (see ESSENES) which inhabited the site of Qumran and whose way of life is described in the *Rule of the Community* from Cave 1 (1QS). The scrolls come from approximately the same period as the settlement the ruins of which stand at Qumran. The date of the settlement is fixed on archaeological grounds as extending from the mid-2d century B.C.E. to 68 C.E. (de Vaux). The scrolls can be dated paleographically from the mid-3d century B.C.E. to the third quarter of the 1st century C.E. (Cross 1961). Paleography provides a relative chronology based on the development of handwriting style. Fixed points of reference are provided by dated documents from the 1st and 2d centuries C.E. (e.g., the Bar Kokhba letters from Murabba^{c}at and Naḥal Ḥever) and by the fact that some documents were discovered in situ (e.g., a fragment of the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* was discovered at Masada and must have been placed there before the Roman siege). The presence of documents which are older than the Qumran settlement is not surprising since we should expect that the settlers would bring some documents with them. Golb has observed the peculiar lack of original documents such as letters and legal deeds in the Qumran finds (in contrast to those of Murabba^{c}at and Naḥal Ḥever). He has attempted to explain this fact by the hypothesis that the library did not belong to a community on the site, but to the Jerusalem temple, and had been hidden in the desert before the onslaught of the Romans. He fails, however, to account for the community described in 1QS or for Pliny's location of an Essene settlement between Jericho and En-gedi to the W of the Dead Sea. It is conceivable that the Qumran community, because of its peculiar religious nature, did not keep deeds and records. It is also possible that such documents were hidden separately and have not yet been discovered. The association of the library with a religious settlement at Qumran remains overwhelmingly probable.

C. Community Rule Books

The documents which describe the way of life of the community provide a crucial vantage point from which to view the nature of the library. Two main books of regulations have been found at Qumran: the *Rule of the Community* and the so-called *Damascus Document* (CD). See also COMMUNITY, RULE OF THE (1QS); DAMASCUS RULE (CD); and ZADOKITE FRAGMENTS (DAMASCUS DOCUMENT).

1. The *Rule of the Community*. This book of regulation is extant in 12 copies ranging from about 100 B.C.E. to the Herodian period. An almost intact ms (1QS) was discovered in Cave 1 and was one of the first scrolls published (Burrows). Two fragments from Cave 5 covering 1QS 2:4–7, 12–14 have been published in DJD 3 (180–81) by Milik. Ten copies from Cave 4 are still unpublished, but Milik has listed the significant variants in a book review in *RB* 67: 410–16. The date of 1QS is usually put at 100–75 B.C.E.,

but Milik claims that the oldest ms of the work is the unpublished 4QS^{e}.

The *Rule* is composed of a number of distinct literary units. There is a general statement of the purpose of the community in 1:1–15. The rite of covenant renewal is described in 1:16–3:12 and the instruction on the two spirits follows in 3:13–4:26. Introduced by 1QS 5:1 ("And this is the rule for the members of the community") is a collection of regulations which runs to the end of col. 9. This section is quite probably composite. Formally, at least, we may distinguish the community rules in 5:1–6:23; the penal code in 6:24–7:25; instructions for a specific subgroup in 6:1–9:11 and for the *maśkil* or instructor in 9:12–26. The last two columns of the scroll are taken up with a number of hymnic passages (10:1–8; 10:9–11:2a; 11:2b–15a; 11:15b–22).

The purpose of the community is set forth clearly in col. 5: "to be converted from all evil . . . to separate themselves from the congregation of perverse men . . . under the authority of the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant, and under the authority of the majority of the members of the community." The regulations for admission to the community bear strong, though not perfect, resemblance to the description of the Essenes in Josephus (importance of oaths, multiyear process of admission, some provision for communal property, reference to a common meal). The penal code reveals strict discipline even in minor matters (interrupting another, laughing loudly) and providing for the irrevocable excommunication of anyone who turned apostate after ten years membership.

The most difficult problem in the collection of communal regulations concerns the relation between the special subgroup in col. 8 and the community described in cols. 5–7. Vermes notes that "these three priests and twelve men are referred to nowhere else" and leaves open three possible interpretations: "whether they formed the nucleus of the sect as a whole, or the minimum quorum of the sect's leadership symbolizing the twelve tribes and the three Levitical clans, or a special elite within the Council designated elsewhere 'the Foundations of the Community' " (Vermes 1981: 91–92). In 1959 E. F. Sutcliffe suggested that they were "the first fifteen members of the Qumran Community." This suggestion has been taken up by Murphy-O'Connor, who finds in 8:1–16a + 9:3–10:8a the oldest nucleus of the *Community Rule*—a "manifesto" proposing the exodus to Qumran, possibly composed by the Teacher of Righteousness (Murphy-O'Connor (1969: 531). This is certainly a straightforward way to interpret 1QS 8:13: "and when these become a community in Israel . . . they shall be separated from the midst of the habitation of the men of perversity to go into the desert to prepare the way of 'Him' . . ." The likelihood that cols. 8–9 contain material from a stage different from that of cols. 5–7 is enhanced by the difference in views of authority in the community. In 9:7 "the sons of Aaron alone shall command in matters of justice and property and . . . in every decision concerning the members of the Community." By contrast, in 5:2 the community is under the authority of the sons of Zadok and under the authority of the majority of the members of the community. Murphy-O'Connor has plausibly suggested that this change is related to the expansion of the community in the archaeological phase 1b (about 100 B.C.E). He goes on to posit four stages in the evolution of the *Rule:* (1) the "manifesto"; (2) 1QS 8:10b–12a; 8:16b–9:2 ("penal legislation for a small community); (3) 1QS 5:1–13a; 6:8b–7:25 (reformulation for expanded community); and (4) 1QS 1–4; 5:13b–6:8a; 10:9–11:22 (material from various sources of a hortatory and theoretical nature; Murphy-O'Connor 1977: 114; Pouilly 1976).

This reconstruction is attractive and at least the distinction between stages 1 and 3 is well founded, but some observations are in order. (1) In view of the paleographical evidence, the evolution of the document must have been complete close to 100 B.C.E. There cannot have been a great lapse in time between stages 3 and 4. (2) It is noteworthy that part of Murphy-O'Connor's original nucleus (1QS 8:17–9:11) is missing from the oldest ms, 4QS^{e} (Milik 1959: 123). The omission may, of course, be accidental, but nonetheless it calls for a reservation. (3) The special group of 12 men and 3 priests are said in 8:11 to be set apart as holy within the council of the community. If this passage was part of the original manifesto (Murphy-O'Connor 1969) it would seem to imply that the members of the pioneer community in the desert were selected from a larger community. Their departure does not appear to be the result of any schism in the movement. If this passage belongs to a later, second stage (Murphy-O'Connor 1977; Pouilly, 1976), it would seem to imply that such a select group continued to function within the community as Vermes proposed. (4) The diverse elements assigned to stage 4 by Murphy-O'Connor were not necessarily the latest compositions.

The treatise on the two spirits is indeed a self-contained piece which was not necessarily composed for its present context. Even if it was only integrated into the *Rule of the Community* in the final stage of its composition, it could still be older, and indeed may have a literary history of its own (von der Osten-Sacken 1969: 167). It is one of the most striking passages in all of the scrolls insofar as it attests a cosmic dualism far beyond anything in the OT. The sovereignty of God is safeguarded, but "He allotted unto man two spirits that he should walk in them until the time of His visitation" (3:18). All the righteous are in the hands of the Prince of Light, while the wicked are ruled by the Prince of Darkness. God has allotted these spirits in equal parts until the final judgment. There is a general consensus that this dualism shows some measure of Persian influence, but the channels through which this influence came about remain unclear.

The place of the treatise on the two spirits in the evolution of 1QS is important for our overall view of the theology of the community. As the document now stands, it is strongly dualistic, not only because of the passage on the two spirits, but also because the covenantal ceremony is permeated with dualism. (It is prescribed for "all the time of the dominion of Belial," 2:19). By contrast there is no reference to "two spirits" or to "Belial" in the supposedly original "manifesto." Yet it would be hasty to think that dualism was a secondary development in the Qumran community. The manifesto does not expound doctrinal beliefs, and it is certainly compatible with a dualistic view of the world: the exodus to the desert is intended as separation "from the habitation of the men of perversity."

The instructor *(maśkîl)* is to "weigh the sons of righteousness according to their spirits" (9:14) and not rebuke the men of the pit but conceal the maxims of the law from them (9:16–17). There is at least an ethical dualism here, and a metaphysical dualism may already be implied. The treatise on the two spirits itself can scarcely be later than 100 B.C.E. (The suggestion that it is the work of the Teacher of Righteousness cannot be substantiated, even if it cannot be refuted either.)

2. The *Damascus Document*. The other major sectarian rule, the *Damascus Document* (CD), was already discovered in the Cairo Genizah at the turn of the century (Schechter 1910). Its relation to the Qumran scrolls is shown not only by its style and terminology but by the fact that fragments of seven mss have been found at Qumran. Of these only two have been published: 5Q12 (= CD 9:7–9 in DJD 3: 181) and 6Q15 (= CD 4:19–21; 5:13–14; 5:18–6:2; 6:20–7:1, plus a fragment not in the Genizah text, DJD 3: 128–31). The oldest fragment, 4QD[a], is dated by Milik to the first half of the 1st century B.C.E. (Milik 1972: 135, where he cites a passage. At present the fragments of CD have been entrusted to J. M. Baumgarten for publication).

There are two mss of CD from the Cairo Genizah: Ms A (10th century) contains cols. 1–16 on 8 sheets while Ms B (12th century) contains cols. 19–20 on 1 sheet. Columns 7 and 8 overlap with 19 and 20, but with important variants, and the last part of col. 20 has no parallel. According to Milik, the unpublished fragments from Cave 4 show that cols. 15 and 16 should precede col. 9 directly. They also show major omissions in the Genizah mss at the beginning, middle (after col. 8), and end of the document. The outline of the work, then is as follows: (1) introduction [4Q] (2) the admonition, which consists largely of historical review but contains some laws and warnings (Ms A 1–8 and B 19–20); and (3) the laws (4Q, Ms A 15–16, 9–14, final columns from 4Q). The 4Q material at the beginning of the laws reputedly contains laws, mostly dealing with purity. The final columns contain a penal code and a liturgy for renewal of the covenant (Milik 1959: 151–52; 1972: 135; his placement of the legal fragments is questioned by Dimant 1984: 497, who relies on analogies with Deuteronomy).

In view of the overlap between CD 7–8 and CD 19–20, it is clear that the document has a redactional history. The most elaborate reconstruction has been worked out by Murphy-O'Connor, who sees CD as "a compilation of diverse documents which enjoyed an independent existence before being assembled into the present text" (1977: 121). He regards the laws (CD 9–16) as "legislation for a Diaspora community;" CD 2:14–6:1 as a "missionary document" to win Palestinian Jewish converts; CD 6:11–8:3 as an exhortation addressed to Essenes; 8:3–18 as a critique of the ruling class in Judea. He also finds an "appeal for fidelity" in cols. 19–20 (19:33–20:1b; 20:8b–13; 20:17b–22). This analysis of CD is closely bound up with Murphy-O'Connor's theory that the Essenes originated in Babylon and that the designation *šby yśr'l* (CD 6:5, usually understood as "penitents of Israel") should be taken as "returnees." A different though related analysis has been offered by P. R. Davies, who accepts the basic unity of the admonition in cols. 1–8, but places it in the Babylonian Exile. Cols. 19–20 are viewed as part of a "Qumran redaction," which also involves glosses in col. 1–8. This latter theory, however, requires some textual surgery, esp. in CD 1, which presupposes the career of the Teacher of Righteousness (whom Davies, like most scholars, regards as the founder of the Qumran settlement).

Others besides Murphy-O'Connor regard the laws in CD 9–16 as a separate composition (e.g., Stegemann 1971: 21, 128). Against this, however, Milik claims that the Qumran fragments present the two sections as a continuous text (1959: 38–39). A few important threads link both parts of CD—e.g., reference to those who "live in camps" (7:6; 12:22), and the phrase "Aaron and Israel" (1:7; 12:23–31). The argument that the laws were designed for a Diaspora setting is based on the presence of a few laws regulating relations with Gentiles (e.g., 12:7–9). There were Gentiles in Palestine, however, and the law that the Sabbath not be celebrated in the vicinity of Gentiles (11:14) would be difficult to observe in the Diaspora. In the case of the admonition, Davies has made a strong case for the substantial unity of cols. 1–8, while cols. 19–20 necessarily reflect some redactional activity. The attempts to date any part of CD before the establishment of the Qumran community are, at best, inconclusive (see White 1987).

Whereas the rule in 1QS was designed for a quasi-monastic community (the *yāḥad*), CD provides rules for "the assembly of the towns of Israel" (12:19) and for "the assembly of the camps" (12:23). The most obvious difference is that those who "live in camps according to the rule of the land . . . take a wife and beget children" (CD 7:6–7), a possibility not envisaged in 1QS. The laws of CD presuppose an environment where members of the covenant come in contact with strangers and with Gentiles. They are required to contribute only two days wages a month to the common fund (CD 14:13). (1QS 1:11–12 required that members bring all their possessions into the community, but the penalties in the *Rule* presuppose that they still had some private property.) CD also legislates on the subject of temple worship (6:12) and sending offerings to the temple (11:18–22). While the interpretation of these passages is debated, they do not seem to preclude all contact with the temple and may be reconciled with the (equally problematic) statement of Josephus on the Essenes (*Ant* 18.1.5 §§18–19). There is also legislation for conduct "in the city of the sanctuary" (12:1–2).

The circumstances envisaged in CD are clearly different from those envisaged in 1QS. Yet there is general agreement that both documents pertain to the same movement or sect. The affinity between them may be illustrated by the regulations for gatherings of ten:

> "in every place where there are ten persons of the Council of the Community, let there not lack among them a man who is a priest. And let them sit before him, each according to his rank . . . and in the place where the ten are, let there not lack a man who studies the Law night and day . . ." (1QS 6:3–6).

> "and where there are ten of them, let there not lack a man who is a priest learned in the Book of Meditation; they shall all obey his orders" (CD 13:2–3).

Both rules, then, provide for priestly leadership, although CD 13 (the constitution of the camps) allows that the priest may be replaced by a Levite who is more competent.

Both rules also provide for another authority figure, the "overseer" (*mebaqqēr*, 1QS 6:12; CD 13:7; 14:8). In CD 13:5–6, in the rule for the camps, the overseer is clearly distinguished from the priest. There is also an overseer of all the camps (CD 14:9), who is again distinguished from "the priest who enrolls the congregation" (14:7). In 1QS the "overseer" is probably to be identified with the *paqîd* (1QS 6:14) and the *maśkîl* (1QS 3, 9). According to CD 14 the overseer is supposed to have mastered all the secrets of men; in 1QS 3 the *maśkîl* is charged to instruct the sons of light concerning the spirits. A difference in community structure appears in the fact that in 1QS much authority is vested in the Council of the Rabbim ("Many"). There is no mention of a council in CD and the Rabbim have a more passive role; however, the term *Rabbim* is an important link between the two rules. Also, the fact that the community in CD is said to come from Aaron and Israel (1:7) parallels the division of 1QS between "the house of holiness for Aaron" and "the house of community for Israel" (1QS 9:6). Both documents refer to messiahs of Aaron and Israel. Both show a similar preoccupation with purity and holiness. Both documents attach central importance to a covenant, which is interpreted in a dualistic context. The main theological difference is that CD contains no systematic exposition of dualistic doctrine like the treatise on the two spirits in 1QS, although CD 2:2–13 parallels 1QS 3:15–4:26 in some other respects. (The contrast between Belial and the Prince of Lights appears at CD 5:18, but some have regarded this passage as redactional [Murphy-O'Connor; Duhaime 1987]). The apparent omission of the doctrine in CD may be due to any of a number of factors: the full doctrinal exposition may have been reserved for the members of the Qumran *yāḥad;* it may have been presupposed in CD, or the two documents may come from different points in the evolution of the sect. In the latter case, however, the interval cannot have been great, since both documents had reached their extant form by the beginning of the 1st century B.C.E.

Vermes has offered the best explanation for the relationship between the two rule books: they reflect the two orders of Essenes mentioned by Josephus (1981: 106–9). He further suggests that the "assembly of all the camps" (CD 14:3) took place at Qumran and that the "overseer" of the camps was the same person as the "overseer" of the *yāḥad* in 1QS. These suggestions cannot be verified, but the view that the two rules relate to complementary aspects of the life of the sect is very probable.

The "rule for all the congregation of Israel at the end of days" (1QSa), which was appended to 1QS (see DJD 1:107), confirms the overarching unity of the two branches of the sect, since it, like CD, provides for women and children, although the regulations for the council of the community and for the common meal are more similar to 1QS. Further, 1QSa specifies the stages through which a youth advanced in the sect and also legislates for the exclusion from the assembly of people smitten with impurity.

D. Biblical Texts

In view of the importance attached to the study of the Law (1QS 6:6–8), it is not surprising that biblical texts figure prominently in the library. All the books of the traditional Hebrew canon have been found, with the exception of the Book of Esther. The oldest mss date back to the end of the 3d century (4Q Sam^b, 4Q Jer^a, 4Q Ex^b). All are much older than any witnesses to the biblical text previously known. They have provided important new evidence for the development of both text and canon. See TEXTUAL CRITICISM (OT).

The antiquity of the traditional Masoretic Text type was confirmed by the Isaiah scrolls from Cave 1 (1Q Isa^a and 1Q Isa^b). See also ISAIAH SCROLL (1QIsa). Fragments of Samuel from Cave 4, however, provided the Heb prototype for LXX readings which differed from the MT; and the Exodus scroll in paleo-Hebrew from Cave 4 attested a text type similar to that found in the Samaritan Pentateuch (see now Sanderson 1986). W. F. Albright proposed in 1955 that three recensions of the Bible developed, in Babylonia (MT), in Palestine (Samaritan), and in Egypt (LXX). This theory was developed and refined by F. M. Cross, who concluded that the "Egyptian" LXX tradition was also at home in Palestine and that the developments were not controlled by recensional activity. Cross's theory has been taken up by his students (Ulrich and others). Others (Talmon, Tov), however, resist the distinction of text types and argue for a more variegated transmission of the text in the Second Temple period. The paleo-Hebrew Leviticus scroll from Cave 11 lends some support to their position since it cannot be clearly aligned with any one text type. The Qumran evidence has, however, established that diverse forms of the Heb text were current down to the 1st century C.E.

The evidence on the canon is likewise controversial. The canonicity of the Pentateuch is not in doubt. Five pentateuchal mss are written in paleo-Hebrew script, a distinction also accorded to the book of Job. (The book of Hagu or Meditation, CD 10:4–6; 13:2; 14:7–8, is probably the Torah itself, but it has also been identified with the *Temple Scroll*). Formal commentaries or "pesharim" have been found for the Psalms and for the prophetic books of Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah and Habakkuk. Various biblical books are quoted with the formulas "it is written" (Exodus in 1QS 5:17; Isaiah in 1QS 8:14; Hosea in CD 1:13; Deuteronomy in CD 5:2; Numbers in CD 7:19; Nahum in CD 9:5; Proverbs in CD 11:20–21), or "He said," or "it said" (Micah in CD 4:20; Amos in CD 7:14–16), or "God said" (Deuteronomy in CD 8:9–10). At other times we read that God spoke "by the hand of the prophet Ezekiel" (CD 3:20) or of Isaiah (CD 4:13) or again, without reference to God, that "Moses said" (CD 5:8) or "Isaiah said" (CD 6:8). The *Florilegium* (4Q174) strings together quotations from Exodus, Amos, Isaiah, Ezekiel and Psalms to interpret 2 Samuel 7. The second column cites Daniel in the same manner as the first cited Isaiah and Ezekiel: "As it is written in the Book of Daniel the prophet."

These citations support the general correspondence of the sect's canon with the later Hebrew Bible, but some qualifications are in order. Not all the Writings are cited formally and so we cannot be sure of their status. Moreover, CD cites the *Apocryphon of Levi* (4:15 "of which Levi son of Jacob spoke") and *Jubilees* (16:3: "it is strictly defined in the Book of the Divisions of the Times . . ."). Neither

quotation necessarily implies canonical status, but "Levi spoke" is comparable to "Isaiah said." It is uncertain whether there was a clear distinction at Qumran between the Kethubim and other authoritative writings.

The main debate about the canon at Qumran has centered on the Psalms scroll of Cave 11 (DJD 4). This scroll contains most of the last third of the Psalter but in an unconventional arrangement. It also includes a poem identical with 2 Sam 23:1–7 ("the last words of David") and several apocryphal psalms: Psalm 151 (a variant of the corresponding psalm in the Greek Psalter), Psalms 154–155 which are also extant in Syriac, and a poem related to Sir 51:13–19, 30). There are also three psalms which were previously unknown: a "Plea for Deliverance," "Apostrophe to Zion," and "Hymn to the Creator." There is also a prose catalogue of David's compositions. This, however, is not the last item on the scroll: it is followed by Pss 140:1–5, 134:1–3 and Psalm 151.

The editor (J. A. Sanders) has argued that the Psalms Scroll was considered a portion of the Davidic Psalter. The inclusion of "the last words of David," and the prose catalogue, and the concluding position of the Davidic Psalm 151 are taken as evidence that the entire collection was thought to be Davidic. No distinction is made between canonical and noncanonical psalms. Others (most notably P. W. Skehan) have argued to the contrary that the 11Q scroll was a liturgical collection with no implications for canonicity. It is not clear, however, why a liturgical collection should include a catalogue of David's works; and, in any case, the inclusion of apocryphal psalms in a predominantly canonical collection, with no apparent distinction, is remarkable. The evidence is not conclusive (cf. Wilson 1985), but again it leaves a question as to whether the Kethubim were clearly distinguished from other authoritative writings at Qumran.

E. Biblical Interpretation

The Qumran sect had its own distinctive method of biblical exegesis (Fishbane 1988). This is most fully displayed in the continuous commentaries or pesharim on individual books, but it can also be seen in thematic pesharim which string together passages from different books (11QMelch, *Florilegium*) and in isolated interpretations of particular passages which occur in other works.

1. Continuous Pesharim. The continuous pesharim on prophetic books and psalms are extant in single mss. No copies of any of them have been found. For this reason, some scholars have proposed that they are autographs, but there is evidence that at least some of them contain copying errors (Horgan 1979: 3–4). The mss are dated variously to the late Hasmonean and Herodian periods and so are later than those of 1QS and CD. Moreover, the Pesher on Nahum clearly refers to events in the 1st century B.C.E. (Horgan 1979: 161). It is possible, of course, that some of the commentaries are older than this or that they draw on oral tradition. The pesher style of interpretation is already evident in CD.

The underlying presupposition of this exegesis is clearly stated in the Pesher on Habakkuk, col. 7: "and God told Habakkuk to write down the things that are going to come upon the last generation, but the fulfillment of the end-time he did not make known to him . . . the interpretation of it concerns the Teacher of Righteousness to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servant the prophets." In short, prophecy was not to be interpreted in its historical context but was assumed to refer to "the last generation." Scripture was a mysterious code and required further revelation for its true interpretation. Since the pesharim refer to some events in the 1st century B.C.E. which can scarcely have been known to the original Teacher, the task of interpretation was presumably attached to the office of interpreter of the law.

The pesharim follow a basic pattern: citation of a short passage, followed by the interpretation. The interpretation is introduced by a formula (e.g., "its interpretation concerns . . .") The procedure is atomistic, without necessary regard for context. The interpretation often concerns the history of the sect, and much of the interest of the pesharim derives from the light they shed on its origins (see further below).

The continuous pesharim have a strongly eschatological orientation (e.g., 1QpHab 7:7–8: "The final period will be prolonged and will exceed everything spoken by the prophets, for the mysteries of God are marvellous"; or 4QpPs^{a} 2:7–10: at the end of forty years the wicked will perish and the poor will inherit the earth). This orientation is even more strongly evident in the thematic pesharim.

2. Thematic Pesharim. 11QMelchizedek has survived only in fragments of a single ms from the Herodian period. Nine of 14 fragments were arranged by the editor. There were originally three columns. Only the second can be reconstructed intelligibly. Here Lev 25:13 (the year of the jubilee) provides the point of departure and is interpreted with the aid of other biblical texts—e.g., it is identified with the year of favor in Isa 61:2. This in turn is said to be Melchizedek's year of favor, and he is identified with the *ʾelohîm* ('god') of Ps 82:1. Melchizedek is said to exact the vengeance of El's judgments (cf. Isa 61:2) on Belial and his spirits. See MELCHIZEDEK (11QMelch).

A similar midrashic technique is evident in the *Florilegium,* of which two fragmentary columns have survived (DJD 5:53–57). 2 Samuel 10–11 is understood to refer to "the house . . . at the end of days" which is alluded to in Exod 15:17–18. 2 Sam 7:11–12 ("Yahweh declares that he will build you a house") is interpreted to refer to the Davidic messiah, with the aid of Amos 9:11. Ps 1:1 is interpreted through quotations of Isa 8:11 and Ezekiel (the quotation is lost). The technique of interpreting Scripture by citing other scriptural passages departs from the normal practice of the continuous pesharim, but 11QMelch and 4QFlor use the typical formulas *pišrô ʿal* ("its interpretation, or pesher, concerns") or *pešer haddābār* ("the interpretation of the passage"). The *Florilegium* also uses the term *midrash* for its interpretation. See FLORILEGIUM (4QFlor).

Another thematic Pesher from Cave 4, the Catena (DJD 5:67–75) is very fragmentary. It describes the circumstances of the sect in dualistic terms, by interpreting a string of biblical passages. The fragmentary "Words of Consolation" (4Q*176;* DJD 5: 60–67) also consists of a string of biblical passages, but these may have been part of a larger composition. Finally the work which is introduced as a "Pesher on the Periods" (4Q*180;* DJD 5: 75–77) does

not appear to be a work of biblical interpretation but a treatise on the periods of history and on Azazel and his followers. In view of the fragmentary nature of the ms, however, it is possible that it contained a thematic pesher using a number of biblical passages (col. 2 apparently contains an interpretation of Gen 18:1–2, 19:1; see Dimant 1979: 83).

In other documents, such as the Rule books, biblical quotations are often worked into the text, introduced by a phrase like "as it is written" (cf. the famous quotation from Isaiah 40 in 1QS 8:14). While CD is a veritable tissue of biblical quotations and allusions, in some cases there is more direct interpretation. Amos 5:27 is quoted in CD 7:14 and interpreted with the aid of Amos 9:11 and Num 24:17. While the word *pesher* is not used, the technique is similar, e.g., "the books of the law are the hut of the king" and "the star is the seeker of the Law" (compare CD 4:1–4; 6:3–6). The term *pesher* is used in CD 4:14, where the "terror and pit and snare" in Isa 24:17 are interpreted as the three nets of Belial. The basic style of interpretation in all these pesharim is allegorical in the sense that one thing is asserted to mean something else. The interpretation of Scripture at Qumran is similar to the interpretation of dreams and mysteries in the book of Daniel, where the Aramaic cognate *pšr* is used. The ultimate roots of this style of interpretation must be sought in the dream interpretation of the ANE.

3. Other Use of Biblical Material. Two other forms of biblical interpretation in the Qumran library should be noted: *Testimonia* and biblical paraphrases. 4Q*175* preserves almost intact a collection of biblical passages: Deut 5:28–29 + 18:18–19 (the prophet like Moses); Num 24:15–17 (the star and the scepter); Deut 33:8–11 (blessing of Levi by Moses), and a quotation from the apocryphal *Psalms of Joshua,* which includes Josh 6:26. (On the *Psalms of Joshua,* see Newsom 1988). See also JOSHUA, PSALMS of (4Q*378–379*). There is no commentary, but the collection evidently provides the basis for the messianic expectations of the sect. (Compare 1QS 9:11 "until the coming of the prophet and the anointed of Aaron and Israel"; the "man of Belial" may be a kind of antichrist [antimessiah], or an enemy of the sect [the Wicked Priest] or both.) This document has been labelled *Testimonia* by analogy with the collections of quotations which have long been posited in early Christianity (see Fitzmyer 1974). Another instance of a messianic proof text is found in 4Q Patriarchal Blessings, which cites Gen 49:10 ("The scepter shall not depart from the tribe of Judah . . .") and relates it to the coming of "the Messiah of Righteousness," the "branch of David." See also TESTIMONIA (4QTestim).

Several compositions found at Qumran come under the heading of biblical paraphrase. These include: the *Targum of Job* from Cave 11, which is generally a faithful rendition with only a few theological alterations, e.g., the substitution of "angels of God" for "sons of God" at 30:4–5 (Milik also claims to have identified a *Targum of Leviticus,* but it is very fragmentary, DJD 6:87); the *Genesis Apocryphon,* which is a looser midrashic elaboration of Genesis; the book of *Jubilees,* which retells the story of Gen 1:1–Exod 15:22 with strong halakic interest; and the "prophetic words of Moses" from Cave 1, a farewell speech which draws primarily on Deuteronomy but also shows some influence from Leviticus. These latter compositions are among several Moses Pseudepigrapha found at Qumran. "Ordinances," 4Q*159,* is a reinterpretation of various pentateuchal Laws. Other fragments of Moses Pseudepigrapha from Cave 4 have not yet been published. Apparently related to 1Q*29* (DJD 1:130–32) are 4Q*376* + 6Q*408,* which deal with a priestly liturgy (Strugnell in Schiffman 1990). The status of these Moses Pseudepigrapha is uncertain: they may have been regarded as authoritative texts in their own right rather than as biblical interpretation. The issue here is most vividly illustrated by the *Temple Scroll,* which is largely composed of biblical paraphrase but may have been regarded as a Torah in its own right (see below). Moreover, it is not clear that any of the biblical paraphrases were composed at Qumran. *Jubilees* is generally assumed to be an older composition, and some of the others may be also. See also GENESIS APOCRYPHON (1QapGen); JOB, TARGUMS OF (11QtgJob); JUBILEES, BOOK OF.

Biblical paraphrase also plays a part in 4QEzekiel, a fragmentary work which has only recently come to light. According to the editors, "The subject matter on the one hand is based on the prophecies of canonical Ezekiel and, on the other hand, it presents historical surveys of the kind found in historical apocalypses. Most of the extant fragments contain dialogues between God and the Prophet, including occasionally also references to the Patriarchs and to King David and King Solomon. From the dialogue between God and the prophet, it appears that the narrative is pseudepigraphically located in the time of Ezekiel; it therefore refers in the past to events that occurred before Ezekiel's time, and in the future to events after the prophet's time" (Strugnell and Dimant 1988: 48). The editors also find analogies with *4 Ezra.*

F. Halakic Works

1. 4QMMT. It is evident from CD that halakic issues played a major role in the separation of the sect from the rest of Judaism. In CD 3:13–15 is the claim that God revealed to the righteous "the hidden things in which all Israel strayed" and specific mention is made of the cultic calendar. In CD 5 is found the complaint that "they" (the opponents of the sect) defile the sanctuary and violate marriage laws. The importance of these considerations is now confirmed by 4QMMT, which is identified by its editors as "a letter from a leader of the Qumran sect (possibly the Teacher of Righteousness himself) to the leader of its opponents" (Qimron and Strugnell 1985: 400). This letter or manifesto sets out the points at which the sect differed from its opponents. According to the preliminary report, these points fall into three categories: the cultic calendar, ritual purity (esp. in connection with the temple and sacrificial cult), and laws on marital status. In 4QMMT it is specifically stated that such halakic differences were the reason for the separation of the sect from the rest of Judaism. See also MIQSAT MAᶜASE HA-TORAH (4QMMT).

2. The *Temple Scroll.* Perhaps the most important halakic document discovered at Qumran is the *Temple Scroll.* See also TEMPLE SCROLL (11QT). The scroll, acquired by Yadin in 1967 (for the story of the acquisition see Yadin 1985: 8–55), is the longest of all the Qumran scrolls, extending for nearly 9 m. It is divided into 67 columns, of

which the first is missing and the last is almost completely blank (there is nothing on the preserved portion of the column). This ms was the work of two scribes, both from the Herodian period. Fragments of other copies have been found in Cave 4. Yadin identifies the earliest copy as Rockefeller 43.366 and dates it "not later than the reign of John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.E.), or the beginning of the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76)." Strugnell, however, denies that these fragments belong to the *Temple Scroll.* Instead they belong to "a Pentateuch with frequent non-biblical additions" which either influenced or was influenced by the *Temple Scroll* (letter cited by Wacholder 1983: 206). There are, however, unpublished fragments of the *Temple Scroll* from Cave 4 which date no later than the beginning of the 1st century (Strugnell, oral communication; the letter cited by Wacholder puts the date about 150 B.C.E.).

Since the beginning of the scroll is lost, we do not know how it was presented. Most of the extant scroll is written in the first person and the speaker is God himself. The addressee is Moses, as can be seen from the reference to "Aaron your brother" (44:5). The revelation deals with the following topics:

Col. 2	the covenant relationship
Cols. 3–12	the temple building and altar
Cols. 13–29	feasts and sacrifices
Cols. 30–44	the temple courts
Cols. 45–47	the sanctity of the holy city
Cols. 48–51:10	purity laws
Cols. 51:11–56:11	various laws on legal procedure, sacrifices, and idolatry
Cols. 56:12–59	the law of the king
Cols. 60–67	diverse laws on cult officials, prophets, military affairs, family, and sexual matters

These laws often correspond, even verbally, with the biblical laws, esp. those of Deuteronomy, but they also contain much additional material. The biblical formulations are often translated into the first person, e.g., "the place which the Lord will choose" becomes "the place in which I will put my name." The first person usage is not maintained consistently, however; the first extant column (col. 2) refers to God in the third person. Cols. 13–29 also use the third person, except that the conclusion in chap. 29 reverts to the first person. The third person is also used in the purity laws of 48–51:10, but again the conclusion (51:5b–10) reverts to the first person. Wilson and Wills (1982) have made a strong case that the variation is due not to lapses of attentiveness by the scribe but to the combination of sources, since the variation in person can be correlated with the variation between singular and plural address.

The prominence of the first person usage for divine speech highlights the problem of the nature of the *Temple Scroll.* If the document was accepted as a revelation from God, its status can hardly have been less than that of canonical Scripture. The divine name in the *Temple Scroll* is written in the square script, according to the practice in biblical books (e.g., Isaiah). In the pesharim or commentaries, in contrast, the divine name is written in paleo-Hebrew script so that it stands out from its context. Yadin (1985: 68) sees here evidence that the *Temple Scroll* enjoyed the status of Scripture at Qumran. Wacholder goes farther and argues that the author of the *Temple Scroll* "set out to rival Moses, hoping to succeed where his predecessor had failed" (Wacholder 1983: 228) and that the scroll was the Torah of the Qumran community. On the other hand, if the scroll had such fundamental importance, it is surprising that it is not referred to more clearly in other Qumran writings.

Yadin has suggested several possible allusions in the other scrolls. The "Book of Hagu" or "Hagi" (the "Book of Meditation") is mentioned as an authoritative document in CD (10:4–6; 13:2–3; 14:6–8) and 1QSa (1:6–8). In each case someone is required to be learned in that book. It is associated with "the Constitutions of the Covenant" (CD 10:4–6 cf. 1QSa 1:6–8) and "the Judgments of the Law" (CD 14:6–8). The name is derived from Josh 1:8 ("This book of the law shall not depart out of your mouth, but you shall meditate on it day and night"). Yadin (1983, 1: 394) points out that the law of Moses is often called Torath Moshe, but this does not preclude the possibility that the "Book of Hagu" is another name for the Mosaic code. The evidence is simply inconclusive. A second possibility concerns the "sealed book of the law" in CD 4:20–51. The point at issue is the law of Deut 17:17, "he shall not multiply wives for himself," which is construed to prohibit marrying another woman while the first is alive. King David, however, is excused, because he had not read the "sealed book of the law" which was in the ark and which was not opened from the death of Joshua to the rise of Zadok. Yadin, tentatively, and Wacholder, at length, identify Zadok here as the founder of the sect and suppose that the book in question was the *Temple Scroll.* In this case, however, it makes far better sense to identify Zadok as the high priest of Solomon (see VanderKam 1984) and to suppose that the reference is to a temporary concealment of the law of Moses. Finally, Yadin refers to two fragmentary passages in the commentaries. The pesher on Ps 37:32–33 tells of a plot by the Wicked Priest against the Teacher of Righteousness "and the Law which he sent to him." This obscure passage is more likely to refer to 4QMMT than to the *Temple Scroll.* A very fragmentary passage in the Catena refers to *seper hattôrâ šēnît.* Yadin emends the text to *hašēnît* and translates "the book of the second law" (so also Allegro 1985). In view of the fragmentary nature of the text, the interpretation is most uncertain. Even if we suppose that the "Book of Hagu" is the *Temple Scroll,* the references are sparse and certainly do not support the idea that it in any way replaced the law of Moses. It may have enjoyed canonical status, but it was not the Torah of Qumran.

The question of the status of the scroll is bound up with the question of date and of its sectarian character or lack thereof. Yadin dated the scroll to "the reign of John Hyrcanus or shortly earlier" (Yadin 1983, 1: 390). He argued that the statutes of the king were relevant to the Hasmonean era in a way they had not been earlier. Column 34 deals with the rings used to fasten animals in the slaughterhouse. According to Talmudic tradition the rings were introduced by John Hyrcanus. Yadin allows that the scroll may have influenced Hyrcanus rather than reflect an established custom. He also mentions the death penalty of

hanging alive as possibly relevant to the dating. Hengel, Charlesworth, and others have rightly noted that the statutes of the king and the use of hanging or crucifixion point rather to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76). The statutes would certainly have had pointed relevance in the time of Alexander Jannaeus, who used the title king, employed mercenaries, and was said to have crucified 800 Jews while he caroused with his mistresses. Nonetheless, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the statutes were developed as an elaboration and updating of the Deuteronomic law of the king and that their polemical relevance was secondary. The paleographic evidence would seem to require that at least some parts or sources of the scroll go back to the 2d century (and possibly earlier). The arguments both of Yadin and of Hengel/Charlesworth for a Hasmonean date rely heavily on the statutes of the king and do not exclude the possibility that much of the scroll may be older.

Yadin saw the scroll as an Essene composition, which confirmed the identification of the Qumran sect. He pointed to the affinities of the scroll with CD and the book of *Jubilees*. More specifically, he suggested that the "Feast of Oil" (Col. 22:14–16) explains Josephus' statement that the Essenes considered oil defiling (*JW* 2.8.3 §123) and that the provision for a latrine outside the temple city was also a distinctively Essene feature (cf. *JW* 2.8.9 §147–48); but ultimately he found "the draconic nature of all the laws in the scroll pertaining to matters of purity and to the holiness of the Temple" to be "the determining factor of identification" (1983, 1: 399). The weakness of these arguments can be seen from the parallel with *Jubilees*, which is not usually considered a strictly sectarian work, although, like the *Temple Scroll*, it adheres to the 364-day calendar and is greatly concerned with purity. The Feast of Oil is in fact incompatible with Josephus' actual statement unless we posit a misunderstanding. Provision for a latrine outside the city is rooted in Deut 23:12–14. The scroll is conspicuous for the lack of reference to a distinct community structure, a *yāḥad*, or a new covenant. It also lacks the most distinctive theological themes of the Qumran scrolls, such as cosmic dualism or the role of Belial. Accordingly, some scholars (Schiffman, Stegemann) deny that the scroll is a sectarian composition and see it as part of the older heritage of the sect, like the book of *Jubilees*. Particularly noteworthy is Schiffman's observation (1983: 17) that the derivation of law in the scroll is fundamentally different from what we find in other Qumran documents: "whereas the other texts from Qumran see the extrabiblical material as derived from inspired biblical exegesis, the author of the *Temple Scroll* sees it as inherent in the biblical text." While there are some striking points of affinity with the laws of CD (e.g., TS 45:7–12; CD 12:1–2, on the prohibition of sexual intercourse in the temple city), these are likely to attest a common tradition rather than common authorship. The *Temple Scroll* certainly originated in priestly circles, but it lacks the explicitly polemical character of the sectarian scrolls.

The *Temple Scroll* is primarily concerned to outline an ideal temple and system of purity laws. It does not, however, describe an eschatological or messianic temple: it is "the temple on which I will settle my glory until the day of blessing on which I will create my temple and establish it for myself for all times" (29:8–10). It is, then, a reformist proposal which lays claim to divine authority, but it may be representative of circles from which the sect emerged rather than of the sect itself.

G. Hymnic and Liturgical Works

1. Nonsectarian Works. We have already noted the Psalms scroll from Cave 11, which includes psalms which are not part of the traditional canon. Some scholars see this scroll as a liturgical collection. Regardless of their canonicity, there is no reason to think that any of the psalms in the scroll were composed at Qumran or are specifically sectarian. A collection of non-Davidic Psalms from Cave 4, published by Schuller (1986), also lacks distinctive sectarian traits. Another traditional, nonsectarian prayer is found in "The Words of the Heavenly Luminaries" (4Q*504–6;* DJD 7:137–75), of which three copies survive, one from about 150 B.C.E. This is a communal prayer for deliverance, based on the covenant relationship, of a type similar to the confessions of sin in Nehemiah 9, Daniel 9, etc. See also WORDS OF THE LUMINARIES (4QDibHam). Several other liturgical works have survived in very fragmentary form. These include daily prayers (4Q*503*, DJD 7: 105–36), which seem to presuppose the solar, 364 day calendar; prayers for the festivals (4Q*508–9;* DJD 7: 177–215, also 1Q*34*); a ritual for purification (4Q*512;* DJD 7: 262–86); lamentations (4Q*501;* DJD 7: 79–80; 4Q*179*, DJD 5: 75–77); and a collection of blessings which have been construed by Baillet as a ritual (4Q*502;* DJD 7: 81–105). In view of the fragmentary nature of these texts, their ultimate provenance is uncertain.

2. Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH). There are also hymnic and liturgical works which are clearly sectarian compositions. The most important of these is the collection of thanksgiving hymns or *Hodayot*. See also THANKSGIVING HYMNS (1QH). An extensive though poorly preserved ms from Cave 1 was among the earliest scrolls published. This ms dates from the Herodian period. (Two additional fragments can be found in DJD 1: 136–38.) There are also six unpublished mss from Cave 4 of which the oldest dates to about 100 B.C.E. (see Dimant 1984: 523; Lichtenberger 1980: 28) and other fragments in the same style which do not correspond to any known section of the *Hodayot*. A new edition, including the 4Q data, is being prepared by Stegemann and Strugnell. The Cave 4 fragments reportedly complement 1QH at several points and show that the order of the hymns was variable. Whereas 18 columns were reconstructed in the first edition, Lichtenberger (1980: 29) refers to 24 in the light of Stegemann's work and says that most of the fragments have now been placed.

The great majority of the units begin with the declaration ". . . give thanks to you, O Adonai"—hence the designation "thanksgiving hymns." There are some exceptions, however: 10:14 begins "blessed are you, O Adonai" (cf. 5:20 where "I give you thanks" is erased; 11:27, 32–33) and the opening verses of several hymns are lost. Cols. 1 and 10:1–12 are hymns of praise to the Creator rather than of thanksgiving for deliverance. Even within the psalms of individual thanksgiving it has become customary to distinguish a number which attest to an exceptionally strong authorial personality. These hymns are character-

ized by personalized accounts of the distress and affliction of an individual and by the claim to be recipient or mediator of revelation (so Kuhn 1966: 22; Lichtenberger 1980: 29) and are thought to be the work of the Teacher of Righteousness. Other psalms of individual thanksgiving are thought to be "hymns of the community." The "Teacher hymns," according to Kuhn, are 2:1–19; 4:5–5:4; 5:5–19; 5:20–6:36; 7:6–25; 8:4–40. G. Jeremias, who does not make the theme of revelation a criterion, also includes 2:31–39 and 3:1–18 and extends the hymn which begins with 5:20 to 7:5. The distinction between Teacher hymns and community hymns is not universally accepted and there is disagreement about the classification of some hymns (e.g., Becker [1964] would include 2:20–30). Lichtenberger (1980: 65) remarks that not all the Teacher's works were necessarily stamped with his own personality to the same degree. Yet Jeremias (1963: 172–73) has documented significant differences in linguistic usage between the Teacher hymns and other psalms. If the Teacher was not the author of these hymns, we would have to posit some powerful personality who is otherwise unknown. The distinction of a group of Teacher hymns, then, while hypothetical, has much to commend it.

Because of their poetic nature the hymns do not give much factual information about the career of the Teacher, but they do make clear that he was driven out "like a bird from its nest" (4:9) and that he encountered opposition not only from outsiders but also from "all who joined my assembly" (5:20). The cause of dissension was evidently his claim to be entrusted with a mystery. (Compare the Pesher on Habakkuk 7:4–5, which says that God revealed the mysteries of the prophets to the Teacher).

While the "Hymns of the Community" are not as vivid in their imagery as those of the Teacher, they share the same major theological themes. These include a strong deterministic sense of the omnipotence of God and the unworthiness of humanity, e.g., col. 1, cf. 4:28–33; the importance of the covenant (evidently the sectarian understanding thereof; e.g., 2:22; 4:5); and the idea that membership in the sectarian community involves fellowship with the angels or holy ones, e.g., 3:21–23; 6:13–14.

While there is no exposition of dualism like that of the treatise on the two spirits in 1QS, there is a clear moral dualism throughout. This is most vividly expressed in the simile of the two pregnancies in 3:1–18 (which Jeremias reckons a Teacher hymn): the first issues in the birth of a messianic "wonderful counsellor," the second in the "asp" or "wickedness" (the ambiguity of the term is intentional). "Belial" occurs several times in the *Hodayot,* but it is unclear whether it is used as a proper name in its biblical sense of "worthlessness" (von der Osten-Sacken 1969: 73–76). At least in 1QH3: 29, 32 the reference is to a satanic figure, and cosmic dualism is implied.

We do not know whether the *Hodayot* were ever recited in public. A few liturgical texts contain instructions for their use. The Benedictions (1QSb) were originally appended to the *Rule of the Community* (see DJD 1:118–30). They are introduced as "words of blessing for the *maśkîl*" (i.e., to be recited by him). Blessings are provided for "those who fear God . . . and hold fast to his covenant" (the community), the chief priest (the title is missing but is inferred from the blessing), "the sons of Zadok, the priests," and for "the Prince of the Congregation . . . that he may restore the kingdom of his people forever." In light of the eschatological overtones of the latter blessing, the editors suggest that the chief priest and prince in question are the messiahs of Aaron and Israel respectively. Like 1QSa, 1QSb then, is intended for "the end of days."

Two other liturgical fragments have eschatological overtones. It is alleged by Milik (1972) that 4Q*280* belongs to a document on purities (4QTeharot). In 4Q*280*:1–2 is a curse on Melchiresa which is related to the curse on the lot of Belial in 1QS 2. In 4Q*286,* which is part of 4QBerakot, a collection of blessings and curses, is contained a curse on Belial and his guilty lot. By analogy with 1QS, we might suppose that such curses were recited in a covenant renewal ceremony (Milik 1972: 136).

3. Angelic Liturgy (4QShirShabb). A remarkable liturgical text, 4QShirShabb (the Angelic Liturgy), is preserved in fragmentary form in eight mss from Cave 4 (4Q*400–7*) ranging in date from late Hasmonean to early Herodian. The end of another scroll was found in Cave 11, and another fragment in later Herodian script was found as Masada. The work consists of 13 sections, one for each of the first 13 sabbaths of the year. They evidently presuppose the 52 week, 364 day calendar, but no songs for further sabbaths have been found, despite the number of mss. The individual songs begin with the heading *lĕmaśkîl,* which may indicate either authorship or the person intended to use them. At Qumran *maśkîl* was a technical term for the master or overseer. (The word *maśkîl* is used in biblical psalms without the initial *lamed* to indicate a type of song.)

These songs call on the angels to praise God, describe the angelic priesthood, and the heavenly temple, and its sabbath worship. The climactic seventh (middle) song begins with a series of seven calls to the angels. Then the heavenly temple, with all its parts, is summoned to join in the praise. There appears to be a brief description of the divine throne, and the song concludes with the praise uttered by the *markābôt,* "chariots." The 12th song, in 4Q*405,* also contains a description of the *merkābâ,* "throne of glory," in terms heavily dependent on Ezekiel. According to Newsom (1985: 37) it is "highly likely" that 4Q*401* should be restored to yield two references to Melchizedek, one of which calls him "a priest in the council of God." The reference to the council seems to presuppose the exegesis of Psalm 82 in 11QMelch but adds the element of priesthood. 4Q*401* also contains several references to war in heaven and to the mustering of angelic hosts (Newsom 1985: 8).

Newsom (1985: 17) reasonably suggests that this composition is intended to evoke within a human community "a sense of being in the heavenly sanctuary and in the presence of angelic priests and worshippers" (cf. the first person plural forms in 4Q*400*). Only the 13th song refers explicitly to sacrifices, so it is not clear that they were envisaged as accompaniment to heavenly sacrifices, but they may have been recited at the time of the sabbath sacrifices.

There is a lack of references in 4QShirShabb to the *yāḥad* or any form of community structure which would mark it as clearly sectarian. Nonetheless, 4QShirShabb was evidently congenial to the Qumran community and throws

light on the fellowship with the angels which we have seen in the *Hodayot*. It is also related to 4QBerakot, which contains praise of God and the heavenly temple as well as curses on Belial and refers explicitly to the council of the community. In view of the use of *maśkîl* and of the probable dependence on 11QMelch, it is likely that 4QShirShabb was composed at Qumran, but it is still possible that it is an older document from circles such as those that produced *Jubilees*. See also SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE (4QShirShabb).

4. Other Works. Yet another collection of hymns associated with a maskil is found in 4Q*510–11* (DJD 7:215–62). Here the author refers to himself as a *maśkîl* (4Q*510* v 4). These hymns are intended to praise God and terrify all evil spirits (including "bastards" and Lilith).

Liturgical texts of a different kind are also announced by Milik (1959: 41). These are *Mišmarôt*, "courses," in which the rota of the priestly families' service in the temple is given in detail according to the solar calendar and is also synchronized with the lunar calendar. Fragments of calendrical texts have also been found (e.g., 6Q17).

H. Eschatological, Apocalyptic, and Related Texts

1. The War Scroll (1QM). We have repeatedly noted the eschatological orientation of works from all categories of literature at Qumran—e.g., the rule for the end of days (1QSa), eschatological midrashic works such as 11QMelch, and liturgical texts such as the Benedictions. The most elaborate and distinctive eschatological composition is the *War Scroll*. See also WAR RULE (1QM). The introductory heading is unfortunately lost. It is usually supposed that the scroll was designated as a *serek*, "rule"—cf. 1QM 3:12; 4:9; 5:3; 9:10. The main text is provided by 1QM, which preserves most of 19 cols., including the beginning but not the end. (Two small fragments are published in DJD 1:135–36 as 1Q*33*.) Fragments of six mss (4Q*491–97*) have been found in Cave 4 (DJD 7:12–68). A seventh ms, previously identified as part of the *War Scroll*, is now categorized as a related document (DJD 7:69).

The opening column of the scroll lists the adversaries (Sons of Light/sons of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin against Sons of Darkness/army of Belial-troops of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Philistia, and "the Kittim of Asshur") and outlines the day of battle (the forces of light and darkness shall each prevail in three lots and in the seventh lot God will subdue Belial). Column 2 sets out regulations for a war of 40 years duration. Columns 3–9 contain directions for deployment of troops and descriptions of trumpets and banners. In cols. 10–14 there are prayers for various occasions in the war. Columns 15–19 describe the battle against the Kittim apparently in seven lots (lots 3 and 4 are mentioned at the bottom of col. 17, but the following lines are lost).

While a few scholars accepted the essential unity of 1QM (Yadin 1962; Carmignac 1958), most have assumed a literary history. The eschatological battle in col. 1 takes place in one day and in seven lots. This outline is elaborated in cols. 15–19. Column 2, in contrast, describes a 40-year war and, moreover, lacks the contrast of light and darkness and the references to Belial which dominate col. 1. There are also duplications between different parts of the scroll. The hymn in col. 12 ("Arise, O mighty one . . .") is repeated in col. 19. The battle order of cols. 1 and 15–19 is at least partially reflected in cols. 7–9 (von der Osten-Sacken 1969: 52). These and other observations have led scholars to formulate contrasting theories. Von der Osten-Sacken sees cols. 1, 15–19 as the original nucleus, and dates it to the mid-2d century B.C.E. because of its affinities with Daniel. P. R. Davies, in contrast, sees cols. 2–9 as a compilation from the Hasmonean period of traditions from the Maccabean wars, while 15–19 reached its final form (seven phases of battle, Kittim) only in the Roman period (after 63 B.C.E.). He regards col. 1 as a preface supplied by the final redactor. At one extreme L. Rost argued that 1QM was written before the establishment of the Qumran community, since it lacks reference to a separate community and uses the word *yāḥad* in a nontechnical sense. At the other extreme Vermes and Davies put the final redaction in the 1st century C.E. Yadin argued for a Roman date on the basis of military tactics, but his conclusions are disputed.

The source-critical arguments are of somewhat dubious merit. Since the *War Scroll* is arranged thematically (directions for deployment, prayers, description of the battle), some duplication is natural. Even the contrast between the one day of battle in col. 1 and the 40-year war in col. 2 does not involve logical incompatibility, although at least in this case different traditions are being utilized. While cols. 2–9 are less obviously dualistic than 1, 15–19 (Davies 1977), dualistic terminology is, nonetheless, interspersed in these cols. too ("Sons of Darkness" in 3:7, 9; Belial in 4:2). New light has been shed on the development of the *War Scroll* by the fragments from Cave 4. Two mss (4Q*493* and *496*) are dated paleographically before the middle of the 1st century B.C.E. The first of these does not correspond to any known section of 1QM but is clearly part of the same work. The other contains fragments of cols. 1–4. This early attestation of both cols. 1 and 2 would seem to preclude a dating of the final redaction to the Christian era, or even to the Roman period. Another ms, 4Q*491*, presents a recension which is significantly different from that of 1QM. C. H. Hunzinger (1957) had published part of this ms as an "older form" of the scroll. This is disputed by Baillet (DJD 7:12). It includes some passages unattested in 1QM, most notably a hymnic passage in the first person where the speaker boasts that he is reckoned with the angels (or gods) and speaks of a throne of power in the council of the gods. Baillet suggests that the speaker was the archangel Michael. On the evidence of this ms it would seem that different recensions of the scroll were copied in the Herodian period and that its literary history did not follow a neat logical progression. The closest conceptual parallels are found in works like Daniel and 1QS which date to the 2d century. The expressions "Kittim of Asshur" and "Kittim in Egypt" in col. 1 can plausibly be identified with the Seleucids and Ptolemies rather than with the Romans (on the range of "Kittim" see Yadin 1962: 24–25). The sectarian origin of the scroll is open to question in view of the lack of reference to a new covenant or community. Yet the dualism of light and darkness is not attested in Judaism outside the scrolls. Reference to the "Prince of the Congregation" in 5:1 and the citation of Balaam's oracle in chap. 12 constitute parallels with CD 7:19–20. Since 1QM 7:3–4 specifically bars young boys

and women from the battle, the scroll seems to presuppose that there were such people in the community (cf. 1QSa), and hence it seems that the scroll was not designed only for a celibate settlement.

The *Rule of the Community* promises not to lay hands on the men of the pit until the day of vengeance (1QS 10:19). It is quite possible that the *War Scroll* was intended precisely for that day. It was not, however, a realistic guide to warfare and is primarily concerned with matters of ritual and purity. The impracticality of the regulations is shown by the fact that "the men of the *serek*" (i.e., the fighters) are 40 to 50 years old, while those who guard the arms and prepare the provisions are 25 to 30 (7:1–3). Great attention is paid to the role of the priests. The purity of the camp was required because "holy angels are with their hosts" (7:6; cf. 12:7–8). Ultimately their hope was that God would raise among the angels the authority of Michael and the dominion of Israel among all flesh (17:7). Like the book of Daniel, the influence of which it shows at many points, the scroll relied on divine and angelic aid rather than on military power.

2. Other Texts. The *War Scroll* is perhaps the most obvious example of the affinity of the newly discovered scrolls with the apocalypses. The apocalypses which make up *1 Enoch* are found in several (Aramaic) copies at Qumran, (with the exception of the Similitudes, *1 Enoch* 37–71). Some of these copies are older than the Qumran community (see Milik 1976). Fragments of a related work, "the Book of Giants" is also found there, and fragments of a "book of Noah" and (possibly) of Lamech have been found in Cave 1 (DJD 1:84–87). In addition to the canonical book of Daniel, a number of related "Danielic" writings have been found. Milik (1956) has published fragments of the *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4QPrNab), which may have been a source for Daniel 4, and of 4QpsDaniel ar, which apparently contained a review of history from the Flood followed by a prediction with an eschatological conclusion. See NABONIDUS, PRAYER OF (4QPrNab). He also mentions a document which includes one or more visions. The visionary encounters four trees, of which the first identifies itself as Babylon. Milik speculates that they represent four kingdoms. Another unpublished composition, 4Q*243*, has been labelled 4QPsDan A, although it is not clearly related to Daniel at all. This latter text is noteworthy for mention of one who will be called "Son of God." Milik thinks the reference is to a Seleucid king, but Fitzmyer thinks rather of a Jewish messianic figure (Fitzmyer 1979: 92). Other apocalyptic or related pseudepigrapha include *Jubilees* (several copies), an Aramaic *Apocryphon of Levi*, and fragments related to some of the *Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs*, including a Heb parallel to the *Testament of Naphtali*, relating the genealogy of Bilhah.

Despite the evident interest in apocalypses and related texts at Qumran, the library has yielded no example of an apocalypse which was previously unknown and is likely to have been composed within the sect. There are, however, a few fragmentary works whose genre is uncertain but which may be apocalypses. The most important of these is 4QAmram (Milik 1972; Kobelski 1981: 24–36). This Aramaic document is introduced as "a copy of the book of the words of the vision of Amram son of Qahat, son of Levi: everything that he made known to his sons and that he commanded them on the day of his death . . ." It is then a testament rather than an apocalypse, but it contains a report of a dream vision in which Amram saw two supernatural beings contesting over him. One of these was called Melchiresa, who rules over darkness. The other rules over light. If Milik has reconstructed the text correctly, each figure had three names: the first called Belial, Prince of Darkness, Melchiresa, and the second called Michael, Prince of Light, Melchizedek. It is then an exceptionally full statement of the dualistic mythology which underlies 11QMelch and the opposition of light and darkness in 1QS and 1QM.

The exceptional importance of the document comes from its early date—early or mid 2d century B.C.E. It is likely then to have been composed before the foundation of the Qumran community, although the dualism of light and darkness is only attested in ancient Judaism in the Qumran scrolls.

Another quasi-apocalyptic Aramaic text is the Description of the New Jerusalem (1Q*32*; 2Q*24*; 5Q*15*; there are further fragments from Caves 4 and 11; see DJD 3:184–93). This is a vision of the ideal city in which the visionary is guided by an angel. The literary prototype is clearly Ezekiel 40–48. Another unpublished work attributed to Ezekiel will reportedly be published by Strugnell under the sigla 4Q*384–90*. Milik (1976: 254) refers to it as an "Apocalypse of Ten Jubilees." It evidently bears some resemblance to 11QMelch and to the Pesher on the Periods, but its literary form is as yet uncertain. The Book of Mysteries (1Q*27*, also composed of fragments from Cave 4), speaks of "the mystery to come" and proceeds to give the signs that these things will come to pass. A fragmentary text from Cave 4 reports a vision of Samuel which shows some affinity with Daniel (God will raise up a rock and a kingdom which people of all lands will know). A very fragmentary text, 6Q*14*, is labelled "an apocalyptic text" by the editors for no apparent reason. Another allegedly eschatological text (which may not, in fact, be such) is 4QMess ar, the so-called "Elect of God" text. This Aramaic fragment is a horoscopic prediction of the life of an individual who is called the "Elect of God," but that title is not necessarily messianic. The reference may be to Noah (so Fitzmyer 1965). See also ARAMAIC "MESSIANIC" TEXT (4Qmess ar). It should be noted that such compositions as 11QMelch and 4Q2Ezekiel (see E above) are also closely related to apocalyptic literature.

I. Miscellaneous Compositions

Several other categories of literature are represented in the Qumran library. These include:

sapiential works such as "The Wiles of the Wicked Woman" (4Q*184*, *DJD* 5:82–85), which is similar to the warning of Proverbs 1–9, and other admonitions (4Q*185* and the unpublished 4Q*371*);

horoscopes: 4Q*186*, written in archaic Heb letters (with some Gk ones) from left to right, comments on physical and psychological features, assigns portions in the "houses" of light and darkness, and specifies astrological signs (4Qmess ar also falls in this category);

list of treasures: one of the most puzzling of all the Qumran documents is the *Copper Scroll* (3Q*15*; *DJD* 3: 201–302). See also COPPER SCROLL (3Q15). Two scrolls

were discovered which appear to have originally formed a single plaque of copper-based metal. On this was inscribed, in postbiblical Hebrew, a list of 64 deposits of gold, silver, aromatics, and mss. Because of the enormous amount involved, Milik, the editor, was convinced that the list was fictional. He also argued that the author was not an Essene, because of the lack of distinctively Essene features but also because of the language and orthography. Others, however, (e.g., Golb 1985) have argued that the list records the disposition of the treasures of the Jerusalem temple. There is no close parallel to the *Copper Scroll* in the Qumran library, but Milik notes a similar preoccupation with detail in such imaginative documents as the Description of the New Jerusalem and the *War Scroll;*

a quasi-medical text? An obscure fragment, 6QTherapeia, is interpreted by Allegro (1985: 235–40) as "a clinical report on some aspects of Essene therapy." This fragment consists of ten lines, and Allegro's published photo is largely illegible. Allegro's interpretation has now been decisively refuted by Naveh (1986), who suggests that the document in question is merely a writing exercise.

J. History of the Community

The origin of the Qumran settlement is dated on archaeological grounds to the second half of the 2d century B.C.E. (probably prior to the reign of John Hyrcanus, 135–104 B.C.E., but not by much; de Vaux 1973: 5). Most scholars date the activity of the Teacher of Righteousness to this period. See also QUMRAN, KHIRBET; TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS. The major dissenters from this consensus (Dupont-Sommer 1973, who favors the 1st century B.C.E., and Driver [1951] and Rabin [1957], who argued for a 1st century C.E. date) have found few followers in recent years. There have been several idiosyncratic proposals in recent years (Thiering [1979]; Eisenmann [1983], diversely, for an Herodian date; Golb [1985] denies that the library belonged to a Qumran settlement), but they have made little impression on the scholarly debates. The dominant consensus (Vermes, Cross, Milik) sees the Essenes as an offshoot of the Hasidim of the Maccabean period which broke away when the Hasmoneans took over the high priesthood, to which they had no traditional right. The "Wicked Priest," who appears as the adversary of the Teacher in the pesharim is usually identified as Jonathan Maccabeus, alternatively as Simon (so Cross). (For a very skeptical review of the discussion, see Callaway 1988).

The primary internal evidence for the history of the community is found in the *Damascus Document* (CD) and the pesharim. Only CD provides a narrative account of its origin. According to CD 1 God caused "a root of planting to spring from Israel and Aaron" 390 years after he delivered them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. It has been argued, for metrical reasons, that the chronological data are added as a gloss (Davies 1983: 63), but even if this be granted, their evidence cannot be disregarded because they preserve the sect's own recollection of its history. The chronological precision of the information is questionable. The figure 390 is taken from Ezek 4:9. If it is extended by 20 years until the arrival of the Teacher, by 40 for his career, and by another 40 from his death until the overthrow of his opponents (CD 20:15), we arrive at the classic figure of 490 (the "seventy weeks of years" of Daniel 9). It is then a schematic figure which gives at best an approximate date in the early 2d or late 3d century B.C.E. CD 1 goes on to say that this "plant root" was "like blind men" for 20 years until the arrival of the Teacher of Righteousness.

Some scholars (Murphy-O'Connor, Davies) have argued that the origin of the movement can be traced back further to the Babylonian exile. Their arguments rest primarily on the interpretation of disputed passages in CD. In CD 3 God is said to establish his covenant with a remnant, and this statement follows directly on the description of the Babylonian exile. In the context of CD, however, this passage must surely be understood in light of the chronological data of CD 1: i.e., the new covenant should be placed "390 years" after the Exile. Other writings from the 2d century (the Apocalypse of Weeks in *1 Enoch, Jubilees*) skip over the postexilic period in a similar way. Again the phrase *šby yiśrā'ēl* (CD 4:2–3; 6:5) is translated by Murphy-O'Connor as "the returnees of Israel" (Davies takes it as "the captivity of Israel"). CD 6:5 says that those who dug the well of the Law were the *šby yiśrā'ēl* who went out from the land of Judah and sojourned in the land of Damascus. These are men of understanding from Aaron and men of wisdom from Israel and must be identified with the plant root of CD 1. In 4:2–3 the priests are the *šby yiśrā'ēl* who went forth from the land of Judah. In these cases, however, the "going out" is not the indiscriminate deportation of exiles but the voluntary separation of a reform movement. Consequently, most scholars translate *šby yiśrā'ēl* as "penitents of Israel" (compare the phrase *šby peša'*, "those who turn from sin" [CD 2:5; 20:17]). Moreover, the "plant root" is explicitly said to be a penitential movement in CD 1:8. The geographical significance of Damascus remains in dispute. It is variously taken as Babylon, Qumran, a place or state of separation from Jewish society, or literally as Damascus. The identification with Babylon depends on the broader theory that the movement originated in Babylon, and in view of the symbolic language of CD a literal reference to Damascus is improbable. The reference to Damascus symbolizes separation from Jewish society, whether Qumran is specifically intended or not. The general sense is clarified by CD 8:16, which refers to the *šby yiśrā'ēl* "who departed from the way of the people" (for a critique of the Babylonian hypothesis, as based on CD, see Knibb 1983).

If the development of the movement is located in Palestine in the early 2d century, it must be seen in the context of other developments at that time. The Apocalypse of Weeks (*1 En.* 93:1–10; 91:11–17) speaks of the emergence of "the chosen righteous from the eternal plant of righteousness" at the end of the seventh "week." The Animal Apocalypse (*1 Enoch* 83–91) speaks of "small lambs" who begin to open their eyes and who find a leader in a horned ram, which is evidently to be identified with Judas Maccabeus. *Jubilees* 23:26 tells how "the children will begin to study the laws" in a time of crisis. A group of wise teachers *(maśkîlîm)* play a key role in the prophecy of Daniel 10–12. Many scholars (e.g., Hengel) take all of these passages and also CD 1 as references to the Hasidim, who are known from the books of Maccabees (1 Macc 2:42; 7:12–13; 2 Macc 14:6). We have little direct information about the

Hasidim. They were militant supporters of Judas Maccabeus, and they sought peace with the high priest Alcimus, who betrayed them. Their support of Judas Maccabeus is compatible with the lambs of the Animal Apocalypse, but scarcely with Daniel or CD. The Maccabean books tell us nothing of the beliefs or organization of the Hasidim. Nonetheless, there was evidently some relationship between the various reform groups of the Maccabean era. It may be that "Hasidim" was a loose umbrella term which covered more positions than are indicated in the books of Maccabees. It is not possible, however, to relate all the references to groups in the Maccabean era to a single organization. Since CD refers to a "new covenant," this movement at least was formally organized. The Enoch apocalypses, by contrast, make no reference to the organization of their groups and so can scarcely be identified with the plant root of CD, although they were related to it (contra Davies 1987: 107–47, who speaks of the Apocalypse of Weeks and *Jubilees* as "Essene texts.")

It is not fully clear from CD at what point the new covenant was formed. In CD 1 two stages are distinguished, the emergence of the "plant root" and the arrival of the Teacher 20 years later. In CD 3 it is said that God established his covenant with a remnant; and when they sinned, God forgave them and established a sure house for them. If two distinct stages are meant here, as in CD 1, then the covenant was probably established before the Teacher arrived. In CD 6, however, one continuous process is envisaged. The elect group from Aaron and Israel dig the well of the Law with the "staffs" provided by the interpreter of the Law (presumably the historical Teacher; CD 6:11 refers to another eschatological figure who will teach righteousness at the end of days). In CD the Teacher is seen as confirming and establishing the covenant, so that there is no discontinuity with the "plant" which preceded him. It is not clear how far the movement had separated itself from the rest of Judaism before the arrival of the Teacher. Most scholars assume that at least the settlement at Qumran came about after his arrival.

In CD the Teacher is opposed by the Man of Scoffing who "let flow over Israel the waters of falsehood" (1:14–15). This figure is elsewhere known as "the Man of the Lie." He is mentioned again in 8:13; 19:26; and 20:15. The latter passage refers to the end of "all the men of war who went with the Man of the Lie." He also appears in the Pesher on Habakkuk 2:1–2; 5:8–12; and 10:9–13. There he is grouped with the traitors who "were not faithful to the covenant of God" (2:3–4) and rejected the words of the Teacher. He is also said to have rejected the Torah and rebuked the Teacher in a council where the "house of Absalom" failed to oppose him (5:8–12) and to have established a congregation with deceit (10:10). He is also mentioned in the Pesher on Psalm 37, where he is said to have led many astray and caused them not to listen to the Teacher (a further alleged reference in 1QpMic 10:2 is not actually attested—see Horgan 1979: 60).

The pesharim also refer to an opponent of the Teacher called "the Wicked Priest" (1QpHab [1:13]; 8:8–13; 8:16–9:2; 9:9–12; [9:16–10:1]; 10:3–5; 11:4–8; 12:2–10; 4QpPs 37 4:8–10). We are told that this figure "was called by the true name at the beginning of his course, but when he ruled in Israel he became arrogant, abandoned God, and betrayed the statutes for the sake of wealth" (1QpHab 8:9–13). He is also said to have persecuted the Teacher, when the latter was observing the Day of Atonement (11:4–8). Several passages predict his punishment at the hand of God.

Some scholars assume that the Wicked Priest and the Man of the Lie are one and the same (e.g., Vermes). Jeremias and Stegemann have argued strongly that they are distinct. The Man of the Lie is the leader of a group which rejected the authority of the Teacher. The Wicked Priest is a high priest of Judaism as a whole. While both are enemies of the Teacher, only the priest is accused of defiling the sanctuary. The feud with the Man of the Lie concerns the true teaching. It appears then that the Teacher was involved in two disputes, one with the high priest and another with a rival teacher.

The points of dispute between the "new covenant" and "all Israel" can be inferred from CD. All Israel erred with regard to "his holy sabbaths and his glorious feasts" (CD 3:14–15), i.e., the cultic calendar. It is well-known that the Qumran community held to the 364 day calendar, which is attested in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Temple Scroll*. Furthermore, CD 4:15–5:15 expounds the "three nets" in which Belial ensnared Israel—lust (by marrying two women in their lifetime), riches, and defilement of the sanctuary by failure to observe purity laws. Much light will be thrown on the points of dispute between the sect and other Jews by the publication of 4QMMT, supposedly a letter from a leader of the sect (possibly the Teacher of Righteousness) to a high priest (possibly the Wicked Priest). From the preliminary description of this document it seems that the main issue concerned the cultic calendar, ritual purity, and marriage laws.

Many scholars have supposed that the occasion for the break away of the sect was the assumption of the high priesthood by the Hasmoneans, either by Jonathan, who was appointed high priest by the Syrian king Alexander Balas in 152 B.C.E. (so Vermes, Milik, and most scholars) or by Simon, who was both recognized by a Syrian king and acclaimed by the priests and people in 140 B.C.E. (so Cross). Recently some scholars have also held that the Teacher of Righteousness was himself high priest during the interval between the death of Alcimus and the accession of Jonathan. (Stegemann; Murphy-O'Connor says he was de facto high priest; Josephus, *Ant* 20.10.3 §237 says that the office was vacant for seven years. Elsewhere he says that Judas Maccabeus had functioned as high priest and that the interval was only four years, *Ant* 12.112 §434; 13.2.3 §46.) The Teacher is called "the priest" in 4QpPs37 2:19; 3:15 (compare 1QpHab 2:8), and it has been claimed that this absolute designation is elsewhere reserved for the high priest in the postexilic period (Stegemann, Murphy-O'Connor). This claim is not justified, however (see Collins 1989: 166). Ezra is called "the priest," and he is not generally thought to have been a high priest. Moreover, the succession to the high priesthood is not an issue in CD (nor in what has been made public of 4QMMT). In 1QpHab 8:8 we are told that the Wicked Priest was called by the name of truth at the beginning of his course and only "betrayed the statutes" when he ruled in Israel and became arrogant. It would seem then that he was not considered to be illegitimate because of his descent or to

have usurped the rightful office of the Teacher. Rather, the objections to him were that he violated the *halakôt* of the sect by his wealth and impurity (1QpHab 8:10–13; 12:8–9). Besides, the Wicked Priest took the offensive against the sect. We are told that he pursued the Teacher to his place of exile on the Day of Atonement "to swallow them up and to make them stumble on the fast day, their restful sabbath" (1QpHab 11:4–8; cf. 4QpPs37 4:8–10). From this it would seem that the Wicked Priest attempted to suppress the observance of the heterodox calendar. The polemic against him in the pesharim may be a reflex of his own hostility to the sect. Yet, from 1QpHab8 it would seem that better things had been expected of him. If the followers of the Teacher had been among the Hasidim who supported Jonathan, their disappointment would be understandable. (On the Teacher and the high priesthood see Burgmann 1980. Van der Woude [1982] has proposed that each reference to "Wicked Priest" in the Habakkuk pesher refers to a different individual. While this is not persuasive, it is possible that the title is used for more than one of the Hasmonean high priests.)

The Man of the Lie is depicted in the scrolls as one who rejected the Teacher and caused others to do likewise. From CD 20:11–13 it appears that those who "turned back with the men of scoffing had been members of the new covenant. It would seem then that the advent of the Teacher brought about a split in the movement that had existed up to that point. The only reason given is that the Man of the Lie refused to accept the teaching authority of the Teacher. This may have been a matter of personal rivalry, or may have resulted from a new proposal of the Teacher (e.g., the establishment of the Qumran settlement, so Murphy-O'Connor).

Scholars have understood this split in the movement in various ways. In Stegemann's reconstruction, the followers of the Man of the Lie became the Pharisees (those who broke off). Murphy-O'Connor and Davies suppose that the followers of the Teacher were confined to Qumran, while those of the Man of the Lie became the "non-Qumran Essenes" (cf. Garcia-Martinez 1985, who argues that the Essenes originated in Palestine in apocalyptic circles in the early 2d century, but that the Qumran community resulted from a schism in the Essene movement). The latter suggestion is implausible because CD clearly comes from the Teacher's movement. Yet it legislates for life in camps and in towns—i.e., in several settlements. Moreover, the accounts of the Essenes in Philo and Josephus have most affinities with the quasi-monastic *Rule of the Community* which is presumably the rule of the Qumran settlement; yet they both say that the Essenes were found throughout the land. There is no evidence of a schism between the Qumran community and other Essenes. Stegemann's suggestion on the origin of the Pharisees is attractive but cannot be verified conclusively. There are indications that the withdrawal to the desert was not entirely voluntary. In 1QH 4:8–9 the hymnist (presumably the Teacher of Righteousness) says that he was driven out like a bird from its nest. The retreat to Qumran, "to expiate iniquity" (1QS 8:3), may also have been a way of escaping from hostile opponents, some of whom persisted in their pursuit (1QpHab 11:4–8).

From the archaeology of Qumran it appears that the community attracted an influx of new settlers in the early first century B.C.E.—possibly Pharisees fleeing from Alexander Jannaeus (who appears as the "Lion of Wrath" in the pesher on Nahum). The site of Qumran was abandoned for several decades at the end of the 1st century B.C.E. after it had been destroyed, perhaps by the earthquake of 31 B.C.E., perhaps by the Parthian invasion of 40 B.C.E. The settlement was finally destroyed by the Romans during the First Jewish Revolt (66–70 C.E.).

K. Character and Significance

The identification of the Qumran community as an Essene settlement is well established. See ESSENES. Yet the character of the community as it emerges from the scrolls is very different from that conveyed by Philo and Josephus in their descriptions of the Essenes. The ascetic tendencies of the community arise not from the pursuit of philosophical mysticism or from the dualism of mind and body but from the observance of priestly purity laws, the dualism of light and darkness, and the expectation of divine judgment.

The priestly character of the community is pervasive and is reflected in its leadership and even in the name "sons of Zadok." (See Davies 1987: 51–72, on the limitations of what can be inferred from this term.) It is also reflected in the sense of participation in the angelic world, which is evident in hymnic compositions, such as the *Hodayot* and 4QShirShabb. Some of the most fundamental points at issue between the community and other strands of Judaism pertained to cultic and purity laws—notably the calendar. In the scrolls, however, these issues are viewed in a particular context (see Collins 1984: 115–41). Right observance depends on right revelation, which in this case is provided by the inspired exegesis of the Teacher (and presumably of his successors). The revelation of Qumran also contains an understanding of the world and of history which is enshrined in the *Rule of the Community*. The dualistic opposition of the two spirits provides a new context even for such a traditional institution as the covenant. The persistent importance of this dualism is shown by the *War Scroll*, which was copied in the Roman period. While other documents (CD, the *Hodayot*), do not expound the dualism of the two spirits, they also ascribe a role to Belial as a supernatural enemy of God and thereby attest the essential structure of dualism.

We have repeatedly noted the eschatological orientation of the scrolls. Several documents attest a periodization of history, culminating in the penultimate age of wrath, in which the community lived. The settlement in the desert was supposed to prepare the imminent way of the Lord (1Q58), and rule books were prepared for the community of the end of days (1QSa) and for the final war. The scrolls frequently refer to the coming of the messiahs of Aaron and Israel—the eschatological counterparts of the priest and the overseer of the actual community. We should expect that the level of eschatological fervor rose and fell during the two centuries of the community's existence, but attempts to trace development in the extant literature have not been successful. The Pesher on Habakkuk shows an awareness of the problem of the delay of the end times, but insists that all of God's times will come in their fixed order (7:9–14). While the *War Scroll* cannot be simply

assigned to the Roman period, the late copies of it show the continued vitality of eschatological hope. Whether that hope led the community to participate in the revolt against Rome in the belief that the day of vengeance had come, remains a tantalizing but unanswerable question.

The primary importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls is that they greatly enrich our understanding of Judaism around the turn of the era. Not only do they preserve the actual documents of a sect which had been known through second (or third) hand accounts; they also preserve a range of documents which were not strictly sectarian but illustrate the variety of Judaism. In recent years increasing attention has been paid to the presence of nonsectarian material in the Qumran library (conceivably including the entire Aramaic corpus). In some cases this material sheds light on the pre-Maccabean period, from which we have so little material. The scrolls also show that variety in text and canon persisted at the turn of the era and help dispel the mirage of normative Judaism in this period.

Christian scholars have naturally been preoccupied with the relevance of the scrolls for the NT. Sensational attempts to find direct references to Jesus or John the Baptist in the scrolls have not entirely disappeared but have been thoroughly discredited. The significance of the scrolls for the NT is less direct, but more far-reaching. The scrolls attest another Jewish community which, like the early Christians, lived in the belief that the end of days was at hand and that its struggle was with principalities and powers, and which reinterpreted the Scriptures in that context. There were of course great differences between the priestly Teacher and the miracle worker from Galilee, between the pursuit of purity at Qumran and the Christian mission to the Gentiles. Yet the scrolls have provided a wealth of comparative material which will continue to occupy NT scholars for the foreseeable future (Stendahl 1957; Vermes 1981: 211–25).

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JOHN J. COLLINS

DEAD, ABODE OF THE. Several terms are used to denote the abode of the dead in the Hebrew Bible, and they often occur in parallelism to one another. The most common is *šĕʾôl.* Both *šĕʾôl* and *māwet,* "Death" are often used in Hebrew to refer to the realm of death as well as to the personified chthonic power behind death and all that is associated with it. See MOT. Hebrew *ʾereṣ* is simply "earth" yet, as with Ug *ʾarṣ* and Akk *erṣetu,* it too can designate the netherworld. The words *šaḥat* and *bôr* both refer to the abode of the dead as the "Pit." Hebrew *ʾăbaddôn* is another poetic name for the underworld usually translated "Perdition" or "(place of) Destruction."

Several terms are used to describe the abode of the dead in the NT as well. The word *hadēs* most commonly translates *šĕʾôl* in the LXX and is used ten times in the NT. It shares many of the physical characteristics of Sheol, and it too can designate either the underworld or the personified lord of the underworld. The NT also refers to the abode of the dead as the "Abyss" *(abussos).* 2 Pet 2:4 mentions Tartaros, which is well known from Greek mythology for its great depth. GEHENNA is also used to describe the eschatological hell of fire where the ungodly are punished after death.

A. Etymology of Sheol
B. Sheol in the Hebrew Bible
1. Depiction of the Place Sheol
2. Personification of Sheol
3. The Inhabitants of Sheol
C. Other Designations for the Abode of the Dead
D. Hades In the New Testament

A. Etymology of Sheol

Sheol is the most common word used in the Hebrew Bible to refer to the abode of the dead, occurring some 66 times (including repointing MT's *šĕʾālâ* in Isa 7:11 to *šĕʾôlâ* following the reading *eis hadēn* in Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and most commentators). Interestingly, Sheol is not found in any of the cognate languages. There is no description of any extrabiblical myths about Sheol as we

have with other chthonic figures mentioned in the Hebrew Bible such as Mot and Reshep. There is an extrabiblical reference to *šḗʾôl* in Cowley's Aramaic papyri #71 (*CAP* 180–81; cf. Sir 41:4 and Yadin 1965: 41).

Because of the significance of *šḗʾôl* there has been a long history of scholarly debate concerning its etymology with suggestions ranging far and wide. No proposal has met with unanimous consensus. The following are just a few of the etymologies which have been advocated. A more nearly complete list may be found in Spronk (1986: 66–67).

(1) Delitzsch suggested a putative Akk *šuʾālu* meaning "underworld" (1881: 121; 1886: 145 n. 2) and was followed by many (e.g., Jastrow 1897: 165–70; Gunkel 1895: 154; and others; cf. Tromp 1969: 21). The Akkadian has been misanalyzed (see the critiques of Jensen 1890; Heidel 1949: 173 and esp. von Soden 1970), and thus this widely held proposal should be abandoned.

(2) Jensen (1890: 131) pointed out the equation *ši-la-an* = *e-reb* ^{d}*UTU-ši* and connected biblical *šḗʾôl* with the descent of Šamaš, the sun (deity), into the underworld (cf. *AHW* 1235). This proposal is far from certain and was even retracted at a later time by Jensen himself. This need not detract from the large role which the sun deity (e.g., Šamaš in Mesopotamia and Šapšu at Ugarit) played in underworld activities and the cult of the dead (see Lewis 1989: 35–46).

(3) Albright (1918: 209) noted how etymologists were handling *šḗʾôl* "somewhat gingerly" ever since Delitzsch's "unlucky adventure with an assumed *šuʾālu*." At first Albright (1918: 209–10) played it safe by looking to Akk *šaʾālu*, "to ask," "to decide," and thus *šḗʾôl* would be equivalent to "a place of decision (of fates)." Later however, Albright (1926: 151–52; cf. Baumgartner 1946: 233–35) was himself more adventurous, looking to Akk *šuʾara* to illuminate biblical *šḗʾôl* (supposing the interchange of *r* and *l*). According to Albright's view *šuʾara* would be a modified form of *šubaru/subartu*, which is associated with the Tammuz cult and equated with Ḫubur, the river of the netherworld (cf. Gelb 1944: 92–98; *CAD* Ḫ 219; *AHW* 352 s.v. *ḫubur*). This, too, is strained, and later we find Albright (1956: 257) embracing yet another analysis of *šḗʾôl*, namely, the place of ordeal/examination arising out of a forensic context (see (5) below).

(4) In 1946 and again in 1956 Koehler reacted against those looking for the etymology of *šḗʾôl* among Akkadian words and asserted that *šḗʾôl* is "a good simple Hebrew word." In *urhebräisch*, says Koehler, "there could have existed an ancient form **šḗʾô*, which is no longer extant" to which was added "the epenthetic final consonant *l*" resulting in the word *šḗʾôl*. Accordingly, concluded Koehler, *šḗʾôl* may be derived from the root *šʾh* (cf. nouns *šāʾôn*, *šēʾiyyâ*, *šēʾt*) and may denote a desolate or devastated place, which is best translated by "No Land" *(Unland)* designating a world "where are found shadowiness, decay, remoteness from God: Nothingness" (1956: 19–20; cf. KB, 935).

(5) The most plausible etymology for *šḗʾôl* is also the most obvious and the least strained, i.e., to derive it from the verb *šʾl*, "to ask, inquire." This proposal has been suggested on and off through the years with slightly different nuances. A. Jeremias (1887: 62, 109) suggested "Ort der Endscheidung/Ein(for)derung," yet this has not been adopted by many scholars. More likely are the following theses. Jastrow (1897: 169–70; cf. 1900: 82–105) and others (König 1933: 474; *IDB* 1: 787–88) suggested a place of inquiry referring to the practice of necromancy. Jastrow (1900: 89–92) found 28 times where *šʾl* is used of consulting oracles including references to consulting the spirits of the dead in Deut 18:11 and 1 Chr 10:13. Oppenheim (1956: 221–23) has argued that *šʾl* could also have the technical sense referring to necromancy in the story about Saul and the necromancer at Endor (1 Sam 28:6) and compares the roles of the *šāʾiltu*-priestess in Akkadian (cf. Lewis 1989: 104–17). One could also compare the use of *šʾl* in connection with the *tĕrāpîm* (Ezek 21:26), which van der Toorn (fc.) and others have connected to ancestral cults (cf. Akk *eṭemmē šaʾālu*, "to consult the spirits of the dead").

As mentioned in (2) above, Albright's last understanding of the etymology of *šḗʾôl* emphasized the underlying forensic aspect of the root *šʾl*. McCarter's (1973: 407–8) study of the river ordeal in ancient Israel concluded likewise that *šḗʾôl* may have originally meant "the place of interrogation." Finally, compare Rosenberg (1980: 8–12), who has provided the most detailed study of *šḗʾôl* to date. She too emphasizes the forensic aspect of the imagery underlying the use of *šḗʾôl* and suggests "a semantic development from inquire > call to account > punish."

B. Sheol in the Hebrew Bible

1. Depiction of the Place Sheol. We have few descriptive details of Sheol in comparison to the elaborate depictions of the underworld found in Egyptian and Mesopotamiam literature (Rosenberg 1980: 166–67). One thinks immediately of the Egyptian "guide books" for the dead in the underworld *(dat/duat)*, which lead the dead through various gates, portals, and caverns. The Mesopotamian story about the descent of Isthar into the netherworld describes the entrants' journey to "the land of no return" *(māt la târi)*, which is a place "bereft of light where their sustenance is dust and their food is clay." Gates and guardian gatekeepers are common to both traditions. For a discussion of the various names for the underworld in Mesopotamia, see Tallqvist (1934).

Sheol is typically depicted as a place to which one "goes down" *(yrd;* e.g., Num 16:30; Job 7:9; Isa 57:9; cf. Isa 29:4; Ps 88:3–4; *KTU* 1.161.21–22; 1.5.6.24–25; CAD A2: 216 s.v. *arādu*). It represents the lowest place imaginable (Deut 32:22; Isa 7:11) often used in contrast with the highest heavens (Amos 9:2; Ps 139:8; Job 11:8). To emphasize further the depth of Sheol we also find *šḗʾôl*, as well as *ʾereṣ* and *bôr* (see C below), modified by *taḥtît/taḥtiyyôt* (e.g., Deut 32:32; Ps 86:13; Ezek 31:14–18), usually translated "the lowest parts of the underworld." Sheol is often associated with various water images (Tromp 1969: 59–66). The best example of this imagery can be found in Jonah 2:3–6, which couples *šḗʾôl* with numerous terms for the chaotic waters including Sea *(yām/yammîm)*, River *(nāhār)*, breakers *(mišbārîm)*, waves *(gallîm)*, waters *(mayîm)*, and the deep *(tĕhôm)* (see Cross 1983: 159–67). Rosenberg (1980: 102–69) has noted the stereotypical fixed formulas employed in such passages (e.g., Jonah 2:3–6; Pss 42:8; 69:2–3, 15–16; 88:7–8). Building on the analysis of the river ordeal by McCarter (1973: 403–12) and Frymer-Kensky (1977), Rosenberg proposed that the water imagery has more to say

about divine judgment than about an actual description of the locale of *šĕʾôl*. Rosenberg's contributions to understanding the forensic context of *šĕʾôl* are many. Yet the crossing of water as part of one's travel to the underworld is too persistent in the ANE not to be underlying the imagery of biblical Sheol to some degree, even if the water imagery is used primarily in forensic contexts. Compare *ḫubur* in Akkadian (CAD Ḫ, 219), which is a designation for both the place of the river ordeal and the netherworld.

The gates of Sheol are mentioned several times in the Hebrew Bible (Isa 38:10; Pss 9:14—Eng 9:13; 107:18; Job 38:17; cf. Jer 15:7). As mentioned above, gates and guardian gatekeepers are prominent in the Egyptian and Mesopotamian conceptions of the netherworld. The same concept continues in later Jewish (Wis 16:13; *3 Macc.* 5:51) and Christian (Matt 16:18; cf. Rev 1:18) literature. Similarly, Jonah 2:7—Eng 2:6 describes the "bars" *(bĕrîḥîm)* of the underworld (cf. Job 38:10; the common translation "bars of Sheol" in Job 17:16 [cf. RSV] is doubtful). Both of these images have to do with the imprisoning power of Sheol and its impassable nature, which prevents escape. Compare Job 7:9, *yôrēd šĕʾôl lōʾ yaʿaleh,* "he who goes down to Sheol does not come up" and the Akkadian description of the netherworld as *māt la târi,* "the land of no return." See also BELIAL. Compare also the ropes and snares of Sheol/Death (2 Sam 22:6 = Ps 18:5–6—Eng 18:4–5).

Darkness is a key characteristic of netherworlds (Held 1973: 179 n. 53), and this holds true for Sheol as well. It occurs in parallelism with *ḥōšek,* "darkness" (Job 17:13; cf. Lam 3:6; Job 18:18) as does *ʾereṣ,* "underworld" (Pss 88:13; 143:3). One of the etymologies proposed above would see *šĕʾôl* as the place where one engages in necromancy. If this etymology is valid, it would be significant to note that necromantic rituals regularly took place at night (1 Sam 28:8; Isa 45:18–19; 65:4), the time during which it was thought appropriate to consult those who live in darkness (Lewis 1989: 12, 114, 142–43, 160). Sheol is also characterized by dust (Job 17:16; 21:26; Ps 7:6—Eng 7:5; cf. Gen 3:19) and quite often silence (Pss 31:17–18; 94:17; 115:17; Isa 47:5; cf. Allegro 1968: 82–84; Ps 28:1).

Sheol is intimately connected with the grave, although the degree to which it is identified with the grave has been debated. On one extreme we have those who see the grave behind every reference to Sheol, while on the other extreme Sheol and the grave are kept totally separate. An example of the former view is that of Harris, who has repeatedly emphasized (1961, 1980, 1986) that Sheol always means simply "grave" and never "underworld." The problem, notes Harris (1980: 892), "is the theological one." "Does the OT teach, in contradiction to the NT, that all men after death go to a dark and dismal place where the dead know nothing and are cut off from God?" The fact that "both good men (Jacob, Gen 37:35) and bad men (Korah, Dathan, etc., Num 16:30) go there" presents insurmountable difficulties. If Sheol does not mean simply "grave," asserts Harris, then all we are left with is the early Church's inadequate notion of a *limbus patrum* (1986: 59; 1980: 892). The weakness of Harris' view is his lack of any appreciation for the solidarity and shared legacy which the biblical authors had in common with their ANE environment (Harris does not cite any extrabiblical literature from either Mesopotamia, Ugarit, or Egypt). There are other ways of addressing the difficulties which lie behind the question of who goes down to Sheol (see B.3 below).

Of a less extreme nature is Pedersen (1926: 461–62), who asserts that Sheol is the netherworld, but:

> The ideas of the grave and of Sheol cannot be separated . . . The dead are at the same time in the grave and in Sheol . . . Sheol is the entirety into which all graves are merged . . . Sheol should be the sum of the graves . . . The "Ur"-grave we might call Sheol . . . Where there is grave, there is Sheol, and where there is Sheol, there is grave.

Heidel (1949: 170–91) also demonstrates how Sheol refers to the underworld as well as the grave.

An example of the other end of the spectrum is Rosenberg (1980: 168–69), who argues that Pedersen and others have been too influenced by the extrabiblical material which describes the grave as forming "a veritable continuum with the underworld." "The concept of the grave and of Sheol or its semantic equivalents," remarks Rosenberg, "were consistently kept apart . . . no concept of 'Ur' grave is attested in the Bible." Sheol in this view is simply the underworld.

2. Personification of Sheol. In the Hebrew Bible the word for death *(māwet/môt)* often refers to the realm of death as well as to death personified (see MOT). The same can be said of Sheol. Zimmerli (1983: 152) comments that "the lack of the article in all the occurrences [of Sheol] in the OT would certainly suggest that the word still had something of the ring of a proper name about it." There seems to have been a fluidity between Sheol/Death as a person and a locality. We might mention a similar notion in Mesopotamia where *ḫubur* and *irkallu* are used as both a term for the netherworld and as a name of a deity (CAD Ḫ, 219; I, 178; see Hades discussion below). Sheol, like Death, is described in the Hebrew Bible as having an insatiable appetite (Isa 5:14; Hab 2:5; Prov 27:20; 30:15b–16) which is remarkably reminiscent of Mot's voracious appetite in *CTA* 5.1.19–20; 5.2.2–4. Compare also the swallowing imagery used of Sheol (Prov 1:12; cf. Ps 141:7). Isaiah 25:8 plays on this imagery and turns the tables by having Yahweh swallow up Death forever.

Twice in Hos 13:14 Yahweh is described as ransoming Ephraim from the grasp of personified Sheol and Death (Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea* AB, 639–40). In Isa 14:9 Sheol seems to be the personified monarch of the kingdom of the dead, who rouses the shades of the dead to greet the tyrant of Babylon. Compare also Isa 28:15, 18, where the leaders are accused of making covenants with Sheol// Death (Irwin 1977: 26–29).

Ancient Near Eastern names contain theophoric elements and thus many scholars (e.g., Parker *IDBSup,* 224; cf. Westermann 1984: 328–29; Sarna, *Genesis* JPS, 36) analyze the personal name Methushael in Gen 4:18 as "Man of [the god] Sheol." Others, however (e.g., Cassuto 1961: 233; Speiser, *Genesis* AB, 36; *HALAT,* 618), would analyze Methushael as "man of god/El." See also METHUSHAEL.

3. The Inhabitants of Sheol. The denizens of Sheol are called the REPHAIM. A great deal of literature has been written on the nature of the Rephaim especially since the

publication of Ugaritic texts where they are mentioned extensively (*CTA* 20–22 = *Ugaritica* V and *KTU* 1.161). See (*IDBSup*, 739) and L'Heureux (1979) for bibliography. On *KTU* 1.161, a funerary liturgy which invokes the Rephaim, see Lewis 1989: 5–46.

A great deal of attention has also been paid to the nature of those who go to Sheol. It has commonly been asserted that Sheol in the Hebrew Bible is the place where all the dead, both righteous (Jacob and Samuel being given as prime examples) and wicked, eventually reside (e.g., Gray, *Kings* OTL, 102; Pedersen 1926: 461–62; cf. Harris cited above in B.1). Other see Sheol as the habitation of the wicked only. Thus Heidel (1949: 184–91) asserts that "there is no passage which proves that *Shĕʾôl* was ever employed as a designation for the gathering-place of the departed spirits of the godly." Similarly Rosenberg (1980: 178–252) proposes that Sheol is associated with the concept of premature or "evil death," which was distinguished from the common fate of all humans. On the other hand, "natural death is accompanied by unification with kin, and Sheol is never mentioned" in these contexts. The place where one is "gathered to his/her kin" is never specified says Rosenberg, yet "it is never jointly mentioned with Sheol." "Evil death . . . results in delegation to Sheol, which is never described as an ancestral meeting place." Rosenberg does not go as far as Heidel, and she admits that in some contexts Sheol may connote the meeting place of all the dead (cf. Ps 89:49—Eng 89:48). Nevertheless, its most common usage is a place for the wicked.

Another pertinent question is whether those who resided in the underworld could be consulted through necromancy. It is commonly asserted that there was no cult of the dead in ancient Israel because such practices were expressly forbidden (Deut 18:11) and, furthermore, "the dead know nothing" (Qoh 9:4–6, 10; cf. Job 7:9; 14:21). Yet the Wisdom tradition is not consistent with other texts which show that the dead were in fact consulted (e.g., 1 Samuel 28; cf. the designation of the spirits of the dead as *yiddĕʿōnî* < *ydʿ*, "to know"). While the Yahwism which became normative may have been resolute in its condemnation of cults of the dead, such practices were carried out in some forms of popular religion in ancient Israelite society (see ANCESTOR WORSHIP; Lewis 1989).

C. Other Designations for the Abode of the Dead

While the most common word to designate the abode of the dead in the Hebrew Bible is *šĕʾôl*, numerous other terms were also employed as semantic equivalents (cf. Tromp 1969: 23–128 for a complete list of various suggestions all of which cannot be substantiated). Often these terms are used in parallelism with *šĕʾôl*. They are found in contexts similar to those used of *šĕʾôl*, including similar phraseology and imagery. Heb *māwet*, "Death," like *šĕʾôl*, is often used to refer to the realm of death (Ps 6:6—Eng 6:5; Prov 7:27) as well as to the personified chthonic power behind death and to all that is associated with it such as disease, sterility, drought, etc. (Hab 2:5; Job 18:13–14; 28:22; Isa 28:15, 18; Hos 13:14; Ps 49:15; Cant 8:6). See MOT for a description of the Canaanite deity of death and the underworld who goes by the same name. Heb *ʾereṣ* is simply "earth" yet, as with Ug *ʾarṣ* and Akk *erṣetu*, it too can designate the netherworld (*HALAT*, 88; CAD E: 310–11; *AHW* 245 s.v. *erṣetu;* Tromp 1969: 7, 23–46; Rosenberg 1980: 29–52; Tallqvist 1934: 8–11). Like *šĕʾôl*, *ʾereṣ* is also modified by *taḥtît/taḥtiyyôt* (cf. Zimmerli 1983: 39) to denote the depths of the netherworld. Hebrew *šaḥat* (e.g., Ps 16:10; Job 17:13–14; Isa 38:17–18; Jonah 2:3–7) and *bôr* (e.g., Isa 5:14; 38:18; Ezek 31:16; Pss 30:4—Eng 30:3; 88:4–5—Eng 88:3–4; Prov 1:12) both refer to the abode of the dead as the "Pit." (See Tromp 1969: 66–71; Rosenberg 1980: 53–89; and esp. Held 1973: 173–90, which includes a detailed analysis of the etymology of *šaḥat*.) Another poetic name for the underworld is *ʾăbaddôn*, usually translated "Perdition" or "(place of) Destruction" <*ʾbd*, "to perish" (Job 26:6; 28:22; 31:12; Ps 88:12—Eng 88:11; Prov 15:11; 27:20). The personification of Abaddon (cf. Job 28:22, where Abaddon and Death are speakers) leads to the notion of a destroying angel (*ʾapolluōn* in Greek) of the abyss (Rev 9:11). See also APOLLYON. In rabbinic literature Abaddon comes to designate the place of punishment and damnation = Gehinnom. See also ABADDON.

D. Hades In the New Testament

In the LXX *šĕʾôl* is most commonly translated *hadēs*. As with Sheol and its semantic equivalents, Hades can either refer to the underworld or be personified. The description of Hades parallels that of Sheol above (B.1). As with Sheol, Hades is a place to which one goes down, and it too represents the lowest depths in contrast to the highest heavens (Matt 11:23; Luke 10:15). Hades has the familar "gates" (Matt 16:18) which are prominent in the netherworlds of ANE and Greek mythology. Compare especially the mention of "keys of Death and Hades" in Rev 1:18.

In Greek mythology (*Iliad* 15.188; cf. Nilsson 1955: 452–56; Burkert 1985: 194–200) Hades occurs as the proper name of the gatekeeper/god of the netherworld. The netherworld was called the "house of Hades" and eventually simply Hades. Likewise in the NT Hades occurs in personified form (Rev 6:8). Death and Hades give up the dead and are then thrown into the lake of fire in Rev 20:13–14.

The question of who resides in Hades is just as acute a problem as it is for Sheol (see discussion above). Most scholars affirm that changes in the understandings of retribution and immortality, most likely through the influence of Persian and Hellenistic thought, resulted in different eternal abodes for the righteous and the wicked (cf. *1 Enoch* 22). The abode of the wicked dead comes to be a place for punishment and torment; the abode of the righteous dead comes to be a place of happiness and bliss. The development of both these concepts is notably absent from the Hebrew Bible. According to Jeremias (*TDNT* 1: 147–49) Hades sometimes denotes the abode of both the godly and the wicked (Luke 16:23; Acts 2:27, 31; cf. *Ant* 18.14; *JW* 2.163). At other times (1 Pet 3:19; cf. *JW* 3.375) it appears to be a designation of the abode only of the ungodly, with the righteous residing in paradise or some similar environment (Luke 16:9; 23:43; cf. 2 Cor 5:8; Phil 1:23; Heb 12:22; Rev 6:9; 7:9). Where Hades denotes the abode of all the dead, it is described as a temporary holding place until the resurrection, when Hades gives up its dead (Rev 20:13). This is further underscored by the demarcation between Hades and GEHENNA, which is

used to describe the eschatological hell of fire where the ungodly will be punished after death (Matt 5:22). There is one place, however, where Hades is described as a place of torment (Luke 16:23). Yet in contrast to much of later Christian literture, the "torments of hell" are not elaborated upon in the NT.

The underworld is also described in the NT as the "Abyss" *(abussos)*, often translated "Bottomless Pit" (Luke 8:31; Rom 10:7; Rev 9:1–2, 11; 11:7; 17:18; 20:1, 3; see Jeremias, *TDNT* 1: 9–10). In 2 Pet 2:4 mention is made of casting rebel angels into Tartarus. In classical Greek mythology murky Tartarus was said to be as far below Hades as earth is below the heavens, so much so that an anvil could fall for nine days and nights until it reached it. Tartarus is described as a prison with gates, and it too is personified (Homer *Iliad* 8.13–16; Hesiod *Theog.* 713–35).

Hades plays an essential role in Christian theology. Hades cannot prevail over the Church (Matt 16:18) because Christ holds the keys to Death and Hades (Rev 1:18). Compare Isa 25:8, above, where Yahweh swallows Death (Mot) forever. In fact, those who die are sometimes thought not to be in Hades but are rather united with Christ (Luke 23:43; Phil 1:23; 2 Cor 5:8). The description of the descent of Christ into Hades and his preaching to the spirits of the dead (1 Pet 3:18–20; 4:6) led to the doctrine of Christ's *descensus* (Selwyn 1947: 337–62).

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THEODORE J. LEWIS

DEAD, CULT OF THE. Periodic rituals performed by the living on behalf of the dead members of the family. These rituals were conducted subsequent to and apart from funerals and usually included offerings at the grave site of food and drink which were intended for the well-being of the dead. These occasions were also social gatherings of heirs, relatives, and friends of the deceased, who in some cases was considered the host as well as the beneficiary of the memorial meal.

A. The Cult of the Dead in the ANE
B. The Cult of the Dead in Israel
C. The Cult of the Dead in the Early Church
D. Conclusions

A. The Cult of the Dead in the ANE

There is abundant evidence for cults of the dead in the pagan world that surrounded Israel. In Mesopotamia the *kispu* ritual included the invocation of the name of the dead, the presentation of food, and a libation of water. In the Mari texts (18th century B.C.E.) offerings to the dead were prescribed four times each month. At Ugarit and elsewhere tombs were equipped with libation tubes or jars without bottoms to conduct fluids into the grave. The reason for the ritual is to be found in the ancient view that the dead as spirits maintained an ongoing relationship with the living, albeit in a weakened state of existence. This may be the root meaning of the *rĕpā'îm*, "the shades of the dead." The care and feeding of the dead was a sacred obligation for members of the family, especially the son and heir, as a means of perpetuating the relationships of the family that death could transform but never eradicate. Funerals ritualize the process of separation of the dead from the living. By contrast, the cult of the dead stressed the continuity of kinship and family status. In the words of the Arabic proverb, "Were it not for the living, the dead would have died long ago."

B. The Cult of the Dead in Israel

Whether a cult of the dead existed in Israel is more problematic. The answer given depends on the manner in which the case is made. Scholars have proceeded in three ways: (1) to compile the biblical texts on death and burial and draw conclusions from them; (2) to place the experience of Israel in the context of the ancient world, using the resources of comparative religious studies; and (3) to reassess the translation and interpretation of the biblical text, utilizing the material remains recovered by archaeology.

The first approach, represented by de Vaux (*AncIsr*, 56–61), assumes the special character of the religion of Israel and the biblical revelation, both of which make Israel unique. All texts pertaining to death rituals are considered to refer to funerals and not subsequent memorials. With this assumption there is no clear evidence in the text for a cult of the dead among the Israelites.

The rise of comparative studies in the 19th century, typified by Frazer's *Golden Bough*, afforded a second way to examine the issue. Israel had to be seen in the context of other ancient societies. Lods (1932: 219) sums up the results of this research as follows:

1. Israelites up to the Exile believed in the survival of the individual after death.
2. Before the advent of Yahwism, and even after, during the period that Yahwism held sway, in the popular belief the dead were regarded as beings endowed with supernatural power and knowledge, as *'elōhîm*.
3. The Hebrews in the remote past carried on an organized cult of the dead, especially of their ancestors.

"Nothing persists like funerary rites," said Lods. Over the course of time, however, the interpretation of these rites changed, following social fashions and theological perspectives. Lods demonstrated that behind the biblical record lay ancient rites that explain why mourning is obligatory for a father, mother, or members of the patrilineal line and why it is essential to have male offspring; both relate to conserving the patrimony of the family through the maintenance of proper relations with the dead ancestors.

The third approach applies the discoveries of archaeology to the Bible in two ways. The material remains from tombs and shrines can be correlated with passages in Scripture, while the literary finds (clay tablets, inscriptions, scrolls) provide resources for comparative philology that result in better translations and interpretations of the biblical text. Albright's study of the high place is a model of this kind of research. The standing stones *(maṣṣēbōt)* associated with burials (Gen 35:20) are a feature of the high places. From this Albright inferred that the primary function of these sanctuaries was as a mortuary shrine, part of the cult of the dead (1957: 243).

None of these approaches has been completely convincing. The inherent difficulty in the first approach is that the reports of earlier cultic practices in Israel must be read through the theological filter of the latest editors of the biblical text. The comparative approaches are attractive and suggestive but are inconclusive at the point of ascertaining Israelite involvement in the cult. There can be no question that many of the elements pertaining to the cult of the dead are already found in the Bible: laments, periods of mourning, acquisitions of tombs along with the erection of monuments, memorial stones, and concern for the possession of the *tĕrāpîm*, the family god(s). It is this last group of activities that goes beyond the pragmatic need to dispose of the dead in a socially acceptable and expeditious manner and arrives at a concern for the well-being of the dead and their relationship with the living. The cave at Machpelah, for example, was originally purchased as a burial place for Sarah (Gen 23:4). In time it also became the grave of Abraham, then of Isaac and Jacob, along with Rebecca and Leah. The site is still a shrine for the children of Abraham in Hebron "to this day." Such durability of the practice of visiting a tomb-shrine indicates that, legal injunctions and prophetic denunciations notwithstanding, the Israelites continued to share many of the cultural and social assumptions of the Canaanites when it came honoring the dead.

In Judg 17:5 an *'ēpôd* and *tĕrāpîm* are installed in a family shrine at which the son will serve as priest, a combination of factors that strongly suggests an ancestral memorial. The *tĕrāpîm* were ancestral images that could be life-size (1 Sam 19:13) or as small as a mask. Rachel's theft of the *tĕrāpîm* (Gen 19:31) is interpreted as her way of maintaining a controlling influence in her family's affairs. The *tĕrāpîm* as a mask recalls the various forms of necromancy that were so common in popular religion (Isa 29:4; *Ber.* 18b; *Šab.* 152b). The LXX translates *tĕrāpîm* in Gen 19:31 as *eidōlon*, i.e., an image [of the dead]. The Latin lexicographer Fulgentius derived the word *idol* somewhat freely from the Gk expression "image of grief." He traced the invention of portraiture to a grieving father who wished a permanent reminder of the face of his dead son. This derivation may help to explain the NT opposition to food offered to idols (Acts 15; 1 Corinthians 8). Memorial meals retained their popularity well into the Roman period and beyond.

Another indication of the care of the dead is the custom

of secondary burial in which the bones of the deceased are collected after an initial burial during which time the flesh has decomposed. In rock-cut tombs of the Iron Age, pits were dug into the floor to serve as collection bins for these bones. The practical motivation would be the conservation of space, allowing for the reuse of the tomb. The reburial of Jacob and Joseph, however, from Egypt back to the land of their fathers (Gen 50:4 ff.; Exod 13:19) shows a different concern: the need to be buried with the fathers in the land of their children. In these cases the ongoing relationship between the living and the dead is paramount. In the Exile Nehemiah laments that Jerusalem, "the place of my fathers' sepulchers, lies waste" (Neh 2:3). Behind his anguish is the general belief that memorial rituals can only be conducted at the proper place by members of the family. During the period of the Second Temple, the fashion of reburials in ossuaries has been interpreted as reflecting a change in Jewish thinking about the afterlife and resurrection. The anonymity of the tomb-pit has been replaced by individual containers bearing the name of the deceased. But this fashion seems to coincide with the reemergence of family tombs for those wealthy enough to afford them and with what has been called the renaissance of the cult of the ancestral tombs in the Herodian period. The change in burial customs could be explained on genealogical as well as theological grounds: during a time of national upheaval, a person's status depends on family connections, not public office or relationships with a national temple.

Food offerings to the dead are specifically condemned (Deut 26:14; Ps 106:28) and yet there are biblical narratives describing family shrines and yearly sacrifices for all the family (1 Sam 20:6). That David can use this excuse to leave Saul's table at the time of the new moon suggests that family sacrifices were more highly regarded than royal feasts. The nature of the family sacrifice can be inferred from Rendtorff's study of sacrifices in the OT. He sees a distinction between the sacrifices of the public cult (*ʿolâ*) and those offered within the clan (*zebaḥ*). The *zebaḥ* sacrifice is connected with a meal (Exod 34:15) but with the critical stipulation that the blood be poured out on the altar of the Lord (Deut 12:27b). This injunction has the air of ecclesiastical compromise about it: "If you must eat these family sacrifices, at least dedicate the blood to the Lord and not to the dead." If the meat were permissible to the living on other grounds, the blood as nourishment for the dead was totally unacceptable. Pig's meat was forbidden at any time, because the sacrifice of a pig was closely connected with rites for the dead (Isa 65:4).

Several tombs have been excavated that show structural provision for the offerings of food and drink. A small, curving shaft from ground level leads into the chamber of Tomb 2 at Beth-shemesh. Originally called an "air shaft," it is more likely that it served to carry food and liquids for the refreshment of the dead.

The dead especially needed liquid refreshment, since the realm of Death (Mot) was widely regarded as an arid place, a desert devoid of life-giving rain. Liquids—water, wine, and blood—were particularly welcome. This need on the part of the dead raised a problem for the living. The libations poured on graves could be matched by cups of wine drunk by the living. Much piety was a threat to sobriety. Jer 16:5ff. catalogues the dangers lurking in the "cup of consolation." Inebriation led to other forms of debauchery. The repeated references to Israel playing the harlot with the Canaanite gods may have been intended more literally than metaphorically (as is usually done). Israelites still frequented the high places and their "beds" on which they celebrated with food, drink, and sex (Isa 57:7–8). The problem was as old as Baal-peor (Num 25:1–10), but still in the Greek period mourners were segregated sexually to prevent unseemly behavior in mourning (Zech 12:12).

The national cult of YHWH in Jerusalem made very slow progress against the family shrines. Whereas the care and feeding of the dead could only be done by the family, the national religion served historical and political needs of the monarchy. Consequently, Yahwism had to desacralize and demythologize death radically in order to check the popularity of the family cults. The dead were declared outside the sphere of God's cult (Ps 88:3–12) and therefore divorced from him. They no longer required food and drink, much less sex, since they are in a state of rest.

In the Apocrypha the pragmatic argument is made that drink poured on a mouth closed in death was as much a waste as food left on a grave. Equally useless is offering fruit to an image of the deceased, "for it can neither eat nor smell" (Sir 30:18–19).

C. The Cult of the Dead in the Early Church

In Matt 23:29 Jesus refers to the tombs of the prophets that came into prominence in the Hellenistic period as places of veneration and pilgrimage. From the literary sources Jeremias (1958) was able to catalogue over 40 such shrines. These tombs are not family shrines but memorials to saints and martyrs of the "household of faith." Depending on one's point of view, these tombs are either a victory for the national cult over the ancestral shrines or a compromise with them; the cult of the dead heroes of the faith is sanctioned by the religious authorities.

If one views Jesus as a prophet (cf. Matt 16:14), then his burial place could be included in the category of a prophet's tomb. It is difficult to imagine that the disciples of Jesus who gathered in Jerusalem after Easter would not visit the place of the Resurrection. Several scholars have proposed that the Christian community may have come to the tomb of Jesus to celebrate the Resurrection, so that the empty tomb became a type of *weli* or shrine. Pagan opponents accused Christians of preaching a cult of the dead Jesus. One factor that would contribute to this misunderstanding is the timing of the Resurrection appearances. Roman memorial meals were held on the 3d, 7th, 9th, 30th, and 40th days after death, a chronology that is remarkably close to the gospel sequence of appearances. Also, the custom of meeting early on the first day of the week, perhaps after a vigil the night before, to commemorate the Resurrection would tend to reinforce this interpretation among Jews and pagans. Christian apologists responded that Jesus is risen, not dead; therefore their celebrations were not memorial services or meals, but thanksgivings. Paul had a difficult time at Corinth making this distinction clear (1 Corinthians 11). A service remembering what Jesus did "on the night in which he was betrayed" is not a wake for the dead Jesus. The Corinthi-

ans had opted for the latter interpretation, which would explain the quantities of food they brought to their meetings. Paul's tradition insisted on the former interpretation of the meal in the upper room.

The cult of the dead in Christianity followed the patterns set by Judaism. The tombs of the Christian martyrs, like those of the Jewish prophets before them, stood as separate monuments; later some were incorporated into church buildings. In Christianity, as in Judaism, the cult of the saints represented a compromise between the traditions of folk religion and the theology of the establishment.

D. Conclusions

The cult of the dead was primarily a family affair, totally divorced from public and national concerns. Its purpose was to perpetuate the status of the deceased within the family structure and to validate the succession of the patrimony. The cult was of necessity connected with specific tracts of land. Site names in Palestine such as Baal-hazor (2 Sam 13:23) and Baal-shalisha (2 Kgs 4:42) were probably family cult centers for certain districts. The term *baʿal* would seem to be transformed through time from an original meaning of husband/father to a generic name for lord/god and finally to a specific Canaanite god. The archaeological evidence and the textual evidence both confirm that the cult of the dead preceded the establishment of the Israelite confederation, but it would be unwise to conclude that the Israelites did not engage in such rituals until they entered the land.

Yahwism opposed these cult centers because private, family shrines threatened the Deuteronomic ideal of one God worshipped in the temple in Jerusalem. Furthermore, the debaucheries associated with the shrines were morally offensive. In the Exile, when the national life was at a very low ebb, this second aspect was addressed more forcefully. Memorials and tombs were denounced as unnecessary for the *righteous* dead, whose deeds would be memorial enough, while the unrighteous would "have no reward, but the memory of them is lost" (Eccl 9:5).

Christianity, as had Judaism before it, effected a *modus vivendi* with the converted pagans. The annual Parentalia, memorial rituals for family members would in time become the feasts of All Saints and All Souls.

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CHARLES A. KENNEDY

DEATH. This entry consists of two articles covering the subject of death in the OT and in the NT.

OLD TESTAMENT

Late 19th- and early 20th-century study of death in the Hebrew Bible focused on immortality, the future life, the development of the concept of resurrection, and eschatology. From the mid-20th century the diversity of perspectives on death in the OT has received the greatest attention. Acknowledgment of the long history reflected in the texts, as well as recognition of the diverse folk and "official" Yahwistic views, has made it complicated to suggest any normative concept. The richness of perspectives on death emerges because of the multifaceted way Israel speaks of the intersection between life and death.

There is a complex of terms which circumscribe the Hebrew concept of death. Just as in English, there are diverse verbal and nominal terms which are employed to speak of death (e.g., perish, decease). Most of the efforts to understand the Hebrew perspectives have begun lexically with words derived from the common Semitic root *mwt*. In biblical Hebrew these words include the verb *mût*, "die" (e.g., Gen 2:17) and the noun *māwet*, "death" (e.g., Ps 6:6—Eng 6:5); cf. *TWAT* 4:763–88. In other verbal patterns (conjugations) *mût* may be translated "kill" (e.g., 1 Sam 14:13) or "slay" (e.g., Gen 18:25). Several OT texts personify death by referring to the Canaanite deity Mot (e.g., Jer 9:20—Eng 9:21), whose name stems from this common Semitic term.

Some of the other Hebrew terms employed for death are: *ʾābad*, "perish" (Job 4:7, 9, 11, 20); *hārag*, "kill, murder, slay" (Gen 12:12; 2 Sam 3:30); *ḥālal* (Ps 88:6—Eng 88:5); *nākâ*, "kill, smite" (Gen 4:15; Ps 135:10); *tam*, "consume, destroy" (Deut 2:14, 15, 16); and many others. In addition, metaphors such as "sleep" (Deut 31:16) further shape the concepts of death. Greater understanding of the diverse perspectives on death will develop only after these various terms have been studied. While the terms sometimes function in tandem, they often appear separately in distinct genres, from different social contexts, and within contrasting perspectives.

Even though most of the study of death has concentrated on Heb *māwet*, there is no consensus on how best to display the Hebrew Bible's diverse understandings. It is not surprising that in many discussions the intersection of

life and death provides the backdrop (Fohrer 1972: 214–22; Kraus 1986: 162–68). Death, after all, is the opposite of life, even in traditions where concepts of life after death are prominent. Dahood (*Psalms III* AB, xli–lii) is one of the few who in recent times discussed Israel's understanding of death in the context of immortality and resurrection. Because there was little if any vision of an afterlife in Israel, it is almost unanimously agreed that the country's "healthy materialism" and "healthy eroticism" required it "to examine the meaning of man's earthly existence to a degree and to a depth seemingly without parallel in the thinking of its contemporaries" (Vawter 1972: 170–71).

A great deal is known about the ANE understandings of death (Bailey 1979: 5–21). Israel's neighbors, so far as evidenced by artifactual and literary remains, show a significant interest in elaborate rituals to fend off the panoply of demons, ghosts, and gods associated with death and the underworld (see MAGIC [ANE]). There exist stories of persons seeking immortality (Gilgamesh's attempt to find eternal life for his dear friend Enkidu), of evil figures bringing death and disease on humans (*Rešep*, the NW Semitic god of pestilence, may be named in Deut 32:5; Hab 3:5; and Job 5:7), and of incantations and various apotropaic charms to fight off death, which, along with a host of institutions and social practices point to the power death exerted on these people. While all religions of the ANE think of their deities as bringing forth life, there were also those deities who terrorized and attacked humankind. The polytheism of these religions presented a rhythm between death and life, a rotation between ascending and descending power which was sewn into the fabric of human existence.

Hebrew literature does not hide a sense of death's power nor does it sequester death from life as though it did not exist. The reminiscences of Israel's seeking to placate or communicate with the dead are heard (1 Sam 28:8–14; Isa 8:19ff.), but intolerance for any cult of the dead is the dominant position.

Death is seen as the normal end of life. The notations of the death of important individuals (Gen 23:1–2; 35:29), as well as of multiple individuals (Josh 5:4; 10:11) are found throughout the literature. A "good" death is portrayed when an individual dies with sufficient offspring and at an old age (Gen 25:8; 46:30). Humankind must accept mortality (2 Sam 14:14), while Yahweh was thought to perdure (Pss 18:47—Eng 18:46; 90). Death was a problem when it came prematurely. Whatever their understanding of premature death, it is here where humans begin questioning, whether in a polytheistic or monotheistic context.

The questioning may begin with the etiological question, how did death first come about? Religions account for death in the midst of life either as a part of creation or as something which came into the world after creation. These stories can be classified into seven or eight different types (*EncRel* 4: 251–59). Genesis 2–3 is the locus for Israel's etiology. Some think this represents two original stories (Bailey 1979: 38). The one etiology suggests that death is a punishment for disobeying God, while the other understands it as a part of the original plan for humans. The OT does not suggest which etiology is more appropriate. In fact, there seems little preoccupation with the origin of death. However, understanding death as a part of some original plan is far less compatible with the wide range of texts.

The questioning for Israel focused far more on how to understand the invasion of death into life. This invasion was not articulated predominantly through speaking of divine powers which were threatening Yahweh and with whom battle must be done. Yahweh was the source of life and death. It was not possible to place the blame on competing divine forces. Yahweh could give or take away life (2 Kgs 20:1–11). Life was dependent on the deity whether one looked at this from an individual or communal perspective. Life, as biological or physical existence, was significant; but Israel looked to qualities of relationship with the deity to express the meaning of life and hence the relationship of it to death. The relationships could be expressed in terms of the covenant theme (*IDBSup*, 220). However, this is by no means the most prominent conceptualization.

The most significant theme for Israel was the understanding that life provided an opportunity for the individual and community to praise Yahweh. Praise of God was the sign of life. The inability to praise was a signal of death, even in life. The Hebrew Bible is replete with the idea that death constitutes silence and that the major characteristic of life is to praise Yahweh (Ps 30:9–11—Eng 30:8–10; Isa 38:16–20). Since praise took place in the cult, life was constituted in the special space provided by God. Life was not merely a biological or natural phenomenon. It was a spatial phenomenon. The images of the underworld (e.g., Sheol, Pit), as the space apart from Yahweh, obviously assist in the depiction of life. Death appears as a parallel to Sheol (Prov 5:5; 7:27).

One of the major differences of opinion about the OT understandings of death centers around whether death is viewed predominantly with fear. There are magnificently crafted Hebrew texts on the fear of death. The conclusion of Qoheleth is among the most provocative (12:1–8). The reader is placed before the fact that among all the images of the undoing of nature no death is more profound than the reader's own. There is certainly a deep sense of fear in being brought before this reality. However provocative these expressions of fear are, they do not provide the dominant perspectives. Anger and hostility in the face of death are more common expressions (Psalms 6, 102). Few contemporaries are able to express so vividly the horror of death's invasion into the midst of life. Whatever perspective is taken on the issue of the fear of death, it is widely agreed that the Hebrew Bible contains ample expression of the anger and grief experienced in the face of death. This finds its greatest focus in the Psalms and some of the wisdom literature.

Proverbs presents another interesting theme. This centers in the relationship of life and death to Wisdom. The possession of Wisdom is identified with life in Proverbs 1–9. A person who obtains long life may possess Wisdom, but more importantly in this portion of Proverbs, long life is not the consequence of wisdom. It is what constitutes life. So death is not so much a consequence associated with folly or, as expressed in Proverbs 1–9, of associating with the "strange woman." Death is an expression of a mode of living apart from life (Prov 8:35–36).

This living in life or living in death is expanded in

Proverbs through one of the instructions regarding the "strange woman." The man is encouraged to be "infatuated" (Heb *šgh*) with his wife (Prov 5:19–20). On the other hand, he is exhorted not to be "infatuated" *(šgh)* with the "strange woman." The section concludes with the line describing the man who does not follow the advice.

> He dies *yamût* for lack of discipline,
> and because of his great folly he goes astray *(yišgeh)*.
> (Prov 5:23)

The Hebrew word *šgh* plays on a double meaning in this passage. It expresses in the concluding verse, not any kind of biological cessation of life, but rather a straying or "infatuation" with folly in this life. "Infatuation" or intense relationship with appropriate objects, as evidenced by the distinction between the two women referred to earlier, is to be encouraged. The folly embodied in the "strange woman" and the death connected with her are not shunned because death is understood as a natural part of existence and therefore not to be feared. "Dying" is understood as a negative way of living. It is a mode of living over against the way *(derek)* of life (Prov 2:19; 5:6; 6:23).

The major English work on death in the OT by Bailey (1979) indicates three senses: (1) a "metaphor for those things which detract from life as Yahweh intends it"; (2) "as a 'power' in opposition to the created order"; and (3) "for biological cessation." While it is recognized that the dominant focus of the Hebrew Bible is the metaphoric, Bailey's "primary concern" is with biological cessation. In the final analysis a threefold distinction, whether Bailey's or another very similar one (symbolic, mythological, and biological), brings OT literature into discussions of various contemporary issues such as bioethics and care for the dying (Bailey 1979: 97–101). The recent discussions do not relegate the OT to a mere proem for the NT.

On the other hand, the threefold senses domesticate the Hebrew Bible perceptions of death. A focus on biological cessation undercuts the dynamic intersection of death with life. Israel, maybe because of its history, is more at home in understanding death through all its faces as a radical challenge to life. The tripartite understanding unnecessarily isolates Israel's developing monotheistic perspective from its ANE neighbors' polytheistic understandings, which influenced Israel's ideas more than is frequently suggested. Death can be understood and accepted as a natural part of God's order, but the people of the Hebrew Bible experienced individual and communal death, which was far more pervasive than biological cessation.

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KENT HAROLD RICHARDS

NEW TESTAMENT

In the *Phaedo* of Plato (ca. 427–347 B.C.), Socrates philosophizes about death before he drinks the poison. Death is defined as "a release and separation from the body" (67.D; cf. 66.E). For the "soul is immortal" (*athanaton* 73.A). In life the soul is "entirely fastened and welded to the body and is compelled to regard realities through the body as through prison bars" (82.E). The soul, therefore, "never willingly associated with the body" (80.E, cf. "hostile to the body" 67.E). So at death the soul is "freed from the body as from fetters" (67.D). To be afraid to die is to love the body more than wisdom (68.B, C). In facing his own death, Socrates had no fear and looked forward to the release. He took the hemlock "very cheerfully and quietly drained it" (*Phd.* 117.C). See also SUICIDE.

Homer (9th century B.C.) likens the generations of men to the coming and going of leaves on a tree (*Il.* 6. 145–50). The Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh* records, "When the gods created mankind, they destined death for man." Perhaps these ideas are joined in Plato's view of reincarnation, a view which may also have roots from the Pythagoreans (6th century B.C.) and Egyptians. Plato considered that souls existed previously "apart from bodies" (*Phd.* 76.C), that "the living are generated from the dead, just as much as the dead from the living" (*Phd.* 72.A). So death is both "god ordained" and confined to the body alone, as the immortal soul returns to many earth lives but never dies. Hesiod (*Theog.* 213) and Diodorus Siculus (15, 25.2) represented death as a sleep.

The words "death" (Gk noun *thanatos, teleute*), "dead" (Gk adj. *nekros*), and "die" (Gk verb *apothnēskō*) occur in the NT. The NT speaks of God alone as immortal (1 Tim 6:16). By contrast, the NT refers to humans as mortals (Col 1:16; cf. Heb 1:2), evidenced by their death (1 Cor 15:21–22) and by the promise of a future gift of immortality at the PAROUSIA (1 Cor 15:53). Death, for humans, is universal (Heb 9:27). The only two exceptions in Scripture are Enoch (Gen 5:24; Heb 11:5) and Elijah (2 Kgs 2:11).

Death does not appear to be a part of God's original plan for the race. "The wages of sin is death" (Rom 6:23); "Death came through a man" (1 Cor 15:21); "sin entered the world through one man, and death through sin" (Rom 5:12). Death is linked with God's judgment (Rev 2:11; 20:6; 21:8).

Romans 5 compares Adam and Christ. (Christ is called "the last Adam" in 1 Cor 15:45). In opposite ways each "Adam" made a contribution to death. Romans 5:12–19 is a parallelism, noting the gifts to the race made by each "Adam." Just as one sin (Rom 5:16), "one trespass" (Rom 5:18), brought condemnation and death to the whole race, so "one act . . . brings life for all" (Rom 5:18). The one act of the second Adam, his death, canceled the results of the one act of the first Adam (Rom 5:10). So Christ's death destroyed the one who "holds the power of death" (Heb 2:14) and "destroyed death" (2 Tim 1:10). Death could not hold him (Acts 2:24), so Christ is now said to be "Lord of both the dead and the living" (Rom 14:9) and "has the keys of Death and Hades" (Rev 1:18).

Thus death in the NT is qualified. Death is now viewed in the light of the resurrection of Jesus. In 75 places *nekros*

is the object of *egeiro*, "to awaken," or *anastasis*, "to raise" (*NIDNT* 1: 445), and Christ is called the first (in importance, not time) from the dead (Col 1:18; Rev 1:5). Death does not "separate us" from Christ (Rom 8:38–39); so death is spoken of as being "at home with the Lord" (2 Cor 5:8), as "gain" (Phil 1:21), and "to depart and to be with Christ" (Phil 1:23), and as to have "fallen asleep" (John 11:11).

In the NT death is more than a terminus to life. It can affect life as it moves to that end. One can experience a living death, or a "body of death," Rom 7:24. Existentially, one who has encountered Christ is said to have eternal life even during this present life (John 3:36); whereas, one who has not yet encountered Christ is said to be "dead" in sin (Eph 2:1; cf. Col 2:13; Rev 3:1). Passing from death to life, experientially, is spoken of as the new birth (John 3:3–8).

To a degree, then, eternal life (the opposite of death) is given now, but not in fullness. "For as in Adam all die, so in Christ all will be made alive" (1 Cor 15:22). The tension between the "already" and the "not yet" maintains an "eschatological reserve," for "the last enemy to be destroyed is death" (1 Cor 15:26). The final generation, living at the PAROUSIA, will be translated without experiencing death (Matt 16:28). Evidently the translated, and those resurrected, begin the fullness of eternal life at the Parousia (1 Thess 4:16–18). They will be beyond death (Rev 20:6).

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NORMAN R. GULLEY

DEATH OF CHRIST. See CHRIST, DEATH OF.

DEATH, POLLUTION OF. See HEIFER, RED.

DEATH, SECOND [Gk *ho deuteros thanatos*]. In the NT, the second death is mentioned only in Rev 2:11; 20:6, 14; and 21:8. It is symbolized as the "lake of fire" (20:14; 21:8), and presented as the opposite of receiving a crown of life (2:10) and life lived in the presence of God (21:3–7; 22:3–5). As opposed to the first death which is physical death, the second death is the final destruction of all that belongs to the realm of evil. It is the fate of those whose names are not written in the book of life (20:15), the unrighteous (21:8), the false prophet and the beast (19:20), the devil (20:10), and Death and Hades (20:14). The second death was the subject of Jesus' warning: "And do not fear those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul; rather fear him who can destroy both soul and body in hell" (Matt 10:28 = Luke 12:4–5; RSV).

Whether the second death is complete destruction or everlasting torment is uncertain from Revelation, although for the Devil, beast, and false prophet, it is everlasting (20:10). Both notions are found in tradition. In *1 Enoch* the second death is destruction: "Woe unto you who spread evil to your neighbors! For you shall be slain in Sheol" (99:11, *OTP*), and ". . . for the names of (the sinners) shall be blotted out from the Book of Life and the books of the Holy One; their seeds shall be destroyed forever and their spirits shall perish and die . . ." (108:3, *OTP;* cf. 10:14–15). In Philo, however, second death is everlasting: "live for ever in a state of dying and so to speak suffer a death which is deathless and unending" (*Praem* 12.70; LCL).

Although other Jewish writings contain the concept,

both the concept and the expression "second death" are found in the Targums. Here second death can refer to either exclusion from the resurrection (i.e. remaining in the grave) or being relegated to eternal torment after judgment (Str-B 3.830–31). The former sense is found in *Tg. Jer.* 15:39, 57 which describes the fate of the Babylonian oppressors as second death which is the exclusion from the life to come. The latter sense which is more akin to Revelation occurs in *Tg. Isa.* 65:5–6, a passage very close to Rev 20:14 and 21:8, states: "Their punishment shall be in Gehenna where the fire burns all the day. Behold, it is written before me: 'I will not give them respite during (their) life but will render them the punishment of their transgressions and will deliver their body to the second death' " (cf. *Tg. Deut.* 33:6; *Tg. Isa.* 22:14; 65:15).

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DUANE F. WATSON

DEBIR (PERSON) [Heb *dĕbîr*]. The Amorite king of Eglon at the time of Joshua who joined the coalition of 5 kings led by Adoni-Zedek of Jerusalem (Josh 10:3). After being defeated by Joshua at Gibeon, the kings of this coalition fled to the cave of Makkedah (Josh 10:1–27), where they were captured and hanged by Joshua. As a personal name, Debir occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible. Otherwise Debir is found as the site of 2 (apparently) separate Judean cities (see DEBIR (PLACE)), and as a technical term for the holy of holies in Solomon's temple (1 Kings 6–8).

D. G. SCHLEY

DEBIR (PLACE) [Heb *dĕbîr*]. Three towns mentioned in the OT bear this name.

1. A town in the S hill country of Judah listed in the roster of cities that Joshua captured and utterly destroyed (Josh 10:38–39). It was governed by a king (10:39; 12:13). Joshua 15 preserves the tradition that Othniel the son of Kenaz captured the city, thereby winning in marriage Achsah, daughter of Caleb (vv 15–19 = Judg 1:11–15). It also preserves the tradition that the city was associated with "upper and lower springs" and that the pre-Israelite name of the city was Kiriath-sepher, which the LXX simply translates "city of books" (Gk *polis grammatōn*). Josh 15:49 records that its previous name was Heb *qiryat-sannâ*, which is probably an erroneous reading of Kiriath-sepher. See KIRIATH-SANNAH.

Josh 11:21 preserves the tradition that the Anakim were residents of Debir in the time of Joshua. It is uncertain whether or not these people constituted one of the groups of Sea Peoples who occupied parts of Canaan toward the end of the LB Age (Boling and Wright, *Joshua* AB, 315). See ANAK. Mendenhall (1973: 76, 163) suggests that the original form underlying both *dĕbîr* and *(qiryat) spr* (which he re-vocalizes *sōpĕr*) is Hittite *dabara*, "lord, governor" (cf. Heb *sōpĕr*, "official," esp. Judg 5:14); "Kiriath-sopher" ("town of the governing official") would then have become "Kiriath-sepher" ("town of the book/scroll") by popular etymology. If Mendenhall's linguistic analysis is correct, this reinforces the hypothesis that in the LB/early Iron transition period the city fell under the influence of some NE Mediterranean groups loosely identified as Sea Peoples. See also the linguistic discussion of Debir/Kiriath-sepher in CITY NAMES.

The biblical references all suggest that this Debir is located near the Shephelah in the southernmost region of the Judaean hill country SW of Hebron. For a variety of reasons Albright proposed identifying it with Tell Beit Mirsim (M.R. 141096). See BETT MIRSIM, TELL. However, dissatisfaction with several of the geographic features of Tell Beit Mirsim which seemingly contradict the biblical references to Debir has prompted a number of scholars to look elsewhere for its location (*ISBE* 1: 901–4). K. Galling first suggested (1954) that Debir should be located at Kh. Rabud (M.R. 151093). The site fits the geographic and expected stratigraphic profile much better. Not only does Kh. Rabud have remains of LB occupation, but the combination of cisterns with 2 nearby wells complies with the description of the site in the biblical narrative (cf. Josh 15:17–19 = Judg 1:13–15). The occupational sequence has been clarified by excavations conducted by M. Kochavi (1974; *EAEHL* 4: 995), which have shown complete agreement with the information provided in the biblical texts.

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GARY A. HERION
DALE W. MANOR

2. A town that was situated above the Achor Valley, used to demarcate the N boundary of Judah (Josh 15:7). The location is thought to be either along the Wadi Dabr or in Thogret ed-Dabr. Both seem to retain the distinction of a place name. At the head of the Wadi there was a ruin called Khan el-hatrur, which is now covered and displaced by the Jericho-Jerusalem highway and by a local inn. The LXX gives the Gk *epi to tetarton*, which could be a misreading or the deciphering of a damaged Hebrew manuscript, where it was mistakenly understood as the Heb *rbyʿy*.

3. A town that marks the boundary of the tribe of Gad (Josh 13:26). The location is presumed to be in the E part of Gilead, though the actual site is unknown. In the passage, the MT gives the Heb *lidebir*, which could be revocalized to read *lôdebār*. This is thought to be the site of Makir's house in 2 Sam 9:4, 5. Here is where Mephibosheth, the lame son of Jonathan, stayed until called by David. This place is mentioned again in 2 Sam 17:27, where the same Makir helped supply provisions to David when he was fleeing from his son Absalom. Evidently, this town was later captured by the Arameans; the fact that Jeroboam II eventually recaptured the city gave the prophet Amos a sarcastic weapon. Using a word play on *lôdebār* (Amos 6:13),

he arranges it as *lō' dabar*, "nothing," in reference to Israel's boasting about their victory and their false sense of security. See also LO-DEBAR.

JEFFREY K. LOTT

DEBORAH (PERSON) [Heb *dĕbōrâ*]. Three persons in the OT and deuterocanonical books bear this name.

1. Rebekah's nurse (Gen 35:8). She is also mentioned, by position but not by name, among those who accompany Rebekah and Abraham's servant on their return to meet Isaac (Gen 24:59). When Deborah the nurse died, she was buried under "the oak" (sacred tree?) near Bethel, which is hence forth known as *Allon-bacuth*, that is, "oak of weeping." Cf. the etiology of Bochim, "weepers" (probably Bethel!) in Judg 2:1–5.

2. One of those who successfully mobilized the Israelite militia, and whose deeds are variously recalled, evaluated, and celebrated in the book of Judges. The activity of Deborah, wife of Lappidoth ("flashes") is admiringly recounted in prose (Judges 4) and celebrated in song (Judges 5). Introduced as a "prophetess," Deborah was available for oracular consultation at "Deborah's palm," also situated near Bethel. On the relationship between prophecy and warfare in this period, see Ackerman (1975). This was a time of severe oppression sponsored by Jabin, king of Canaan reigning at Hazor, and executed by Sisera, commander of 900 chariots. Sisera, whose name is non-Semitic, probably belonged to one of the Sea Peoples (Tjeker?). His headquarters at the time of the battle are at Harosheth-haggoim ("plantations of the gentiles"), which looks like the poetic equivalent of "Taanach by the waters of Megiddo" (5:19; Rainey 1981; 1983).

Consulted by Israelites in the face of Sisera's aggression, Deborah's "judgment" is to summon Barak ("lightning"), field commander of the Israelite militia from Kedesh in Naphtali, together with forces from Zebulun and Naphtali (the only tribes mentioned by name in the prose account). Barak is most reluctant to go into the field against far superior armaments unless accompanied by Deborah, who repays reluctance with a taunt: She'll go, but victory will not mean glory for Barak, since a woman will deal the final blow. The combination of promise by Deborah and fulfillment by Jael evokes comparison with the partner-like goddesses Anath and Astarte (Taylor 1982). See also Lindars (1983) for the highlighted role of woman. Once the battle is joined, Sisera departs the scene at the flash-flooded Kishon River W of Mt. Tabor, where the chariots were mired, and flees to the far N where, thrown off guard by the hospitality of Jael, he dies at her feet.

Behind the irony and sense of humor, the story is rooted in decisive military action, with a hefty providential assist, which prevented Sisera's forces in the Esdraelon from finally severing connections between the Israelites in Galilee and in the central hill country of Ephraim and Manasseh. Archaeology at the sites of Megiddo and Taanach suggests a setting not long after mid-12th century B.C.E. The relationship between Jabin, king of Canaan in Judges 4 and another Jabin, king of Hazor in Joshua 11, is unclear, and the direction of interaction in the shaping of the stories is still an open question (Boling *Judges* AB, 92–120). In the poetic version Jabin is not named, but it is a coalition of "kings of Canaan" whose forces Sisera commands. And the character of the oppression is specific: disruption of the caravan trade routes where they empty into the Esdraelon (Chaney 1983).

The Song of Deborah and Barak (5:2–31) is for the most part much older than the received form of the prose account, to judge from evidence of archaic language and poetic structure. Here the focus of attention is not on the interaction between Honey Bee and Lightning, Lightning and Jael, but upon the varied response and performance of the Israelite constituencies in rallying against a common threat (Coogan 1978). At the time of crisis the league appears to consist of 10 tribes (Freedman 1979; Boling 1988): 57–63). Judah is not mentioned, nor is Levi. If Levi is already dispersed as priestly-teaching cadre (in effect, muster officers) throughout the other tribes, it may be represented here (unnamed) as carrier of the poetic tradition. That Judah is not mentioned for either praise or blame in the poetic roll call suggests that it is already rendered dysfunctional by S Sea Peoples, the Philistines.

The other 10 tribes are variously lauded for their performance: Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir (that is, Manasseh), Zebulun, Issachar, and Naphtali. Or they are lampooned for nonparticipation: Reuben, Gilead (that is, Gad), Dan, and Asher. The victory song is in many ways comparable to victory hymns of Egyptian and Assyrian Kings. In other ways it anticipates the much later form of a ballad. It celebrates both the prowess of Yahweh's peasantry and the reciprocal intervention by Yahweh, when "the stars in their courses" (source of rain?) "fought against Sisera." The concluding irony contrasts Deborah, "a mother in Israel" who rose up, with Sisera's anxious mother and the wisest of her ladies (5:28–30), both of whom are confident that the victory celebration had delayed the return of the troops, as indeed was the case.

The final verse (5:31) looks, therefore, like a poetic couplet in a different style, which once followed directly upon 5:1 as the content of what Deborah and Barak sang in the story, before it was broken open for insertion of the parallel old favorite.

3. The grandmother of Tobit. She was the one who raised, nurtured, and taught Tobit after he was orphaned. Tobit's story is presented as a model of familial piety. Tobit affirms his obedience to both "the law of Moses and the exhortations of Deborah" (Tob 1:8).

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ROBERT G. BOLING

DEBTS. The necessity for loans is recognized openly in the Hebrew Bible, where an attempt is made to prevent the practice of requiring interest from debtors. Interest on loans in the ANE could be exorbitant by modern standards (and might be required in advance, from the very principal of the loan. The attempt to convince creditors to forego potential profit was grounded in care for the community, which God had liberated from slavery. A brother might become poor and need a loan (cf. Lev 25:35), but interest was not to be exacted (vv 36, 37), in the name of the same LORD "who brought you out of the land of Egypt" (v 38). The desire for interest is seen as posing the danger that Israel might exchange one form of slavery for another—economic—form of oppression. It is notable that the whole of Leviticus 25 concerns precisely the issue of maintaining the integrity of what God had redeemed, in respect of the release which was to occur during sabbath and jubilee years (vv 1–34), in respect of loans (vv 35–38), and in respect of hired service (vv 39–55). The right of a creditor to receive a pledge against his loan is implicitly acknowledged within the pristine requirement not to expect interest, and abusive liberties with pledges received is forbidden (cf. Exod 22:25–27; Deut 24:10–13). But certain pledges, correctly handled, might yield their own profits, and foreigners in any case might be charged interest (cf. Deut 23:19–20); even on a strict interpretation of the Torah, a creditor might make a living.

Despite persistent attempts at regulation, debt was a perennial, social problem in Israel. 1 Sam 22:2 laconically refers to the attraction to David of "everyone in straits, everyone indebted, and everyone who was bitter"; there would have been no such people to attract had the prescriptions of the Torah been obeyed. One of the stories concerning Elijah is predicated on the fear that creditors can in fact enslave the families of those who fail to pay them (2 Kgs 4:1–7). Nehemiah reflects both a widespread growth of usurious practices, and a programmatic attempt to root them out (Neh 5:1–13; cf. 10:31). It is quite evident that neither the prescriptions of the Torah, nor the prudential wisdom of Proverbs (cf. Prov 28:8), succeeded in preventing abusive lending: even in the time of Ezekiel, it is roundly condemned as one of the community's all too frequent sins (cf. Ezek 18:5–18; 22:12). Of course, generalization is notoriously problematic, in that the sources to hand are far from complete social records, and stem from a variety of periods, but it appears fairly safe to say that the notion of an unprofitable loan proved liable to abuse during Israel's long history.

The necessity of such loans, however, was as obvious as the problem of poverty: Some people simply did not possess adequate means, and required financial assistance. Where the Persians, according to Herodotus (Hdt. 1.138), attempted to discourage debt entirely, inventive means were found in Judaism after the biblical period to humanize the institution. Hillel, a famous rabbi and older contemporary of Jesus', is credited with the provision of *prozbul* (*m. Šeb.* 10.3–6, *m. Giṭ.* 36a; Neusner 1985: 100–102). R. Hillel's provision was designed to address the problem that Deut 15:2 requires the release of debts every 7th year: Obviously, loans under such a scheme would be impracticable shortly before the year of release. Accordingly, Hillel allows the debts to be entrusted by the creditor to a court, which could collect the debt for him. Hillel's provision must in no sense be understood as a mere evasion of the requirements of Torah, since his stance in regard to debt could be very stringent indeed. He was particularly concerned that changes in the market value of commodities might result in interest, if one returned in kind an object (such as a loaf of bread) one had borrowed (*Šabb.* 148b; *B. Meṣ* 62b–62a; Neusner 1985, 102–103). It is therefore plain that the *prozbul* was designed to facilitate responsible lending, not to encourage exploitation, and it became a cornerstone in the financial practices encouraged by the rabbis. Such practices included writs of debt (which might themselves be traded, cf. Kethuboth), the extension in the period of a loan (*m. Giṭ.* 13b), and the exaction of very large fines from those who took interest (*B. Bat.* 94b).

The justification for excluding the release from debts mandated in Deut 15.2 became a leitmotif within rabbinic discussion. (The regulations concerning sabbath years and years of jubilee of course had implications for many commercial relationships, cf. Morgenstein *IDB* 2: 1001–02; and Van Sehms *IDBSup,* 496–98.) Deuteronomy 15:3 itself excludes foreigners from the provision, and the experience of debt in Judaism was frequently at the hands of gentiles, and therefore quite outside any religious or communal control (cf. *m. Moʿed Qat.* 9b and *m. Giṭ.* 43b–44a). Notably, "Rabbi" (that is, R. Judah ha-Nasi) is said to link the forgiveness of debts (Deut 15.2) to the permission of land to remain fallow in the sabbatical year (cf. Lev 25:1–7; *m. Moʿed Qaṭ.* 2b; *Kiddushin* 38b). In his understanding, one must be practised when the other is, but debts need not be forgiven when there is no land of promise to be released. The effect of that teaching is a far greater extension of the incentive to loan money than is Hillel's stipulation of *prozbul.* When one takes into account the opinion that sabbatical release did not encompass, in many instances, the possibilities of the rise and fall in the value of loans, the market in the purchase of loans, and payment for arrangement of loans, one is not surprised at the frequency in Talmud with which rabbis are called upon to adjudicate financial disputes (Neusner 1987: 248–56).

The usage in the LXX of the verb "to owe" *(opheilō),* when a specific Hebrew term is rendered, is generally restricted to those passages in which commercial affairs are at issue (Hauck *TDNT* 5: 561). That strikes Hauck as curious (560–61) for the reason that secular usages (and Philo) establish the wider meaning of *opheilō* as including moral indebtedness and obligation. Precisely that broader usage, characteristically paired with another verb in the infinitive, is found frequently in the NT (cf. Luke 17:10; John 13:14; 19:7; Acts 17:29; Rom 15:1, 27; 1 Cor 5:10; 7:36; 9:10; 11:7, 10: 2 Cor 12:11, 14; Eph 5:28; 2 Thess 1:3; 2:13; Heb 2:17; 5:3; 1 John 2:6; 3:16; 4:11; 3 John 8). There are, in fact, usages in the LXX which are roughly

comparable (Wis 12.15; *4 Macc.* 11:15; 16:19), but they appear less frequently than in the NT. Moreover, the LXX usages bear out Hauck's point, that the rendering of the Hebrew Bible into Greek did not result in the exploitation of the moral sense of *opheilo* in the Greek language of the period: both Wisdom and *4 Maccabees* are thoroughly Hellenistic in language and concept. In this aspect of its language, then, the NT is more at home in its Greek literary environment than is the LXX.

There is, however, quite another aspect within the NT's language of debt. Just as it represents secular Greek usage, so a principal theologoumenon of early Judaism comes to expression. "Debt" *(ḥwb')* was the regular translation of "sin" in the Aramaic Targumim, and "debtor" *(ḥyyb)* was the ordinary term for "sinner." The regularity of Aramaic usage may be assessed by the consideration that several words in the Hebrew text are rendered by "debt" and "debtor" in the Targumim (cf. van Zijl 1979: 57–58, 61 and Chilton 1987: 1vi). Two passages in the *Targum of Isaiah* may serve to illustrate the ordinary usage in Aramaic. In 5:18, the Hebrew text reads, "Woe to those who draw iniquity with cords of falsehood, and sin as with cart ropes." In the Targum, that wording is largely respected, but there are also notable, interpretative transformations: "Woe to those who begin to debt a little, drawing debts with cords of vanity, continuing and increasing until debts are strong as cart ropes." The rendering of the Targum immediately makes it plain that "debt" is the ordinary word for "sin"; indeed, it appears naively literal to translate the Aramaic term as "debt" on each and every occasion it appears. It is equally obvious that "debt" was seen by the Aramaic interpreter as the appropriate rendering of several Hebrew words, and as a concept implicit in the text, even when no particular term in Hebrew required the use of "debt" in Aramaic (cf. van Zijl 1979: 57–58).

Nonetheless, a second example (50:1) demonstrates that "debt" was understood as a genuine metaphor of sin, not simply as a conventional rendering. The Masoretic Text reads, "Thus says the LORD, where is your mother's bill of divorce, with which I put her away? Or to which of my creditors is it to whom I sold you? Behold, for your iniquities you were sold, and for your transgressions your mother was put away." This stark statement is so presented in the Targum, as to turn on the literal and the metaphorical senses of "debt": "Thus says the LORD, where is the bill of divorce, which I gave to your congregation, that it is rejected? Or who had a debt against me, to whom I have sold you? Behold, for your debts you were sold, and for your apostasies your congregation was rejected." The passage instances the generally Targumic tendency to refer metaphors in the Hebrew text to specific entities; Hence, "mother" becomes "congregation." At the same time, a deliberate emphasis upon the ordinary *and* the theological meaning of "debt" is insisted upon.

When, in the Matthean version of the Lord's Prayer, Jesus instructs his follows to ask God, "forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors," there is no doubt but that Matthew is preserving an Aramaic idiom (6:12). Luke only partially preserves the usage: "Forgive us our sins, as we also forgive everyone who is indebted to us" (11:4). Jesus' usage of the Aramaic idiom is not a mere matter of convention: Several of his parables turn on the metaphorical and the literal sense of "debt," much as in the *Targum of Isaiah* 50:1.

Several instances of parabolic presentation of debt are especially striking. In Matt 18:23–35, a debtor is said to owe the astronomical sum of 10,000 talents (18:24). When it is borne in mind that the annual imposition of tax upon the whole of Galilee and Peraea amounted to merely 200 talents (Josephus, *Ant* 17.9.4), the hyperbole involved in the parable becomes readily apparent. The debtor is in no position to repay such a debt, nor is there any credible way in which he could have incurred it. He behaves astoundingly, after his debt is forgiven (v 27), in a manner all but calculated to trivialize such forgiveness: He refuses to deal mercifully with a colleague who owed him 100 denarii (vv 28–30). The latter amount is by no means insignificant; A single denarius was the going rate for a full day of labor (Jeremias 1976: 136–39). But the contrast with the king's incalculable generosity cannot be overlooked, and the close of the parable makes it unmistakably plain that God's forgiveness demands ours as a proper response (vv 31–35). To fail to forgive one's fellow, even when what needs to be forgiven is considerable, is to betray the very logic of forgiveness which alone gives us standing before God.

Two other parables portray, in an apparently paradoxical fashion, the inextricable link between divine forgiveness and our behavior. Within the story of Jesus at the house of a Pharisee named Simon (Luke 7:36–50), a parable explains why Jesus chose to forgive a sinful woman (vv 40–43). Of 2 debtors, the one who has been released from the greater debt will obviously love his creditor more. The sinful woman's great love, therefore, in an outlandish display of affection and honor (vv 37–38, 44–46), is proof that God had forgiven her (v 47). Her love is proof of her capacity to be forgiven (Moule 1982: 282–84). She had succeeded precisely where the unforgiving servant of Matthew 18 had failed: Her actions displayed the value she accorded to forgiveness. Precisely the same logic, developed more strictly in respect of debt, is evident in the otherwise inexplicable parable of the crafty steward (Luke 16:1–9). His lord (or master) praised the steward for his cleverness (v 8) in reducing the debts of those who owed commodities to the lord (vv 5–7). The scheme was devised so that the lucky debtors would receive the steward (v 4) after his lord had followed through on the threat of dismissing the steward for dishonesty (vv 1, 2). On any ordinarily moral accounting, the steward has gone from bad to worse, and yet his lord praises him (v 8). Because God is the lord of the parable, what would be bribery in the case of any ordinary master's property turns out to be purposeful generosity. The effect of the steward's panic is to fulfill the lord's desire (Chilton 1984: 117–23), because he is the same as the unforgiving servant's king, the God who forgave the sinful woman.

Jesus' usage of "debt," therefore, is initially to be understood as an Aramaism. But he appears, on the evidence of the Gospels, to have exploited the metaphorical possibilities of the term in a way which is precedented in the *Targum of Isaiah,* but in a characteristically parabolic fashion. The general activity of telling parables, of course, is well attested among early rabbis (Chilton and McDonald 1987: 31–43). At issue here is not absolute uniqueness, but the relative distinctiveness which distinguishes any signifi-

cantly historical feature from his contemporaries. A well-established theologoumenon of early Judaism spoke not only of debts, but of credit in respect of God (*TDNT* 5: 562). Jesus appears to have exploited the latter metaphor, as well as the former (Matt 6:19–21; 19:21; Mark 10:21; Luke 12:33, 34; 18:22). But it was in his adaptation of an idiom and in his theology of "debt" that Jesus developed a systematic aspect of his message as a whole.

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BRUCE CHILTON

DECAPOLIS. A group of Hellenistic cities E of the Jordan and Lake Tiberias which were of considerable importance in the history of the region and figure in the Gospels in the ministry of Jesus. The term is from Gk and means literally "Ten Towns," although the number of cities actually included by the term appears not to have been strictly delimited.

A. Attestations of the Term
B. List of the Cities
C. Identification of Sites
D. History of the Cities
E. Nature of the Decapolis
F. End of the Decapolis

A. Attestations of the Term

The oldest attestations of the term *Decapolis* can be found in the Synoptic Gospels. In Mark 5:20, Jesus, having gone to the other side of Lake Tiberias, cured a possessed man who, according to Jesus' instructions, went on his way proclaiming in the Decapolis what Jesus had done for him. In Mark 7:31 Jesus, having left the territories of Tyre and Sidon, reached Lake Tiberias by passing through the Decapolis. In Matt 4:25 it is specified that the crowds that accompanied Jesus came from Galilee, the Decapolis, Jerusalem, Judea, and from the region above the Jordan.

The *Onomasticon* of Eusebius explains that the Decapolis is a region of 10 cities beyond the Jordan, and around Hippos, Pella and Gadara. (An incorrect definition, but one that suited a region apparently involved in events from the Gospels). The story of the demoniac cured by Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels poses a problem of textual criticism. Matthew 8:28, which speaks of 2 possessed men, places the episode in the countryside of Gadara; in the parallel stories, Mark 5:1 and Luke 8:26–37, the location is the countryside of Gerasa; some manuscripts offer the variant *Gergesinōn* referring to a site N of Hippos (Parker 1975). Flavius Josephus (*JW* 3.9.7 §446) specifies that Scythopolis, to the W of the Jordan, is the largest city of the Decapolis; in the *Life* 65 §341 and 74 §410, he mentions 10 Syrian cities whose notables came to Vespasian to complain about the ravages that rioting Jews were wreaking on the villages in their territories; the passage implies these 10 cities were well known. Pliny the Elder (*HN* 5.18.74) is the clearest. Judea, he writes, is contiguous on the Syrian side with the region of the Decapolis (so called for the number of its cities). He notes that in his time there was some uncertainty about the exact list of the cities of the Decapolis and he gives the most currently accepted list, which includes Damascus and Galasa (the form received in the manuscript tradition, considered a mistake for Gerasa). A Gk inscription of the Palmyra region from the time of Hadrian mentions a citizen from Abila of the Decapolis; the city is not found in Pliny's list. A Gk inscription discovered in the Balkans indicates that an officer whose career is dated by the decorations he received during the Domitian wars was prefect of the Decapolis of Syria (Isaac 1981). Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.14.18) knows but one list, the Decapolis and Coelesyria, in which the cities named by Pliny are, except for Raphana, mixed with other cities of S Syria. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.5.3) and Epiphanius of Salamis in Cyprus (A.D. 315–403) (*Adv. Haeres.* 29.7.7–8) mention Pella of the Decapolis as a place of refuge for the Christian community of Jerusalem in A.D. 69–70. In the *Ethnika* of Stephanus of Byzantium (135.15) Gerasa is called a city of the Decapolis.

B. List of the Cities

It is thus difficult to establish an exact list of the 10 cities of the Decapolis. Neither inscriptions nor coins lead one to think that any of these cities was ever officially called a city of the Decapolis; the specification in the inscription from Palmyra, concerning a private person, is intended to avoid confusion with another Abila in Lysanias (*Ant* 19.275). Abila, Canata, Dius, Gadara, Gerasa, Hippos, Pella, Philadelphia, and Scythopolis have in common that during the Roman period they used on their coins and in their inscriptions a system of dating according to the so-called Pompeian eras that commemorated their liberation by Pompey. Damascus, which after Pliny is often counted among the cities of the Decapolis, never used any but the Seleucid era. Modern historians often include Capitolias among the cities of the Decapolis, but Pliny doesn't mention it and undoubtedly couldn't have mentioned it: The era that the city on its coinage was inaugurated under the reign of Nerva or at the beginning of Trajan's; the city was not founded, at least under this name, until the end of the Ist century A.D.

C. Identification of Sites

The identification of most of the cities of Decapolis no longer poses any problems, even if it is not always possible to determine the limits of their territories. Scythopolis is Beth-shan in the lower Galilean plain (*ANRW* 2/8: 262–94). All the others are found to the E of the Jordan. Pella

(Smith 1973; McNicoll 1982) is Tabaqat Pahil, on the very edge of the plateau, above a valley rich in water; here there was constructed a nymphaeum, a monumental fountain and water sanctuary, that became famous and gave it the official name Pella (of) Nymphaion (Seyrig 1959: 41–42; Smith 1973: 52–53). Philadelphia (Zayadine 1982) is Amman, the southernmost. The edge of the plateau forms the E limits of its territory (Villeneuve 1988: 280–81), violently contested by the people of Peraea during the time of Emperor Claudius (*Ant* 20.1.1 §1). Gerasa (Kraeling 1938) is Jerash, in the ancient hills of Gilead; the frontier between its territory and that of Philadelphia is situated on a tributary of the Jordan, the river Jabbok, partially more to the S. The two cities are on the main road that runs N–S through the inhabited area of the Jordanian plateau (Bauzou 1988). The territory of Gerasa did not extend NW to Lake Tiberias; despite Mark 5:1 and Luke 8:26; Gerasa was separated from the lake by the territory of Gadara and, without doubt, that of Hippos. Gadara (Wagner-Lux 1982), located at the present-day Umm-Qeis, dominated the river Yarmuk, a tributory of the Jordan, and, at a distance, Lake Tiberias. On the N bank of the Yarmuk were located the Emmatha baths, renowned hot springs; according to Matt 8:28 the territory of Gadara would have run alongside Lake Tiberias. In order to escape the difficulties that are presented on this point by the Synoptic stories, Origen (*Joan.* 6:24, followed by Cyril of Scythopolis *Vita Sabae* 24), conjectured that one must place the healing of the demoniacs in the country of the Gergasenians, identified as Korsia (modern Kursi), along the lake to the N of Hippos, conjecture passed on in a part of the manuscript tradition (PWSup 13:425).

Hippos (*EAEHL* 2:521–23) is near the edge of the lake, on the spot called Qalat el-Hosn, 30 stadia from Tiberias according to Josephus (*Life* 65 §349), facing Tarichaeae (*Life* 31 §153); its territory doubtless encompassed the site of el-Al, to the E of the lake, where an inscription is dated according to an era of the Decapolis. Abila is identified as Tell Qwelbeh, 12 Roman miles to the E of Gadara according to the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius (32.16. One must not confuse it with Abila or Abela in the Peraea that Nero gave to Agrippa II according to Josephus [*JW* 2.13.2 §252; Villeneuve 1988: 275; 285 n.4]; that Abila is much farther to the S, without doubt the present Kefrin). Capitolias is located at Beit Ras, in Jordan, N of Irbid. Raphana is the same as Raphon (1 Macc 5:37), and is located at the village of er-Rafe, 13 km ENE of the Sheik Saʿad in Syria (*ANRW* 2/8: 223); but some think that Raphana became Capitolias (Jones 1971: 259). Different locations have been proposed for Dium, which Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.14.8) mentions as lying between Pella and Gadara, an indication without precise geographic value. It has been located in Jordan, at Kefr Abil (E of Pella); at Tell el-Hosn (several km SSE of Irbid); or even further to the SE, near Mafraq and Er-Rihab, at Edun. A location at Tell el Ashari in Syria, about 15 km NNW of Deraa, is the most likely; among the coins found at the site are two Dium bronzes (Augé 1988: 328, 331).

Canata, Canatha, or Canotha (the spelling variants found in literary texts, inscriptions, and coins are considered variations of the same toponym) is generally identified as Qanawat in the Jebel Arab, formerly called the Jebel Druze; if *Chanata* of the Peutinger Table is indeed Canatha, the distances indicated point to Qanawat. This identification raises some difficulties. An inscription commemorates certain works to harness water to supply the city of Canatha; the springs named can be identified, and they are at an altitude much lower than that of Qanawat. Canatha may designate not the city, but a portion of its vast rural territory (Sartre 1981); but this explanation is not convincing. The coins of Canata/Canatha are dated according to the Pompeian era, while the dated inscriptions found at Qanawat are dated by regnal years of the Roman emperors. It is extremely unlikely that two different systems of dating would have been in use in the same city. The use of the regnal years would indicate attachment to the imperial domain; such a status does not seem acceptable for a city in the Decapolis (Rey-Coquais 1982). Archaeological investigation of the Qanawat region shows an essentially rural area where Hellenistic influences were felt late in the 1st century A.D. (Dentzer 1986; Sartre 1987); but the "ten cities" boasted of being cities of Greek culture, institutions, and origin.

D. History of the Cities

The first foundations by Macedonians and other Greeks in the region of the Jordan date back to the conquest of the East by Alexander the Great. Gerasa claimed Alexander and his lieutenant Perdiccas as founders; Alexander was the founder of Dium according to Stephanus of Byzantium (*Ethnika* 103–4), of Abila, if its coins have been properly interpreted, of Capitolias, which celebrated him as *genarchos* "first ancestor" (Seyrig 1965: 24–28; Frézouls 1988: 127 n. 47). Pella, which got its name from the royal capital of Macedonia, is a Macedonian foundation from this same period; archaeological finds of Ptolemaic coins and stamps from Rhodian amphoras seem to confirm this (McNicoll 1982). Philadelphia was founded by Ptolemy II Philadelphus (308–246 B.C.). The absence of any early Hellenistic levels in some archaeological excavations, notably at Amman and at Jerash, poses the problem of the foundation and of the development of these cities (Zayadine 1982: 20; Seigne 1986: 53).

The Greco-Macedonian colonies occupy sites chosen for their natural advantages, their defensive and strategic value, their position on vital roads (Mittmann 1966; Bauzou 1988), their situation on fertile soil. These sites had already been inhabited since early antiquity, as toponymic traditions and archaeological discoveries attest. Philadelphia, for example, is the ancient Rabbath Ammon, mentioned by Polybius (*Hist.* 5.69–70), under the name of Rabbatamana (see RABBAH). Abila, Canatha, Gadara, Gerasa kept their original names (Zayadine 1982). The name of Pella probably replaces an indigenous name of similar sound mentioned in ancient Egyptian documents, which remains to this day in the form of Paḥil or Faḥil. The image on coins from Hippos is a winged horse; the Gk name Hippos, which means "horse," translates a Semitic name of the same meaning: Sussitha in the Talmudic sources, Sussiya in Arabic.

The city of Scythopolis (*ANRW* 2/8 262–67) covers the ancient Beth-shan. A variety of suggestions have been made concerning the origin of the Gk name. According to the 6th century *Chronography* of John Malalas (5.178) the name recalled a Scythian settlement there from the time

of the Trojan War. A Scythian settlement might date from the 7th century according to Herodotus, (4.105), or perhaps have arisen under Ptolemy II (*ANRW* 2/8 262–94); "Scythopolis" could also be a very approximate rendering of a Semitic name, if one supposes that a semantic doublet of *-šē'an*, "quiet," underlies the element **scyth* (<Heb *šeqeṭ* "quietness"?; Frézouls 1987).

Scythopolis also had the name Nysa, which during the Roman period was linked to the legend of Dionysius, whose wet nurse was named Nysa, as Pliny (*HN* 5.18.14) and also the coins of the city attest. The name might derive from a Seleucid princess, a grandmother of Antiochus III, or perhaps one of his daughters (Rigsby 1980), or even one of Antiochus IV's nieces (Frézouls 1987: 88).

At the end of the 3d century B.C., Antiochus III (the Great) took Syria, southern Phoenicia, and Palestine from the Lagides. He acquired Scythopolis through a treaty; the commander Ptolemaios son of Thraseas, who possessed vast domains in the surrounding area, left the service of the king of Egypt and went over to the Seleucid king, for whom he then governed the province (*ANRW* 2/8: 268–70; Sartre 1988: 21). Antiochus took Pella; the Galaatide, which is the country of Gerasa, Abila, and Gadara and is thus the strongest area of the region; and Rabbatamana, i.e., Philadelphia (Polyb. *Hist.* 5.69–71). The Seleucid seizure of Philadelphia forced John Hyrcanus, the last representative of the great Tobiad family, servant and partisan of the Lagides, to take refuge in their *baris*, their fortress called "Tyre" (*Ant* 12.4.11 229–35), identified as Iraq el-Amir (Will 1982; Villeneuve 1988).

Antiochus III and, to a lesser degree, his successors, developed the colonization of the Jordan region. Several cities received a Seleucid dynastic toponym, the mark of a new foundation, that the cities would recall with pride during the Roman epoch (Frézouls 1988: 117–19). Gadara, according to Stephanus of Byzantium (*Ethn.* 128.30), became Seleucia and Antioch. Gerasa was Antioch of Chrysorrhoas, from the name of the river that waters it, as attests a weight from the Hellenistic period, dated from 143/42 B.C. (Seyrig 1950: 53), an inscription under Hadrian, and coins from Marcus Aurelius to Commodus (Spijkerman 1978: 160–63). Abila was called S'leucia and Hippos Antioch as its coins show (Spijkerman 1978: 50–57; 170–79). It is perhaps only during this period that the Greco-Macedonian foundations of the Jordan region gained the status of true Hellenistic cities and experienced real urban development (Barghouti 1982), well documented for Gerasa (Pierobon 1983: 18–19; Seigne 1986: 53).

At the end of the 2d century and at the beginning of the 1st century B.C., the cities of Decapolis suffered from the anarchy which began to afflict the Seleucid empire with the rival ambitions of the Jews and the Nabataeans, whose kingdoms were in great expansion. Philadelphia and Gerasa (Gatier 1988: 159–62) were under the power of a dynast, Zenon nicknamed "Cotylas," and his son Theodoros, who operated as vassals of the Nabataeans (Gatier 1988); they owned numerous fortresses in the region and they stored their treasure at Gerasa. About 130 B.C. they offered refuge to the Jew Ptolemy, enemy of John Hyrcanus, at Philadelphia. The Jewish king Alexander Janneus made war on them several times, took over their fortresses (of which Amathus was the most important) and their treasure; he made himself master of numerous cities in Syria and of Dius, Abila, Scythopolis, and Gadara. He led a fanatical war to impose Jewish customs and to annihilate Hellenistic culture (*JW* 1.4.8 §104; *Ant* 13.15.3–4 393: 396–97). The resistance of the inhabitants of Pella ended in the destruction of their city. Alexander Janneus died in the hills of the region of Gerasa while he was attacking the fortress of Ragaba (*Ant* 13.15.5 §398). In 64 B.C., Gadara, Dius, Pella, and Scythopolis found themselves in Jewish territory. At the beginning of 63 B.C., the Nabataean king Aretas III possessed Philadelphia, whither he retreated when Pompey ordered him to raise the siege of Jerusalem (*JW* 1.6.3 §129); without a doubt he also controlled Gerasa (Gatier 1988: 162).

The Roman intervention led by Pompey in 64 and 63 B.C. put an end to the troubles of the Decapolis cities. Taking control of the fortified sites and treasure troves of tyrants and brigands (Strabo 16.2.40 C 763), Pompey liberated the cities from oppression by kings and Jewish and Nabataean tyrants, and rebuilt them from the ruins that the wars, and particularly the Jewish incursions, had caused to accumulate there. Gadara, which had been destroyed a short time before, was given by Pompey to his freedman Demetrius, whose native city it was. Hippos, Scythopolis, Pella, and Dius were turned over to their inhabitants. All the Greek cities were left free—that is to say, they regained their municipal autonomy—but they were attached to the province of Syria (*JW* 1.7.7 §155–57; *Ant* 14.4.4 §74–76). The economic and cultural capital of the region, Gadara, first received the right to mint bronze coinage.

To celebrate their liberation, the cities inaugurated new eras which, contrary to many other new "Pompeian" eras adopted by other cities of the Near East, remained in use up until the end of the Roman empire (Seyrig 1959). Gadara, Hippos, Scythopolis (Alt 1932) made use of eras beginning in the autumn of 64 B.C.; in Gadara, the 1st year of the new era is called "year 1 of the liberty of Rome" (Seyrig 1959). The eras of Gerasa, Pella, and Philadelphia (Gatier 1988: 165) begin in the autumn of 63. For Abila and Dius (Augé 1988: 326), it is not possible to determine whether their eras begin in 64 or 63; an inscription from Tafas (Rey-Coquais 1978: 45 n. 18), and an inscription from Khisfin, in the S Golan (*Revue des Etudes Grecques* 1979 *Bulletin epigraphique* 620), show the use of an era beginning in 64, but it is not known in which ancient city's territory these sites were located. Inscriptions from Qonaitra also employ an era of the Decapolis, which is difficult to specify further.

About two centuries later, these cities made a point of recalling officially in the legends inscribed on their coins that they owed to Pompey and his lieutenants a new foundation (Seyrig 1959). Gadara called itself Pompeia Gadara; L. Marcius Philippus, Governor of Syria in 61 and 60 B.C., gave his name to Pella; on its coins issued under Lucius Verus, Commodus and, Elagabalus, the city calls itself Philippa Pella and also makes reference to Pompey (Smith 1973: 52–54). Aulus Gabinius, governor from 57 to 55 B.C., who contributed to the restoration of many cities, intervened in particular for Canatha which, under Commodus and Elagabalus, proclaimed itself Gabinia Canatha;

the *Chronicon Pascal* (351.16 [Dindorf]) also witnesses the action of Gabinius in favor of Philadelphia (Rey-Coquais 1981: 25–26). All these governors had to fight against the Arabs (Appian *Syr.* 51), who were not only the nomads of the E desert but also most certainly the Nabataeans (*JW* 1.7.7 §55–57); *Ant* 14.4.4 §74–76), who were not happy to see Rome cut the direct route between Petra and Bostra, their two great capitals.

During the troubled period of the Roman civil wars the Nabataeans were able to recommence their expansion toward the N. When Mark Antony gave S Syria to Cleopatra, the region of Qanawat, where Canatha is usually located, was in the hands of the Nabataeans. The same year as the victory of Augustus at Actium, Jews and Nabataeans were warring in the region of Dius (which Josephus calls *Diospolis; JW* 1.19.2 §336), the region of Canatha (*JW* 1.19.2 §336–67; *Ant* 15.4.5 §112), and of Philadelphia (*JW* 1.19.5 §380). Reorganizing the E empire after Actium, Augustus gave the area N of Hauran first to Zenodorus of Calchis, who sold part of it to the Nabataeans, and part, after 23 B.C., to Herod the Great, who, in order to maintain security, installed 2 military camps and in 12 B.C. had to call in the Roman army. In 30 B.C., Hippos and Gadara although they had been Greek cities (Joseph. *Ant* 15.7.3 §217), were ceded to Herod and remained in his realm despite their complaints (*Ant* 15.10.2–3 §351–58). Nothing indicates that Scythopolis and Pella had formed enclaves in the Herodian realm and even less that they had submitted to him. At Herod's death, Hippos and Gadara regained their municipal freedom and were attached to the province of Syria (*Ant* 17.11.4 320), like the other Greek cities of the region. The area N of Hauran entered the domain of the tetrarch Philip; it was then given first to king Agrippa I and then, after a new period of direct administration by Syria during the reign of the emperor Claudius, to Agrippa II, who held it until his death around 93–94 C.E. (*HJP*^{3} 2: 336–40; 442–54; 471–83; Bowersock 1975). Numerous inscriptions witness their domination.

At the beginning of the First Jewish War, after the disaster of Caesarea, the Jews in revolt attacked the 10 Syrian cities, sacking the territories of Philadelphia, Gerasa, Pella, and Scythopolis, and later Gadara and Hippos (*JW* 2.18.1–4 §458; *Life* 65 §341). When Vespasian arrived in Ptolemais, the notables from the 10 cities came to complain and ask him for protection (*Life* 74 §410). In A.D. 66, the whole Jewish population of Scythopolis was annihilated, after having been forced to help the pagans defend the city against the Jews in revolt (*JW* 2.18.3–5 §446–77; 7.8.7 §364). Scythopolis served as a base of operations for Vespasian's army. In Hippos and in Gadara the Jews were massacred. Gadara was the only city to organize an expedition against the Jews; the other Greek cities of the region do not seem to have sent any contingent. In Gerasa, the Jews were spared, and those who wanted to leave the city were permitted to do so with an escort. According to Josephus (*JW* 4.9.1 §487–89), Gerasa was destroyed by Vespasian and its population was massacred or reduced to slavery; however, an inscription dating from A.D. 70 tells us that a "suppliant" came to seek the right of asylum in the sanctuary of Zeus, offering him 10,000 drachmas in thanks. Fleeing besieged Jerusalem, the growing Christian community sought refuge in the countryside of Pella in the Decapolis (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.5.3; Epiphanius *Adv. haer* 29.7.7–8; Manns 1982).

E. Nature of the Decapolis

The Decapolis has often been presented as a league of independent cities organized by Pompey (Bietenhard 1963; Jones 1971: 259). An examination of the documents, the recollection of historic events shows that it was nothing of the sort (Parker 1975). Neither Strabo, well informed on all of Pompey's actions, nor Josephus knew of such a league. Each city of the Decapolis used its own era, from 64 or 63 B.C., according to the date on which it was liberated by Pompey. The 10 cities experienced different destinies during the first part of the Roman domination; they did not form a politically coherent unit.

Their unity comes from their Hellenistic character, which distinguished them sharply from neighboring populations, Jews to the W, Nabataeans to the S, highland tribes or semi-nomads to the N. The 10 cities were Greek cities not only in origin and institutions but in culture (Bietenhard *ANRW* 2/8: 249–52; Rey-Coquais 1982: 9). They gave birth to rhetors, scholars, poets, and renowned jurists. In the 2d century B.C., Hippos was considered the most cultivated city of southern Syria. Natives of Gadara in the Hellenistic period included the satirist Menippus (3d century B.C.); the poet Meleager (ca. 140–ca. 70 B.C.), author of the famous *Garland,* which called his homeland the Syrian Attica; and the Epicurian philosopher Philodemus (ca. 110–ca. 40 B.C.). From the beginning of the imperial period, among renowned Gadarans were the philosopher Antiochus; the orator Theodoros (fl. 33 B.C.), a contemporary of Strabo (Strabo 16.2.29 C 759), who was Tiberius's advisor; and Strabo's adversary the Cynical philosopher Oenomaos (ca. A.D. 12). In the 3d century A.D., Aspine (ca. 190–250), who held the imperial chair of philosophy at Athens and was consul at Rome, came from Gadara; shortly after his time, the illustrious philosopher Iamblicus (ca. 250–ca. 325), a native of Chalcis, would betake himself to the baths of Emmatha in Gadara while philosophizing with his disciples. Among famous men from Gerasa, Stephanius of Byzantium names the rhetor Ariston, the sophist Kerykos, the lawyer Plato; the best known is the mathematician and pythagorian theorist Nicomacus, from the 2d century A.D. From Pella comes an esteemed Christian historian, Ariston. Scythopolis was a center of Greek culture.

The cults and divinities of the cities of the Decapolis were Greek, even if they show signs of eastern influence (Seyrig 1959 and 1962; Augé 1982 and 1988). The arts were developed there according to Greek forms; architecture, sculpture, and painting also, as revealed by tombs from the Roman period (Zayadine 1976; Barbet 1982 and 1986; Vibert-Guigne 1982). City planning and monuments, porticoed avenues, theaters, fountains, and sanctuaries were Greek; Hellenism there was vital enough to enrich itself from eastern borrowing (Seign 1986: 41–53). All this gave to the 10 Greek cities a feeling of shared culture, and conferred them an originality noteworthy in this part of the Orient. The Roman provincial organization was conscious of this fact (Rey-Coquais 1982).

The attestations of the term *Decapolis* go back to the period which extend from Tiberius to the Flavians. Most

particularly important and significant is a Gk inscription, for a long time misunderstood, that mentions a prefect of the Decapolis in Syria. The Decapolis was thus, from the 1st century A.D., an administrative region, in the territory of a single holder, endowed with a certain autonomy, and attached to the province of Syria (Isaac 1981). Its situation must have been analogous to that of Judea under the prefect Pontius Pilate, and perhaps also, around the same time, to the territory of Arados, a prefect of which city is honored in an inscription (Rey-Coquais 1978: 50). The status of local communities was intermediate between the "liberty" of free cities like Antioch on the Orontes, Laodicea by the Sea, or Tyre, and the condition of subject cities closely subjugated to the common law of the Roman province. The number of cities allocated to the Decapolis in the Roman administrative region was without doubt variable, as Pliny implies; Stephanus of Byzantium, with respect to Gerasa, notes that at one time these cities numbered 14 (PWSup 13: 370).

F. End of the Decapolis

The annexation of Nabataea and the creation of the province of Arabia by Trajan (A.D. 106) brought about the end of the Decapolis. The administrative region by this name no longer existed; the cities that had been part of it now found themselves distributed among neighboring provinces. Philadelphia and Gerasa were included in the new province of Arabia. Many modifications of provincial boundaries during the 2d and 3d centuries would bring about the attachment of other Decapolis cities to the provinces of Arabia or of Palestine.

From the beginning of the 2d century, in the official titles of numerous cities of the Decapolis, appears the name of *Coelesyria;* the term appears on coins and in inscriptions from Philadelphia of Hadrian's epoch; on coins from Scythopolis, Gadara, and Abila under Marcus Aurelius; and on coins of Dius and Pella under Caracalla. Since the time when all of the cities of the Decapolis were part of the province of Syria, they had participated in the celebration of the imperial cult as the district of Phoenicia and Coelesyria, of which Tyre was the metropolis. Those cities that ceased to belong to the province of Syria would have obtained the right to continue to celebrate the imperial cult in the district of Coelesyria, which was reorganized in the reign of Hadrian, with Damascus as its capital. The Greek cities suffered greatly in being assimilated to Arab or Jewish cities; the ones in Arabia would not have wanted to be associated with the Nabataeans in the celebration of the provincial imperial cult in Petra, metropolis of Arabia since the reign of Trajan (Bowerstock 1983: 85), even if Hellenistic influence was felt there. Scythopolis, gone over to the province of Palestine, called itself one of the Greek cities of Syria on coins minted during the period of Commodus (Spijkerman 1978: 194–95 n. 21). Thus would be explained the name of Coelesyria (Rey-Coquais 1981: 28–31; 1982: 8–9; Sartre 1988: 27). Although the boundaries between the Roman provinces of Syria, Arabia, and Palestine were redrawn several times, the date of the appearance of this name on coins does not necessarily represent the date of the change of province.

The foregoing explains why the geographer Ptolemy used a unique rubic, *Decapolis et Coelesyria,* which regrouped all the cities that participated together in the imperial cult in the district of Damascus without taking into account the provincial boundaries. Ptolemy makes a second mention of certain of the Decapolis cities in other regional lists. Beginning with the 2d century, many of the cities from the former Decapolis would regain their autonomy or liberty, exempting them from the common law of the province, as coins and inscriptions from Gerasa (from Hadrian's period on), and from Gadara, Abila, Capitolias, and Scythopolis attest. Belonging to Arabia or to Palestine, the Greek cities of the region, proud of their origins, their traditions and their culture, continued to affirm their differences. Their own character assured them a unity that, ignoring administrative boundaries, preserved the distinctive traits of the former Decapolis.

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JEAN-PAUL REY-COQUAIS
Trans. Stephen Rosoff

DECISION, VALLEY OF (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēmeq heḥārûṣ*]. The Valley of Judgment spoken of in Joel 3:14, indicating the place where God will give a judicial decree against the nations; it is also to be identified with the Valley of Jehoshaphat; see JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF. The exact location of the site is uncertain, but from the references to judgment of the nations in Joel 3:32 and 12, and the twice repeated reference to the "Valley of Decision" and to "multitudes" in Joel 3:14, it is clear that the place is a *place* of judgment. The context is eschatological ("sun and moon will be darkened and the stars no longer shine," Joel 3:15), and the site is to be located somewhere in the area of Judah (Joel 3:1) and Jerusalem in particular (Joel 3:1, 16, 17); here the Lord's great judgment is predicted to fall on all the nations (Joel 3:2). Traditionally the last judgment has been viewed by Jews, Christians, and Muslims as occurring in the Kidron Valley just E of Jerusalem, including the valley slopes; as a result of this belief many tombs are to be found on the Kidron slopes, the Muslim cemetery on the W and the Jewish on the E. It is in this Valley of Decision then that the final judgment is seen as taking place.

W. HAROLD MARE

DECONSTRUCTION. See POST-STRUCTURALIST ANALYSIS.

DEDAN (PLACE) [Heb *dĕdān*]. DEDANITE. An important commercial settlement located at one of the major oases in NW Arabia (Gen 10:7; Gen 25:3). The town has been identified with the ruins of Khuraybah just N of the modern village of al-ʿUla in the Ḥijāz (26°41′N; 38°1.5′E). During the 6th century B.C., it emerged into prominence. Dedan appears in the biblical genealogies both as the descendant of Raamah son of Cush (Gen 10:7; 1 Chr 1:9) and Jokshan son of Abraham and Keturah (Gen 25:3; 1 Chr 1:32). The "sons of Dedan" appear in the plural form, which led to their being interpreted as professional classes—warriors, craftsmen, and tribesmen (Albright 1953: 9–10), but they more likely represent ethnic groups, the "Asshurim" denoting a Syrian colony at the oasis (Winnett 1970: 190–191), the "Letushim" perhaps the native Arabs, and "Leummim" another foreign group residing at the oasis. In the 6th century B.C., the Hebrew prophets link Dedan with Syria-Palestine and Phoenicia in trading enterprises: the Arab settlers provided Tyre with saddle blankets for their horses (Ezek 27: 20; cf. 15, where LXX "men of Rhodes" is to be preferred with RSV to MT "sons of Dedan") and perhaps the inhabitants of the Levant with incense from S Arabia. The merchants and caravans of Dedan are among the foreigners who drew the ire of the Hebrew prophets (Isa 21:13 and Ezek 38:13).

The ruins of ancient Dedan are extensive, running for approximately 1 km alongside the sandstone cliffs of the narrow valley just N of the modern town of al-ʿUla (Jaussen and Savignac 1909; 1914; Parr, Harding, and Dayton 1970: 204–14). Along this 13-km serpentine stretch, there are the remains of numerous settlements for which Khuraybah was the administrative center (Bawden 1979). The intensive agricultural cultivation of this fertile valley

(known as the "valley of villages" or Wadi al-Qurā by Arab historians) is reflected in the complex hydrological system of subterranean conduits that irrigated the fields. These remains appear to be the product of the Lihyanite period (Nasif 1980). The cult of the local god, Du-gabat, also appears to have been an agricultural religion (Beeston 1974). The unique architecture, sculpture and ceramics produced by Dedanite culture indicate a complex, highly organized society. The necropolis with the famous Lion tombs on the E side of the wadi are a fine example of the distinctiveness of the culture.

Hundreds of inscriptions in a distinctive form of S Semitic script have been found at the settlement, in the various adjacent sandstone cliffs, and beyond. Many more undoubtedly await discovery. To the almost 400 texts collected by Jaussen and Savignac, over 100 more must now be added to the corpus. Most of them are from al-ʿUla (Altheim and Stiehl 1968, 1971; Parr, Harding, and Dayton 1972: 36–39) or nearby at Medāʾin Ṣāliḥ (50), but others have been discovered more distantly, such as the handful from Jabal Thadra, 85 km NW of Khuraybah (Jamme 1981: 99–105), and those from Midian (van den Branden 1960) and further N in the region of Aqaba in Jordan (Graf 1983). This corpus has been organized into three categories—Dedanite, Early Lihyanite, and late Lihyanite. This tripartite classification remains a matter of some dispute (Jamme 1968), but the following chronology is widely accepted (Drewes *Encyclopedia of Islam*^{2} 5: 761–63). The "Dedanite" inscriptions are assigned to the 6th–5th century B.C. based on their similarity to the Taymanite texts of the same period. The "Lihyanite" texts appear to be later, ranging probably from the 5th–1st centuries B.C. (Altheim and Stiehl 1964; al-Ansary 1970; Winnett and Reed 1970: 119–20). The "lower" chronology of the 2d century B.C. to the 2d century A.D. advocated by Caskel (1953) seems less convincing.

In addition to these indigenous scripts, there is a small body of S Arabian texts at Dedan that appear to be the product of a Minaean merchant colony established at the oasis and involved in the incense trade in the Mediterranean from the 4th–2d centuries B.C. The Lihyanite kingdom appears to be contemporaneous with these texts (van den Branden 1957). The language of the Dedanite-Lihyanite texts represents an early form of Arabic that occasionally even borders on classical Arabic (Beeston 1973). The content is primarily funerary or cultic, but occasionally the brief petitions or epitaphs refer to royal figures who ruled at the oasis. Only one text speaks of a king of "Dedan," but at least 6 or 7 kings and even 1 queen of "Lihyan" are mentioned.

The transition from Dedanite to Lihyanite rule remains unclear. Without such clues, an absolute chronology is at this time impossible and only general guidelines serve to date the texts. Several indications of the Hellenistic era for the Lihyanite inscriptions exist, but these are also subject to dispute. Several Lihyanite kings are named *tlmy* (Tulmay), which has been derived from the dynastic name of Ptolemy, the rulers of Egypt, and interpreted as a product of Hellenistic influence. But the name Talmai appears in the Hebrew Bible (2 Sam 3:3, 13:37; 1 Chr 3:2), rendering such connections uncertain (al-Ansary 1970: 58), particularly since a large number of personal names in the Lihyanite onomasticon are well attested in Hebrew and other W Semitic dialects (al-Ansary 1975: 9–12).

Moreover, it can no longer be assumed that Ptolemy II's campaign of 278/7 B.C. was directed against the Lihyanite kindom in Arabia in an effort to gain control of the incense route (Tarn 1929). The expedition rather appears to have been to Syria-Palestine and Asia, not Arabia (Lorton 1971). Minaean inscriptions from the early Hellenistic period indicate S Arabian merchants were in contact with the oasis, but only one reference is made to Lihyan, whereas Dedan is mentioned nine times (Garbini 1974: no. 392). Lihyanite legends in the late form of the script appear on coins discovered in South Arabia that are imitations of Athenian coins and probably date to the same period (Walker 1959; Boneschi 1961). The fact that Masʿudu, one of the kings of Lihyan, recorded his name in Nabataean Aramaic inscriptions near Tayma seems to represent the terminus for the kingdom and the Lihyanite inscriptions, i.e., about 100 B.C. Afterwards, the Nabataeans appear to have controlled the region and shifted the administrative center from Dedan to Ḥegrā (Madāʾin Ṣaliḥ) some 20 km further N.

In the oracles against Edom in the Hebrew prophets, the Dedanites are involved in the condemnation (Jer 49:8 and Ezek 25:13). Evidence that Dedan moved within the Edomite orbit seems clear. One of the kings of Dedan was named *gltqs* (Caskel no. 30), and Lihyanite texts later refer to individuals named *ʿbdqs* and *slmtqs* (Jaussen and Savignac 1909: Lih. no. 363; *ʿdbqs* in 143 must be a case of metathesis; and *slmtqs*, no. 117). These names suggest the presence of the cult of the Edomite god, Qaus/Qos, at the oasis. Activities of Dedanites in Edomite territory are indicated by discoveries of their inscriptions at Tell el-Kheleifeh on the gulf of Aqaba and 50 km farther NE in the Ḥismā desert just S of the Edomite plateau (Graf 1983). In the excavations of the Edomite fortress at Ghrareh about 20 km S of Petra, a seal also was discovered inscribed in the proto-Arabic script of the Ḥijāz in a 7th–6th century context (as interpreted by E. A. Knauf in Hart 1988: 98–99). The cult of the Syrian god, Baʿalsamin, is also present at the oasis in the Ḥijāz during the early Dedanite period (Caskel 1953: no. 12). The cosmopolitan nature of the oasis and its far-flung contacts with Syria, Palestine, and Phoenicia may have taken place under Edomite auspices.

During Nabonidus' Arabian expedition and 10 year sojourn at Tayma (ca. 552–542 B.C.), the Neo-Babylonian king conducted a campaign deep into the Ḥijāz in which the kings of Tayma and Dedan were slain (Graf 1989: 140). A "war against Dedan" is also mentioned in "Taymanite" inscriptions from Jabal Ghunaym just 10 km S of Tayma (Winnett and Reed 1970: nos. 20–23) and at a small watch tower 8 km NW of Tayma (Parr, Harding, and Dayton 1972: 41, no. 39), which also may allude to Nabonidus' expedition (cf. Ephʿal 1982: 179–91). In 539 B.C., Nabonidus was defeated by Cyrus and the oasis may have come under Achaemenid Persian control. The primary evidence for this assumption is one of the inscriptions of the oasis that refers to "Gashm b. Shahr and ʿAbd the governor (*ḥṭ*) of Dedan" (Jaussen and Savignac 1909: Lih no. 138). This Gashm has been identified with "Geshem the Arab," one of the opponents of Nehemiah (Neh 2:19; 6:1–2, 6), but

reservations have been expressed about such connections (Eph'al 1982: 204).

The matter seems now fairly certain, as a recent Aramaic text found at Tayma indicates the governor of the town in the 5th century B.C. was Pṣgw Shahru, "the son of the king of Lihyan" (Cross 1986). Since Shahru is a dynastic name both of the royal house at Dedan and that of Qedar, the ruling governors in the Ḥijāz may have been Qedarites. A Persian satrap and governor of Qedar is known as early as the 5th year of Cyrus' reign (ca. 545 in BE VIII/1: 65), indicating the Qedarites were subjects of the Achaemenid empire before the defeat of Nabonidus in 539. The Qedarites may have been installed as governors in the region because of their loyalty to the Achaemenid ruler. The common assumption that the title of "governor" (*ḥṭ*, Aramaic *pḥh*) was used only in the Achaemenid period (Winnett and Reed 1970: 116; Knauf 1985: 105) must now be rejected; the title was in general use throughout the Neo-Babylonian empire for governors including those of the Levant prior to the reign of Nabonidus (Graf 1989: 140). It may therefore be the legacy of Nabonidus' rule in the region. It also has been suggested that Nabonidus used Jewish mercenaries during his Arabian campaign and established them in military colonies in the Ḥijāz at such locations as Dedan (Gadd 1958: 86). Later Jewish presence at the oasis is indicated by several Aramaic inscriptions from the oasis from the Byzantine period (J. T. Milik in Winnett and Reed 1970: 163), but there is no reflection of and Jewish presence in the extensive epigraphic Dedanite corpus of the earlier periods.

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DAVID F. GRAF

DEDICATION, FEAST OF. The festival of dedication, which is named Hanukkah in Hebrew, is the Jewish holiday which celebrates the reconsecration of the Jerusalem temple and its altar to the traditional service of the Lord in 165 or 164 B.C.E. It begins on the 25th day of the month Kislev (the 9th month in the lunisolar calendar; it coincides with parts of November and December) and lasts for 8 days.

A. The Name

The term Hanukkah as the name for this festival first occurs in *Megillat Taʿanit*, a 1st century C.E. text in which the festival (*ḥnkt*) is included among the days on which fasting was forbidden. There can be no doubt, though, that the Hebrew term was used in the now-lost original Hebrew text of 1 Maccabees. The word *ḥănukkāh* is usually translated "dedication, consecration," but the Gk words which ancient translators chose for rendering it suggest the idea of "renewal, restoration" (*egkainismos* [1 Macc 4:56, 59; 2 Macc 2:19; cf. 2:9]; *egkainia* [John 10:22]; related verbs are found in 1 Macc 4:36, 54, 57). This association of Hebrew and Greek terms agrees with the practice elsewhere in the LXX (Num 7:10, 11, 84, 88 [this chapter later became the Torah passage which was to be read on Hanuk-

kah (*m. Meg.* 3:6)]; Deut 20:5; 1 Kgs 8:63; 2 Chr 7:5, 9; Neh 12:27; Ps 30:1 [LXX 29:1]), although the words in the two languages do not seem to have precisely the same meanings.

B. The Event Celebrated

Like the great festivals of the OT, Hanukkah remembers and celebrates a significant historical event. Unlike the others, it commemorates an event which is described outside the Hebrew Bible. The temple in Jerusalem had been desecrated and transformed into the center for a pagan cult by order of King Antiochus IV (175–164 B.C.E.) in Kislev of 168 or 167 B.C.E. (1 Macc 1:29–64; 2 Macc 6:1–9) as part of a general proscription of the traditional practices of Judaism. The exact reasons for the king's actions, which were atypical for him, are not clear. He was anxious to create a stronger base of support in Jerusalem during his wars with Egypt, and he had recently had to crush an uprising in the city against his appointee, the high priest Menelaus (2 Macc 5:5–16). The Maccabean revolt which followed his decrees that banned traditional Judaism achieved some surprisingly successful results so that by late 165 or 164 B.C.E. Judas, the leader of the rebels, and his troops were able to gain possession of the temple mount. There they cleaned and repaired the temple and built a new altar so that the traditional forms of worship could be reinstituted (1 Macc 4:36–61; 2 Macc 10:1–8). 1 Macc 4:52–54 indicates that on Kislev 25, exactly three (compare 4:54 with v 52 and 1:59) or two (2 Macc 10:3) years after the pagans had profaned the old altar with their illicit offerings (part of the monthly celebration of the deified king's birthday [1 Macc 1:59; 2 Macc 6:7]), Judas and his collaborators offered sacrifices on the new altar. The celebration which began in this way continued for 8 days (1 Macc 4:56; 2 Macc 10:6). During this initial observance of Hanukkah, the celebrants decreed that in the future it should occur annually (1 Macc 4:59; 2 Macc 10:8).

C. Elements of the Celebration

The books of Maccabees agree about several important details regarding the first Hanukkah. For example, they both place the beginning of the festival on the same date, prescribe the same duration for it, and mention sacrifices on the new altar. There are, however, some ways in which their narratives differ. One noteworthy case in point is the fact that the account in 1 Macc 4:36–61 centers on the dedication or restoration of the altar, while the various references in 2 Maccabees (1:18; 2:16, 19; 10:3, 5, 7) focus on the cleansing of the temple. A more intriguing instance is the fact that 2 Maccabees, in complete distinction from 1 Maccabees, links Hanukkah with the Festival of Tabernacles. In 2 Macc 1:9, the Jews of Jerusalem urge their kin in Egypt to celebrate the days of tabernacles in the month Kislev; 1:18 links the purification of the temple with tabernacles and fire; and 10:6 relates that the original festival lasted 8 joyful days after the manner of tabernacles, adding that only a short time before, during the proper time for the Festival of Tabernacles (the 7th month, days 15–22), "they had been wandering in the mountains and caves like wild animals" (RSV). This last verse connects the 8-day duration with Tabernacles and suggests that their inability to celebrate the Festival of Tabernacles at the correct time led them to observe some of its rites as the first Hanukkah. 2 Maccabees never actually calls Hanukkah a festival of tabernacles, but it clearly relates the two occasions, both of which were marked by joy (Lev 23:40; 1 Macc 4:56, 58–59; 2 Macc 10:6). The 8 days of the holiday seem also to be modelled on Solomon's inauguration of the first temple (cf. 2 Macc 2:8–12). According to 1 Kgs 8:65–66, Solomon dismissed the assembled throng on the 8th day, after 7 days of dedicatory rites—days which coincided with the Festival of Tabernacles (8:2; 2 Chr 7:8–10). The parallel in 2 Chr 7:9–10, however, adds an 8th day to the festivities.

There are also several rituals which the two festivals share. (1) Both involved carrying branches (for Tabernacles, see Lev 23:40; Neh 8:15; *Jub.* 16:31; for Hanukkah, 2 Macc 10:7; cf. 6:7 where there is reference to a festival of Dionysus, possibly on the 25th of the month, in which wreaths of ivy were worn), though there is no indication that making booths was ever part of Hanukkah. (2) Both eventually included the Hallel (Psalms 113–18) in their liturgies (for Tabernacles, see *m. Sukk.* 4:1; for Hanukkah, *b. Šabb.* 21b; Scholion to *Megillat Ta'anit;* note that the title of Psalm 30 relates it to the dedication of the temple). 2 Macc 10:7 may already be pointing in this direction with its reference to "hymns of thanksgiving" (RSV; see also 1 Macc 1:54).

The Festivals of Tabernacles and Hanukkah also resemble one another in that both are associated with light. But their lights are very different: Tabernacles involved illuminating the Women's Court of the temple (*m. Sukk.* 5:2–4), while Hanukkah came to include lamps and lights at each one's home. As part of the pre-festival renovations and repairs, 1 Macc 4:49–50 notes that the candelabrum was brought into the temple and that its lamps were lit so that they gave light in the temple; 2 Macc 1:8; 10:3 allude to the same events. The second letter that is prefaced to 2 Maccabees refers to the festival of cleansing as a time of tabernacles and fire (1:18) and adds a story about a miraculous fire from the altar of the first temple that eventually turned into "nephthar" and later kindled the fire on the new altar in Nehemiah's time (1:19–36; cf. 2:1, 8–12). Nevertheless, these sorts of references to lights and fire hardly prepare one for Josephus' claim (*Ant* 12.7.7 §325) that the festival itself was named "Lights" *(phōta).* He had previously (12.7.6 §319) written that lights were kindled on Kislev 25, but here (§325) he explains the reason for the name *Lights:* "giving this name to it, I think, from the fact that the right to worship appeared *[phanēnai]* to us at a time when we hardly dared hope for it." Lights did indeed become a major characteristic of the festival, though the original reason for them seems to have been forgotten (for another early reference to the Hanukkah light, see *m. B. Qam.* 6:6).

D. Later References

The prominence of lights during the holiday encouraged discussions about their use and origin. One learns from *b. Šabb.* 21b that the Shammaites lit 8 lights on the first day of Hanukkah and reduced the total by one each succeeding day, but the Hillelites lit one on the first day and increased the number by one each of the following days (see also Scholion to *Megillat Ta'anit*). The dearth of

information about the origin of the lights seems to have led to the creation of stories to supply the deficiency. According to one legend, the temple candelabrum had been defiled during the Antiochan persecution so that it could not be used when the temple was recovered. The Hasmoneans (= the Maccabees) then took 7 or 8 iron spears and hung lamps on them (Scholion to *Megillat Taʿanit; Pesiq. R.* 2.5). The famous story about a miraculous cruse of oil is also related to the lights of Hanukkah and the duration of the festival. It claims that when the Hasmoneans regained the temple they found just enough undefiled oil in a cruse to fuel the candelabrum for one day; by a miracle, however, the oil kept it burning for 8 days.

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JAMES C. VANDERKAM

DEEP, THE [Heb *tĕhôm*]. In ANE cosmology, the earth was thought to have been placed afloat in the midst of terrifying cosmic waters. In Hebrew, this primeval ocean is usually called *tĕhôm*, but also *mĕṣûlāh, mĕṣôlāh,* and *ṣûlāh.* These synonyms are regularly translated by *abyssos,* "abyss," in Greek, far less frequently by *bathos* and *bythos,* "depth". The deep may, of course, refer simply to the ocean without any mythological implication (so in Job 38:30; 41:23—Eng 41:31; Ps 107:24; and Mic 7:19).

In Babylonian mythology, the deep is personified in the figure of monstrous Tiamat, a goddess whose name is related to the Hebrew word *tĕhôm.* It was upon the defeat of Tiamat that Babylon's patron god, Marduk, was able to create the cosmos and establish order. Tiamat's body was split in two like a shellfish. One half of the body became the firmament, the other became the bedrock of earth. Traces of this ancient cosmogony are still evident in the priestly account of creation in Genesis 1. Here the wind of God was instrumental in creation, a detail that is reminiscent of Marduk's final blow on Tiamat: a raging wind sent into her mouth (*ANET,* 67). According to the biblical writer, a firmament divided "the waters from the waters" (Gen 1:6). Hence the concept in the Bible of the two deeps calling to one another (Ps 42:8—Eng 42:7).

In another account of creation which confirms the role of the divine wind, the deity is said to have contained the watery chaos: "By the word the heavens were made; by the wind of his mouth all their host. He gathered the waters of the sea as in a container; he put the deeps *(tĕhômôt)* in storehouses" (Ps 33:6–7; cf. Prov 8:27–29). Henceforth, the unruly waters were held back and order was maintained. Only in the face of intolerable corruption on earth did God open the floodgates to unleash the destructive power of the deep. Water burst forth from the great deep *(tĕhôm rabbāh)* and poured out through the "windows of heaven" (Gen 7:11). Eventually the deluge was ended when "the fountains of the deep and the windows of heaven were closed" (Gen 8:2).

The deep is regularly associated with other watery monsters against whom Yahweh fought in both the creation of the world and of God's people: Rahab, Leviathan, River, Sea, Tannin, Mighty Waters. Indeed, the deep is named with the dragons *(tannînîm)* in Ps 148:7, and some archaic texts still recall the deep personified as a beast "crouching down under" (Gen 49:25; Deut 33:13). A hymn in Isaiah 51 echoes the ignominious defeat of the monster Tiamat:

> Was it not you who dismembered Rahab,
> who pierced the dragon?
> Was it not you who dried up the sea,
> the waters of the great deep *(tĕhôm rabbāh),*
> Who made the depths of the sea a way
> for the redeemed to cross over? (Isa 51:9c–10).

The cosmogonic battle was historicized and appropriated for the propaganda of the nation. Yahweh is said to have defeated Israel's earthly enemies as surely as he defeated the cosmic forces of chaos. Thus, the exodus is often portrayed as God's victory over the sea and the deep (Pss 77:17–21—Eng 77:16–20; 106:9; 107:23–24; Isa 44:27; 63:11–12; Hab 3:10; Zech 10:11; cf. Ps 74:13–15). In the Song of the Sea, however, the waters are not the enemies of Yahweh. Rather, they are merely instruments in Yahweh's victory: "The deeps *(tĕhōmôt)* covered them, they sank into the depths *(mĕṣōlôt)* like a stone" (Exod 15:5; cf. Neh 9:11). Likewise, in Ps 68:23 the victory of the divine warrior was not over the deep but *at* the deep.

In other texts, *tĕhôm* refers to the subterranean waters that have been tamed. The Ugaritic texts speak of the abode of the high god El "at the sources of the two rivers *(nhrm),* amid the springs of two deep *(thmtm)*" at the mountain of El (*CTA* 4.iv.21–22; 6.i.33–34; 17.vi.47–48). Thus the abode of Yahweh in Jerusalem is also said to have water flowing from it (Ps 46:5—Eng 46:4; Ezek 47:1–12; Zech 14:8; Joel 4:18—Eng 3:18; Isa 33:21–23a). Jewish traditions maintained that the rock of the temple was built located precisely at the mouth of the *tĕhôm* (*Tg. J.* on Exod 28:30; cf. *M. Para* 3.3). The deep was thought to be the source from which the subterranean waters flowed (Isa 44:27; cf. Eccl 1:7) and water continually welled up (2 Sam 1:21, reading *t<h>wmt* instead of *trwmt;* cf. *CTA* 19.1.44–45). In the defeat of the watery monsters, the restless deep was tamed (Ps 74:13–15). Now in the garden of God, the unending waters of the deep are harnessed for good, giving nourishment for the trees there (Ezek 31:4, 15). Likewise, the deep provided life-giving waters to the Israelites in the wilderness (Ps 78:15–16; cf. Exod 17:6).

But the waters of the deep were not always so reassuring to the Israelites. Landlubbers that they were, they found the ocean terrifying. It was equated with the underworld to which the wicked were cast and from which they long to be delivered. The prayer of Jonah illustrates this well:

From my distress I called to YHWH
And he answered me.
From the belly of Sheol I cried out
And he heard me
You have cast me into the deep *(mĕṣûlāh)*
into the heart of the seas.
The flood *(nāhār)* surrounded me;
All your breakers and your waves,
They washed over me.
. . . .
The waters encompassed me to the neck,
The deep *(tĕhôm)* surrounded me
The weeds are wrapped around my head
At the roots of the mountains.
I have descended to the underworld
Its bars are ever behind me
You brought my life up from the pit
O YHWH, my God. (Jonah 2:4, 6–7)

Here the ocean into which Jonah was cast is seen as the netherworld, where all the terrifying forces were. The poem resembles several individual laments in the psalter. One such psalm speaks metaphorically of *tĕhōmôt hāʾāreṣ* "the depths of the earth" (Ps 71:20). Another describes the underworld as the deep where darkness abides (Ps 88:7—Eng 88:6). In the book of Job 38, the deep is considered the mysterious realm of the dead (Job 38:16–18). It is not surprising, therefore, that the deep is frequently seen as the opposite of heaven (Gen 49:25; Deut 33:13; Ps 107:26; cf. *CTA* 3.iii.21–22). The deep became a metaphor for deep trouble that devours an individual on the earth (Ps 69:3, 16—Eng 16:2, 15).

According to Ben Sirach, Wisdom walked in the depths of the abyss near the assembly of the Most High (Sir 24:1–5). In the NT, *abyssos* occurs 9 times. Alluding to the *tĕhōmôt* in Ps 107:26, the apostle Paul speaks of the *abyssos* as the realm of the dead (Rom 10:7). Elsewhere in the NT, the abyss appears to be the place of imprisonment for all kinds of wicked spirits (Luke 8:31; Rev 9:1–2, 11; 11:7; 17:8; 20:1, 3; cf. 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 6).

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C. L. Seow

DEER. See ZOOLOGY.

DEFILE. See UNCLEAN AND CLEAN.

DEIR ʿALLA, TELL (M.R. 209178). A site in the E Jordan Valley, roughly halfway between the Lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea, near the river Zerqa (biblical Jabbok). The tell measures roughly 200 by 200 m at its foot; the highest point is 200 m below sea level, which is nearly 30 m above the surrounding fields. This entry will discuss the archaeology of the site, as well as the noteworthy texts discovered there.

ARCHAEOLOGY

A. Identification

Tell Deir ʿAlla is often connected with the biblical Succoth mentioned in Gen 33:17 and Judg 8:4–16. In the 19th century, Merrill discovered the name Deir ʿAlla which was used locally to indicate a stretch of land through which the river Zerqa flows from the foot of the mountains in the E to where it flows into the Jordan River. The mountains recede a little here to the E, and form a valley. Merrill associated this name with the Darʿala or Tarʿala mentioned in the Talmud, *Šebiʿit* 9, 2 *Gemara,* which had replaced the name Succoth. *Succoth* means "booth," *tarʿala* means "reeling," and *Deir ʿAlla* means "high monastery." Thus Deir ʿAlla could be a corruption of Tarʿala, and if so this would mean that the name had been known locally since early Islamic times, whereas the Succoth-Tarʿala tradition must have gone back to at least the early centuries of the Iron Age. Can this assumption be substantiated? The identification was made in the last century even before the true nature of a mound of ruins or tell was realized, whereas we know little about the nature of biblical Succoth in the sense of its physical appearance, its culture, religion, or its economic and social life. It was assumed before excavations began that Tell Deir ʿAlla was a town in biblical times, and it was taken for granted that Succoth was a town, as it is called in one place in the OT (Judg 8:16).

Through the excavations a good deal is known about the ruins of Tell Deir ʿAlla in the LB Age and in the Iron Age. This evidence cannot be reconciled with our traditional understanding of what Succoth was. It is quite possible that the excavations have revealed Succoth, but this would require biblical Succoth to be interpreted in an unexpected way.

An attempt to explain why the name of Succoth was changed into Tarʿala in antiquity may clarify the issue of identification. This attempt has only become possible since we have known that the tell contains ruins of sanctuaries from the LB Age and from the Iron Age.

The Hebrew word *terʿala* comes from the root *rʿl* meaning "to quiver, shake, reel," and *trʿlh* means "reeling." The word occurs in Ps 60:8 and Isa 51:17–22. In both cases the reference is not to people who are simply drunk, but is applied metaphorically to people who have drunk from "a cup of trembling" and "wine of astonishment." In the Psalm this refers to the aftermath of an earthquake which presumably hit Shechem and the Valley of Succoth. This destruction paved the way for the establishment of God's dominion in the Valley of Succoth. At Deir ʿAlla a complex building, which must be interpreted as a sanctuary dating

from the 8th century B.C., was destroyed by an earthquake. Even before the disaster, the prophets of Israel may have referred to the valley of the "booth" as a place of drunkenness, inebriation, or intoxication, which occurred during religious festivals and for which the cult of the Baʿals was known. This prophetic qualification may have become popular in pious circles, and may in the long run have caused the change of name. Yet, in the same way, Succoth may also have been a sobriquet used purposely to avoid mentioning the real name of the LB pagan sanctuary at Deir ʿAlla, or its Iron Age successors. Also both names were occasionally used to indicate the valley as well as the site of the cult.

From about 1550 B.C. until after 1200 B.C. there was a sanctuary which did not belong to a village or a town. The reason for its existence was inferred partly through the study of technological features in the pottery found in the successive stages of rebuilding and repair of the cult center. Although the pottery at each level of development seemed to form an homogeneous group, the composition of the clays used in their production showed that a fair amount of the pottery had been imported from the hinterland. For instance, pottery was brought from basalt areas such as that found in Basan, but also from totally different geological areas. This means that people in the LB Age traveled long distances to bring gifts in pottery containers to the sanctuary. This almost certainly connects the site of Deir ʿAlla and its surroundings with trade and with a staple market. Products from Gilead and beyond to the E, the N, and the S were collected and transported to this area, where they were sold in large quantities to caravans bound for Egypt (Gen 37:25), the Mediterranean coast, and Syria. In return the caravans brought objects from these regions to Deir ʿAlla.

This interpretation can provide the answers to a number of questions about the archaeological evidence. It explains why there would have been a really large sanctuary standing all by itself in the LB Age. It is now clear that it was supported by trade. On the one hand this sanctuary was necessary as a meeting point for caravans and tradespeople because it ensured safe trading through its relation with the divine world, and on the other hand its income was secure. Trading "houses" could introduce their own protective genius into the sanctuary. This would explain the presence of pottery "shrines" in the LB sanctuary, which can be interpreted as containers for sacred objects symbolizing the divine blessing for a tribe, clan, or caravan. The sanctuary of the 8th century B.C. where the "Balaam texts" were written on a plastered wall (see below) may also have been a meeting point for traders and caravan owners from different regions, all with their own deities and rituals. Many kinds of priests from a wide variety of backgrounds may have been permanently stationed there, to sanction sales contracts or bless goods that were being traded. The excavations at the site make it possible to explain Succoth as a market area with an international character. It is not so surprising then that Pharaoh Shishak, when he invaded Palestine in 918 B.C., also crossed the Jordan with his army and went to the Succoth area to control, possibly to restore, the trade between Gilead and Egypt. This would also explain the Egyptian presence in Deir ʿAlla in about 1200 B.C. A faience vase from Queen Taousert was interpreted by J. Yoyotte (1962) as an artifact of political significance. If Deir ʿAlla was a market through which Egypt regularly received products from Gilead, then officials of the Pharaoh must have visited this center of trade.

H. Gazelles (1965) made an attempt to decipher the 3 clay tablets discovered in the sanctuary dating from about 1200 B.C.; together with A. van den Branden, he found a strong influence from early S Semitic writing in the script. One group of foreign pots came from an area where shale sand is abundant, and these pots could have come from the S of Jordan. Midianites whose caravans passed by Gilead could have brought them.

Early in the excavations it became clear that the material culture, as well as the language and religion connected with the site, were atypical of the Israelites as represented from other excavations and historical documents. This suggested that the Iron Age inhabitants were to a high degree assimilated to the culture and the customs of the non-Israelite population of Gilead. Which of the Israelite tribes living across the Jordan in Gilead owned the Valley of Succoth is a much debated issue. In the light of the interpretation given above, members of the tribes who were involved in the trade of local products would have been found in this valley.

B. The Natural Setting

Some aspects of the geological formation on which Tell Deir ʿAlla is situated have strongly influenced the history of the site itself, as well as that of its inhabitants. During the Pleistocene, when the area was still covered by the waters of the Lissan lake, the river Zerqa drained its waters from the E mountains into the lake, and deposited a huge accumulation of detritus, including gravels, sands, and clays. When the area became dry, dunes of thick deposits of banded clays were formed on top of the dry lake bed. This material was used in historical times for the construction of houses and other buildings, and also for pottery making. It is the special quality of these clays which explains that Tell Deir ʿAlla has suffered less from erosion than, for instance, the tell of ancient Jericho, whereas the former is exposed to stronger erosive forces than the latter. Because of the characteristics of these clays, it is also easy to separate locally made pottery from imported wares. It is possible that these clays were the reason why foundries were set up "between Succoth and Zarethan" (1 Kgs 7:45).

In this area earth tremors and earthquakes frequently occur. It was discovered that the buildings of the site had been destroyed frequently by earthquakes, followed by heavy fires.

C. The History of the Site

Deir ʿAlla lies on a high, clay ridge covered with sand dunes. It is not clear when the first settlers came to the site, although there are some indications that the site was inhabited in the MB Age. The natural surface that existed then on the N side of the tell lies buried under many meters of later soil deposits washed down from the E foothills. At the beginning of the LB Age, about 1550 B.C., an artificial platform was made, and this may cover ruins from the MB Age. On the N side, the platform was over 6

m high and served as a mound for a sanctuary. Very little is known about the original plan of the building, but the earliest cella was built of boulders with a tower-like structure on the N side. It stood on a higher level than the surrounding rooms. A cache of early LB pottery was found under one of the earliest floors of the cella. There are no indications that during the LB Age stone was used for other buildings. The cella was regularly rebuilt on a higher level, the last one from 1200 B.C., made entirely of mudbricks. Its roof was supported by two heavy wooden beams standing on large stone bases, more or less on the long axis. The entrance was on the S side. The N wall came very close to the N slope of the hill, and there was no defense wall. On the W side, rooms have been excavated over a stretch of ca. 25 m, all belonging to a complex of storerooms and workrooms that were built against the cella. E of the cella was a small courtyard leading to a series of small rooms that had clearly contained precious objects and administrative tablets. It seems that the sanctuary had developed its own script, which has not yet been satisfactorily deciphered. Farther to the E were found some rooms that have been interpreted as a priest's house: a pantry, kitchen, and small shrine.

Shortly after 1200 B.C. the entire complex was destroyed by an earthquake, followed by fire. Before rebuilding had started there was another earthquake that levelled the crumbling ruins. From broken and burnt objects it is clear that the sanctuary collected objects from all parts of the ancient world: from Egypt, the Mycenean world, and N Syria. Most remarkable is that until now the excavations have not produced any terra-cotta or other fertility images of living beings from the LB Age, apart from stylized birds and goats painted on pottery.

While the people were rebuilding after the earthquakes, fire broke out again. Perhaps this was taken as a sign of heavenly disapproval and the site was abandoned (cf. Isa 29:6). Almost immediately afterwards the site was taken over by bronze-smiths who used it for their industry. Their pottery is not the same as that from the 13th century B.C. sanctuary. They may have been there for about half a century, when another earthquake occurred. On that occasion the earth split open and a man fell in the gap and was squashed the next moment, when the crack closed again. The disaster marks the end of the presence of smiths on the site.

There are some indications in the excavated area above these levels that in the second half of the 12th century B.C. the tradition of a holy place was restored. But the plans of the various phases show scattered small buildings of mudbrick, and in one fairly short period, there seems to have been a flimsy defense wall and gate between 2 round towers (ca. 10th century B.C.). Evidence that the original function of the site was not lost came from the excavations just below the summit. A complex building was found over a large area. The layout was not that of a village. The remains were in very poor condition because, again, an earthquake followed by conflagration had destroyed this complex. Masses of restorable and identifiable objects made of stone and clay were preserved. In the middle of the destruction debris, large and small fragments of fallen wall plaster were found containing a beautifully written Aramaic text, relating the seer Balaam the son of Beor, who witnessed a meeting of gods trying to prevent a goddess from punishing the human race by destruction. Balaam the son of Beor is mentioned in a number of texts in the Bible (Numbers 22–24). In the 1st millennium B.C., he was apparently remembered as a great religious authority in Jordan. This sanctuary was unattached to any particular village or town. It was composed of many rooms which had specific purposes such as storage and processing of goods, as well as weaving, which was done in many rooms.

Certain objects of particular interest found here should be mentioned. Among these is a flintstone with a high sheen from having been regularly touched or kissed; it bears the inscription "stone of shar^{c}a," possibly a goddess. With it were uncovered a libation goblet of a special form and an outsize loomweight; weaving "clothes for Asherah" (2 Kgs 23:7) may have been combined here with sacred prostitution. There are also terra-cottas, some of which depict naked priests and priestesses in a style not found in ancient Israel, and there are also animal figurines of horses, cows, and deer, as well as little clay models of legs. In analogy to pilgrim places such as Lourdes in France, these suggest that visitors expected to be healed from arthritis and other diseases.

After its destruction the site may have been abandoned for a considerable time. When building resumed, another type of pottery appeared, with different forms and techniques based on the use of a true potter's wheel, which had replaced a small hand-operated tournette. The inhabitants dug many large storage bins in their courtyards, and by the 5th century B.C., there were so many deep and wide pits with soft filling, that house walls often sank (probably after heavy rains) causing the dwellings to collapse. At this point, stone foundations became a regular feature. Since these pits often destroyed the remains of earlier walls, it is difficult to reconstruct the original plans of the buildings over the 8 building phases of the latest occupation. It is thought that one of these phases consists of the ruins of a small fortress. The end of the occupation of the site is dated to the 4th century B.C.

From the 8th until the 16th century A.D., the mound was used as a cemetery by the Arab inhabitants of a nearby village.

Since 1960, a Dutch team directed by H. J. Franken has been excavating the site. In the 1980s the work was continued as a joint enterprise headed by M. M. Ibrahim and G. van der Kooij.

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H. J. FRANKEN

TEXTS

Found in 1967 at the E Jordan Valley site of Tell Deir ʿAlla, this text (or texts) consists of 2 large and several smaller combinations of plaster fragments, written in black and (occasionally) red ink. The text was probably originally written on a wall, or on a stela hung on a wall, of a building that has been described as a sanctuary. The wall fell in a series of earthquakes, and part of the text was burned in a resulting fire. The script of the text, its date, and its dialect are all matters of dispute. The script is said to be either Aramaic or an Ammonite (or "Gileadite") offshoot of the Aramaic, and the date of the text, which is for the most part dependent on an analysis of the script, either mid-8th century or ca. 700 B.C.E.

There has been much discussion as to whether the dialect of the text is Aramaic or Canaanite. A comparison with Old Aramaic texts is suggested especially by the use of the pronominal suffix *-wh* on the preposition *ʾl* (and perhaps on plural nouns), and by the representation of consonants in the text (with *q* used to represent **ḏ*). Other features of the text would generally be called Canaanite: use of *waw*-consecutive; appearance of N conjugation verbs; use of *lḫʿt* from the root **wḏʿ*; imperative plural *lkw* from the root *hlk;* vocabulary items like *dbr* with the meaning "to speak." As far as we understand the dialects of the first half of the 1st millennium B.C.E., then, the text includes some features that would be incongruous in a mid- or late-8th century Aramaic text, and some that would be incongruous in a contemporary Canaanite text. These difficulties have led to several more or less satisfactory suggestions for the origin of the dialect of the Deir ʿAlla text, generally drawn from dialect linguistics or ANE historical records of settlement patterns, although occasionally from more imaginative realms: One commentator has suggested that the incongruities in this text disappear when one realizes that the text as we have it is a word-for-word copy of a 10th-century or even earlier Aramaic manuscript, written on the wall of a school as an exemplary text; another, that the dialect might represent archaic NW Semitic from the time of the Exodus, just the time period in which the Bible places Balaam.

The interpretation of the text has been no less divided. Some of the division results from differences in understanding certain words as either Aramaic or Canaanite; some of it results from variant readings among the several scholars who have examined the fragments or photographs of them; and some is the inevitable result of interpreting such a fragmentary text. In the discussion that follows, the more likely alternative translations and interpretations will be included in brackets at each point of contention.

The text begins by reporting that it is the "book" or "account" *(spr)* of Balaam the son of Beor, a seer of the gods, and continues that the gods came to Balaam by night, and that he saw a vision like an oracle of El [or "according to these words"]. Then the gods say to Balaam something that takes up half of the second line of the inscription (6 or 7 words) and is written in red ink, as was the first half of line 1. [Scholars disagree about whether the division into red and black ink here follows the syntax of the sentences, or is simply half the line in both cases. There is another portion of the text, in the "second combination," that is also written in red, part of the way across one line. The context is too broken, however, to offer more information about the meaning of the use of red ink.] The message is impossible to read clearly. Interpretations have ranged from simply suggesting that some future action is indicated by the first verb *yṗʿl*, to reading within it words for fire and destruction and thus interpreting the message as a short statement of a warning of destruction spelled out later in the text.

Whatever the content of the end of line 2, the experience clearly upsets Balaam. He gets up the next day and cries, and he apparently refuses to eat. His people come up to him [or "His uncle Eliqah enters"] and ask about his behavior, and his response is to tell them of his vision of a meeting of the Divine Council; the gods in attendance are called *ʾlhn* and *šdyn*. (Some scholars have seen in the *ʾlhn* and the *šdyn* two warring groups of gods, one group favorably disposed toward humanity and the other bent on its destruction.)

They (the gods of the Council) have asked a goddess to cover the heavens with a cloud forever because of the unnatural goings-on on the earth. This is upsetting to Balaam presumably because it would mean a loss of light and eventually all life from the earth. The name of the goddess concerned has been lost to us in a break in the text, except for the first letter, *š*. One of three suggestions as to her identity has generally been followed. Some think she is "Šagar," a goddess they think is mentioned later in the text along with another deity (*ʿštr*, in line I, 14). Many commentators, however, read *šgr wʿštr* in that line as common nouns and not divine names ("offspring, young"; cf. Deut 7:13), and so they are not disposed to consider a goddess Šagar at this point. Another suggestion has been to see her as the goddess Šamaš (or Šapaš), since the sun is a female deity in the Ugaritic texts, and some such powerful divinity seems necessary here. But, finally, other scholars see no obvious connection between the sun goddess and the following lines in our text, since what the goddess is asked to do is precisely to cover up the heavens so as to deny light to the earth—the opposite, one would think, of the sun goddess' function. These scholars prefer to leave the issue open.

The goddess is asked to "sew up" the heavens with her cloud, and perhaps to seal the cloud and not ever remove the seal (or "do not be angry forever" or "do not say anything"). The reason she is to do this (or else the result of her doing this) is presented in the next few lines (or else someone, probably Balaam, continues in the next few lines to explain the reasons or present the results). In typical

reversals-text style, we read that nothing on earth is as it should be: Small birds are reviling large ones, normally gentle birds are clawing at others, haughty hyenas are sitting still for chastisement, poor women are mixing expensive myrrh, deaf people hear from afar, and so on. (Some commentators have seen this reversals motif in only some of these phrases, while in others they have identified simply lists of birds, lists of female cult personnel, and admonitions shouted by Balaam, presumably, to the gathered people.)

The first main fragment combination of the inscription breaks off at this point. In the readable fragments of the second combination there is no mention of Balaam; rather, there is a description of some sort of ritual, perhaps performed to appease the angry gods of the earlier fragments, if the two combinations are related. This second combination apparently has to do with death and/or sex and has been read, for instance: (1) as including a series of curses from Balaam to his hearers; (2) as a description of a child sacrifice ritual (based on interpreting the word *nqr* as cognate to Heb *nēṣer*, "sprout," like the *ṣmḥ* of Punic and neo-Punic child sacrifice texts); (3) as a version of the descent to the netherworld of a goddess, like the Mesopotamian *Descent of Ishtar;* and (4) even as a foundation story for the establishment at the Deir ʿAlla sanctuary of a brothel for "sacred prostitutes" (Rofé 1979). This last explanation ties in with the accusation in Num 31:16 that Balaam gave advice to certain Midianite women about drawing Israelite men away from their proper worship. Many commentators have thought it prudent to decline to interpret this combination.

Late in this second grouping we have a few words that might indicate the return of life to the planet, with mention of dew and rain, so that if some sort of ritual is envisioned as a cure for the chaos described in the first combination, or simply to appease the obviously angry deities, it would seem that the ritual was effective and that light and life were returned or retained for the planet.

Whether the "second combination" of the inscription is related to the "first combination" is an open question, so any use of this material to comment on the Balaam traditions in the Bible must remain speculative. The first part of the inscription is solidly tied to Balaam, however, and presents us with a picture not unlike Hebrew Bible representations of a prophet as one who is privy to the meetings of the Divine Council (Jer 23:18–22; I Kgs 22:19–23). The occurrence of the divine epithet *šdy* in a vision of Balaam is reminiscent of Num 24:4, 16, where Balaam describes himself as one who sees the vision of Šadday. (If the divine name *ʾl* has been correctly read in I, 2, this would be another connection with Num 24:4, 16.)

Some of the wording in the first combination is remarkably like that in the story of Balaam in Numbers 22–24. *wyʾtw ʾlwh ʾlhn blylh* in I, 1, of the Deir ʿAlla text is very close to *way-yābōʾ ʾĕlōhīm ʾel-bilʿām laylāh* in Num 22:20 (cf. also 22:9), and *wyqm blʿm mn mḥr* in I, 3, of the Deir ʿAlla text reminds one of Num 22:21: *way-yāqom bilʿām bab-bōqer.* There is even mention of Balaam's "people," in I, 4 (if the mysterious uncle Eliqah be banished from the text), and it is to his "people" that the biblical Balaam returns after Balak has banished him, Num 24:14.

There is no certainty about the placement of the Deir ʿAlla text or about the building in which it must have stood. It has been suggested that the building was a sanctuary, however, and that the inscription was originally written on a wall of this sanctuary or on a stela attached to a wall. The mention that Balaam would flee to or return to his "place," *māqôm,* in Num 24:11 and 25 invites the suggestion that *māqôm* here, as often, refers to a sanctuary, a sacred place (see, e.g., Gen 12:6; Deut 12:2); it therefore would not be difficult to see Deir ʿAlla as the home of just such a sanctuary with which Balaam son of Beor was traditionally tied.

It has also been suggested that the confirmation of Balaam's tie to a god or gods with the epithet Šadday, and to a ritual possibly having to do with death, allows us to speculate that the biblical *šēdîm,* "demons," in Deut 32:17 and Ps 106:37 have been misunderstood and were originally a biblical record of the Šadday-gods mentioned in the Deir ʿAlla text. It is to these characters that the Israelites are said in the psalm to have sacrificed their sons and daughters; shortly before (vv 28–31) the psalmist has mentioned the incident at Peor for which the Priestly source blames Balaam, an incident that had to do with sacrifices of or to the dead—to deities other than Yahweh, perhaps deified ancestors (cf. Num 25:2 with Ps 106:28).

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Jo Ann Hackett

DEIR EL-BALAH (M.R. 088093). The site of Deir el-Balah is located 1.5 km E of the Mediterranean shoreline just S of Gaza. The ancient identification of the site remains unknown. Nine phases of occupation with minor subdivisions were uncovered, dating from the LB II through the Byzantine era, which includes both the settlement and the associated LB cemetery. Founded by Egypt in the 14th century, the site was both an economic and administrative center, as well as a military outpost during different phases of its existence. The LB strata, accordingly, were the most prominent and became the focus of the excavations.

The LB Age was a cosmopolitan era marked by the

mixture of cultures, international trade, and commerce. The architectural features and the material finds of the LB strata at Deir el-Balah point to the predominantly Egyptian character of the settlement at that time and reflect the international character of the age. The extensions of occupation into the Philistine, Iron, and Byzantine periods, though extremely important for the history of the site, were much less substantial.

Deir el-Balah is situated in the midst of towering sand dunes. As a result, only about one-half acre of the settlement was excavated. The excavations, therefore, provide at most a window into the history of occupation at the site. Surveys and trial probes conducted at selected locations in the surrounding area indicate that the settlement spread in all directions, but its precise perimeters remain undefined.

Stratum IX. Stratum IX was founded upon virgin soil. The major architectural feature from this stratum is a large residence adjacent to a man-made pond, similar in design to building complexes of the Amarna period in Egypt. This relation of building to pond in conjunction with the specifically diagnostic finds of stratum IX point to the Egyptian background of those who built the first settlement during the second half of the 14th century B.C.E.

The residence is comprised of 3 mudbrick buildings set at a right angle. The two N–S buildings together measure approximately 50 m in length and contain the remains of as many as 15 rooms. The single E–W building measures 20 m in length and contains at least 4 to 5 rooms. It is probable that these buildings are part of a larger settlement, although the N and W boundaries of the complex are as yet undetermined since they continue under the sand dunes.

The residency borders the pond on its E and S perimeters. The pond itself is square (20 × 20 m), its sides sloping steeply into the virgin marl to a depth of 5 m. Both archaeological observation and geological investigation confirm that the crater is man-made. The crater served as a water reservoir, both in stratum IX and throughout stratum VII. The use of the crater as a pond is confirmed both by hydrological investigation and by the known building pattern of the Amarna Age in which building complexes were designed adjacent to a pond or lake.

On the beaten earth floors of several rooms in the residence were large amounts of locally made pottery of Egyptian and Canaanite types, with predominantly Egyptian types which relate to the Amarna period. In addition, sherds of imported Cypriot and Mycenaean vessels were found.

A number of special finds from in and around the residence indicate the close contact between the inhabitants of this site and Amarna. Four worked *kurkar* stone bases were found on the beaten earth floor in one of the rooms of the residence which likely served as supports for the 4 legs of a bedstead. Although many well-known and well-preserved wooden beds have been found in Egypt, the only other stone bases known are from Tell el-Amarna where an identical set was found in a bedroom niche.

In the open area alongside the building, a *favissa* was excavated which contained a clay bulla bearing 4 hieroglyphs, 2 *udjats*, and 2 *nefers*. The closest parallel to this seal again comes from Tell el-Amarna and provides a good chronological indication of the date of the locus and the buildings of stratum IX. This seal also indicates possible correspondence between Tell el-Amarna and Deir el-Balah, since bullae were used to seal papyrus letters.

Another room in the residence yielded approximately 10 cylindrical pieces of carnelian and blue frit, the latter bearing traces of gold. Each cylinder was pierced by a square aperture. These fragments can be reconstructed as a scepter or flail of the type found in the tomb of Tutankhamen. The discovery of this scepter in the building indicates that it was very likely the residence of the local ruler or governor. The size and beauty of the object provide additional proof of the specifically Egyptian character and highly developed culture linking this stratum with the Amarna Age.

The Amarna Age was characterized by continued Egyptian commitment and involvement in maintaining the strength of its borders and the stability of the empire. The site of Deir el-Balah is located on the farthest border of Egypt of that era, just before the entry to Canaan at Gaza. This location and the unique architectural elements of stratum IX, with its rich assortment of special finds, indicate that during this period Deir el-Balah was an Egyptian administrative center, perhaps with links to the capital itself.

Stratum VIII. Remains of an intermediate phase of occupation were discerned between the Amarna residence of stratum IX and the fortress of stratum VII. This phase may date to the reign of Horemheb, though diagnostic finds are lacking. It appears that following the destruction of the stratum IX settlement, a small interim occupation occurred which did not constitute a major occupational level.

Stratum VII. A dramatic change is reflected in the character of stratum VII. The prominent architectural feature was a roughly square monumental structure resembling a fort or tower complex. It was constructed atop the remains of both the Amarna residence and the meager remains of the interim stratum, and in direct relation to the pond, which continued in use.

The fortress measures 20 × 20 m, including 14 rooms and a tower at each corner. The massive mudbrick walls, preserved to a height of 1 m, served as the foundations of a structure which stood at least two stories high, while the main outer walls were 2.4 m thick. The construction technique of a layer of sand at the base of the foundation trenches, a well-known Egyptian building method, points to the Egyptian construction of this fortress. This "Egyptianizing" feature indicates that the fortress was built by the 13th century B.C.E.

The function and nature of this structure became evident in light of the Egyptian activity along the coastal route during the 19th Dynasty. The N Sinai route called by the Egyptians "the Ways of Horus," was vividly depicted by Seti I on a wall relief in the Amun Temple at Karnak. On the N wall of the great Hypostyle Hall, one of the earliest "maps" depicts a series of fortresses and their accompanying wells or reservoirs running from the Egyptian frontier town of Sile (Qantara) to the Canaanite border town of Gaza. Deir el-Balah with its fort and pond fits

into this picture of garrison outposts along the ancient Egyptian route connecting the two areas.

It is possible to link the fortified route, "the Ways of Horus," with "the Way to the Land of the Philistines" (Exod 13:17), the shorter coastal route referred to in the account of the Israelite exodus from Egypt.

Strata VI–IV. These strata coincide with the lengthy reign of Ramesses II, a period of empire building which necessitated the upkeep and constant use of the fortresses and way stations along the N Sinai coast. Strata VI–IV include both occupational levels in the settlement as well as the primary use of the cemetery.

The cemetery, extremely rich in coffins and small finds, seems to have been in use from the 14th century B.C.E. to the last phase of the LB Age. This date is confirmed by a seal of Ramesses II and scarabs of the Ramesside age (13th century B.C.E.) found *in situ* in the tomb excavations. The finds reflect the cosmopolitan nature of the period. However, as noted above, the Egyptian element again predominates, as attested by the custom of burying the deceased in anthropoid coffins as well as by the associated objects found in the tombs.

The excavation of Deir el-Balah began in the cemetery after the appearance on the antiquities market of illicitly excavated coffins and grave goods. Four anthropoid coffin burials and over 100 simple burials were thereafter excavated *in situ.* These 4 coffins which are of distinctly Egyptian style, form a small fraction of the over 40 that surfaced through illicit digging along with their extremely rich burial gifts, and which together comprise the largest and richest group of anthropoid coffins so far known from Canaan. Of particular interest are 4 locally made burial stelae, one found *in situ,* made of *kurkar* with hieroglyphic inscriptions and depictions of Mut and Osiris, strikingly similar to 19th Dynasty stelae from Deir el-Medina in Egypt.

A variety of exquisite burial gifts, wrought primarily in Egyptian style, was recovered from the cemetery. These included a bronze wine set, an alabaster painted goblet and a cosmetic spoon in the shape of a swimming girl, and lotus and palmette shaped beads and earrings, as well as Bes amulets, wrought in gold and carnelian. All the gifts have close analogies in New Kingdom Egypt. Though distinct Canaanite traits were manifest in the workmanship of some of the jewelry and in some of the common pottery vessels, the predominant culture of the people buried in the cemetery was clearly Egyptian. The combined evidence of the coffins and the burial gifts points to an affluent population steeped in Egyptian religion and culture.

The one-half acre of the settlement of strata VI–IV which was excavated exhibited a marked shift in character during this period. The water reservoir was filled with debris—multiple layers of ash and clay mixed with huge quantities of broken pottery, as well as many small finds—and structures were built on top. Private buildings, a water installation, and kilns were excavated, indicating the transformation of the area into an industrial quarter. That the 3 kilns were not used for firing ordinary ceramic vessels is attested by the lack of kiln wastes and by the large number of coffin fragments found in and around the kilns. It is likely that the coffins with their lids received an initial firing in pits built into the filled-in crater, which would account for the heavy ash layers found there. Subsequently, the lids were fired once again, this time in the kilns, which would account for the finer finish of the lids in comparison to the coffin bodies. The evidence for coffin construction at the site, therefore, is indisputable.

In addition to the coffin industry, specific finds from the settlement provided concrete evidence that many of the burial gifts were locally made and the industrial quarter doubled as an artisans' quarter, housing a thriving and varied crafts industry. Burial gifts as well as materials prepared for their manufacture included a reclining nude figurine of carved stone (a "divine concubine" intended to accompany the dead) and *ushabti* or servant figurines, both found also in the cemetery; chunks of ochre for coloring the coffins and figurines; heaps of modelling clay and 2 identical complete molds for figurines; a heap of bronze scrap; many fragments of spinning bowls for linen weaving; and a stamp bearing the image of the god Ptah, patron of artisans.

The discovery of an ancient artisans' quarter in such close proximity to the cemetery it served is unprecedented and provides an unparalleled glimpse in mortuary industry in antiquity. It is likely that the artisans' quarter lay on the outskirts of the settlement, while the settlement of the rich patrons of the cemetery still lies buried beneath the dunes. In the LB Age, long before the encroachment of the Byzantine dunes, the cemetery lay only 150 m from the artisans' quarter. Together they formed a self-contained mortuary unit.

Stratum III. Five pits containing Philistine pottery were dug into the LB deposits of stratum IV. No traces of walls which relate to these pits were found. Philistine pottery was also found in large quantities in the Byzantine wadi. Its presence indicates that a more substantial Philistine settlement existed SW of the excavated area and hence remains under the dunes.

The pits contained mainly fragments of typical Philistine bichrome pottery. Egyptian-type bowls and fragments of Egyptian-type beer bottles were found together with the Philistine pottery indicating that the Egyptian flavor of the site was preserved even as the new Philistine elements were introduced. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the tombs of Tell el-Farah (S). The reoccupation or incorporation of Philistines in Egyptian strongholds is one of the characteristic settlement patterns of the Philistines in Canaan and Israel.

Because of the lack of elaborately decorated pottery, it appears that the Philistines did not arrive early at Deir el-Balah. Rather, the more-simply decorated types found at Deir el-Balah indicate a slightly later phase (second half of the 12th–early 11th centuries B.C.E.).

Stratum II. Two small pits that cut into the LB levels had fragments of Iron Age pottery. This pottery assemblage is datable to the late 11th/early 10th century B.C.E. Most fragments were bowls with red slip and irregular burnishing. Additional quantities of sherds were found in the Byzantine wadi, again, as with the Philistine ware, indicating that a sizable Iron Age settlement was once located SW of the area excavated, which now lies under the dunes.

Stratum I. Following a gap of 1,400 years, Byzantine presence in the area is indicated by huge amounts of pottery found in a wadi that cuts across the LB crater.

Though no definite traces of a settlement have been found, historical sources mention the presence of a monastery in the area. Both geologic studies and historical records indicate that the large sand dunes accumulated during the Byzantine era.

Conclusion. Deir el-Balah in its various phases serves as an excellent type-site for Egyptian activity on the border of Canaan during the New Kingdom. Founded during the Amarna Age (14th century B.C.E.) as an Egyptian administrative center on the route to Canaan, its predominantly Egyptian population experienced some interaction with the local Canaanite population (stratum IX). During the next major phase of occupation, stratum VII, the site was transformed into a fortified station on the "Ways of Horus," facilitating Egypt's renewed activity in Canaan during the early 19th Dynasty. In the late 19th Dyn. strata VI–IV, it was an Egyptian-type settlement whose rich material culture was reflected both in its cemetery and in the artisans' quarter for the mortuary industry. Philistine settlement at Deir el-Balah, beginning in the 12th century as indicated by the ceramic repertoire of stratum III, reflects one facet of their settlement in Canaan, i.e. at Egyptianizing sites. The period from the end of the 11th century through the early 10th century was characterized by new cultural trends appearing in stratum II. The Byzantine wadi of stratum I provides evidence of the final chapter of occupation of the site up until modern times.

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TRUDE DOTHAN

DEITIES, SEMITIC. See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

DEITY NAMES. See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

DELAIAH (PERSON) [Heb *dĕlāyāhû, dĕlāyāh*]. **1.** A priest who received the 23d position in the priestly order of the Temple during the reign of David (1 Chr 24:18). Rather than an historical person from the time of David, Delaiah seems to represent the family name of a group which returned from Babylon and which the Chronicler has projected back into the time of David as an individual. The exact date of the priestly list of 1 Chr 24:1–19, where Delaiah appears, remains debated. See GAMUL. The stylistic evidence of the list, however, seems to link the list to the time of the composition of Chronicles.

2. A member of Jehoiakim's royal cabinet in the last years of the 7th century B.C.E. (Jer 36:12). Delaiah functions as part of a larger literary motif within the narrative of Jeremiah 36; along with the other nobility, he represents Judah's failure to respond properly to the prophetic word (Jer 36:24). His opposition to Jehoiakim's burning of the scroll emphasized the king's obduracy (Jer 36:25; see Carroll, *Jeremiah* OTL, 661). Despite his literary function, it seems likely that Jeremiah 36 accurately reflects the structure and personnel of Jehoiakim's court. Aharoni (1968: 168–69) discovered an ostracon from the late monarchical period at Lachish mentioning a high official named Delaiah. While equating the 2 persons remains completely conjectural, the Lachish ostracon does indicate that Delaiah was a name held by at least 1 person in the upper stratum of Judean society in the time of Jehoiakim.

3. A family of returnees from exile who, upon their arrival in Judah, were not able to prove their ethnic identity as Israelites (Ezra 2:60 = Neh 7:62 = 1 Esdras 5:37). This is generally regarded as an authentic source, reflecting important social tensions associated with the return and the inability of certain groups to prove an authentic Judean identity with proper genealogical records. Exclusion from the community of the returnees could result in the suspension of property rights, and thus complete economic and social disenfranchisement (see Ezra 10:8). The descendants of Delaiah most likely eventually became fully incorporated into the Judean society (see Neh 6:10).

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JOHN W. WRIGHT

DELILAH (PERSON) [Heb *dĕlîlâ*]. The woman to whom Samson revealed the source of his strength and who betrayed him to the Philistines for a large sum of money (Judg 16:4–22). Delilah, who lived in the valley of Sorek at the N end of the Philistine plain, was probably Philistine, though the text does not say so. On 2 other occasions, at Timnah (14:1–15:8) and at Gaza (16:1–3), Samson was involved with Philistine women. Each time pursuit of a woman leads Samson into trouble. Of the 3 women, only Delilah's name is recorded. The name may mean "loose hair" or "small, slight"; it is easily explained as a pun on the Hebrew word for "night" *(laylâ),* since Samson's name is related to the word for "sun" *(šemeš).* On a symbolic level, their names suggest the overcoming of the sun by the night.

The motif of the strong man overcome by a woman who learns the secret of his strength and betrays it to his enemies is common to folklore around the world. So too is the motif of strength residing in the hair. The biblical writer has provided popular folk motifs with a religious meaning by relating Samson's strength to his dedication to God—from birth—as a Nazirite.

Delilah makes 4 attempts to learn the secret of Samson's strength (vv 4–9, 10–12, 13–14, and 15–22). The highly

stylized repetition in these reports, a characteristic of oral composition, builds suspense: The closer Delilah gets to Samson's secret, the clearer our realization that Samson is doomed. Only through persistence does Delilah break down Samson's resolve ("she harassed him with her words day after day," 16:16). The strong man's one weakness is love. Faced with Delilah's accusation that he cannot really love her if he does not share his secret with her, Samson reveals that his strength will leave him if his hair is cut. Recognizing that Samson has told her the truth this time, Delilah calls the Philistine lords. As soon as his hair is cut, the Philistines blind Samson and take him prisoner.

Delilah has gone down in popular history as the treacherous temptress who betrays her lover for money. But she is not the only one who betrays Samson. His Timnite wife reveals the answer to his riddle, though she does it to save her father's household (the story of Samson and the Timnite in Judges 14 and 15 is modelled on the Samson-Delilah story). Moreover, Samson's own people, the Judahites, also betray him, out of fear of the Philistines (15:9–13). Viewed in the larger context of the book of Judges, Delilah is the Philistine version of Jael (Judges 4–5)—the woman who brings about the downfall of an enemy through deception. Delilah, unlike Jael, is on the side of Israel's enemies; only the Philistines would have sung her praises, but, interestingly, they attribute their victory over Samson not to Delilah but to their god (16:23 and 24).

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J. CHERYL EXUM

DELOS (PLACE) [Gk *Dēlos*]. This central Aegean island is rich in Greco-Roman history, though it rests relatively deserted as modern Mikra Dili. Originally, Ionians (ca. 1000 B.C.) inhabited this small Greek island, which is only 3 miles long and 1 mile wide. But as the sacred seat of Apollo, and as the treasury and administrative center of the Delian League, Delos was of monumental importance. Its prestigious position prompted the naming of the 220 Cyclade islands which cluster *(kyklos)* around Delos.

During the Third Macedonian War Rome punished Delos, causing most of the Greek inhabitants to take refuge on the mainland. Nearly 2 centuries of independence ended for Delos when Rome made the island a free port (167 B.C.), a calculated move to weaken the commercial position of Rhodes. The free port, rather than Athens, may have been the strong attraction for Jewish immigrants. 1 Macc 15:16–23, inscriptions, and ruins of a (possible) synagogue all attest to a Jewish settlement on the island (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 498). Delos established itself as the center of Mediterranean trade during the last two centuries B.C. At its economic zenith, ca. 100 B.C., Delos markets could handle 10,000 slaves per day. The managers of the famous temple of Apollo in Delos wielded much power, and even managed to purchase the entire island of Rheneia, farming it with slave labor (Kent 1984: 243–47). But the Mithridatic War (88 B.C.) served the prosperous island its first of three terminal blows. Mithradates VI (the Great) massacred most of Delos' inhabitants. The island barely survived a massive pirate raid in 69 B.C., but was raized in 46 A.D. (Strabo *Geog.* 10.5.2–4).

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JERRY A. PATTENGALE

DELTA. The fourth letter of the Greek alphabet.

DEMAS (PERSON) [Gk *Dēmas*]. Demas is mentioned by Paul in Philemon 24, along with Mark, Aristarchus, and Luke, as being among those fellow workers who were with Paul during his imprisonment (presumably in Rome or Ephesus). In Colossians, Demas is similarly portrayed and associated with Luke (4:14), Aristarchus and Mark (4:10), Jesus Justus (4:11), and Epaphras (4:12). From Colossians it is evident that while Mark, Aristarchus, and Jesus Justus were Jews (cf. 4:11), Demas was a Gentile, as were Epaphras and Luke. In both Philemon and Colossians, Demas sends greetings to the church at Colossae. This indicates some acquaintance with the Colossian Christians, probably as a visiting missionary, since he was not originally from Colossae (cf. Col 4:12 where only Epaphras is described as "one of yourselves").

2 Timothy reflects a tradition that the relationship between Demas and Paul ended in an apparently unresolved rupture. Demas, described as having been "in love with this present world," is said to have deserted the imprisoned Paul and gone to Thessalonica (4:10). The phrase in quotes is eschatological language (cf. 1 Tim 4:8; Tit 2:12; Gal 1:4; Eph 1:21) which contrasts the present age with that to come, and in this case offers a sharp contrast to Paul, Timothy, and others who "love Christ's appearing" (2 Tim 4:8) (Fee *1 & 2 Timothy, Titus* GNC, 242–43). The contrast seems to argue that Demas' break with Paul was a dishonorable one, i.e. apostasy from Christianity. (Polycarp in *Ep. Phil.* 9:1–2 sets up a similar contrast to imply apostasy.) But it has also been theorized that Demas had merely grown discouraged in his work with Paul and decided to leave. Why he chose Thessalonica—it had no reputation as one of the "hot spots" of the Greco-Roman world—(Fee *ibid.*, 243) is not evident from the text; perhaps it was his home.

NT sources offer nothing further about Demas. The apocryphal *Acts of Paul,* however, makes numerous references to him (3.1, 4, 12–14, 16). While it may be that these statements actually derive from 2 Tim 4:10—the reference

about Demas' desertion is the type of material on which the apocryphal documents thrive—it is also possible that the *Acts of Paul* are an independent reflection of the same oral traditions reflected in the Pastorals. In that case, the *Acts* may have preserved a few shreds of information not included in 2 Timothy (MacDonald 1983: 65–66).

In the *Acts of Paul,* Demas is linked with HERMOGENES and the two travel with Paul to Iconium where they are entertained by Onesiphorus and his family. Later, both desert Paul for a bribe, but the household of Onesiphorus remains faithful to Paul even though Paul is in prison. Demas and Hermogenes urge that Paul should be arrested for "seducing the crowds to the new doctrine of the Christians" (*Acts Paul* 3:14) and teach, contrary to Paul, that the resurrection has already taken place.

While the apocryphal text pairs Demas with Hermogenes, the Pastorals name Phygelus as Hermogenes' partner. Also, the Pastorals never connect Demas with Iconium nor indicate that Demas knew Onesiphorus. Most striking of all the differences, however, is the information that Demas preached a resurrection that had already occurred. In the NT, this doctrine is mentioned (as unacceptable) only once (2 Tim 2:17–18), and is attributed to Hymenaeus and Philetus. Cf. related issue in 1 Cor 15:12.

With respect to Demas, if the *Acts of Paul* is not merely an elaboration of 2 Tim 4:10, but draws independently from the same oral traditions used by the Pastoral Epistles, it may be suspected that Demas' differences with Paul were theological and so concerned a disagreement about the resurrection. This may in turn illuminate the information in 2 Timothy that Demas left Paul for Thessalonica. For it is certain that questions about resurrection had troubled the Thessalonian community from its founding (1 Thess 4:13–18), and apparently remained pervasive for some years (Bauer, 1971: 74–75). Perhaps Demas went to Thessalonica to join others who agreed with his view concerning a spiritual resurrection.

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FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

DEMETRIUS (PERSON) [Gk *Demetrios*]. **1.** Demetrius Poliorcetes (336–283 B.C.E.) "the Besieger," king of Macedon (293–288 B.C.E.). His father Antigonus, who was one of the Diodochi, had been satrap of Phrygia and was able to extend his power all the way to Media, so Demetrius saw himself as inheritor of Alexander's legacy. This aroused the enmity of other officials of Alexander who then waged war against Antigonus. In attempting to protect the S boundaries of the kingdom against Ptolemy I of Egypt, Demetrius met with defeat at Gaza in 312, but this did not prevent further exploits. Demetrius defeated Ptolemy I at Cyprus in 306, and then attempted to take Rhodes from Ptolemy but was forced to give up the endeavor. After the death of Antigonus at the Battle of Ipsus in Phrygia (301) a brief period of peace ensued, but since Demetrius was still alive warfare soon again erupted (Tcherikover 1966: 9–10). In 296 Demetrius conquered Samaria from Ptolemy I, but he held it only until 295. By that time he had lost all his non-Greek territories (Schürer *HJP*^{2} 2: 87). He was crowned king of Macedon in 293 but was never able to extend his influence eastward.

2. Demetrius I Soter, "Savior," king of Syria about 162–150 B.C.E. (1 Macc 7:1; 2 Macc 14:1–2). He was the son of Seleucus IV Philopator and the nephew of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. He came to power during a time of Seleucid domination of Palestine which was threatened both by Ptolemaic Egypt and Roman expansion. Conflict broke out in Palestine between the Seleucids and the Jerusalem religious community because of encroachment of Seleucid authorities against the sanctuary in Jerusalem and the religious observance of the Jews. In view of all the external pressures, internal strife in the Jerusalem community was not welcome by the Seleucids because it threatened the deteriorating situation (Noth *NHI,* 359–361).

Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.E.) was defeated by the Romans and submitted to the Peace of Apamea in 189. He was succeeded in 187 by his son Seleucus IV Philopator, whose brother Antiochus was held hostage in Rome. Seleucus IV exchanged his own son Demetrius for Antiochus. On the death of his father in 175, Demetrius attempted to negotiate his own freedom to assume power, but his failure to do so enabled his uncle to seize the throne under the title Antiochus IV Epiphanes (174–164 B.C.E.). Demetrius finally managed to escape from Rome, and on his return took vengeance on the young successor of Antiochus IV who ruled under a regent (164–162). He arranged the murder of Antiochus V and Lysias and thus ended their short reign which had seen the return of Jewish observance. Demetrius assumed the throne as Demetrius I Soter in 164 (1 Macc 7:1–4).

The history of the interaction between Demetrius I and the Jews is recounted in 1 Macc 7:1–10:52 and by Josephus (*Ant* 12.189–13.79). Demetrius was immediately approached by Alcimus, a member of the hellenizing faction who wanted to be high priest. He aroused the king against the Jews because of the revolts led by the Maccabees. Demetrius sent his faithful friend Bacchides with Alcimus to take vengeance which was initiated by a treacherous massacre of 60 Jews in one day (1 Macc 7:16). The Jews revolted against Alcimus and his forces, so Demetrius sent Nicanor to destroy this people. Nicanor's arrogant mockery and defilement of the temple sparked a battle in which the forces of Nicanor were crushed by the Maccabees and Nicanor himself fell (1 Macc 7:43). Demetrius then sent Bacchides and Alcimus into Judah a second time. They killed many and did battle in which Judas Maccabeus fell. His brother Jonathan assumed leadership and routed Bacchides (1 Macc 9:48). Bacchides returned a third time after the death of Alcimus, but his expedition failed and he made peace with Jonathan. Some years later Demetrius was faced with the arrival of Alexander I Epiphanes (Balas) who posed as the son of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and assumed the throne in Ptolemais. Demetrius' bid for an alliance with Jonathan failed because of Alexander's counter offer. The death of Demetrius in battle with Alexander about 150 left Alexander in power and in a position of contention with the son of Demetrius.

3. Demetrius II, Nicator, "Victor," son of Demetrius I,

Seleucid king of Syria about 145–140 and 129–125 B.C.E. (1 Macc 10:67). Power was seized from Demetrius I by Alexander Balas, so Demetrius II rose against Alexander to recover the throne which belonged to him. When Demetrius II arrived from Crete in 147 B.C.E., Alexander was threatened and returned from Phoenicia to Antioch to make his position secure there (1 Macc 10:67–68). 1 Maccabees reports that Demetrius II appointed Appollonius governor of Coelesyria and that Appollonius then moved against Jonathan whose choice of allegiance was with Alexander (1 Macc 10:18–21, 67–69). Josephus credits Alexander with the appointment of Appollonius, but this is likely a mistake and would be contrary to the advance of Appollonius against Jonathan (*Ant* 13.4.3, n.d.). At this point the position of Demetrius was stronger than that of Alexander, since the people of Antioch, his own soldiers, and his father-in-law Ptolemy VI sided with him.

Jonathan's victories over Appollonius at Joppa and Azotus won him rich rewards from Alexander. Ptolemy VI Philometor advanced against Alexander and gained control of the coastal cities as far as Seleucia, and he entered into a pact with Demetrius II. Ptolemy VI promised to take back his daughter Cleopatra from Alexander and give her as wife to Demetrius II. Subsequently in battles between them, Alexander fled and was assassinated in Arabia, and Ptolemy was mortally wounded and died a few days later (Josephus *Ant* 13.116–19). Jonathan was left to contend with Demetrius II from whom he extorted many concessions. Later Demetrius was forced to further concessions to secure Jonathan's help against Diodotus Tryphon, a former general of Alexander who ostensibly sought the throne for Alexander's son Antiochus VI as a rival to Demetrius II. Jonathan continued to consolidate his power and renewed treaties of friendship with Rome and Sparta (Schürer *HJP*^{2} 1: 181–85). This Jewish ascendency became disquieting to Tryphon who took Jonathan prisoner and finally killed him (1 Macc 12:39–13:24). Shortly afterward he killed the young king Antiochus VI and assumed the crown himself. Jonathan was succeeded in the leadership of the Jews by his brother Simon with whom Demetrius made peace (1 Macc 13:33–40). Simon also made peace with the men in the citadel of Jerusalem, cleansed the citadel, and took control of it (1 Macc 13:52).

In the year 140 B.C.E., Demetrius II marched against Media. He was quickly taken into captivity by Arsaces the king of the Parthians and thus was out of circulation for some time. His brother Antiochus VII Sidetes took his place against Tryphon, whom he besieged at Apamea and forced to take his own life. In 130 Antiochus VII advanced against the Parthians and was lost in battle in 129. In the same year, Demetrius II was released and resumed the throne of Syria to rule for a second time, though briefly. Almost immediately Ptolemy VI Physcon sent Alexander Zebinas, the alleged son of Alexander Balas, against Demetrius as a rival to the throne. Demetrius II was defeated by Alexander Zebinas, and his reign ended in about 125. He was succeeded briefly by his son Seleucus in 125, and by Antiochus VIII Grypus in 125–113 (Schürer *HJP*^{2} 1: 130–33).

4. Demetrius III, Eucerus, son of Antiochus VIII Grypus. His full name was Demetrius III Theos Philopator Soter, and Eucerus was a nickname.

In the Seleucid empire of the day there was continual fighting. Antiochus IX Cyzicenus defeated his brother/cousin Seleucus V, so Philip I the brother of Seleucus V assumed power over part of Syria (Josephus *Ant* 13.370). Schürer (*HJP*^{2} 1: 225) calls him king of the Nabataeans. Ptolemy Lathyrus then made Demetrius III Eucerus king at Damascus. At the death of their father Antiochus VIII in 96 B.C.E., all of Syria was in the hands of the two brothers, Philip I and Demetrius III.

It was from this position that Demetrius III was called to the aid of Jews rebelling against Alexander Jannaeus in 88 B.C.E. Alexander was routed, but the Jews had a change of heart, apparently preferring a free Jewish state under the Hasmonean Jannaeus, to annexation to the Seleucid empire under Demetrius. About 6,000 Jews went over to Alexander, and Demetrius returned home (Schürer *HJP*^{2} 1: 224).

After the Judean campaign, Demetrius III was besieged by the Parthians who captured him and held him till his death through illness in 88 B.C.E. His brother Philip I then seized Antioch and became king of all Syria (*Ant* 13.365–86).

5. Demetrius of Phalerum, director of the royal library of Alexandria (345–283 B.C.E.). On the basis of the legendary *Letter of Aristeas*, Demetrius was credited with suggesting to King Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283–246) the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. The Septuagint version was indeed available around the 3d century B.C.E., but the *Letter of Aristeas* is dated around 100 B.C.E., and thus it is too late to have arisen in the historical situation which it describes.

Schürer (*HJP*^{2} 3: 1, 475) makes the point that the role of Demetrius cannot be historical because he was never in charge of the library. After the death of Ptolemy I, he was banished by Ptolemy II Philadelphus because he was at variance with the king. In indicating the antiquity of Jewish tradition, Josephus (*AgAp* 1.218) mentions Demetrius Phalerum among other scholars, but this is likely a confusion with another Jewish historian also named Demetrius.

6. A Christian mentioned in 3 John 12. Attempts to identify this person with others in the NT of similar name are conjecture. What we can reasonably assume from this letter is derived from the letter itself, particularly from the testimonial in 3 John 12.

Demetrius may previously have been rejected by Diotrephes (3 John 10) and thus the threefold testimonial of the Elder would have been given as a reference to Gaius to receive Demetrius well. The strength of the recommendation is based on three witnesses: all who knew him (12a); the truth itself, perhaps the goodness of his own life (12b); and the Elder (12c). The writer seems to call for cooperation from Gaius who exercises hospitality to missionaries (1 John 5–9), whereas Diotrephes does not pay attention to the requests of the Elder (Brown *Epistles of John* AB, 721–24; 748–49). Demetrius may have carried the letter himself, or it may have been sent ahead to prepare Gaius for the missionary's coming.

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BETTY JANE LILLIE

7. A silversmith who was a resident of Ephesus who instigated a riot against Paul when the latter's preaching began to interfere with his trade, which was making silver shrines of Artemis, the patron deity of Ephesus (Acts 19:23–41). Note also Alexander the coppersmith in 2 Tim 4:14, and *IvEph* 554 where the profession of coppersmith is mentioned.

There has been no significant controversy concerning the identity of this individual, except for the effort of E. L. Hicks (1890: 401–22) to demonstrate that this was the same individual mentioned in an Ephesian inscription dating approximately to the time of the Lukan narrative. Hicks' suggestion was predicated on a reworking of the Lukan text of Acts 19:24. This hypothesis has attracted few adherents and raises more problems than it solves. One knows nothing about this Demetrius except the minimal amount of information given by Luke. The germane facts of the story focus upon the nature of Demetrius's occupation and the role of this artisan labor union, rather than upon his personal identity.

Labor unions were part and parcel of urban life in antiquity. In Anatolia such unions are well attested in literary and epigraphical evidence of the Roman era (Magie 1950: 811–13). There are currently over half a dozen inscriptions from Ephesus which mention in particular the guild of silver workers (*IvEph* 425, 547, 585, 586, 636, 2212, 2441). This Lukan vignette portraying the civil disturbances that could be instigated by the labor unions of the period is supported by epigraphical as well as literary evidence (MacMullen 1966: 173–78). In fact, another Ephesian inscription records a riot that was engendered by disgruntled members of the bakers' union at Ephesus (*IvEph* 215). The somewhat later literary evidence that appears in the Pliny-Trajan correspondence (*Ep.* 10.33–34) concerning illegal and potentially disruptive *collegia* in Asia Minor reflects the same urban ethos depicted in Luke's account of the character of the silversmiths' union at Ephesus.

Although silver devotional replicas of the temple of Artemis have yet to be found, devotional objects made from other materials and dedicated to the Ephesian goddess Artemis have been discovered. Silver, in fact, was frequently used for devotional items and statues in various cults (e.g., Lucian, *Alex.* 18; Petron. *Sat.* 29; *IvEph* 27, and the C. Vibius Salutaris inscription for the use of silver in the Artemis cult in objects other than temple replicas).

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RICHARD E. OSTER, JR.

DEMETRIUS THE CHRONOGRAPHER.

A Jewish historian-exegete who probably flourished in Egypt during the last quarter of the 3d century B.C.E. He composed at least one work, probably entitled *On the Kings in Judaea*, that appears to have chronicled Jewish history from the time of the patriarchs until the postexilic period. Only a few fragments of the work survive.

Six extant fragments are reliably attributed to Demetrius. They suggest a work closely, probably exclusively, dependent on the LXX, written in straightforward, unadorned Gk style. The fragments especially deal with questions of chronology arising from the biblical text, hence the designation chronographer (Freudenthal). Though he rehearses biblical history in the tradition of certain Hellenistic historians, such as Eratosthenes, Manetho, and Berossus, Demetrius displays an explicit interest in exegetical problems. In his exegetical approach, he appears to employ an established method of interpretation known as *aporiai kai luseis* ("problems and solutions," or "questions and answers") used by pagan writers to interpret the writings of Homer and Hesiod and later applied by Philo of Alexandria in interpreting Genesis and Exodus.

Five of the Demetrius fragments (4 of which are explicitly attributed to him) are preserved by Eusebius in *Praep. Evang.*, Book 9, although Eusebius states that he is quoting the excerpts from the pagan author Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 112–30 B.C.E.), who thus appears to be the earliest author to mention Demetrius and quote from his work. A 6th fragment, preserved in Clement of Alexandria *Strom.*, Book 1, attributes a work entitled *On the Kings in Judaea* to Demetrius and provides a summary of its chronological calculations for events following the fall of Samaria and the fall of Jerusalem until the time of Ptolemy IV Philopator (ca. 220–204 B.C.E.).

All of the fragments preserved by Eusebius focus on events in Genesis and Exodus. Fragment 1 provides a brief, unexceptional summary of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac (Genesis 22). Fragment 2 is the longest of the six fragments (approximately 137 lines of Gk text). It treats various events relating to Jacob and Joseph recorded in Genesis 27–50, giving special attention to chronological questions such as the ages of the patriarchs at various junctures in their lives, the birthdates of Jacob's sons, his children's ages when significant events occurred, and the cumulative number of years for certain designated periods of time, e.g., from Adam until the time Joseph's brothers arrive in Egypt. The next three fragments treat events from Exodus. Fragment 3 focuses on Moses, particularly his marriage to Zipporah (Exod 2:15–22): It was chronologically possible because she was only one generation older than Moses; she was endogamous, a descendant of Abraham and Keturah; she was monogamous, identified with the Cushite (Ethiopian) woman of Num 12:1. Fragment 4 briefly treats the incident of the bitter water at Marah

(Exod 15:22–27), while Fragment 5 explains how the Israelites could have left Egypt unarmed yet managed to obtain weapons with which to fight the Egyptians (Exod 13:18; 17:8–13).

Establishing the date and provenance for Demetrius is based primarily on Fragment 6 (Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 1.21.141.1–2), in which the reign of "Ptolemy the 4th" (Philopator, 220–204 B.C.E.) is used as a reference point for making certain chronological calculations pertaining to the length of time between 2 events: the deportation of the 10 tribes after the fall of Samaria (722 B.C.E.) and the deportation of the tribes of Benjamin and Judah after the fall of Jerusalem (586 B.C.E.). Because the calculations present several difficulties, various textual emendations have been suggested, some of which identify him as Ptolemy III (246–221 B.C.E.) or Ptolemy VII Euergetes II (170–164 and 145–117 B.C.E.). These alternative suggestions, however, have not won widespread acceptance. Consequently, because it is safe to assume that Demetrius would bring his chronological calculations down to his own time, and that he would define this time in terms of his own reigning Ptolemy, his date is confidently set in the last quarter of the 3d century B.C.E. Because Ptolemaic rule at this time was concentrated in Egypt, Demetrius is usually placed in an Egyptian, or even more specifically, an Alexandrian setting. Yet since the extent of Ptolemaic rule prior to the battle of Paneion (200 B.C.E.) encompassed Syria as well as Egypt, the setting might have been Palestine, or even Cyrene.

The ability to set a relatively firm date for Demetrius is important in assessing his overall significance for Judaism in the Hellenistic period. He thus has the distinction of being the earliest named Jewish author known to have written in Greek. His importance is related to at least the following areas:

(1) *LXX studies.* He is an important, reliably dated witness for the existence of a Gk version of Genesis and Exodus (perhaps the Gk Pentateuch) as early as the 3d century B.C.E. Indeed, depending on the date of Ezekiel the Tragedian, Demetrius may be the earliest independent witness of LXX Genesis and Exodus. In any case, he becomes an important resource for the study of LXX origins.

(2) *Jewish historiography.* Though brief, the Demetrius fragments provide an early instance of a Jewish author in the tradition of other Hellenistic "cultural" historians, Berossus (Babylon) or Manetho (Egypt), who wrote national histories promoting their respective peoples and cultures. More specifically, his explicit interest in chronography perhaps testifies to the increased respect this particular intellectual discipline had begun to enjoy, especially among Jews, in the Hellenistic period. It has been plausibly suggested that Demetrius belonged to a school of chronographical interpretation that sought systematically to apply principles of Hellenistic "scientific historiography" to biblical interpretation. Certainly, his work should be viewed alongside other Jewish writings with similar chronological interests, such as *Jubilees, Genesis Apocryphon,* and *Seder Olam.*

(3) *Biblical exegesis.* Demetrius displays a consistent interest in resolving difficulties in the biblical text. Besides questions of chronology, he addresses other questions the text might pose for a critical reader: Why did Joseph remain in Egypt 9 years flourishing without reporting his whereabouts to his aged father in Canaan? Why did he show partiality to Benjamin? Why is the sinew of the thigh of cattle not eaten by Jews? These may be questions asked by Jews as they began to read the biblical text critically, influenced perhaps by Hellenistic "scientific historiography." Or, perhaps they are questions asked by non-Jews, either unsympathetic or manifestly hostile, as they became aware of Jewish biblical history. In these instances, as well as in his discussion of Moses' marriage to Zipporah, Demetrius appears to be interpreting the biblical text not merely to resolve chronological difficulties in the text as an intellectual exercise, but to answer such questions of religious practice as whether Jews should intermarry with non-Jews, or why certain food laws are observed.

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CARL R. HOLLADAY

DEMONS. This entry consists of two articles: one treats the subject of demons as attested in the Hebrew Bible, and the other treats the subject of demons and exorcism as attested in the NT.

OLD TESTAMENT

Discussion of the identity, nature, and role of demons in the OT is complicated by terminology, historical developments, and theoretical issues. Decisions made regarding these factors influence both what one identifies as demons in the OT and the significance of this evidence for reconstructions of the understanding of demons in the OT and in ancient Israel.

A. Factors Complicating Discussion

1. Terminology. Use of the term demon in relation to the OT is problematic for 3 reasons: First, it does not seem that there is a single term in biblical Hebrew which can be consistently and unquestionably translated as "demon" (Caquot 1971: 118). Second, many terms thought to refer to demons are either *hapax legomena* or appear only in a few instances. Third, the English term demon is used to

refer to two very different concepts—evil spirits and neutral "anonymous gods" or spirits *(daimons)*. Both understandings have been applied to the OT.

2. Historical Developments. Historical developments also complicate the discussion. The OT itself lacks a simple or coherent presentation of demons. Most interpreters agree that views of demons in ancient Israel became increasingly complex and negative, however, they disagree as to how this occurred. Several possibilities have been suggested: (a) A general belief in demons as independent evil spirits was always a part of Israel's theology (particularly on the popular level) which was simply expanded in later periods. (b) A general belief in demons as ambivalent spirits or aspects of God was an original part of Israel's theology which in later periods became separated into "good" spirits (angels) and "evil" spirits (demons). (c) A general belief in demons as independent evil figures was a late development arising as it became theologically unacceptable to present evil events and elements as aspects of God. (d) A general belief in the demons reflected in the poetic texts *(deber, qeṭeb)* gradually decreased while belief in other types of demons increased (the various forms of the Satan figure and the hosts of demons and evil angels represented in the intertestamental period).

3. Theoretical Issues. Discussion of the identity, nature and role of demons in the OT is complicated by other issues as well. (1) Much of the study of demons in the OT uses comparative materials, particularly those from other ANE cultures. Linguistic and archaeological evidence has proven helpful in illuminating some aspects of OT understandings of demons, however, this evidence also raises the issue of the degree of legitimate comparison possible between cultures separated by language, time, geography, and theology. (2) Much of the language about demons in both the ANE and OT appears in poetic materials with reference to natural phenomena. This context raises the issue of how poetic references to natural phenomena should be interpreted—as literal references to the physical phenomena, as poetic symbolizations or personifications, or as references to actual demons or deities. (3) Translation in general of terms dealing with demons is problematic. Translations are influenced by many factors: philological evidence and trends, theology, and previous decisions regarding understandings of the term demon and proper ways to interpret each particular text. (4) Identifications and understandings of demons in the OT are strongly influenced by the wider context within which demons are discussed; past contexts have included magic and witchcraft, "popular" religion, official apotropaic rituals, poetic symbolism, and religious psychology.

B. Proposed Demons

As a result of these factors, identification of demons in the OT has not been consistent. The most generally accepted understanding is of demons as "evil spirits" who live in ruins and the desert and are responsible for illness and natural disasters. However, more neutral, anonymous, or positive demons have also been identified.

1. *šēdîm* and *śᵉʿîrîm*. Most interpreters identify two general classes of demons in the OT: *šēdîm* (demons) and *śᵉʿîrîm* (hairy demons, satyrs). References to these demons appear in two contexts: the worship of demons equated with new or false gods (Deut 32:17; Ps 106:37 [*šēdîm*] and Lev 17:7; 2 Chr 11:15 [*śᵉʿîrîm*]); and two judgment oracles (Isa 13:21; 34:14) where the *śᵉʿîrîm* are among several demons left among the ruins after God's judgment.

2. Lilith and Azazel. Generally accepted as two specific demons referred to in the OT. Lilith (Heb *lîlît*) is seen as a female demon associated in Isa 34:14 with various unclean animals. Additional clues to her character and activities are derived from references in ANE and Rabbinic literature and archaeological evidence which picture her as a succubus and a "child stealing" demon (*IDB* 1: 819) and as Adam's first, rebellious wife (Barnstone 1984: 31). The name Azazel (Heb *ʿăzā'zēl*) occurs in Leviticus 16 in relation to the goat sent into the wilderness "to Azazel" in the Atonement ritual. Although "Azazel" has been understood to refer to the goat itself or to a place in the wilderness, most interpreters see Azazel as the name of a particular wilderness demon to whom the goat is dedicated (*EncJud* 5: 1524).

3. Natural Phenomena as Demons. Several terms referring to natural phenomena have also been seen as allusions to demons: *deber* (plague, pestilence; Hos 13:14; Hab 3:5; Ps 91:6); *qeṭeb* (destruction; Deut 32:24; Isa 28:2; Hos 13:14); *qeṭeb yāšûd ṣāhŏrāyim* (destruction that wastes at noonday; Ps 91:6); *rešep* (flame, firebolt; Deut 32:24; Hab 3:5; Pss 76:4 [Eng 76:3] and 78:48); *paḥad lāylāh* (terror in the night; Ps 91:5); and *bārād* (great cold; Ps 78:48; Isa 28:2). Such identifications are based both on ANE parallels (*IDB* 1: 817–21) and on understandings of poetic texts as referring not simply to the natural phenomena themselves but to the demon/god responsible for, or present in, them.

4. Other Proposed Evil Demons. In addition to the categories above, other demons have been identified.

a. Animal Demons. Some interpreters have taken several texts as allusions to theriomorphic demons and have proposed the following animal demons: *ʿălûqāh* (vampire, leech; Prov 30:15); *śĕrāpîm* (fiery flying demonic serpents; Num 21:6, 8; Isa 14:29; 30:6) (Langton 1949: 37–38); the various creatures in Isa 13:21–22 paralleling *śᵉʿîrîm—ṣiyyîm* (wild beasts), *ʾōhîm* (howling creatures), *bĕnōt yaʿănāh* (ostriches), *ʾiyyîm* (hyenas), and *tannîm* (jackals) (Langton 1949: 41–43); *lîlît* pictured as a bird (Isa 34:14); and in some cases Leviathan *(liwyātān)* who on the basis of ANE parallels and opposition to God can be seen as "demonic" (Isa 27:1; Job 3:8; 40:25 [Eng 41:1]).

b. "Beings" Associated with the Underworld. *māwet* (death; Isa 28:15, 18; Jer 9:20 [Eng 9:21]; Hos 13:14; Job 18:13; 28:22) (*EncJud* 5: 1523–24); *dĕbar bĕlîyaʿal* ("a thing of belial/Belial; Ps 41:9 [Eng 41:8]); and *melek ballāhôt* (King of Terrors; Job 18:14) (*IDB* 1: 820–21). Significantly, most interpreters do not place the *repā'îm*, the "shades of the dead," in the category of evil or haunting demons.

c. Additional Terms. *ḥēṣ* ("[demonic] arrow"; Ps 91:5; Job 6:4; 34:6); 7 evil spirits (Deut 28:22) (*IDB* 1: 820).

5. *ʾĕlōhîm, rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm*. Finally, some interpreters (*TDNT* 2: 10–11; *IDB* 1: 817–18) see in the OT additional, more neutral allusions to demons in the sense of "anonymous" gods or spirits. In some cases possession by an *ʾĕlōhîm* or a *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* (Exod 31:3; 1 Sam 10:10; 16:15–16) or the raising up of an *ʾĕlōhîm* from the dead (1 Sam 28:13; Isa 8:19) is understood to reflect this more classical idea of a demon.

C. Significance

Interpreters disagree as to the weight to be given to the OT references to demons in reconstructing Israelite religion and theology. Some (Langton 1949: 10) feel such references attest to a widespread belief in demons among the Israelites which was later systematically suppressed in the text if not in actual practice. Others (*EncJud* 5: 1523; *TDNT* 2: 11) caution against using the scattered and limited references in the OT as evidence for a widespread belief in demons. Most interpreters argue for a position which partially accepts both points. References both to demons themselves and to practices associated with them seem to argue for some belief in demons at certain levels of Israelite society at certain times. However, the text as it now stands contains few references to demons and while illness and disasters may in some cases be attributed to demons, they are more often attributed to Israel's God or God's "spirit."

D. Relation to Satan

Finally, it should be recognized that there is no connection in the OT between the figure of Satan and the demons referred to above. While one late text (1 Chr 21:1) has Satan as a proper name for an independent being who acts in what could be seen as a demonic manner, "The Satan" in the OT serves primarily as a judicial "adversary" acting at God's request (Job 1; Zech 3:1).

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JOANNE K. KUEMMERLIN-MCLEAN

NEW TESTAMENT

In the NT, demons are portrayed as real and powerful enemies of humankind, who are effectively removed ("exorcized") by the power of God at work in Jesus.

A. Background
B. Terminology
C. Description of Activity
D. Jesus' Exorcisms in the Synoptics
E. Other NT References
F. Interpretations

A. Background

A belief in the existence and activity of demons is not limited to the NT. Some conception of evil spirits or demons was held almost universally by the religions of the ancient world. Many of these religions had developed a rather extensive demonology. Egyptian religion included the use of magical incantations to ward off disease and misfortune caused by malevolent spirits. Greek popular belief postulated a class of spirit beings (possibly spirits of the dead) between men and the gods. These beings could afflict people with madness and sickness. Zoroastrianism conceived a dualism in the spirit world, with a dark kingdom of demons under the direction of Ahriman warring against the spirits of light led by Ahura Mazda. Though the Hebrew concept of Yahweh's sovereignty minimized the development of demonology in the canonical writings (Job 1:6–12; 1 Sam 16:14–23; 1 Chr 21:1; Zech 3:1–2), Jewish literature began in the intertestamental period to elaborate on the origin and activity of malevolent spirits. Thousands of demons were said to be at the side of every man, posing a threat to enter the personality and cause sickness and distress. Various procedures and conjurations were suggested as a means of protection from them. Against this backdrop of widespread concern for the harmful influence of evil spirits the NT conception becomes clear.

B. Terminology

The NT documents take for granted the existence of demons, using various terms in reference to them. The Textus Receptus has the word *daimōn* occurring in Matt 8:31; Mark 5:12; Luke 8:29; and Rev 16:14; 18:2, though some manuscripts attest to its use only in the Matthean passage. Far more common is the diminutive form *daimonion,* occurring more than 60 times, mostly in the Gospels. (Note that Paul uses this term in his speech in Acts 17 and in I Cor 10:20–21 with reference to pagan gods.) In a few instances the word *pneuma* without any modifier refers to demons (Matt 8:16; Luke 9:39; 10:20), but the usual practice is to describe the character of the spirit. Consequently the phrases *pneuma akatharton* or *to akatharton pneuma* occur frequently in Mark and Luke (but only twice in Matthew). A demon is also called *pneuma poneron* in Matt 12:45 = Luke 11:26, with Luke using the term again in 7:21; 8:2; and Acts 19:12–16. A singular reference to a *pneuma daimoniou akathartou* is found in Luke 4:33. Matthew seems to prefer the term *daimonion.* Mark uses both *pneuma akatharton* and *daimonion* frequently. Luke employs the wider variety of terms. In addition to these nouns, the Gospels employ the participle *daimonizomai* to describe the phenomenon. A person is said to "have a demon" or to be "demonized." The English translation "demon-possessed" for the participle is wrongly understood if associated with the idea of ownership. The term rather designates the influence or control exercised over a person by the demon present.

C. Description of Activity

Various kinds of physical affliction are attributed to the working of evil spirits. They may cause violently insane behavior (Matt 8:28 = Mark 5:1–5), the inability to speak (Matt 9:32) or to hear (Mark 9:25), blindness (Matt 12:22), characteristics of epilepsy (Luke 9:39), and apparent tendencies to self-destruction (Matt 17:15). The possibility of their being responsible for other maladies not specifically named is suggested in the summary statement of Matt 8:16. There many "demonized" were brought to Jesus, who drove out the spirits and "healed all the sick." As the reference above indicates, the gospel writers do not clearly explain the relationship between demonization and sickness. On the one hand, not all illness is attributed to the actual presence of evil spirits. It is significant that summary statements from all 3 gospels (Matt 4:24; Mark 1:32; and

Luke 7:21) list the "demonized" as a category separate from those suffering with other diseases. Mark especially differentiates between the two, never using the word "to heal" *(therapeuō)* in reference to a demonized person. Moreover, the same symptom is spoken of as sickness in one reference (Matt 4:25) and as demonization in another (Matt 17:15). On the other hand, the grammatical construction of Matt 10:1 implies that the disciples' activities of casting out demons and healing sickness both were derived from their "authority over unclean spirits." The inference seems to be that in the exorcisms the power of demons operating directly on individuals is broken, whereas the healings overcome the indirect influences of malevolent spirits (Kallas 1961: 78–79). Support for this inference is drawn from the fact that Matthew uses the term *therapeuō* with indifference as to whether a passage is dealing with the diseased or the demonized.

In contrast to most of the contemporary literature, the NT makes no highly speculative conjectures concerning the origin of these spirits or descriptions of materialized appearances. The emphasis throughout is on the activity of demonic forces especially in relation to the ministry of Jesus.

D. Jesus' Exorcisms in the Synoptics

All 3 synoptics agree that the casting out of demons was a most significant aspect of Jesus' ministry. The Beelzebul passages (Matt 12:25–29; Mark 3:23–27; Luke 11:17–22) clearly depict the power of Jesus over demons as the evidence that God's kingdom had broken into the present world order. That kingdom was confronting more than a loose confederation of hostile forces. It faced an opposing kingdom of evil spirits ruled by Beelzebul (whom Jesus identified as Satan in Matt 12:26–27). Therefore Jesus' exorcisms were not merely isolated incidents of compassion for individuals oppressed by malevolent forces. They were direct confrontations with the kingdom of the enemy. They were demonstrations of the power and presence of the Kingdom of God. The success of Jesus' assaults indicated that the head of that evil kingdom had already been bound, making possible the spoiling of his domain. On that basis demons were cast out of people and individuals were liberated from Satan's oppression in order to become participants in the blessings of God's kingdom. Contending that Jesus' ministry in this regard was absolutely unique, Theissen points out that no other charismatic miracle-worker ever claimed that his miracles portended the end of the old world and the beginning of a new age (1983: 278–79). Jesus was the first to make a specific connection between the common occurrence of exorcism and the eschatological defeat of Satan (Leivestad 1954: 254; Twelftree 1985: 79–80).

Jesus' authority over the power of Satan was conveyed to his disciples as well. The commissioning accounts in all 3 gospels connect the casting out of demons with the ministry Jesus authorized the disciples to continue (Matt 10:8; Mark 3:13–19; 6:7–13; Luke 9:1–2). In fact, the only activity that runs consistently from the opening summary of Jesus' ministry through the accounts of his miracles and into the commission given to his disciples is the casting out of demons. The context also relates the commissioning to the proclamation of the Kingdom of God. In the mind of Jesus the casting out of demons appears as one of the most verifiable indicators of the arrival of the kingdom (Leivestad 1954: 254).

Of special note is the lack of reference to any formula or procedure passed along from Jesus to his followers. Rather than being given any secret technique, they are simply endowed with his authority *(exousia)* over the spirits. This observation reflects the fact that Jesus' practice was in pointed contrast to the magical approach of other exorcists. Hull's study of exorcistic practice up to the time the gospels were written found that without exception the expulsion of demons was associated with magical practices (Hull 1974: 129). For that reason, some scholars view Jewish and Hellenistic exorcism stories as the background for the NT practice. David Bartlett, however, in a form-critical study contends that the Jewish and Hellenistic parallels are not close enough to the gospel accounts to be considered their source (1972). Rather, as Eitram points out, Jesus acted with an authority quite different from that of an ordinary magician or exorcist, making any technical gesture or use of names superfluous (Eitram 1966: 30). Jesus' absolute authority is emphasized in Matt 8:28–34, where the pericope is structured to focus on the single word of command effecting the deliverance of the demoniacs: "Go."

Despite Jesus' authority over Satan and his demons, Matthew's gospel depicts a continuing conflict between the forces of the evil one and the sons of God's Kingdom in the present age (13:36–43). A similar allowance for demonic powers to operate against man is found in the pseudepigraphal *Jubilees* (10:5–9) and *1 Enoch* (15:11–16:1). The final outcome is not in doubt, however, and according to Matt 25:41 Satan and his "angels" ultimately will be confined to the eternal fire (compare this reference to a number of allusions in intertestamental literature cited by Langton [1942: 238–44]).

E. Other NT References

Mentions of the casting out of demons in the book of Acts are significant in that they represent an extension of the ministry of the Risen Lord through the community of believers. The language of Acts 5:16 describing the apostles' ministry is reminiscent of the summaries in the synoptics (cf. Matt 4:24–25; 8:16; Mark 1:32–34; Luke 4:40–41). The ability to cast out demons was not limited to the apostles, however. Acts 8:5–8 refers to the healings and deliverance from demons which Philip carried out. Significant in this context is the close association of this activity with the proclamation of the kingdom (Acts 8:12), a theme which reflects the commissioning statements of Jesus (Matt 10:7–8; Luke 9:1–2). Further references in Acts are Peter's characterization of Jesus' activity as "doing good and healing all who were under the power of the devil" (10:38), and Paul's exorcism of a "spirit of python" from a slave girl (16:16–18). The sole mention of any objects being used in exorcism is Acts 19:11–12, where cloths that had touched Paul were taken to the sick with the result that their illnesses were cured and evil spirits left them. This phenomenon, however, was not considered to be the normal pattern, as the term *extraordinary* is used to describe it. Moreover, the writer of Acts is careful to attribute the working to God, and not to any power inherent in Paul.

Paul was the human instrumentality, but the power was from God (cf. Luke's understanding of Jesus' dependence on that power in Luke 4:14–19 and Acts 10:38). The motif of dependence on God's power rather than any exorcistic technique or formula is amplified in the next pericope. The Jewish exorcists who invoked the name of Jesus in an attempt to cast out demons were not successful (Acts 19:13–16). Their failure indicates that the use of Jesus' name was not a formula with power to operate *ex opera operati*. This story may be compared with Mark 9:38–40 = Luke 9:49–50. There Jesus allows a man outside of his immediate circle to perform exorcisms in his name. One way to explain the difference is to posit that the man in the gospel accounts was a true follower of Christ, though not in the inner circle of disciples ("not one of us"), whereas the exorcists in Acts were decidedly unbelievers.

Strikingly absent from John's account of Jesus' ministry is any reference at all to the casting out of demons. Twelftree (1985: 90) suggests that since exorcism is closely associated with the Kingdom of God, John's choice to give little attention to the kingdom led him to preclude the exorcism stories. In this gospel, Jesus' conflict with the diabolical realm is not described in terms of individual skirmishes with unclean spirits, but in the climactic overthrow of the opposing spirit world by Jesus' death and resurrection. As the "hour" for Jesus approached, nothing less than the "casting out" of the ruler of this world is signified (John 12:31). The triumph of Jesus in John's gospel, while expressed in more cosmic language, nonetheless involved the same defeat of Satan's realm as that described in the Synoptics.

References to demons in the remainder of the NT focus on their moral and spiritual opposition to believers rather than the kinds of physical affliction described in the Synoptics. They are the spiritual reality behind the apparent nothingness of idols which the heathen worship (1 Cor 10:20–21; Rev 9:20). They are spiritual forces of wickedness in the heavenlies against which the believer must contend by using the armor of God (Eph 6:10–18). They are the source of false teaching designed to lead people away from the faith (1 Tim 4:1). The equation of unclean spirits with demons is clear in Rev 16:13–14 (cf. 18:2), where they are declared to perform miracles and gather the kings of the world for the apocalyptic battle.

F. Interpretations

The reports of demonic activity and exorcism in the NT are subject to various considerations by different scholars. One interpretation views the phenomenon as a 1st-century understanding of what would be known today as a psychological problem. What the ancients called demonization would be diagnosed as psychoses. Representatives of this viewpoint include McCasland, Langton, and Oesterreich. Others, such as Bultmann, see in these accounts a mythological description of a person's existential need to transcend the oppressive power systems of evil in the world. Still others maintain that the concept of demons actually existing is not incompatible with a modern cosmology (Dickason, Kallas, Schniewind). In any case, an understanding of the demonic is absolutely essential to a proper interpretation of the life and ministry of Jesus.

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DAVID GEORGE REESE

DEMOPHON (PERSON) [Gk *Dēmophōn*]. Local governor or commander in the time of Judas Maccabeus (2 Macc 12:2). After Lysias returned to Antiochus V, Demophon together with other local governors or commanders (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 432) continued to persecute the Jewish residents of their cities. Whether they acted on their own initiative or were following orders from either Antiochus V or Lysias cannot be determined. In contrast to 1 Maccabees 5 where the enemies listed are the ancient enemies of Israel, 2 Macc 12:2 lists only officials of the Seleucid empire, whose names are all common Greek names.

RUSSELL D. NELSON

DEMOTIC CHRONICLE. The so-called Demotic Chronicle, which forms the recto of Papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale 215 (Spiegelberg 1914; Bresciani 1969: 551–60; Roeder 1927: 238–49), consists of a series of chapters containing what appear to be oracular statements plus explanations, or glosses, in terms of the (political) history of Egypt during the 4th (and early 3d?) century B.C. Each chapter forms a separate unit. Although there are carryovers of theme between chapters, one cannot assume a chronological order between them or explain the political history of one chapter in terms of another. Both the beginning and the end of the papyrus are missing. Although it cannot be proven, it seems quite likely that the chapters were originally set in a narrative framework, i.e., that there was an accompanying story giving the background for the chapters. Other Late Period prophecies, such as the Prophecy of the Lamb (Zauzich 1983) and the Potter's Prophecy (Koenen 1968), are set within such accompanying stories. Paleographically, Papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale 215 appears to be early Ptolemaic and of Lower Egyptian, probably Memphite, origin (Spiegelberg 1914: 3, n. 3; 4 with n. 7). There is no evidence for a long gap between the time when the oracular statements were

made and the time the explanations, which are written in standard Ptolemaic demotic, were provided. Thus the text was probably composed early in the Ptolemaic period.

The specific rulers who are named in the explanatory passages of the Demotic Chronicle run from Amyrtaios (Manetho's Dynasty 28), who claimed the throne of Egypt at the death of Darius II in 404 B.C., through Teos, the second king of Manetho's Dynasty 30, whose rule ended in 360 B.C. Teos is treated throughout the text as the "reigning" pharaoh (Meyer 1915: 295 with n. 2); when later rulers are mentioned, they are not identified by name, and events in their reigns are presented as prophecy. When historical statements made in the Demotic Chronicle can be checked with external sources, the facts presented in the Chronicle are seen to be quite reliable. Because of this general historical reliability of the Demotic Chronicle, and since there are few contemporary records of Dynasties 28–30, the Demotic Chronicle has been used as a basic source for the history of this period. But many of the explanations are nearly as unclear as the original oracular statements and, although the explanations clearly refer to events which occurred during this period in Egypt, the exact meaning of many of them remains ambiguous. Indeed, often our (very limited) knowledge of the history of this period is insufficient to interpret with certainty the references being made in the text.

The portion of the Demotic Chronicle which has been preserved includes no statement of authorship. The religious background of the text is apparent from the content of the oracular statements, which are largely a mixture of calendrical dates (days of the week, days of the month, months of the year), of ritual activities and festivals, and of references to various divinities and/or (holy) cities. Wessetzky (1942) has argued that all were mythological references to calendrical dates (using the lunar calendar) relating to the Nile inundation. Internal evidence suggests that the text was written by, or on behalf of, the High Priest of Harsaphes in Herakleopolis. The prophetic sections of the text predict that a ruler will come into being in Herakleopolis after the Greeks. One of the glosses in chap. 8 states, "It is said, 'A man of Herakleopolis is the one who will rule after the foreigners and the Greeks' " (2/24–24). The following oracular statement "Take joy, o High Priest of Harsaphes!" is explained by saying, "The High Priest of Harsaphes will rejoice after the Greeks; that means coming into being by a ruler in Herakleopolis" (3/1). Although the text might have been written to justify a rebellion which was in progress, it is just as likely that it was preparing the way for one which had not yet begun (Spiegelberg 1914: 6; Meyer 1915: 297).

While providing justification for a rebellion, the Demotic Chronicle also presents a statement of, even a definition of, legitimate kingship (Johnson 1983). In this context, the historical rulers of Dynasties 28–30 are used as examples, illustrating both the good and the bad king and their resultant fates. The clearest statement of this is found in chap. 10, where the fates of different rulers of Dynasties 28–30 are dependent on the manner in which they governed. Thus, of Amyrtaios, the sole ruler of Dynasty 28, it is said that his son was not allowed to succeed him as ruler because he, Amyrtaios, had allowed the law to be violated (lit., "The first ruler who came after the foreigners, who are the Medes, [i.e.] Pharaoh Amyrtaios, when violation of the law was done [in] his time, he was caused to make the movements [of] yesterday; there was no rule by his son after him" [3/18–19]). The fate of Amyrtaios is specified even more clearly later in the same chapter when the oracular statement "first" is explained by saying that "the first who came after the Medes" was forced off the throne because he had ordered that the law be violated (lit., "when he ordered violation of the law, the things which were done for him were seen; his son was not allowed to succeed him; but, instead, he was caused to remove himself [from] upon his throne while he was alive" [4/1–2]).

A very similar statement is found later in the same chapter where the two-part oracular statement "the third—he was deposed" is explained by saying "the third ruler who came into being between the Medes" was deposed "when he abandoned the law" (4/6). This same sentiment also underlies the passage describing the fate of the son and successor of Neferites I of Dynasty 29: "[Only] a few days are what were given to him, himself, because of numerous sins which were done in his time" (3/21). A slight variation is the statement concerning Neferites II of Dynasty 29, "Because the law was abandoned under his father, a crime was made to reach his son after him" (4/12).

By contrast, long rule and succession by one's son result from proper behavior by the king. The clearest example is the explanation of the oracular statement "the fifth—he completed" as "the fifth ruler who came after the Medes [i.e., Achoris, Repeater of Appearances], whose days of rule were caused to be complete [i.e., when he was beneficent to the temples]." (4/9–10). The same standard is found applied to Neferites I of Dynasty 29, "When he did what he did conscientiously [lit., firmly, securely], his son was allowed to succeed him" (3/20–21). A general statement of this theory is found in chap. 12, "The ruler who will be beneficent is the one whom it [i.e., the uraeus, a deity who protects the ruling king] will love" (5/22).

The legitimate king, as portrayed in the Demotic Chronicle and contemporary Egyptian documents, undergoes the proper coronation rituals and possesses the proper royal regalia; he makes Egypt flourish and protects her from foreign invasion; and he shows proper respect for the gods and their temples and for temple ritual. All of these are summed up in the general statement that he will not abandon the law.

Not only past rulers were judged by the criterion of appropriate behavior, for the ruler prophesied to come from Herakleopolis is bound by the same rules of conduct. In chap. 9, one stage of the rebellion which will be led by this man, who will come into being in Herakleopolis, is his legitimization: "A titulary [is given] to me [in] the third month of Winter" is explained by saying, "He will be revealed and he will appear in glory in the crown of gold in the third month of Winter; that means his acting as ruler in the third month of Winter" (3/10). This ruler will found a legitimate dynasty. The following oracular statement "They will give a seat to Pe [a prehistoric capital of Egypt]" is glossed "His eldest son will be put on his seat [Egyptian *p*] [i.e., (the seat of) the ruler who will come into being in Herakleopolis]; that means he will be similar to Harsiese" (3/11). Harsiese is the archetypal good king who

avenged his father's death and succeeded him on the throne. The following sections of the same chapter also stress the legitimate status of this ruler since he will be recognized in Dep as well as Pe, and Isis will stop grieving (for her slain husband Osiris) because the legitimate successor (Harsiese) has taken the throne and avenged the death of his father. This use of mythological references as part of the justification for the ruler whose coming is being predicted reflects the mythological underpinnings of Egyptian kingship as a whole.

The tradition that the quality of a king's rule is reflected in the length of his reign is also found in Hebrew texts (Meyer 1915: 199, 304–5; Daumas 1961; Lloyd 1982: 42–44, n. 37 to p. 45) and in the Hellenistic Babylonian New Year's Festival Ritual (Smith 1978: 72–73). Similarly, the use of recent political events as explanatory devices in prophetic and exegetical texts is found not only in Egyptian materials such as the Demotic Chronicle, for which there are long roots in Egyptian literature, but also in Hebrew, and especially Essenian, exegesis (Meyer 1915: 294; Daumas 1961; Smith 1978: 77–87). Other points of comparison with biblical materials include concepts such as walking on the "path of God" or "path of life" (Johnson 1983: 69).

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JANET H. JOHNSON

DEN OF LIONS. See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES (OT AND ANE).

DENARIUS [Gk *Dēnarion*]. See COINAGE.

DEPOSIT. Primarily a legal term referring to money or property placed with a guardian for safekeeping. Israelite laws regarding deposits, including penalties assessed to a custodian under whose guardianship a deposit was lost or stolen, are found in Exod 22:6–10 and Lev 6:2–4 (5:21–23 LXX). In later times, private monies were said to be placed on deposit in the temple treasury, with the high priest as guardian (2 Macc 3:7–34; cf. *4 Macc.* 4:1–14). In a derivative sense, people could be placed "on deposit" for safekeeping (e.g., Tob 10:13). When his message fell on deaf ears, Isaiah committed his teaching and writing to the guardianship of his disciples, much like a deposit. Other documents can be described as deposits, placed in earthen vessels for safekeeping (e.g., Jeremiah's deed, Jer 32:9–15; and the books of Moses in *T. Mos.* 11:16).

In the NT, the word "deposit" *(parathēkē)* only appears in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim 6:20; 2 Tim 1:12, 14). The background for this NT term appears to include classical Greek, which preferred the synonym *parakatathēkē* to the NT word (but the Textus Receptus reads *parakatathēkē* at 1 Tim 6:20 and 2 Tim 1:14). The ancient Greek and Roman societies had very specific laws of deposit, the language of which had some influence on Christian times. A clear example of this juridical influence can be seen in *Herm. Man.* 3:2, where truth is said to be part of God's "deposit" with which man is entrusted—the one who lies defrauds God by not restoring the deposit he received (cf. humans as guardians of the divine "deposit" [the soul] in Josephus *JW* 3.372.1).

In the Pastorals "deposit" refers to the faith which has been entrusted to the church in the form of tradition (1 Tim 6:20; 2 Tim 1:14), and to Paul (2 Tim 1:12; or of Paul's personal faith which he entrusts to God's keeping), of which the apostle and his co-workers are simply stewards. The "deposit" apparently includes Pauline teaching and the OT. Guarding the tradition is not a static enterprise, however, in light of the fact that Timothy is charged to guard the deposit by the Holy Spirit, the Spirit which is said to give him guidance in matters of interpretation. A similar glimpse of developing tradition is provided by 2 Peter, whose wholesale appropriation of Jude constitutes a dynamic interpretation of "the faith once for all delivered to the saints" (Jude 3).

Another legal term for "deposit," *arrabōn,* also translated "guarantee," or "pledge," is a Hebrew loan-word *(ʿērābôn)* used of the pledge given to Tamar by Judah (Gen 38:17–20). The word is used by Paul to describe the role of the Holy Spirit as a "deposit" or "guarantee" of the believer's inheritance (2 Cor 1:22, 5:5; cf. Eph 1:14). See PW 5: 233–36; *Kl Pauly* (1979): 1492–93; *RAC* 3: 778–84.

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THOMAS SCOTT CAULLEY

DERBE (PLACE) [Gk *Derbē*]. An ancient city of Lycaonia located on the plateau of south central Anatolia (modern Turkey). Derbe was located along the main road which

connected the chief city of the region Iconium (modern Konya) with Laranda. The city was located in the Lycaonian district of the Roman province of Galatia. Iconium was a Phrygian city but Derbe and the neighboring city of Lystra spoke a local dialect called Lycaonian (Acts 14:11). The name of the city may be derived from a word in the local tongue which means "juniper tree."

Derbe was the home of Gaius who accompanied Paul to Ephesus (Acts 19:29) and on his trip through Macedonia and Greece (Acts 20:4, *Derbaios*). Derbe was the most easterly point of the first missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas. Paul and Barnabas preached in Iconium and some of the leaders of the city planned to have them stoned. Paul and Barnabas, after hearing of the plot against them, fled to the Lycaonian cities of Lystra and Derbe. In Lystra, Paul healed a lame man and the people believed that he was the incarnation of Hermes and Barnabas that of Zeus. The crowd, after much persuasion, was convinced that Paul and Barnabas were only men. This same crowd was later incited by Jews from Antioch and Iconium to stone Paul and drag him outside the city walls, thinking that he was dead. Paul, however, did revive and the next day he and Barnabas departed for Derbe. Once in Derbe Paul and Barnabas preached the good news and many individuals were converted. Paul with Silas returned to Derbe on his second missionary journey (Acts 16:1) and Paul probably returned again at the beginning of his third missionary journey (Acts 18:23).

Little is known of the early history of the Derbe but it was undoubtedly hellenized after the Greeks took control of this region. The city later came under Roman control and was added to Cappadocia as the "eleventh *strategia*" (ca. 65 B.C.). Derbe was later seized by Antipater, a local ruler, who was called "the robber" by Strabo (11.535), but he was also a friend of Cicero (*Fam.* 13.73). Later the city came under the control of Amyntas the king of Galatia after he defeated Antipater. Derbe became a part of Roman Galatia upon the death of Amyntas in 25 B.C. During the 1st century A.D. the nearby city Laranda was under the control of Antiochus IV of Commagene. Derbe at this time gained a special title which indicated a special link to the Emperor Claudius, hence the title Claudio-Derbe. This appellation (*Clau[dia] Derb[e]*) is recorded on the coins of the city dating to the 2d century A.D.

The exact location of the city has long been debated. J. R. S. Sterrett in 1888 purposed that the area near Gudelisin was a probable location of Derbe due to its proximity to Lystra. Ramsey working from this information later affirmed that Gudelisin was the location of Derbe. This was the standard interpretation until two inscriptions were found which indicate that Kerti Huyuk, located nearly 30 miles E of Gudelisin, is the likely location of Derbe. The first inscription was found at the Kerti Huyuk in 1956 by Michael Ballance. This inscription, dated to 157 A.D., is a dedication of the council and people of Derbe. The second inscription was carried by local inhabitants from Kerti Huyuk to the nearby village of Suduraya. This inscription, dated to the last part of the 4th century A.D., is found on the tombstone of Michael, a bishop of Derbe.

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JOHN D. WINELAND

DESCENT TO THE UNDERWORLD. In the ancient world, as in many other cultures, the realm of the dead was usually located in the underworld (Hades, Sheol, sometimes Gehenna) and a descent to the underworld was simply a way of visiting the dead. However, occasionally the dead were also located in other areas. An old alternative to the underworld placed the realm of the dead at the furthest extremity of the world in the west, where the sun goes down. Sometimes the righteous dead were placed in an earthly or heavenly paradise, whereas the underworld was reserved for the wicked dead. During the early centuries C.E., there was a tendency among pagans, Jews, and Christians to relocate even the place of postmortem punishment to the upper atmosphere or the lower heavens. Thus journeys to the world of the dead were not always descents. While this article will focus on descents, it will not be possible to avoid referring sometimes to other kinds of journeys to the world of the dead when they are closely related to descents to the underworld. The common descent to the underworld by all who die will not be discussed, but only cases of those who descend alive and return still alive, or who descend in death but escape death and return to life.

Descents to the underworld occur in the myths and traditions of many cultures and are often attributed to the gods and heroes of myths and legends. Attitudes to the loss of loved ones in death may find expression, for example, in stories of those who braved the terrors of the underworld in order to rescue a relative who had died. The cycle of the seasons may be represented in myths of gods who periodically descend to and return from the underworld. Myths of heavenly gods descending to the world ruled by the infernal deities may serve to emphasize the power of death which cannot be overcome or alternatively to define the limits of the power of death. Descents may also occur as unusual psychological experiences, in trance, vision, or temporary loss of consciousness, when the soul seems to leave the body and finds itself in the other world as described in the traditions of the culture. Such descents may be chance occurrences, or they may be deliberately cultivated and undertaken, as by the shamans of central Asia. Very often accounts of descents to the underworld, either attributed pseudonymously to great heroes or seers of the past, or else actually reported by those who have experienced visions and trances, serve as revelations of the secrets of death and the life to come, preparing their hearers or readers for the journey of death, or seeking to influence their lives by warning of the future rewards and punishments consequent on behavior in this life. Descents of all these kinds and more are found, to varying extents, in the various cultures of the biblical world. The following survey will show, by contrast, how remarkably lacking they are in the biblical literature itself, though the particular forms which descents to the under-

world took in the environment of the biblical tradition will also illuminate particular biblical passages and phrases.

A. Mesopotamia
B. Egypt
C. Syria and Palestine
D. Old Testament
E. Iran
F. Greece and Rome
G. Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic
H. Christ's Descent to Hades (New Testament)
I. Christ's Descent to Hades (Early Church)

A. Mesopotamia

Several Sumerian myths include descents to the netherworld by divine or human beings, which are the oldest known examples of such stories. All make clear that a descent to the world of the dead is extremely perilous. The netherworld is "the land of no return," guarded by seven walls, each with a gate and a gatekeeper whose role is to allow only the dead to enter and to prevent anyone from leaving. To descend and to return to the land of the living is possible only on exceptional terms. Indeed (as the story of Inanna's descent will make clear) even a god cannot descend without dying.

In the myth of *Enlil and Ninlil,* the god Enlil is banished to the netherworld by the gods as punishment for his rape of Ninlil. Ninlil, who is pregnant with Enlil's child Nanna-Sin, the moon god, follows Enlil. Since the moon god belongs in the sky, Enlil does not want his child doomed to live in the netherworld. He adopts a remarkable stratagem to prevent this. As Ninlil leaves the city of Nippur and travels to the netherworld, Enlil disguises himself three times: first as the gatekeeper of Nippur, then as the gatekeeper of the netherworld, then as the ferryman who rows the dead across the river in the netherworld (the Sumerian equivalent of the Greek Charon). On each occasion he makes love to Ninlil and fathers a child. These three new offspring, who become three of the gods of the underworld, are exchanged for the moon god, who is thus free to take his place in heaven (see Cooper 1980). Enlil thus conforms to an inflexible rule of the netherworld: no one who enters can leave except by providing a substitute. (For a much later survival of this idea, see Lucian *Catapl.* 10.)

The same rule comes into play in the fullest account of a descent, that of the goddess Inanna, the morning star. This is known both in a Sumerian version and in a slightly different Akkadian version (the *Descent of Ishtar;* see Sladek 1974). The motive for Inanna's descent is not entirely clear, but it seems that not content with being the queen of heaven she suddenly felt the desire to rule also the lower world of which her sister Ereshkigal is queen. On a false pretext she gains admittance, but the process by which she passes each of the seven gates is in fact the process of death. At each she is made to relinquish items of her jewelry and clothing, until when she enters the presence of Ereshkigal and the Anunnaki, the seven judges of the dead, she is naked, as the dead are when they reach the netherworld. There she is condemned, killed, and hung up as a decaying corpse. However, Inanna had given instructions to Ninshubur her servant to appeal to the gods on her behalf if she did not return. Only Enki is willing to help. He fashions two strange creatures who slip unnoticed into the netherworld, ingratiate themselves with Ereshkigal, and are able to use the water of life and the grass of life they have brought with them to revive Inanna. However, Inanna may leave only on the condition that she find a substitute. Accompanied by a troop of terrible demons she ascends to earth and seeks a substitute. Eventually she comes to her consort, the young shepherd Dumuzi. Enraged by the fact that he is not mourning for her, she allows the demons to seize him. He temporarily escapes, his sister Geshtinanna comes to his aid, and Inanna consents to an arrangement whereby Dumuzi's fate is to be shared with his sister: each year he will spend half the year in the netherworld and Geshtinanna the other half of the year. This conclusion (cf. the Greek myths of Persephone and Adonis) makes it certain that the myth has some connection with the cycle of the seasons. In fact, the theme of the disappearance and renewal of fertility is more obvious in the Akkadian version, in which Ishtar's rescue is prompted by the concern of the gods about the infertility of the earth which has resulted from her descent and death. But Jabobsen's highly ingenious and detailed explanations of such myths in terms of the events of the agricultural year (1976: 62–63) are debated (cf. Kirk 1970: 88–118).

A Sumerian story of a hero's unsuccessful descent to the netherworld is told in *Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld* (Shaffer 1963). (An Akkadian version of this story also forms tablet 12 of the Gilgamesh Epic. When a chasm opens in the ground and two treasured objects belonging to Gilgamesh drop into the netherworld, his friend Enkidu offers to retrieve them. Gilgamesh gives him careful instructions on how to behave in the netherworld so as not to attract attention to himself. Enkidu fails to follow the instructions and is held there, as dead. Gilgamesh appeals to the gods but the most they can do for him is to enable Enkidu's ghost to ascend temporarily to speak with Gilgamesh. Enkidu tells Gilgamesh about life in the netherworld: how his own corpse is decaying there, and how various categories of the dead fare better than others. The account is of great interest as the earliest instance of a description of the state of the dead given by someone who had been to the underworld and had returned.

The Akkadian *Epic of Gilgamesh* (*ANET,* 72–99, 503–7), whose account of Enkidu's death is different, recounts a dream which Enkidu had when his death was near (7.4.11–55). It seems to be a premonition of his approaching death. A fierce psychopomp seizes him and leads him down to the "house of darkness," where he sees the kings of old. The text breaks off at the point where Ereshkigal asks, "Who has brought this man here?" Possibly, as in stories in Greek and Roman literature (see F. below), the story continued by disclosing that Enkidu had been brought to the netherworld too soon, so that he had to be sent back, though with the knowledge that his real death was fast approaching.

An Akkadian text from the 7th century B.C.E. (*ANET,* 109–10) tells another story of a visit to the netherworld in a dream by a living human being. An Assyrian crown prince called Kummâ (perhaps Assurbanipal: Bottéro 1987: 68) prays to Ereshkigal and Nergal, the rulers of the

netherworld, to be allowed to see the netherworld. His prayer is answered in a dream in which he describes the terrifying appearance of the various guardians and gods of the netherworld. Like the dead, he is arraigned before Nergal and the Anunnaki. He is spared death at the hands of Nergal only so that when he returns to the upper world, he may persuade his father to follow the will of the gods of the netherworld.

B. Egypt

The myth of Osiris cannot be included here, since his resurrection does not mean his return to the world of the living: he remains in the realm of the dead, as its ruler. More properly a myth of descent and return is that of the sun god Re, who every evening, after traveling in his boat across the sky, descends to the world of the dead through an entrance in the far west, and during the night passes through the underworld before ascending into the sky again every morning. The *Book of What Is in the Other World (Am-Tuat)* and the *Book of Gates* describe in detail Re's passage through the world of the dead during the twelve hours of night (Budge 1906).

Two stories of human beings visiting the world of the dead are known. One is reported by Herodotus (2.122), who says that King Rhampsinitus (Ramses III) descended alive into the realm of the dead, where he played dice (probably checkers) with Demeter (i.e., Isis) and returned to earth with a golden napkin she had given him. He describes an annual ritual supposed to commemorate the event.

The other story is that of Setne and his son Si-Osire (*AEL* 3: 138–51). The story is extant in a Demotic text written probably in the second half of the 1st century C.E., but, since Setne Khamwas was high priest of Memphis ca. 1250 B.C.E., it is likely to be based on an older Egyptian tale. An Egyptian in the realm of the dead was allowed to return to earth in order to deal with a Nubian magician who was proving too powerful for the magicians of Egypt. He was reincarnated as the miraculous child of a childless couple, Setne and his wife, and called Si-Osire. When he reached the age of 12 he vanquished the Nubian magician and returned to the netherworld. But before this there was an occasion when father and son observed two funerals, one of a rich man buried in sumptuous clothing and with much mourning, the other of a poor man buried without ceremony or mourning. The father declared he would rather have the lot of the rich man than that of the pauper, but his son expressed the wish that his father's fate in the netherworld would be the opposite, that of the pauper rather than that of the rich man. In order to justify his wish and demonstrate the reversal of fortunes in the afterlife, he took his father on a tour of the seven halls of the underworld. The account of the first three halls is lost. In the fourth and fifth halls the dead were being punished. In the fifth hall was the rich man, with the pivot of the door of the hall fixed in his eye. In the sixth hall were gods and attendants, in the seventh a scene of judgment before Osiris. The pauper was to be seen, elevated to high rank, near Osiris. Si-Osire explained to his father what they saw, and the fate of the three classes of the dead: those whose good deeds outnumber their bad deeds (like the pauper), those whose bad deeds outnumber their good deeds (like the rich man), and those whose good and bad deeds are equal. (For the coherence of the account with ancient Egyptian concepts, see Zandee 1960: 297–302.) The story is of special importance, both because it is an example of the genre of conducted tours of the underworld (also to be found in Greek, Jewish, and Christian literature) and because it passed into Jewish religious folklore (see section G.) and has been claimed as the original of the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31).

C. Syria and Palestine

Among the mythological texts from Ugarit, the Baal cycle includes a notable divine descent to the netherworld (*ANET*, 138–42). After his victory over Yam, the god of the waters of chaos, Baal, who was at the summit of his power, saw signs that the power of Mot, the god of death, was encroaching on his rule. So he sent messengers to Mot in the netherworld to demand his submission to Baal's power, but Mot's reply was to summon Baal to admit defeat and come down to him in the netherworld. Baal sent a message of capitulation ("I am your slave") and then descended to the netherworld (i.e., he died). His sister Anat found his body and buried it on the summit of Mt. Zaphon. Then, driven by her love for her brother, she sought out Mot in the netherworld and vanquished him. Baal revived, returned, and resumed his rule. But seven years later Mot again challenged Baal and they engaged in a fierce battle. The outcome is not preserved: presumably Baal won a decisive victory over Mot. If so, the descent of Baal differs significantly in its final outcome from that of Inanna. Both are first obliged to submit to the power of the netherworld in dying and then escape the power of death with the help of other gods. But whereas in the myth of Inanna's descent the power of death remains intact, in that of Baal it is eventually subjected to Baal's power.

The Ugaritic myth has commonly been connected with the annual cycle of the seasons, and there are elements of the text which suggest this. Baal, the storm god who brings clouds and rain and therefore fertility, would descend to the netherworld at the end of spring, when the scorching heat of summer begins, and return to life in the autumn, bringing the autumn rains and plenty after the summer drought. However, the final battle with Mot in the 7th year is hard to explain in this way, and may indicate that the agrarian elements have been subsumed into a larger mythical design. Xella (1987) sees the myth as expressing the eternal dialectic between life and death. Baal defends the cosmic order against the power of death, not abolishing it but forcing it to observe limits. Mot's attempt at unlimited power—killing gods and threatening the extinction of humanity—is foiled, and death becomes a power subdued and kept in its place by Baal. Xella's further supposition that Baal's resurrection includes representatively some kind of transcendence of death by the great ancestors of the people seems more speculative.

Tammuz, for whom the women of Jerusalem in the 6th century B.C.E. observed a ceremony of mourning (Ezek 8:14), was the Sumerian Dumuzi (see section A.). There is much later evidence about his cult in Phoenicia and Syria, centered at Byblos (Gebal) in Hellenistic times, when he was also called in Greek Adonis. But since this Syrian cult

of Tammuz was the intermediary between Mesopotamia and the Greek cult of Adonis, well established in Greece by 600 B.C.E., it must have flourished already in OT times, while the myths of Dumuzi (section A. above) and Adonis (section F. below) are sufficiently similar to show that some such myth about Tammuz, descending to and returning from the netherworld annually, must have been current in Syria and Palestine.

D. Old Testament

A. Cooper (1983) argues that Ps 24:7–10 is a fragment of a descent myth in which a high god (now identified with Yahweh) descends to the netherworld to confront the powers of death. The verses describe either the divine warrior's entry into the netherworld to combat death or his victorious emergence from the netherworld after subduing death. The doors are the gates of the netherworld, barred against God's entry or exit. The gatekeepers, commanded to open, challenge him for his identity. This is an attractive interpretation (especially as it would make the early Christian interpretation of these verses with reference to the descent of Christ to Hades a reactivation of their original mythical sense), but unfortunately there are no extant parallels to such a fragment of myth. Baal's entry into the netherworld (section C. above) is not triumphant, but a submission to death. In the fragmentary narrative no account of his subsequent reemergence from the netherworld is preserved, and we cannot tell whether his final conflict with Mot involved a descent.

Ancient Israel shared the conviction of the Mesopotamian peoples that "he who goes down to Sheol [the underworld] does not come up" (Job 7:9; cf. 10:21; 16:22; 2 Sam 12:23). No exceptions were known: there is no OT instance of a true descent to and return from the underworld by a living human being, though there is one case of someone being summoned from Sheol by necromancy (1 Sam 28:3–25; this practice was rejected by the law and the prophets, Lev 19:31; Deut 18:10–12; Isa 8:19; 65:2–4). However, in the OT the *idea* of descending to Sheol and returning alive to the land of the living does occur as a way of describing the experience of coming very close to death and escaping. When the psalmists feel themselves to be so close to death as to be virtually certain of dying they speak of themselves as already at the gates of the underworld (Ps 107:18; Isa 38:10; cf. *3 Maccabees* 5:51; *Pss. Sol.* 16:2) or even already in the depths of the underworld (Ps 88:6). They have already made the descent to the world of the dead and only Yahweh's intervention brings them up again (Pss 9:13; 30:3; 86:13; Isa 38:17; cf. Sir 51:5). The picture of descent and return is more than a poetic fancy. For the psalmists to be already in the region of death means that they are in death's power. The experience of Yahweh's power to deliver them was a step toward the belief that his sovereignty over the world of the dead would in the future be asserted in bringing the dead back to the world of the living in eschatological resurrection. The assertion that Yahweh "kills and makes alive" (Deut 32:39; 1 Sam 2:6; 2 Kgs 5:7; cf. *4 Maccabees* 18:18–19), later found in the form, "he leads down to Hades and brings up again" (Tob 13:2; Wis 16:13), originally referred to the kind of experience the psalmists expressed but became the basis of the later Jewish confession of faith in "the God who makes the dead alive" (*Ascen. Jos.* 20:7; Rom 4:17; 2 Cor 1:9; *Eighteen Benedictions*).

Jonah 2:2–9 is a psalm of thanksgiving for deliverance from death by drowning, which uses the kind of language just discussed in a specially strong form: "I went down to the land [Sheol] whose bars closed upon me for ever; yet thou didst bring up my life from the Pit" (2:6). It has been appropriately incorporated by the author of the book of Jonah, who wished to represent Jonah's miraculous escape from drowning as his rescue by God from the world of the dead itself. Jonah's descent into the sea was a descent to the depths of the underworld, and the great fish was the means by which God delivered him from Sheol and brought him back to dry land. That the fish does not itself represent Sheol but the means of ascent from Sheol is shown by the reference to "three days and three nights" (1:17). The use of this phrase in the *Descent of Inanna* (see section A.) shows that it was the time it took to travel from the earth to the underworld. In Jonah's case it was the time the fish took to bring him back from Sheol to the world of the living (Landes 1967a; 1967b). In later Jewish interpretation, however, the belly of the fish came to be seen as representing the belly of Sheol from which God delivered Jonah (Jonah 2:1–2, 7–8 LXX; *3 Maccabees* 6:8; Matt 12:40).

E. Iran

Three visits by living human beings to the world of the dead are known from the Zoroastrian tradition: the legend of a visit to paradise by Zoroaster's royal patron Vištāsp, the long and detailed vision in the *Ardā Virāz Nāmag*, and the journey of Kirdīr (Skjaervø 1983). The last is of great importance, since it is related in an account by the high priest Kirdīr himself (3d century C.E.) in two inscriptions from Iran. It is therefore a historical event, which took place in the reign of the Sassanid king Shapur I (ca. 240–70 C.E.).

Kirdīr relates how he prayed for a vision of the other world, as a special favor from the gods in reward for his outstanding piety and religious service, and in order to increase his confidence in Zoroastrian teaching about the afterlife. He also expresses the wish that his account of it should aid its readers' belief in heaven and hell, so that the vision has in fact the function of a revelation of the fate of the dead, confirming the revelation given in Zoroastrian traditions. The vision itself is not narrated by Kirdīr in the first person; rather he reports the way it was narrated by a group of people (designated in the text by an unknown word) who were presumably visionaries who went into a trance after the performance of a ritual, and told Kirdīr what they were seeing as they experienced it (for this interpretation of the text, see Skjaervø 1983: 294). The visionaries themselves travel through the other world and as they do they see a man who looks like Kirdīr (his soul) following the route which the souls of the dead take. Most of the account (some of which is fragmentary) conforms closely to the traditional Zoroastrian features of the world of the dead: a beautiful woman (who is Kirdīr's *daēna*, a personification of his conscience) comes to meet him and they travel together on a luminous road towards the east; they pause before a judge with scales to weigh the sins and merits of the dead; they come to the bottomless pit of hell,

full of reptiles, and must cross it on the perilously narrow bridge (called Činwad in other sources) which widens for them; they then ascend to a succession of palaces in paradise.

The account of the vision of *Ardā Virāz*, though the pseudo-historical introduction to it seems to date it at about the same time as Kirdīr's vision (see Vahman 1986: 227–28, but cf. 233), only reached the written form in which we have it much later, in the 10th or 11th century C.E. It has no doubt been through a number of redactions (Gignoux 1984b: 14–17), but whether it has a historical core, originally preserved in oral tradition, is very uncertain. Besides the traditional Zoroastrian features, such as the bridge Činwad, the bulk of the text describes in detail the many different punishments suffered in hell by specific classes of sinners. Both the general concept and some of the specific details (such as those punishments in which people are suspended by some part of their body) of the punishments in hell are paralleled in the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic tradition of descriptions of hell (see section G. below). The direction of dependence has been disputed, but the presence of motifs which are also paralleled in ancient Greek accounts of Hades (Tardieu 1985) makes it fairly certain that the *Ardā Virāz Nāmag* is indebted to the Judeo-Christian apocalyptic tradition, which has mediated to it features borrowed from the Greek Hades. Thus the distinctively Zoroastrian features of the other world in *Ardā Virāz Nāmag* have been augmented, probably at a relatively late date, by borrowings from other traditions.

However, there are features which link *Ardā Virāz Nāmag* with Kirdīr's account. The magi seek a vision of the other world for propaganda purposes: in order to verify Zoroastrian teaching and the efficacy of the cult with regard to the fate of souls after death (on this feature in all three accounts, see Gignoux 1974). Virāz is selected for his outstanding piety and righteousness, just as Kirdīr attributes his vision to his exceptional worthiness. Ritual preparations precede his trance, which he experiences in the presence of others. However, unlike Kirdīr he experiences the journey to the other world himself and unlike Kirdīr's visionaries he does not narrate it while experiencing it, but only when he returns after seven days of apparent sleep. This apparent sleep is a feature which is shared with the legend of Vištāsp's visit to paradise, as is the drink of wine mixed with henbane—presumably a drug to induce trance—which is given to both before their experiences.

Gignoux (1979, 1981) detects an ancient Iranian tradition of shamanistic experience (for shamanism, see section F. below) in the three features preserved as a literary tradition in the later sources: a drug conducive to ecstatic experience, the state of apparent death, and the journey to the other world. It is unfortunate for this argument that in the earliest account (the Journey of Kirdīr), the drug is not mentioned and the state of the visionaries is certainly not one of death since they are depicted as speaking. However, it is possible that the accounts do reflect, very remotely, the experiences of an early period. Lucian's satirical account (from the 2d century C.E.) of a Babylonian magus who conducted Menippus to Hades (see section F. below) suggests that Kirdīr's experience, though exceptional by his own account, was not unique among the Zoroastrian magi. Menippus had been told that Zoroaster's disciples, the magi, "by means of certain incantations and initiation rites could open the gates of Hades, take down anyone they wished in safety and afterwards bring him back again" (*Menippus* 6).

F. Greece and Rome

Many descents to the underworld were known in the classical Greek and Hellenistic cultures (a fairly exhaustive listing can be found in PW, 2395–448). A number of different influences and concerns are needed to account for them, but two particular kinds of origin may be mentioned at the outset. One is the mythical representation of the cycle of nature as a descent to and return from the underworld. This appears in the myth of Demeter and Persephone, on which the Eleusinian mysteries were based, and which it is difficult not to suppose was connected with the cycle of the seasons in its origin (but cf. Burkert 1979: 138). At any rate the connection is clear in the earliest extant source, the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (7th or early 6th century B.C.E.). Persephone was gathering flowers when the earth opened and the god Hades carried her off to the underworld. When her mother Demeter, after searching for her, discovered the truth, she wandered the earth disguised as an old woman and came to Eleusis. Eventually she brought about a famine which threatened to put an end to humanity and to their sacrifices to the gods. Zeus succeeded in pacifying her by sending Hermes to persuade Hades to let Persephone return to her mother. The resulting compromise was that Persephone was to spend two thirds of each year with her mother on Olympus and one third with her husband Hades as queen of the underworld. When Demeter consented to this arrangement, she made life return to the fields. She also taught her secret rites to the princes of Eleusis. This was the myth that was somehow enacted in the ceremonies of the Eleusinian mysteries, but again the *Hymn to Demeter* already makes clear that in these the theme of the renewal of the fruitfulness of the natural world was linked with the promise of a blessed afterlife in the underworld. Although the annual descent and return of Persephone is unmistakably parallel to that of Dumuzi in the Sumerian myth, the Greek myth, unlike the Sumerian, acquired a significance for personal fate. However, precisely how the assurance to initiates that they would be happy in Hades after death was linked to the myth and to the secret rites of the mysteries remains obscure.

Not only parallel to but actually derived from the cult and the myth of Dumuzi was the Greek cult and myth of Adonis, though as the name itself indicates (= Semitic *adonî*, "my lord") the Greek Adonis was more immediately the Tammuz of Phoenicia, Syria, and Cyprus. As Dumuzi was linked with Inanna and Tammuz with Astarte, so Adonis was linked with Aphrodite. The old form of the Greek myth seems to have been that Adonis as a child was so beautiful that Aphrodite hid him in a coffin and gave him to Persephone. Later, when she wanted him back, Persephone, who also loved him, refused. The deal, arbitrated by Zeus, was that Adonis was to belong for one third of the year to Aphrodite, one third to Persephone, and one third to himself. He added his own share to Aphrodite's and so spends two thirds of the year on Olympus

and one third in the underworld. More popular than the odd form of Adonis' death in this version was the story that he died from a wound by a wild boar when hunting. A later version, attested only by Christian authors, has Aphrodite herself go down to Hades to ask Persephone to give Adonis back. It is doubtful whether in Greece the Adonis myth retained any agrarian association, while the festival in July at which Adonis' death was mourned by women seems to have put no particular emphasis on his return from the underworld.

Secondly, a number of scholars have argued for a decisive influence of "shamanism" on certain Greek religious traditions. Shamanism is a type of religious practice characteristic of the central Asian tribes, but also found in many other societies. The shaman is an ecstatic whose soul leaves his body and goes on journeys, including journeys to the underworld. His ritual initiation typically involves a ritual death and rebirth experienced as a descent to the underworld. He may also travel to the underworld to conduct the soul of a dead person there or to encounter the dead and other supernatural beings. Since the shaman also enjoys a privileged relationship with animals and the natural world, Orpheus, to whose music the whole natural world responded and who visited Hades to rescue his wife, seems an obviously shamanistic figure. Moreover Orpheus came from Thrace, where the shamanistic practices of central Asia most likely penetrated (West 1983: 4–7). Certainly shamanism seems to illuminate the story of Orpheus better than the theory that this myth represents the cycle of the seasons, for which there is no evidence. Shamanistic features have also been seen in the figures of Heracles (Burkert 1979: 78–98) and Odysseus, while Pythagoras, who also visited Hades, can be seen as a historical Greek shaman (Burkert 1972: 162–63).

Many of the descents *(katabaseis)* in Greek mythology are for the purpose of rescuing from death someone who has recently died. The classic instance is Orpheus' rescue of Euridyce (in some versions of the story successful, in others not: see Linforth 1941: 16–21; Lee 1965). Theseus and Pirithous descended to bring Persephone back from Hades, but were unsuccessful. They themselves (or in one version of the story, only Theseus) were later rescued by Heracles (who had not descended for this purpose, but in order to bring up the hound of Hades, Cerberus). On another occasion Heracles descended to Hades in order to rescue Alcestis, the wife of his friend Admetus. Dionysus descended to bring back his mortal mother Semele.

A different motive is represented in the story of Heracles' descent to capture and bring to earth the dog Cerberus: this was the last of the twelve heroic exploits he was obliged to perform at the command of Eurystheus. A rather similar instance occurs in the story of Cupid and Psyche (Apul. *Met.* 4.28–6.24). One of the tasks imposed on Psyche by Aphrodite was to descend to Hades and to ask Persephone to fill a box with beauty for Aphrodite (6.16–21).

Such motives apply only to the gods and heroes of myth. But the desire to obtain oracular advice from the dead was a motive in the myths which could also be shared and followed by ordinary humans. Odysseus, in the best known of all the literary accounts of journeys to Hades, went there to consult the famous dead seer Teiresias, who gave him prophetic advice about his future. (Compare Saul's similar motive for consulting the dead Samuel: 1 Sam 28:6–25. The story is comparable to the extent that Odysseus not only traveled to Hades, but also employed a necromantic ritual to summon the spirits of the dead.) Virgil later imitated Odysseus' motive when he made Aeneas visit Hades in order to consult his father Anchises, who prophesies the future history of Rome (*Aen.* 6). It was also imitated by Lucian in his satirical dialogue *Menippus* (probably based on the *Nekyia* of the Cynic philosopher Menippus), in which Menippus visits Teiresias in Hades to seek advice on the best form of life. In Lucian's account Menippus returns to earth by way of the famous oracular shrine of Trophonius at Lebadea in Beotia, where visitors were able to make a ritual descent to the underworld to consult the hero Trophonius (probably originally a chthonic deity). After ritual preparations, the inquirer descended a narrow shaft, feet first like the dead, into an underground cave (sometimes called the *katabasion*), where he might spend several days and where Trophonius would appear to him (Paus. 9.39; Lucian *Dial. Mort.* 3).

Another reason why the living might attempt, through trance or dream, a journey to the underworld is suggested by the legend of Leonymus of Athens (Paus. 3.19.11–13), who was wounded in battle and, seeking a means of recovery, was advised by the Delphic oracle to go to the White Isle (Elysium: see Burkert 1972: 152–53; Edwards 1985; Culianu 1983: 38–39). Another motive is uniquely attested in a fragment of a poetic account of a descent to Hades, undertaken by a man who blames his dead wife or mistress for his ruin and seeks her out among the dead in order to upbraid her (Page 1941: 416–21). While such references suggest the availability of magical and ritual means of descent for various purposes, the most important function of such descents was in initiation into the mysteries (see below).

The means of descent to Hades differ. The Greeks knew numerous places which in local tradition were supposed to be entrances to the underworld: springs, rivers, lakes, caves, chasms, and volcanos (lists in PW, 2379–87). These places were used by the gods and heroes of the myths to gain access to the underworld. Heracles, for example, descended by way of Taenarum and ascended by way of Trozen. Such descents, however, encountered the obstacles which normally only the dead could pass. There was the dog Cerberus (variously supposed to have two, three, or fifty heads) who guarded the gate of Hades, the Acherusian lake (or, later, the river Styx), across which the ferryman Charon would willingly row only the dead (Virgil *Aen.* 392–93), and other monsters beyond. Heracles was conducted to Hades by Athene and Hermes (the latter the psychopomp who led down the souls of the dead); Orpheus charmed the guardians and the rulers of Hades with his music; Aeneas bore the golden bow as his passport and tribute to Persephone; Lucian's Menippus dressed up as Heracles, Orpheus, and Theseus at once, in order to fool Charon and the guards; Apuleius's Psyche managed to get through with only the usual fare for Charon and sops of bread to throw to Cerberus. But in normal circumstances a living person could not for a moment expect to make the journey before death (Eur. *Alc.* 357–64).

But since the obvious way to reach Hades was to die (cf.

Heracles' advice to Dionysus in Ar., *Frogs* 120–35), it was also possible to visit Hades and return during a temporary experience of death. Stories were told of people who had been dead or at least taken for dead but revived after a few days and recounted their experiences in the world of the dead. Such stories correspond to the very frequent modern testimonies of people who have "died" and been resuscitated and report visionary experiences of reaching the threshold of the next life before being sent back. So, although most of the stories we have from antiquity belong to a literary tradition, it is likely that the literary tradition had its origins in stories actually told by people who had had near-death experiences. The earliest example, and a model for others, is already a conscious literary creation: Plato's story of Er the Pamphylian (*Resp.* 10.614B–621B), who was killed in battle, but several days later revived on his funeral pyre and recounted what he had seen as a disembodied spirit in the realm of the dead before being returned to his body. The no longer extant *Peri physeōs*, one of the Greek works supposed to have been written by Zoroaster, actually identifies Zoroaster with Plato's Er (like Er, he is described as "the son of Harmonius, the Pamphylian"; cf. also Arnobius *Adv. Gent.* 1.52) and began with an account of how Zoroaster visited Hades between death and resuscitation (Bidez and Cumont 1938: 112–13; but cf. Bolton 1962: 159, 203 n. 26). Plutarch (*De sera* 22–33) tells a similar story of Thespesius, who became unconscious and was taken for dead but revived on the third day: the story is no doubt modeled on Plato's, for the same purpose of depicting the author's view of the fate of souls in a myth.

Other accounts of temporary death probably bring us closer to popular storytelling. Aristotle's disciple Clearchus of Soli (fr. 8) told of Cleonymus, an Athenian, who revived from apparent death and reported that he had seen the rivers of Hades and souls being judged and punished and purified. He also met another temporary visitor to Hades and the two agreed to try to get in touch when they returned to earth. The same motif appears in Cornelius Labeo's story of two men who died on the same day, met each other at a crossroads (the crossroads in Hades: cf. Plato *Grg.* 524A), were commanded to return, and resolved to live as friends thereafter (August. *De civ. D.* 22.28). The soldier Gabienus, while dying from his wounds, was able to bring a prophetic message (which turned out to be misleading) from the gods of the underworld before he expired (Pliny *HN* 7.178).

Pliny reports from Varro the story of the two brothers Cerfidius, of whom one, taken for dead, returned from Hades with news of the other brother whom he had met in Hades and was then found to be dead (Pliny *HN* 7.177). Evidently the wrong brother had initially been taken to Hades. This motif of mistaken identity (found also in Hindu and Chinese folklore) occurs also in Plutarch's story of Antyllus (*apud* Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 11.36) and later in stories reported by Gregory the Great (*Dial.* 4.36). Lucian parodied it in the character of Cleomenes (*Philops.* 25) who claims that he went to Hades temporarily during an illness because his psychopomp came to fetch him by mistake. He was sent back when Pluto declared he was not to die yet, whereas the man who was due to die was Demylus the coppersmith who lived next door to Cleodemus. As usually in these stories, Cleodemus authenticates his tale by reporting that Demylus did in fact die not long after Cleodemus had brought the news from Hades. The fact that Cleodemus also mentions seeing the well-known sights of Hades indicates again that such stories were often the framework for descriptions of Hades, especially its punishments. Plato and his successors were probably making their own use of a less sophisticated tradition of such stories, which was to continue in Christian use (*Acts Thom.* 51–59; Gregory *Dial.* 4.31, 36; Bede *Hist. Eccl.* 5.12; *Preaching of Andrew* [Lewis 1904: 7–8; Budge 1935: 147–48]; *History of the Contending of St Paul* 13 [Budge 1935: 552–54]).

A variant on the theme of temporary death is that of the recently dead person temporarily recalled by necromancy. Lucan (*Pharsalia* 6.569–830) relates in fascinating detail how the Thessalian witch Erichtho recalled the soul of one of Pompey's soldiers only recently dead and still on the journey to Hades. Though he is reluctant to return, she obliges him to reenter his body. He tells what he has seen and prophesies the future before the witch allows him finally to die.

For those who wished to visit Hades without dying, dreams, visions, and trances were the available means. Pindar (fr. 116/131) apparently considers that the future life in Hades is frequently revealed in dreams, since the occult power of the soul is released while the body sleeps (cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 8.7.21). Perhaps it was in dreams that some of those who were initiated in the mysteries experienced the underworld (see below). Empedotimus, a fictional philosopher-seer in a lost work of Plato's disciple Heraclides Ponticus, "saw the truth about the fate of souls as if witnessing a drama" in a vision of Pluto and Persephone (Bolton 1962: 151–53), though Heraclides (like Plutarch and others later) located Hades in the air. The possibility of seeing Hades in a vision without even descending into it is parodied by Lucian in the character of Eucrates, who claims to have seen everything in Hades through a chasm in the earth (*Philops.* 22–24; cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 8.243–46).

A close equivalent to the experience of temporary death through illness could be had in the form of cataleptic trance, in which the subject appears to be dead and in which therefore the soul could be thought to experience places distant from the body. Catalepsy for the purpose of shamanistic experience seems to have been cultivated in Greece (Bolton 1962: 139–41, 148–49, 153–56; Culianu 1983: 37–39). One way in which it could be achieved seems to be suggested by the demonstration of hypnotism which allegedly convinced Aristotle that the soul could separate from the body (reported by his disciple Clearchus of Soli fr. 7; see Lewy 1938). The magician guided the soul from the body with a wand, leaving the body as insensitive as a corpse, and when the soul returned to the body it reported all it had seen. It was surely a cataleptic trance that Timarchus in Plutarch's story (*De gen.* 21–22) experienced in the cave of Trophonius: unsure whether he was awake or dreaming, his soul left his body and traveled above the earth to a position from which he was able to look down on Hades. Since Timarchus was unconscious for two days, this was not the incubation and dreaming associated with other oracles. Clark (1968) suggests that visitors to the cave of Trophonius may have been given a hallucinatory drug.

When Lucian's Menippus wished to visit Hades he traveled to Babylon to consult the Chaldean magus Mithrobarzanes, who put him through an elaborate ritual preparation lasting a month, including ritual purifications and spells to protect him from the dangers of the journey, before conducting him to Hades by boat and copying Odysseus' necromantic ritual (*Menippus* 6–9). Behind Lucian's somewhat tongue-in-cheek account must lie the practice of ritual and magical means of visiting the dead. It also indicates that by the 2d century C.E., the Chaldean magi had a reputation in the Roman world as shamanistic psychopomps for living visitors to the other world. The firsthand account of the magus Kirdīr, a century later (see section E above), gives some clues as to how it was done.

Of the famous mythical descents there were numerous literary accounts, not many of which have survived. That of Odysseus in book 11 of the *Odyssey* is not, in the strict sense, a *descent* (but cf. 11.475), since Odysseus reaches the environs of Hades by sailing to the edge of the world, beyond the river Oceanus. There he conjures the spirits of the dead by a necromantic ritual. Only at the end of the account, in a passage which has often been thought a later addition (11.565–627), does Odysseus seem, without explanation, to view the sights within "the house of Hades": Minos sitting in judgment and several of the famous dead engaging in the activities which occupy them in the realm of the dead. Whatever the origin of this passage, it is notable that more than the rest of the account, it resembles the genre of other accounts of visits to Hades, in relating, one after another, the sights which the visitor saw and, in particular, specific types of punishments taking place. Most of Homer's dead are neither happy nor suffering punishment, but the exceptional cases of Tityos, Tantalus, and Sisyphus (11.576–600) point the way that other influential accounts would follow.

Besides the *Odyssey*, two other old epic poems, now lost, included journeys to Hades: the *Minyas* seems to have recounted the descent of Theseus and Pirithous (Paus. 10.28.2), while the *Nostoi* (on the return of the heroes from Troy) included a *nekyia* whose subject is unknown (Paus. 10.28.7). A lost poem of Hesiod also described the descent of Theseus and Pirithous (Paus. 9.31.5). There was probably an old epic poem on the descent of Heracles to seize Cerberus. Aristophanes' comedy *The Frogs* (only one of many Greek dramas which portrayed a descent to Hades) recounts a descent of Dionysus, who explicitly follows the example of Heracles, and seems to be a parody of a well-known account of the descent of Heracles. A poem, perhaps by Pindar, on this theme survives in fragments (see Lloyd-Jones 1967). There was a *Descent to Hades* attributed to Orpheus (Kern 1922: 304–6), in which presumably he described in the first person his own descent to rescue Eurydice and what he saw in the underworld. This may have been only one of several accounts of Orpheus' descent, which seems to have been important for various mystery cults. One reference to a description by Orpheus of the descent of Heracles (Kern 1922: no. 296) may indicate that there was a *Descent of Heracles* ascribed to Orpheus, but may only mean that Heracles' earlier descent was mentioned in Orpheus' account of his own descent. It is noteworthy that in the 2d century C.E., Lucian's *Menippus* (8) takes it for granted that Heracles, Orpheus, and Odysseus were the three heroes whose descents to Hades were known.

These descents probably provided Greeks of the classical period and later with much of their information about the world of the dead. The accounts of the blessedness of the happy dead in Pindar and the accounts of the underworld, its geography, and the fate of the dead in Plato's dialogues (*Phd.* 112A–14C; *Grg.* 523A–526D; *Resp.* 614B–621D) and in the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* (371 ff.) may well derive in large part from them. So did the famous painting of Hades by Polygnotus at Delphi, which Pausanias describes in detail (10.28–31). Although it depicts the descent of Odysseus, many of its details must derive from other accounts. The lost descents have probably also left their mark on later versions modeled on them. Lucian's satirical work *Menippus*, an account of Menippus' visit to the underworld, *Vera Historia* which includes a visit to the islands of the dead beyond the ocean, and *Cataplus*, which describes the journey of the dead to Hades and their judgment (cf. also *Philops.* 22–25), are probably parodic imitations of the manner and content of the great mythical descents to which he alludes in the *Menippus*, as well as perhaps making fun of those claimed for historical persons such as Pythagoras. The sources of book 6 of Virgil's *Aeneid* have been much debated and cannot be reconstructed with any certainty, but they probably included descents of Orpheus and Heracles. Certainly Virgil was consciously writing in the already ancient and well-known genre of descents to Hades and took not only Odysseus as the model for Aeneas in his descent. A papyrus of probably the 3d or 4th century C.E. contains a very fragmentary text of a *katabasis* which described both various categories of sinners undergoing punishment and the state of the blessed dead. Some close parallels with Virgil's account have been observed in it (see Turcan 1956 and Schilling 1982).

Such literary accounts of descents to Hades functioned as *revelations* of the world of the dead. It is important to distinguish between the motives of the heroes themselves in the stories and the function of the literary accounts. Orpheus and Odysseus did not go to Hades in order to see it (though Arnobius *Adv. Gent.* 5.28 does attribute this motive to Heracles, probably reflecting a literary account in which the motive of the writer and the readers was attributed to the hero). But accounts of their descents were able to describe what they saw in Hades and so could function for their readers as apocalypses—revelations of the geography of Hades, its monsters and rulers, the journey the dead will have to take to reach it and the judgment they will face when they arrive, and especially the fate of the various classes of the dead. This function became more explicit when the role of the guide who conducts the visitor to Hades is no longer simply to show the way, as Hermes presumably did for Heracles, but also to explain what the visitor sees in Hades, as the Sibyl does for Aeneas in *Aeneid* 6 (see also the role of guides in Plutarch, *De gen.* 22; *De sera* 27–30). If *Odyssey* 11.565–627 already forms a little apocalyptic revelation of Hades, *Aeneid* book 6 is the fullest such revelation which survives. It must reflect the apocalyptic form and function of older accounts. The revelatory function of descents to Hades was also exploited by Plato and Plutarch, who used the

genre to express in mythical form their own understandings of the fate of the soul (*Resp.* 10.614B–621B; Plutarch *De sera* 22–33; *De gen.* 21–22).

What the tradition of descents to Hades seems especially to have revealed is the fate of souls after death. The old Homeric view was that the existence of the dead is undifferentiated: all share the same joyless gloom. The exceptions—on the one hand, Tantalus, Tityos, and Sisyphus, who are punished eternally for their crimes against the gods, and on the other hand, a very few heroes of divine descent, like Menelaus, who are exempted from the common lot and dwell in blessedness in Elysium—are exceptions that prove the rule. But the descents to Hades, so far as we can tell, reflected and encouraged a growing belief in retribution after death. The damned, who may be regarded either as those guilty of heinous crimes or as those who have not been initiated in the mysteries, suffer punishments (cf. Kern 1922: nos. 293, 295), while the blessed enjoy themselves in a sunlit paradise. Although Plato already consigns the souls of the blessed to the sky and sends only the wicked below ground, the common view in the early period, which still survives in Virgil, is that the place of happiness after death is also in the underworld. In Aristophanes' *Frogs* Dionysus sees in Hades both the eternal mud in which various types of criminals are plunged and the sunlit myrtle groves in which the initiates of the Eleusinian mysteries dance (145–58). It is mistaken to regard such views as peculiarly "Orphic," though they do seem to have been especially associated with the mysteries. The well-known accounts of descents to Hades must have played an important part in making retribution in the afterlife a very common belief in the Hellenistic world.

The descents seem to be linked with the mysteries, though it is impossible to be precise on this point. According to the account of his descent, Heracles was initiated at Eleusis before going down to Hades and was presumably thereby protected from the dangers of the underworld. The chorus of Eleusinian initiates who constitute the blessed dead in Aristophanes' *Frogs* also suggest a link between Eleusis and the descent of Heracles, on which the play is based. At least by the 4th century B.C.E., the Eleusinian mysteries were held to have been founded by Orpheus, who was also associated with Bacchic mysteries, as well as with specifically Orphic groups and with the Pythagoreans (West 1983: 7–29). All such groups taught initiation in the mysteries as a means of attaining a happy afterlife. The *Descent to Hades* attributed to Orpheus cannot be securely associated with any one mystery cult. It was ascribed by some in antiquity to Cercops the Pythagorean or Herodicus of Perinthus: if it did not originate in Pythagorean circles, at least it was taken over by them.

How far initiation into the mysteries involved a ritual enactment or trance experience of a descent to the underworld is uncertain, though it is clear that it did in some cases. There is no evidence that the Eleusinian mysteries included a descent to the underworld. A fragment included in one of the Greek magical papyri (*PGM LXX*, lines 5–19) refers to a mystical initiation in an underground chamber, where the initiate was shown objects associated with the goddesses of the underworld. Presumably this was a symbolic descent to the underworld. The initiate is to be protected by appeal to this initiation from the hostile powers of the realm of the dead, perhaps on a subsequent descent in trance or dream (Betz 1980, who suggests the fragment is from a ritual of the Idaean Dactyls) or after death (cf. the many Egyptian spells for protecting the dead from the demons and other dangers of the underworld: Zandee 1960: 253–59). It is possible that many of the caves and underground chambers associated with shrines were ritual equivalents of Hades and could be used for ritual descents. Apuleius, in his description of initiation into the mysteries of Isis, recounts, as all that can be divulged of the most secret part of the process: "I approached the boundary of death and treading on Proserpine's threshold, I was carried through all the elements, after which I returned. At dead of night I saw the sun flashing with bright effulgence. I approached close to the gods above and the gods below and worshipped them face to face" (*Met.* 11:23; Griffiths 1975: 99). This may refer to the fact that in Egyptian mythology the sun god travels through the underworld during the twelve hours of the night (section B. above). The initiate may undergo a ritual death and resurrection in identification with Osiris (Griffiths 1975: 296–308).

One of the few historical individuals about whom an account of a descent to Hades was composed was Pythagoras, though only a few allusions to it survive (the elaborate attempt of Lévy 1927: 79–128, to reconstruct it is highly speculative). The satirical account given in a fragment of Hermippus (*apud Diog. Laert.* 8.41; Tert. *De Anim.* 28) describes how Pythagoras built an underground cellar in his house, disappeared into it for several years, and when he emerged claimed he had been to Hades. Burkert regards this as a rationalized version of a story in which Pythagoras' descent to Hades took place in the subterranean chamber of a sanctuary of Demeter (since Hermippus' account refers to Pythagoras' mother). He takes Pythagoras' famous golden thigh as a sign of his initiation into the cult of the Great Mother which enabled him to travel to the underworld with impunity. The Pythagorean doctrines of blessed immortality and metempsychosis were closely related to this initiatory descent into Hades (Burkert 1972: 155–63). Hermippus' account of Pythagoras' descent to Hades is curiously parallel to the story reported by Herodotus (4:94–96) about the god Zalmoxis worshiped by the Getae of Thrace, and it is clear that the Greeks themselves associated the two (cf. also Greg. Naz. *Or.* 4.59, and Bolton 1962: 144–46). The cult of Zalmoxis was also a mystery cult conferring blessed immortality (Eliade 1972: 21–61). Finally, it seems that Parmenides describes his philosophical journey (fr. 1) in terms of a journey, like that of Odysseus, to the distant edge of the world where the sun goes down to the underworld. If not exactly a *descent* to Hades, it is as much one as that of Odysseus, and should be understood in the tradition of Pythagoras' descent (Morrison 1955; Burkert 1969).

Thus, for the Greco-Roman world, descents to Hades were more than stories about the gods and heroes. They were also apocalypses, revealing the fate of souls in the netherworld, and they were models which could in some sense be imitated, most importantly in the experience of initiation into the mysteries, which dispelled the terrors of

the underworld and secured a blessed immortality for the initiate.

G. Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic

In the Jewish tradition descents to the underworld are found largely within the apocalyptic tradition, in which they are ascribed to seers of the past such as Enoch, Elijah, and Moses. The Christian apocalyptic tradition of visionary descents to the world of the dead is entirely continuous with the Jewish tradition. In both Judaism and Christianity the tradition spans at least a thousand years.

The earliest visits to the world of the dead in Jewish apocalyptic take place in the context of a cosmic tour in which the secrets of heaven and earth are revealed to the seer by angelic guides. The oldest is that of Enoch (*1 En.* 17–36), dating from the 3d or early 2d century B.C.E. In keeping with the widespread ancient tradition which located the realm of the dead, or at least the entrance to it, in the far west where the sun goes down, Enoch is taken to a mountain on the western edge of the world, where he sees the four "hollows" in which the four categories of the dead are kept, separate from each other, until the day of judgment (*1 En.* 22 = 4QEn^{e} 1:22; 4QEn^{d} 1:11:1–3). This classification of the dead into four categories, instead of the two categories of the wicked and the righteous which later prevailed in Jewish descriptions of the world of the dead, indicates the archaic character of this account. *1 En.* 17:1–8, while not expressly mentioning Sheol, describes its environs in the west in terms which resemble both the Greek mythical geography of *Od.* 11 and the Mesopotamian geography which is described most fully in the *Epic of Gilgamesh.* The latter, which alone includes the mountain, is the more probable source for Enoch's description (Grelot 1958). Besides the realm of the dead, Enoch's tour also included the fiery abysses where the erring stars and the fallen angels are punished (*1 En.* 18:10–19:2; 21).

Later versions of the cosmic tour (from the 1st century C.E. onward) take the form of an ascent through the seven heavens, and the realms of the dead were sometimes located within these seven heavens. Thus Enoch in *2 En.* 8–10 sees paradise and hell in (or perhaps from: cf. 40:12; 42:3) the third heaven. (These are not the places which the dead inhabit yet, but the places of reward and punishment ready for them to enter after the last judgment.) In this tour Enoch also sees the fallen angels confined in the second and fifth heavens (*2 En.* 7, 18). According to the later, probably Christian *T. Isaac,* Isaac saw in the heavens the hell in which the wicked dead are presently being punished (*T. Isaac* 5). But in other forms of the tour through the seven heavens, visits to hell and paradise take place only after the ascent to the seventh heaven, and hell retains its traditional place beneath the earth. This was probably the case in the original ending of *3 Baruch* (summarized in the Slavonic version of 16:4–8), although secondary additions to the text in the Greek version locate Hades in the third heaven (4:3, 6; 5:3) and the souls of the righteous in the fourth (10:5). The pattern of a visit to the subterranean hell, as well as paradise, after a tour of the seven heavens also occurs in the Hebrew apocalypse of Moses, known as the *Gedulat Moshe,* which in its present form is probably quite late but reflects an ancient model. From cosmic tours with a strong interest in the fate of the dead developed apocalypses exclusively concerned with the fate of the dead, such as the *Apoc. Zeph.* and the *Apoc. Paul,* which take their seers on journeys around the heavens, the underworld, and the extremities of the earth but only in order to see sights concerned with the judgment, punishments, and rewards of the dead.

It seems that during the first two centuries C.E. a gradual change took place in Jewish and Christian belief about the fate of the wicked after death, from the older view that the wicked are not actively punished immediately after death, but held in detention awaiting punishment at the last judgment, to the later view that the eternal punishment of the wicked begins already after death. This change was very important for apocalyptic descents to the underworld (where increasingly only the wicked were located). The older view allowed for visits to the place of detention in Sheol (*1 En.* 22), visits to the hell which is already prepared for but not yet inhabited by the wicked (*1 En.* 26:3–27:4; *2 En.* 10; 40:12; *2 Bar.* 59:10), and prophetic visions of the casting of the wicked into Gehenna at the last judgment (*1 En* 41:2; *2 Bar.* 59:11). But only the later view enabled a seer to see and describe in detail the punishments actually being inflicted on the wicked in hell. The later view therefore spawned a long tradition of "tours of hell" (studied especially in Himmelfarb 1983), in which a variety of different punishments appropriate to a variety of different categories of sinners is described.

The oldest extant "tour of hell" of this kind is probably that found in a Latin fragment of the ancient *Apocalypse of Elijah* (Stone and Strugnell 1979: 14–15), which was a Jewish work dating from no later than the 1st century C.E. It features the "hanging punishments" (in which the sinners are hung up by the part of the body with which they had sinned). These are also found in a whole series of later tours of hell, the most important of which are the *Apoc. Pet., Acts Thom.* 51–60, the *Apoc. Paul,* the *Greek Apoc. Ezra,* the *Greek Apoc. Vir.,* the *Gedulat Moshe,* and the Hebrew texts which describe visits to hell by Isaiah and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi. Most of these apocalypses, along with others which do not include the hanging punishments (such as the *Apoc. Zeph.,* the Latin *Vis. Ezra,* and *T. Isaac* 5), describe a wide variety of other punishments, such as immersion in a river of fire or a burning furnace, impalement on wheels of fire, and tantalization. The main concern is to show how a wide range of particular sins are specifically punished by appropriate forms of judgment in the afterlife. Some of these tours of hell (such as the *Apoc. Paul* and the *Apoc. Vir.*) were extremely popular in the medieval period. Together with the parallel descriptions of paradise, they form a literary tradition whose greatest product was Dante's *Divine Comedy.*

Especially since Dieterich's (1913) argument to this effect, these tours of hell have been thought to be heavily indebted to the Greek and Roman descents to Hades (see section F. above). Himmelfarb (1983; cf. also *ANRW* 2/25/6: 4712–50) has shown that they developed within the tradition of Jewish apocalyptic, as is shown by the important formal features they share with the cosmic tour apocalypses. This does not, of course, preclude Greek influence on them, especially since the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic tradition frequently borrowed from other cultural traditions. While the tours of hell make use of features

which were already traditional characteristics of the Jewish Gehenna, especially its fiery quality, some of the punishments in the tours of hell closely resemble those found in Greek and Roman descriptions of the punishments in Hades (see Himmelfarb 1983: 84, 92–96, 107–8, 119), where also the idea of differing punishments for various categories of sinners can be found. It may be that not only specific punishments in hell, but the very idea of punishments inflicted on the wicked immediately after death, was the result of Greek influence, in particular of the descents to Hades, in which the Greek view of punishment in the afterlife would have been most vividly accessible. Thus the Jewish and Christian tours of hell are probably to be seen both as developing out of the cosmic tours of Jewish apocalyptic, with their strong interest in the fate of the dead, and also as incorporating ideas and images available in their cultural environment in the Greco-Roman world. Not only Greek but also Egyptian (see section B. above, for the story of Setne and Si-Osire) descents to the underworld may have influenced the tours of hell, while Zoroastrian influence is possible but more problematic in view of the dates of the texts (see section D. above: the distinctly Zoroastrian features are missing from the Jewish and early Christian tours, though the infernal bridge becomes a feature of medieval Christian visions of hell).

The means by which the apocalyptic seer descends to the underworld are not usually specified more closely than by saying that an angel guided him. Although medieval Jewish texts refer to specific entrances to the underworld, as in the Greek tradition (PW, 2387), these are not used in the tours of hell, nor is there usually any reference to obstacles to be passed. Thus Enoch shudders at the sight of the gatekeepers of hell (*2 En.* 42:1), but Ezra passes without difficulty, like the righteous dead, the two fiery lions who guard the gates of hell (*Vis. Ezra* 3), Paul, like Odysseus, has to cross the river Oceanus to reach hell in the far west, but it is not said how he does so (*Apoc. Paul* 31). In the *Gedulat Moshe,* the fire withdraws before Moses as he enters hell, but when he fears to descend to the abyss of fire and snow, the Shekinah goes before him to protect him from the angels of punishment. The angelic guides (or, in the case of Joshua ben Levi, the prophet Elijah, and in the *Apoc. Vir.,* Christ himself) are a constant feature of the tours: they lead, guide, explain, and answer questions.

The *Apoc. Zeph.* (which may be of Jewish or Christian origin) has a particular interest in that the seer seems to follow the path of a soul of a dead person through Hades to paradise. The fragmentary beginning of the Akhmimic text (1:1–2) seems to describe the body of Zephaniah appearing to be dead. Evidently he has gone into a cataleptic trance like those in which some descents to Hades in the Greek tradition took place (see section F. above; for cataleptic trance in the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic tradition, see *Ascen. Is.* 6:17; *4 Bar.* 9:7–14). In this state his soul could leave his body and be taken by an angel through the other world. His angelic guide protects him from the angels of punishment who seize the souls of the wicked when they die (4:1–10). He perhaps passes the gates of Hades (5:1–6) and the sea of fire in Hades (6:1–3), and is threatened by both. He encounters the angel Eremiel (= Remiel) who is in charge of the souls in Hades and whom he mistakes for God (6:4–7, 10–15), and another terrifying angel who he discovers is Satan in his traditional role of judicial accuser (6:8–9, 17). He witnesses the assessment of his sins and righteous deeds (8:5). Satan reads out all Zephaniah's sins from a scroll, he prays to God for mercy and is told that he has triumphed over the accuser and come up from Hades, another angel apparently reads out the record of his righteous deeds, and he travels out of Hades in a boat accompanied by myriads of angels. He then finds himself in paradise, with the patriarchs (7–9). Evidently he has passed through the experiences of a righteous person's soul after death. The closest analogy seems to be that of Kirdīr (see section E.), though in Zephaniah's case he himself goes into a trance and recounts his experience afterward (cf. 8:5). The apocalypse, like so many descents to the underworld, serves the purpose of revealing what people can expect after death and warning them to be prepared.

Another feature of the *Apoc. Zeph.* recurs in many of the tours of hell: when Zephaniah sees the wicked in torment in hell, he is moved to pray for God's mercy for them (2:8–9). So do Ezra (*Greek Apoc. Ezra* and Latin *Vis. Ezra*), Baruch (*3 Bar.* 16:7–8 Slavonic), Paul (*Apoc. Paul* 33, 40, 42, 43), and the Virgin Mary (in her several apocalypses). Zephaniah and others also see the patriarchs and the righteous dead in paradise praying for the damned (*Apoc. Zeph.* 11; *T. Jac.* 7:11), while Paul is joined in his intercession by other saints and angels (*Apoc. Paul* 43–44). These pleas for mercy are sometimes rebuffed, but sometimes they win a concession from God, such as the Sabbath or Sunday rest of the damned, a day's respite each week from the pains of hell (*Apoc. Paul* 44). The motif of intercession for the damned was clearly important in the tradition. By attributing it to ideal, exemplary figures of Jewish and Christian piety, the authors were allowing an authoritative mode of expression to the natural compassionate reaction which they and their readers had when faced with the horrors of hell. This desire for mercy coexists with the emphasis on the justice of hell in the same apocalypses (see Bauckham 1990a).

Jewish and Christian tours of hell are found not only in apocalypses, but also in narrative contexts in which a character visits hell in a vision or a dream or an experience of temporary death. The detailed descriptions in such cases are no doubt drawn from the tours of hell in the apocalypses. Significant examples are the Jewish story of the rich wicked man and the pious poor man, which is probably a version of the Egyptian tale of Setne and Si-Osire (see section B. above) and which incorporates two different tours of hell in the version in the Palestinian Talmud (*j. Hag.* 77d; *j. Sanh.* 23c) and in the version in *Darkhei Teshuvah* (for which see Rosenstiehl 1985); the story in *Acts Thom.* 51–60, of a girl who dies, sees hell, and is brought back to life by the apostle (cf. other stories of temporary death in section F. above); Isaac's vision of hell in the *T. Isaac;* and Pachomios' vision of hell in the Coptic life of this 4th-century Egyptian saint (Himmelfarb 1983: 28–29). In the *T. Ab.,* Abraham is taken to see not hell itself but the place in the east (or by the river Oceanus: B8:3) where the dead are judged after death and two entrances lead to their respective destinies (A11–14; B8–11): the scene is strongly reminiscent of that visited by Plato's Er (see section F. above).

H. Christ's Descent to Hades (New Testament)

Since the most common Jewish view in NT times was that all the dead descend to Sheol (Hades), Jesus' descent to Hades was simply the corollary of his death, just as it was implied in his resurrection "from the dead." But rarely in the NT is his descent to Hades given any attention. Paul's adaptation of Deut 30:13 in Rom 10:7 simply describes resurrection as being brought up from the realm of the dead, while Eph 4:9–10 may indicate Christ's descent in death to Hades (cf. Pss 63:9; 139:15), though it is often taken to refer only to his descent from heaven to earth (but cf. *T. Dan* 5:10–11 for Ps 68:18 used with reference to the descent to Hades).

More significant are two passages which apply to Jesus' resurrection the OT notion of deliverance from Sheol by God (see section D above). In Acts 2:24–32 (cf. 13:34–37), a quotation from and an allusion to Psalms (vv 25–28, 31; Pss 16:8–11, 24; 18:4–5; 116:3; 2 Sam 22:6) interpret the resurrection as God's deliverance of Jesus from the power of Hades, as well as from the physical corruption of death. Matt 12:40 takes up the tradition of the Jewish interpretation of Jonah for which the belly of the fish represented the underworld, so that Jonah's emergence from the fish was God's deliverance of him from death (see section D above). Thus "the belly of the whale" in Jonah's case corresponds to "the heart of the earth" (cf. Jon 2:3–4 LXX), i.e. Hades, in Jesus' case. Therefore Jonah's virtual death and resurrection prefigures Jesus' actual death and resurrection.

Rev 1:18 ("I have the keys of Death and Hades") presupposes that the gates of Hades have for the first time been opened for a man to leave. Thus the divine prerogative of releasing from the realm of death (cf. Wis 16:13) now belongs to Christ. That in his death and resurrection he has gained power over death and Hades is implied, but not the later notion of a victory won *in* Hades.

Thus in the NT, Christ's descent to and sojourn in the realm of the dead seem to have no independent interest or significance beside his death and resurrection. Such significance has often been found in 1 Pet 3:19; 4:6, understood to refer to a preaching of Christ to the dead during his sojourn in Hades. However, it is now widely recognized that in 3:19 the proclamation to the spirits follows the resurrection (v 18: "made alive in the spirit"), while "the spirits in prison" are most probably angels (cf. v 22). A reference to the idea, widely attested from the beginning of the 2d century, that Christ, after his death, preached the salvation he had achieved to the saints of the OT period, is more probable in 4:6, but on the other hand "the dead" may there refer to those who heard the Gospel while alive, but subsequently died.

Matt 27:52–53 seems to be related to the widespread early extracanonical tradition that Christ released the OT saints from Hades, especially as this was evidently understood as a real resurrection (see section I. below). The Matthean passage probably draws on that tradition, but makes no explicit reference to Christ's activity in Hades. Instead the motif is used to express the eschatological significance of the death of Christ, by which the power of death has been broken. It is striking that in perhaps the NT's closest contact with the development of the theme of the descent to Hades in other early Christian literature, the interest is exclusively in the significance of the death of Christ, not in any activity of Christ in Hades.

I. Christ's Descent to Hades (Early Church)

As well as retaining the fundamental notion that Jesus Christ's soul had to descend to Hades in order for him to fully share the human lot in death (*Sib. Or.* 8:312; Iren. *Haer.* 5.31.2; Tert. *De anim.* 55.2), Christians from a very early date saw in the descent to Hades an event of soteriological significance for the righteous dead of the period before Christ, whose souls were in Hades. This significance was expressed in three main motifs: (1) that while in Hades Christ preached to the dead, announcing and conferring on them the benefits of the salvation he had achieved; (2) that he brought the righteous out of Hades and led them into paradise or heaven; (3) that he defeated the powers of death or Hades which keep the dead captive in the underworld. The second of these motifs is usually combined with the first or the third, as its consequence. Only rarely (*Odes Sol.* 42:11–14) are the first and third combined.

The idea of Christ's preaching to the dead is found from the beginning of the 2d century onward (*Gos. Pet.* 41–42; Ign. *Magn* 9.2; *Odes Sol.* 42:14; *Ep. Apost.* 27; *Sib. Or.* 1:377–78; 8:310–11; the elder quoted in Iren. *Haer.* 4.27.1–2; Hipp. *Antichr.* 26, 45; *fr. Cant.* 1). An apocryphal fragment attributed to Jeremiah was current (quoted in somewhat varying forms in Just. *Dial.* 72.4; Iren. *Haer.* 3.20.4; 4.22.1; 4.33.1; 4.33.12; 5.31.1; *Dem.* 78; and see Geschwind 1911: 199–227; Bieder 1949: 135–41): it is possible that one form of this (Iren. *Haer.* 4.33.1; 4.33.12; 5.31.1) was a Jewish text prophesying the resurrection of the righteous at the last day, whereas the version which mentions the preaching to the dead (Just. *Dial.* 72.4; Iren. *Haer.* 3.20.4; 4.22.1; *Dem.* 78) is a Christian adaptation of the text referring it to Christ's descent to Hades. The recipients of Christ's preaching in these early references are the righteous people of the OT period who hoped for Christ (Ign. *Magn.* 9.2). When he proclaimed to them the good news of the salvation he had won, they believed in him and received forgiveness of sins through his death (Iren. *Haer.* 4.27.1–2). The idea met the problem of the fate of the righteous who died before Christ, and most probably arose in a Jewish Christian context where this would be a natural concern. According to the *Ep. Apos.* 26, Christ not only preached to but baptized the righteous dead (cf. also *Gos. Nicod.* 19)—a natural corollary of the idea that he brought Christian salvation to them. The idea of the baptizing of the dead is also found in Hermas *Sim.* 9.16.2–7, where it is not Christ but the apostles and teachers of the first Christian generation who preached Christ and administered baptism to the dead. This unique notion is otherwise found only in Clement of Alexandria, who quotes it from Hermas (*Str.* 2.43.5; 6.45.4).

The scope of the preaching was extended beyond the OT saints by Clement of Alexandria and Origen, who were also the first to refer to 1 Pet 3:19 in connection with the descent to Hades (see Dalton 1965: 16–20). Clement included righteous pagans alongside the OT saints (*Str.* 6.6.37–53), while Origen thought also of the conversion of sinners in Hades (*Princ.* 2.5), as 1 Pet 3:19 must imply, if taken seriously as a reference to the descent. Some other Greek Fathers followed Origen (Dalton 1965: 18–19), but

the prevalent view in the Latin church continued to limit the soteriological benefit of the descent to those who were already believers before Christ.

It was widely believed that Christ brought the OT saints out of Hades and led them up to paradise or heaven, though this was denied by Tertullian in the interests of his view that before the last judgment only the Christian martyrs go to heaven, while the rest of the righteous dead remain in Abraham's bosom in Hades (*De anim.* 58). The primitive view was that the dead left Hades along with Christ at his resurrection (*Odes Sol.* 42:11) and ascended to heaven with him in his ascension (*Ascen. Is.* 9:17; *Apoc. Pet.* 17; Origen *Comm. in Rom.* 5:10). As it was sometimes put, he descended alone but ascended with a great multitude (*Acts of Thaddeus, apud* Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 1.13.20; Melito New fr. 2.17; Armenian *Acts of Callistratus* 9). There is also good evidence that originally the thought was of an actual resurrection of the dead: language normally reserved for bodily resurrection is used (Ign. *Magn.* 9.2; Melito *Peri Pascha* 101; New fr. 2.12, 15; Origen *Comm. in Rom.* 5:10; cf. also the Jeremiah apocryphon mentioned above), and Matthew 27:52 was sometimes connected with this resurrection of the saints (Iren. fr. 26; cf. MacCulloch 1930: 289–91). Since Christ's death and resurrection were the eschatological saving event, entailing the resurrection of all who believe in him, the Jewish hope of the resurrection of the righteous was thought to be fulfilled when Christ brought them out of Hades. After all, to be brought out of Hades was to be raised from the dead, as it was for Christ himself.

Using the picture of Hades as a stronghold in which the dead are held captive by the angelic rulers of the dead, Christ's descent could be interpreted as a conquest of Hades. Often this was portrayed in images derived from OT prophetic texts. Thus the gatekeepers of Hades trembled when they saw Christ approach (Job 38:17 LXX; cf. Hipp. *Pasch.*; Ath. *Ar.* 3.29; Cyr. H. *Catech.* 4.11; Creed of Sirmium, *apud* Ath. *Synops.* 1.9; cf. MacCulloch 1930: 217–18). He broke open the gates of bronze and the iron bolts (Ps 107:16; Isa 45:2; cf. *Odes Sol.* 17:9–11; *Teach. Silv.* 110:19–24; Tert. *De Res. Carn.* 44; Eus. *d.e.* 8.1; *Ques. Barth.* 1:20; *Gos. Nicod.* 21:3), and released the captives from their chains and led them out of their prison (Ps 68:18; 107:14; Isa 49:9; 61:1; for releasing captives, cf. *Odes Sol.* 17:12; 22:4; Melito fr. 13; New fr. 2.12; *Acts Thom.* 10; *Gos. Nicod.* 21:3; for Ps 68:18, see *T. Dan* 5:10–11). Psalm 24:7–10 was often understood as a dialogue between Christ's angelic forces and the powers of death at the gates of Hades (*Gos. Nicod.* 21), as was Jesus' parable about binding the strong man and plundering his goods (Mark 3:27; cf. Melito *Peri Pascha* 103; fr. 13; Origen *Comm. in Rom.* 5.10; for plundering Hades, cf. *Ascen. Is.* 9:16; *T. Levi* 4:1; Cyr. *Hom. Pasch.* 6, 7; for binding Hades, cf. *Gos. Nicod.* 22:2; *Quest. Barth.* 3:20). Some texts explicitly state that Christ conquered or destroyed death or Hades (Melito *Peri Pascha* 102; New fr. 2.12; 3.5) and trampled death or Hades underfoot (Melito *Peri Pascha* 102; fr. 13; *Testament of Our Lord* 1.23; cf. MacCulloch 1930: 230–32).

There are traces of the view that as one of the dead, Christ was initially bound in Hades and had to break free before also freeing others (*Odes Sol.* 17:10; *Teach. Silv.* 110:14–16; Iren. *Haer.* 5.21.3), but generally the picture of Christ entering Hades by storming its fortifications seems to have prevailed. In the fullest and most dramatic portrayal of the scene, in the *Gos. Nicod.*, he is accompanied by an army of angels (21:3). It is important to notice that in the early period the defeated powers are the angelic rulers of the world of the dead (cf. *Ascen. Is.* 9:16; *Acts Thom.* 10; 143; 156), often Death or Hades personified (*Odes Sol.* 42:11), but not Satan and the forces of evil. In Jewish and early Christian thought Satan was not located in the underworld, but in the lower heavens. (A very exceptional case in which Beliar is the power which Christ defeats is *T. Dan* 5:10–11.) However, the more Hades was thought of as an enemy whom Christ defeated, the more natural it would be to see him as an ally of Satan (cf. Origen *Comm. in Rom.* 5.10), as he is in the *Gos. Nicod.* and Ephraim Syrus (MacCulloch 1930: 111–13). In these and some other of the later Fathers, the result of the descent is that Satan is chained in the abyss (MacCulloch 1930: 232–33), and thus the descent becomes a mythical portrayal of Christ's triumph over all evil.

The influence of pagan myths of descent to the underworld on Christian ideas of Christ's descent to Hades was probably minimal. The parallels with Orpheus and Heracles were noticed and exploited in minor ways by some later writers, but there is no indication that they account for the origin of any of the Christian ideas. It is the theme of the conflict with and defeat of the powers of the underworld which has most often been claimed to have a broad mythological background in the religious cultures of the ancient world (see especially Kroll 1932), but it is extremely difficult to identify a suitable myth which was available in the environment of early Christianity. Of the myths surveyed in the earlier sections of this chapter, it is only in the Ugaritic account of Baal's victory over Mot (section C.) that the motif of a god who descends to the world of the dead and defeats the powers of death occurs. This parallel is far too chronologically remote to count as an influence on early Christianity. In fact, the idea of Christ's defeat of the powers of Hades is sufficiently explained from the Jewish apocalyptic expectation that at the last day God would "reprove the angel of death" (*2 Bar.* 21:23), command Sheol to release the souls of the dead (*2 Bar.* 42:8), abolish death (*L.A.B.* 3:10), close the mouth of Sheol (*L.A.B.* 3:10), and seal it up (*2 Bar.* 21:23; cf. *Teach. Silv.* 103:6–7). In the expectation of resurrection there was a sense of death and its realm as a power which had to be broken by God (cf. also Matt 16:18; 1 Cor 15:44–45; Rev 20:14; *4 Ezra* 8:53). These ideas were transferred to the context of Christ's descent to Hades because of the early Christian belief that Christ's death and resurrection were the eschatological triumph of God over death. The details, as we have seen, derived from that process of christological exegesis of the OT which supplied so much of the phraseology and imagery of early Christian belief.

The idea of Christ's descent to Hades was powerful and important for early Christians not just because it met the problem of the salvation of the righteous of the OT (and only occasionally because it opened salvation to good pagans of the past), but also because it represented that definitive defeat of death from which Christian believers benefit. If it tended to take precedence over the resurrection of Jesus in this respect (so that Bieder 1949: 202–3,

ascribes it to a flagging of faith in Christ's victory in death and resurrection), this was because it showed Christ delivering others from death. His rescue of the OT saints and taking them to heaven was the sign of what he would also do for Christian believers (*Ep. Apost.* 27–28), who experienced salvation as release from the chains of Hades (*Odes Sol.* 17:4). If the suggestion (too strongly asserted by Daniélou 1964: 244–48; Ménard 1972: 303–4) that in the *Odes of Solomon* baptismal immersion is conceived as a descent into Hades and an experience of Christ's deliverance of the dead from Hades, then perhaps at this point Christianity came closest to the significance of the Greek descents to Hades in the mysteries (see section F. above).

However, a final point at which the Christian tradition of the descent took up Jewish motifs is in the prominence which the raising of Adam from Hades to paradise gains in *Gos. Nicod.* 19, 24–25 (cf. also MacCulloch 1930: 337–39). Even Adam's baptism (19; cf. 24:2) has a precedent (*Ap. Mos.* 37:3) in the Jewish tradition of Adam's translation to paradise. The release of Adam from Hades gave a universal significance to the myth of the descent. In this form especially, the "harrowing of hell" became for medieval Christians a powerful dramatization of the *Christus victor* theme in soteriology.

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RICHARD BAUCKHAM

DESIRE. See WANTING AND DESIRING.

DESOLATION, ABOMINATION OF. See ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION.

DESSAU (PLACE) [Gk *Dessaou*]. Village, presumably in Judea, at which 2 Macc 14:16 claims that the Jews under the leadership of Judah Maccabee first met in battle Nicanor the appointee of Demetrius I. While some major Greek uncials and minuscules use the term *Lessaou* (A' q 62 58 771), the present reading is based on Latin, Syriac, and Armenian texts, probably attesting to an older tradition at this point. The ending of the Greek term should not be considered a genitive since the Latin and Syriac texts retain the *-ou* (Goldstein *II Maccabees* AB, 488). The identification of this site with either of the two locations in 1 Maccabees which have been proposed is problematic. While ADASA, the site of Judah's final triumph over Nicanor in 1 Macc 7:39–46 (Abel 1924: 375; cf. Plöger 1958: 180), bears a linguistic similarity to Dessau, the association is doubtful (Goldstein, 489), since in 2 Maccabees only a minor skirmish occurs there. The proposal that this be equated with the encounter at CAPHARSALAMA recorded in 1 Macc 7:31–32 (Zeitlin and Tedesche 1954: 231) is also lacking a sound basis. While the battles occur at a similar point in the chronology of both works there is no linguistic reason for finding a connection between the two references. While we cannot identify its location, it is most reasonable to conclude that the forces of Judah Maccabee had more than one skirmish with those of Nicanor. Dessau, probably located in the Judean hills N of Jerusalem, would have been the site of one of these.

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JOHN KAMPEN

DESTINY. See MENI (DEITY).

DESTROYER, THE [Heb *mašḥît;* Gk *ho olothreutēs*]. The Destroyer is a superhuman agent of destruction mentioned in Exod 12:23 and 1 Cor 10:10. In Exodus the Destroyer is an angelic agent who is sent by God to kill the firstborn of Egypt as the tenth plague. However, the distinction between God himself and the angel is unclear. In 12:13 God himself destroys (same root) the firstborn, and in 12:27 he slays *(nāgap)* the firstborn. Ps 78:49–51 speaks of a company of destroying angels executing the tenth plague. Heb 11:28 recalls this incident using the participle "the one destroying" *(ho olothreuōn)*.

The Destroyer is illustrative of the OT concept that God uses angels to execute his judgment. An angel destroys the people of Jerusalem with a plague because of David's census (2 Sam 24:16; 1 Chr 21:7–22:1) and destroys 185,000 soldiers of Sennacherib's army (2 Kgs 19:35; 2 Chr 32:21; Isa 37:36; Sir 48:21; 1 Macc 7:41). The vision of Ezekiel 9 is of angels executing judgment on Jerusalem and Judah.

In 1 Cor 10:10 Paul admonishes the Corinthians not to

grumble as some of the Israelites did and were destroyed by the Destroyer. It is unclear if Paul refers to Num 14 or 16:41–50, but the latter is preferred because it speaks of the destruction of the people by a punishing plague sent from God. It is also unclear if the Destroyer is an angel or Satan himself. If the Destroyer is an angel it could be a type of angel that executes God's judgment, or the title for a specific angel that did so. A type of angel is supported by the rabbinic use of *mašḥît* as a term, among others, for an angel of destruction. It was an outgrowth of the rabbinic concept that God's mercy and wrath is put into effect by opposing groups of angels. A specific angel is supported by the presence of the definite article. Also, in postexilic Judaism *mašḥît* is sometimes used as a designation for a specific angel of destruction (Str-B 3:412–16). Later the angel Satan is identified as an agent of destruction (Wis 2:24; John 8:44; 1 Cor 5:5 [*olethros*]; Heb 2:14; cf. 2 Cor 12:7; I Thess 2:18; 1 Pet 5:8). It at least can be said that in the recollection of the incident of Num 16:41–50 in *4 Macc.* 7:11 and Wis 18:20–25 the figure is an individual destroyer.

In the Hebrew Bible, LXX, and early Christian texts "the destroyer" (the participial form of *šāḥat, šādad, hāras, olothreuō,* and *diaphtheirō*) can also be used to designate a human agent of destruction, whether an individual, group, or nation (Job 15:21; Isa 21:2; 49:17; Jer 48:8, 15, 18; Rev 11:18; see also *ETOT* 2: 201–2; and *TDNT* 5:167–71).

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DUANE F. WATSON

DEUEL (PERSON) [Heb *dᵉʿû'ēl*]. Father of the chief (*nāśî'*, Num 2:14) Eliasaph of the tribe of Gad during the wilderness sojourn after the Exodus. He is mentioned only four times in the MT and each time in a tribal list where his son Eliasaph is the current tribal leader (Num 1:14; 7:42, 47; 10:20). According to the LXX and the Syriac, the name "Deuel" should be "Reuel" *(ragouēl),* a reading confirmed in the tribal list at Num 2:14 of the MT. The two spellings of the name are probably due to the confusion of *dalet* with *reš* in the old Hebrew script. Under the leadership of Deuel's son Eliasaph, the tribe of Gad was (1) to list the men it had available for military service (Num 1:24–25); (2) to present its offerings on the sixth day of the twelve-day ceremony for the dedication of the altar (Num 7:42–47); and (3) to take its proper place during encampment on the south side of the tabernacle (Num 2:14) and its position in the order of march at the Israelites' departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:20). Baumgartner *(HALAT)* suggests that Deuel could be derived either from *dāʿâ,* "to seek, request," meaning perhaps "the request of God," or from *yādaʿ,* "to know," meaning perhaps "the knowledge of God."

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

DEUTERO-ISAIAH. See ISAIAH, BOOK OF (SECOND ISAIAH).

DEUTEROCANONICAL. See APOCRYPHA.

DEUTERONOMIC (D) SOURCE. The designation used by scholars to identify the core of the book of Deuteronomy, considered by some to be the "Book of the Law" found in the Temple in 621 B.C.E. during the reign of Josiah (2 Kings 22 = 2 Chronicles 34). See DEUTERONOMY, BOOK OF; TORAH (PENTATEUCH); SOURCE CRITICISM (OT).

DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY. The name commonly used to designate the book of Deuteronomy as well as the section of the Hebrew Bible known as the Former Prophets, i.e., Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, and 1–2 Kings. The name reflects the scholarly theory that these books comprise a single literary unit alongside the other two great historical works in the Hebrew Bible—the Tetrateuch (Genesis through Numbers) and the Chronicles complex (1–2 Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah). According to this theory, a later editor shifted the notice of Moses' death from its original position at the end of Numbers to its present location at the end of Deuteronomy (chapter 34) in order to group the first five books of the Hebrew Bible into the Torah or Pentateuch.

A. Terminology
B. Origin of the Theory
C. The DH and Subsequent Scholarship
  1. Unity and Structure
  2. Purpose
  3. Composition and Date
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A. Terminology

The Deuteronomistic History (DH) is also referred to as the Deuteronomic History by some scholars. However, the term "Deuteronomistic" in reference to this corpus is preferable since it better translates Martin Noth's adjective *deuteronomistische* (see B. below), and thus distinguishes between matters pertaining to the entire History (Deuteronomistic) and those concerning only the book of Deuteronomy (Deuteronomic). Thus, in this article, the abbreviation DH signifies "Deuteronomistic History," while "Deuteronomic" is reserved for the fifth book of the Bible, although the latter term may refer to the DH when found in titles or quotations from previous authors.

B. Origin of the Theory

The theory of the DH originated with the publication of M. Noth's *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* in 1943 (hereafter *NDH*). Previous treatments of the Former Prophets can be described in two broad categories (see Radjawane 1973: 178–80; Nicholson's introduction to *NDH;* and Mayes 1983: 1–3). One approach continued to apply to these books the same kind of source criticism used in analyzing the Pentateuch (Eissfeldt 1965: 241–48; Fohrer 1968: 193). This was particularly true for Joshua. Another perspective tended to view the books of Joshua, Judges,

Samuel, and Kings as independent units that had passed through one or more Deuteronomistic redactions (Pfeiffer 1948: 293–412; Fohrer 1968: 193–95; Driver 1972: 103–203). Noth, in contrast, argued that the material in Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets was a unified history of Israel written by a single, exilic author/compiler. Noth named this writer the Deuteronomist (Dtr).

Noth pointed to the similar language and ideology exhibited throughout the DH as evidence of an individual hand. According to Noth, this individual, the Dtr, composed the first history of Israel on the basis of traditions which he had collected. The Dtr selected those traditions that were appropriate for his purposes and unified them by means of a common structure and chronology. He divided the history of Israel into four major periods: the time of Moses, the settlement of Canaan under Joshua, the period of the judges, and the era of the monarchy. The Dtr's use of the traditions before him was basically conservative. However, he did make changes where necessary in order to introduce his own theological view of Israel's history. He also formulated speeches for the main characters and inserted them at key junctures in his account in accordance with his periodic division of Israel's history. So, for example, Joshua's speeches in Joshua 1 and 23 initiate and conclude, respectively, the time of the settlement. Samuel's speech in 1 Samuel 12 stands at the point of transition between the era of the judges and that of the monarchy, while Solomon's prayer in 1 Kings 8 highlights the dedication of the Temple and closes the first part of the monarchy. Other Deuteronomistic compositions are in narrative form (Joshua 12; Judg 2:11–22; 2 Kgs 17:7–18, 20–23). The Dtr introduced his history with the old Deuteronomic law code (4:44–30:20 minus additions) for which he constructed a new framework (Deuteronomy 1–3 plus original parts of chap. 4 and 31:1–13 plus original parts of chap. 34). Hence, all of the book of Deuteronomy took on the appearance of a speech of Moses.

Noth dated the DH to the middle of the 6th century B.C.E., shortly after 562, the date of Jehoiachin's release from prison, the final event recounted in the DH (2 Kgs 25:27–30). Noth found no evidence to indicate that the materials in the DH had been redacted earlier. The Dtr addressed his contemporaries in Babylonian exile, his purpose being entirely negative: to show them that their sufferings were the fully deserved consequences of centuries of decline in Israel's loyalty to Yahweh. This loyalty was measured in terms of Israel's obedience to the Deuteronomic law. Since Israel and Judah had failed to follow that law, their histories had ended in complete destruction, in accordance with the divine judgment envisaged by Deuteronomy. There was not the slightest glimmer of hope for the future. The clearest illustration of the finality of God's punishment in the DH was Solomon's prayer in 1 Kings 8. The Dtr had Solomon ask Yahweh to hear the prayers of the exiles and to forgive their past misdeeds. But there was no hint of any expectation of the nation's restoration. Similarly, the report of Jehoiachin's release in 2 Kgs 25:27–30 was the result of the Dtr's conscientious reporting of historical fact and was not intended to herald the commencement of a new age for Judah and Israel.

C. The DH and Subsequent Scholarship

1. Unity and Structure. The main point of Noth's monograph, that Deuteronomy–Kings represents an original literary unit, gained wide acceptance almost immediately (for early reactions to Noth's views, see Radjawane 1973: 186–210). Noth was not the only scholar to conclude that Genesis–Numbers and Deuteronomy–Kings represented two originally distinct literary units. Y. Kaufmann (*RI*, 205–11) and I. Engnell (1969: 58–67) each arrived at this position independently (cf. also Jepsen under 3.b. below). However, it was Noth's volume that established this view in the field of biblical studies. The acceptance of this viewpoint has continued such that, to the extent that any position in biblical studies can be regarded as the consensus viewpoint, the existence of the DH has achieved almost canonical status. However, other approaches continue to be proposed (see Radjawane 1973; Mayes 1983: 14–19). D. N. Freedman, for example (*IDBSup*, 226–28), links his treatment of the DH to the Tetrateuch, viewing both as parts of a larger "Primary History" (compare Peckham's view under 3.c. below). However, Freedman has not put forth this view in detail, and theories such as his have not found a wide following (but see Gunn 1987: 32).

Noth's sketch of the way in which the Dtr structured his history has been corroborated and reinforced by subsequent studies. D. McCarthy (1965) and F. M. Cross (*CMHE*, 241–64) have shown that 2 Samuel 7 should be added to Noth's list of passages that form the Deuteronomistic framework of the DH. McCarthy (1974) has also discussed the significance of the "wrath of God" as a theme in certain of the framework texts. W. Lemke (1976) suggested 1 Kings 13 as another candidate for the series of structural passages. Lemke's arguments for Deuteronomistic revision in 1 Kings 13, especially vv 1–10, are convincing. However, since that chapter is still dominated by a northern, prophetic legend concerning a "man of God," it should not be viewed as a framework passage in the same sense as 2 Samuel 7 and those listed by Noth (Cross, *CMHE*, 279–80; McKenzie 1985b: 206–9).

2. Purpose. Perhaps the weakest aspect of Noth's theory, and the one that provoked the most criticism initially, was his view of the purpose of the DH. In a 1947 article on the theology of history in the DH, von Rad traced a theme of "grace" through the DH that provided a balance to the theme of judgment delineated by Noth. Von Rad showed that the DH contained the history of Yahweh's word at work. Time after time the Dtr described how a previously reported oracle from one of Yahweh's prophets was fulfilled precisely as foretold. Thus, on the one hand, the destruction of Israel and Judah was in keeping with the prophetic pronunciation of doom in retaliation for disobedience. On the other hand, the final destruction was restrained by Yahweh's promise to David found in Nathan's oracle in 2 Samuel 7 and reiterated throughout 1–2 Kings (1 Kgs 8:20, 25; 9:5; 11:5, 13, 32, 36; 15:4; 2 Kgs 2:4; 8:19; 19:34; 20:6). In the passages referring to this promise, von Rad found a series of "Messianic conceptions" that, in his view, provided the basis for hope on the part of the Dtr for the restoration of the Davidic monarchy. In this light, the reference to Jehoiachin's release at the very end of the DH was perceived by von Rad to have special theological significance. To be sure, the judgment component of Yahweh's word dominated, at least for the time being, in the reality of the Exile. The Dtr could not minimize the severity of God's punishment. However, it

was equally impossible for him to concede that Yahweh's promise to David had failed. The Dtr resolved this dilemma by recounting Jehoiachin's release from imprisonment. His hope was not explicit, but this final account did leave history open; the Davidic line continued and provided a place for Yahweh to begin anew with his people.

A second important article on the purpose of the DH was contributed by H. W. Wolff in 1961. Wolff criticized the positions of both Noth and von Rad, suggesting that it was inconceivable that an exilic Israelite writer would take pen in hand simply for the purpose of proving to his contemporaries that they were getting just what they deserved. Wolff pointed out that Noth's explanation for the inclusion of 2 Kgs 25:27–30 (Jehoiachin's release) contradicted his (Noth's) conclusion regarding the Dtr's selective use of sources. Against von Rad, Wolff argued that the promise to David in Nathan's oracle was subordinate to the Mosaic covenant, so that disobedience of the Mosaic law also abrogated the Davidic promise. Furthermore, the lack of reference to the Nathan oracle in 2 Kgs 25:27–30 indicated strongly that Dtr did not interpret Jehoiachin's release in terms of the continuation of the Davidic promise as von Rad had asserted. The very length of the DH, according to Wolff, implied a more intricate purpose than either Noth or von Rad had recognized. Wolff found the purpose of the Dtr in the pattern of apostasy, punishment, repentance, and deliverance common in the DH, particularly in Judges. Dtr's intent was to show the exiles that they were in the second stage of that cycle and therefore needed to cry out to Yahweh in repentance. Wolff pointed to the use of the verb *šûb*, "to return," in key Deuteronomistic passages, especially Solomon's speech in 1 Kings 8, as central to Dtr's plea. For Wolff, Dtr's purpose was not entirely negative as it was for Noth, nor did Dtr offer any explicit hope as von Rad claimed. Rather, Dtr raised only the possibility of hope by demonstrating the pattern of Yahweh's previous dealings with Israel; the imperative for the exiles was simply to turn back to God.

The essays of von Rad and Wolff showed the weakness of Noth's original position concerning the Dtr's purpose and pointed out the tension within the DH between the Mosaic and Davidic covenants. Yet the analyses of von Rad and Wolff have their weaknesses. Von Rad's work was especially insightful as far as it went, but he did not perceive the full significance of the Davidic theme for the related issues of purpose, composition, and date of the DH. Wolff's major shortcoming lay in his attempt to dismiss the Davidic promise as conditional in the Dtr's mind, a point specifically denied in the biblical texts.

3. Composition and Date. The one aspect of Noth's thesis that has elicited the most discussion since 1943 has been his ascription of the whole of the DH to a single, exilic composer. Indeed, the question of the authorship and date of the DH has become one of the most debated issues in the field of biblical studies.

a. A Deuteronomistic School. The two scholars most commonly associated with this position are E. W. Nicholson (1967) and M. Weinfeld (1972). Each has published a book focusing on Deuteronomy which contends that the DH was the product of a circle of Deuteronomistic traditionalists.

Nicholson theorized that ancient traditions were preserved and transmitted by northern prophetic circles. After the devastation of Israel in 721 B.C.E., members of these circles fled S to Judah with the traditions they had collected. A short time later they threw their support behind Hezekiah's doomed reform movement. During the reign of Manasseh (ca. 687–642 B.C.E.), these tradents drew up their own program for reform based in part upon traditional materials. The program's principal doctrine was the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem, a notion derived from a reinterpretation of the Davidic royal theology that promoted a unique covenantal relationship between Yahweh and the dynasty of David. This program produced an early form of the book of Deuteronomy. A copy of the book was deposited in the Temple where it was discovered during Josiah's reign and again used as a foundation for reform activity. At that point the Deuteronomistic school was revived and eventually generated the DH. Nicholson agreed with Noth's date for the final form of the DH, though he believed that the work began in late preexilic times.

Weinfeld's views on the composition of the DH are quite similar in some respects to those of Nicholson. Weinfeld traced three stages of development in Deuteronomistic composition: (1) the book of Deuteronomy in the second half of the 7th century B.C.E., (2) the editing of Joshua through Kings in the first half of the 6th century B.C.E., and (3) the writing of the prose sermons in Jeremiah during the latter half of the same century. Weinfeld suggested that Deuteronomistic literary activity began during the time of Hezekiah and continued into the Exile (1972: 25). Hence, like Nicholson, Weinfeld agreed with Noth's date for the final form of the DH. Weinfeld's main concern in his exhaustive study was to locate the school responsible for the DH in the Israelite wisdom tradition. Many of the insights adduced by Weinfeld from ANE parallel texts are invaluable in the study of the DH. However, his arguments for connecting the DH with wisdom circles are not convincing since the arguments are based on (1) too broad a characterization of wisdom, and (2) overly general thematic similarities between wisdom literature and the DH.

The arguments for a Deuteronomistic school lasting a century or more point out the difficulties involved in viewing the DH as a work addressing only exilic concerns. Nicholson's reconstruction is especially attractive for its connections with historical circumstances. Still, it is never clear what a "school" or "circle" is supposed to have been, and the literary evidence alone is insufficient to reconstruct a social institution responsible for the production of the DH.

b. Redactional Levels. Four years before the appearance of Noth's famous monograph, A. Jepsen wrote *Die Quellen des Königsbuches*. Unfortunately, the publication of this book was delayed until 1953. Jepsen's complex analysis led him to conclude that the book of Kings was essentially the product of two exilic redactors. The first (R 1), a priest, compiled a history of Israel and Judah early in the Exile. The second (R 2) was a prophet about a generation later who took the work of R 1 as his primary source and enlarged it. Jepsen attributed most of the prophetic materials and the "Succession Narrative" to the editorial work of R 2. Since Jepsen's R 2 was essentially the same as Noth's Dtr (Jepsen 1956: 100–1, 105), this independent study

provided valuable corroboration for Noth's basic thesis concerning the existence and unity of the DH. At the same time, Jepsen's conviction that redactional levels could be discerned in the DH clearly differed from Noth's perspective. While Jepsen's reconstruction of the redactional history of the DH has not achieved any real following (note, however, Baena 1973; 1974a; 1974b), his postulation of redactional levels was the initial representative of a position on the authorship of the DH that has gained many adherents.

Two major alternatives to Noth's theory of a single, exilic composer for the DH have surfaced in the generation since Noth due to proposals by R. Smend and F. M. Cross. These two opinions have little in common other than their agreement that the DH should be understood as the product of multiple editors.

(1) Multiple Exilic Redactions. Smend (1971) initiated this approach with his contribution to the von Rad *Festschrift.* He treated selected passages in Joshua (1:7–9; 13:1bB–6; 23) and Judges (1:1–2:9, 17, 20–21, 23), which, he argued, shared a different perspective from surrounding passages concerning Israel's conquest of Canaan. According to the original version of the DH, Israel under Joshua conquered the entire land promised to them and drove out or destroyed its former inhabitants. The only task left to them was the settlement of the land. Smend called this original version of the DH "DtrG," the *G* standing for *Grundschrift,* i.e., basic text, and he equated it with Noth's Dtr. However, in the texts from Joshua and Judges listed above Smend found references to peoples the Israelites still needed to expel from the land. Smend also discerned an interest in law in these passages. He concluded that these texts were additions by a later redactor whom he designated DtrN(omistic). Smend's theory has been extended by W. Dietrich (1972).

One of the problems with Smend's initial essay was that it dealt with passages whose literary-critical condition was very much in disarray and debated among scholars. Dietrich's study avoided this problem by focusing on a more fruitful area of the DH, the book of Kings. As Smend had done, Dietrich used literary-critical techniques to isolate secondary material in various narratives of Kings. He showed that these insertions had a common language and theology which he then examined in order to discover the identity of their redactor. Dietrich concluded that the DH had undergone two redactions beyond the original one (DtrG). The first and major one of these was the work of an individual associated with prophetic (especially Jeremianic) circles (1972: 104). DtrP, as Dietrich designated him, was both a writer, who composed many of the oracles now found in the DH, and an editor, who added some older prophetic materials to his DtrG *Vorlage.* DtrP was primarily responsible for the structure and contents of the DH. A final nomistic editor, designated DtrN, added certain other texts bearing a pro-Davidic interest, including the reference to Jehoiachin in 2 Kgs 25:27–30. Dietrich devoted very little space to the treatment of DtrN, almost presupposing its existence. Dietrich dated DtrG to ca. 580 B.C.E. and DtrN to ca. 560 with DtrP somewhere in between (1972: 143–44).

A third member of this "Göttingen school" is T. Veijola (1975; 1977). His two monographs have analyzed various portions of the DH according to the scheme worked out by Dietrich in Kings. In his 1975 volume Veijola covered most of 1–2 Samuel and 1 Kings 1–2. His 1977 work dealt with Judges 8–9; 17–21; and 1 Samuel 7–12. Both monographs assumed the correctness of Dietrich's approach to the DH. Like Dietrich, Veijola used literary-critical arguments to partition the passages he treated between the three redactors, DtrG, DtrP, and DtrN. In Veijola's view, DtrG had a positive perspective on the monarchy and was responsible for the doctrine in the DH concerning the permanence of the Davidic dynasty. DtrN, in contrast, viewed the monarchy negatively. While David himself was judged by DtrN to be a model king because of his fidelity to Yahweh's law, the institution of kingship was the product of human sin and was damned by DtrN on narrow, legalistic grounds. The middle redactor, DtrP, qualified the positive tone of DtrG toward monarchy by the insertion of prophetic stories which subordinated the king's role and importance to those of the prophets. Those stories also illustrated the certainty of Yahweh's prophetically mitigated word. The basic approach of Smend, Dietrich, and Veijola to the DH has been adopted by R. Klein (*1 Samuel* WBC) and E. Würthwein (*Kings* ATD).

The adherents of the Göttingen school are expert literary critics, so the literary-critical observations that form the basis of their theory are often quite valuable. However, there are methodological problems with the approach as a whole (see Hoffmann 1980: 18–20; Campbell 1986: 5–12). These appear particularly in Dietrich's work, since Veijola simply accepts Dietrich's methods. For one thing, this approach assumes Noth's conclusion that the DH was initially the product of exilic, Deuteronomistic redaction. The question of the existence of a preexilic, Deuteronomist or a pre-Dtr *Vorlage* is ignored. Yet, these are major issues in the debate over the authorship and setting of the DH. This failure has caused the proponents of this approach perhaps to misdate and misunderstand the prophetic component of the DH (see below). Secondly, the proponents of this approach have not produced an entirely clear picture of the three redactors. There are two sides to this problem. One is that the criteria provided do not always distinguish DtrG, DtrP, and DtrN clearly from each other. Dietrich, for example, is forced to admit that DtrP borrows heavily from DtrG both in terms of language and theology (1972: 138–39). The other side is that it is difficult to perceive any ideological unity within the material assigned to each redactor. The literary and linguistic evidence compiled by Dietrich and Veijola does illustrate the presence of editorial strands, but there is a need to distinguish more clearly the interests or tendencies of the editors at different levels.

(2) Double Redaction. The second major position on the composition of the DH is associated with Cross (*CMHE,* 274–89), who treated the issues of authorship, date, and purpose of the DH as different facets of the same question. Citing the validity of some of the older arguments, such as those of Jepsen (see above) and J. Gray (*Kings* OTL, 13–15), for a preexilic edition of Kings, Cross traced two themes through the book of Kings. The first was the sin of Jeroboam and the wickedness of the N kingdom, which culminated in the exposition on the destruction of Samaria in 2 Kgs 17:1–23. The second theme was grounded in the

covenant theology of the S monarchy. The faithfulness of David set the tone for Yahweh's dealings with Judah in the same way that Jeroboam's sin led to Israel's decline. There were no good kings in Israel; all of them sinned against Yahweh by "walking in the way of Jeroboam, son of Nebat, who caused Israel to sin" (cf. 1 Kgs 15:26, 34; 16:19, 26, 31; 22:52; 2 Kgs 3:3; 10:29; 13:2, 6, 11; 14:24; 15:9, 18, 24, 28). In contrast to the series of dynasties in the N, Judah continued under David's descendants. Judah had its share of evil kings, but Yahweh had promised David an enduring fiefdom (*nîr*, see Hanson 1968) in Jerusalem as a reward for his loyalty (1 Kgs 11:36; 15:4; 2 Kgs 8:19). The good kings in Judah were compared individually with David. The only king, including David, who escaped criticism was Josiah; his reforming reign represented the climax of this second theme. The persistence of these two themes and their respective climaxes led Cross to posit a primary edition of the DH written as a program supporting Josiah's reform measures (*CMHE*, 284–85). This editor (Dtr 1) admonished his contemporaries to obedience to the Mosaic covenant that Josiah was attempting to reinstitute, believing that Yahweh would restore the kingdom by the hand of this new David in whom Dtr 1 had placed his hopes. The bulk of the DH, in Cross' view, consisted of this propaganda from Josiah's reign. A second, exilic redactor (Dtr 2) brought the primary edition up to date and blamed the Exile on Manasseh, whose wickedness doomed the later reforms of Josiah to futility (2 Kgs 21:10–25). Cross suggested that certain passages throughout the DH represented retouchings by Dtr 2. Such passages made the promise to David conditional, presupposed the Exile, or addressed the exiles and called for their repentance (Deut 4:27–31; 28:36–37, 63–68; 29:27; 30:1–10; Josh 23:11–13, 15–16; 1 Sam 12:25; 1 Kgs 2:4; 6:11–13; 8:25b, 46–53; 9:4–9; 2 Kgs 17:19; 20:17–18; 22:15–20; and perhaps Deut 30:11–20; 1 Kgs 3:14). The lack of any peroration on the fall of Judah comparable to that found in 2 Kings 17 on the fall of Israel was best explained, according to Cross, by regarding the exilic editor as less articulate than Dtr 1 (*CMHE*, 288).

Cross' thematic argument has convinced a growing number of American scholars that the primary edition of the DH was Josianic, though his position has not been widely accepted in Europe. His Josianic setting for Dtr 1 accords well with the important place of Josiah noticed by previous studies of the DH, including that of Noth. Subsequent studies have gathered more evidence for a primary, Josianic edition. R. Friedman (1981a: 6–10), in particular, has noticed fundamental changes in the editorial perspective following the narrative concerning Josiah, and he has pointed out several deliberate links between the descriptions of the Mosaic period in Deuteronomy and Josiah's efforts at reform. R. Nelson (1981), in his monograph advocating the double redaction theory, has focused on literary analysis and theology in addition to Cross' thematic points. Nelson has also supplied the most thorough collection and evaluation available of the arguments for this hypothesis.

A number of scholars who concur with Cross' basic hypothesis have published works concerned with sketching more precisely the contours of Dtr 2's revisions and theology. All of these scholars are basically in agreement that Dtr 2 wrote during the Exile with the goals of ascribing that predicament to Manasseh and of bringing the Josianic history up to date. However, other passages attributed to Dtr 2 by Cross have been assigned to Dtr 1. Friedman (1981a: 12–13) and Nelson (1981: 118) have shown independently that the passages which Cross ascribed to Dtr 2 because they make the promise to David conditional (1 Kgs 2:4; 8:25b; 9:4–5) actually refer only to the loss of the N kingdom and hence are best viewed as the work of Dtr 1. Reference to captivity within a passage does not necessarily signal Dtr 2's hand, since exile was a common and feared occurrence in the ANE long before the 6th century B.C.E. Also, the exile of the N kingdom was well known in Judah after 721 B.C.E. The judgment that a passage "sounds like" it was addressed to the exiles is too subjective by itself to carry much conviction. Friedman and Nelson have instead based their arguments for Dtr 2 material on thematic and linguistic criteria. Their conclusions tend to support Cross' initial instincts in seeing Dtr 2's revisions as relatively light.

However, others credit Dtr 2 with a much more active role in shaping the DH. Levenson, for example, argues on literary and theological grounds that Dtr 2 was responsible for inserting the Book of the Law into Deuteronomy (1975) and ascribes most of Solomon's speech in 1 Kings 8 to him (1980). Mayes (1983) has produced the first attempt to reconstruct in detail the redactional history of the entire DH. His literary-critical discussion credits Dtr 2 with significant revision and supplementation throughout the corpus.

c. A Single Exilic Author. B. Peckham (1985) and H.-D. Hoffmann (1980) have made separate attempts to return to Noth's original position that the DH was the work of a single exilic writer, although each also tried to refine Noth's conclusions. Peckham's 1985 monograph (note also his 1983 article) expressed the opinion that the real problem with Noth's proposal was his understanding of the sources of the DH as fragmentary and discontinuous. By way of correction, Peckham offered a complex theory about the way in which Dtr 2 rewrote various sources in order to form the entire historical work from Genesis through Kings. Peckham analyzed each of Dtr 2's sources in turn. The fundamental source was J's terse narrative. Each of the following sources was composed as a running commentary on the text that grew out of Israel's historiographic tradition. J was expounded by Dtr 1, apparently in the reign of Hezekiah. An alternative interpretation of J was written by P. E was produced as a supplement to J and P and as a variant to Dtr 1. Dtr 2's work was the culmination of this literary process. Dtr 2 was not an editor, but a tradent who thoroughly revised and rewrote the histories which he inherited. Dtr 2's history was never itself revised, but a legislative supplement (Lev 1:1–7:38 and 11:46–27:34), designated Ps, was grafted onto it, thus giving the Pentateuch its present form. Peckham's view of the relationship between the sources and the extent of Dtr 2's work is creative but highly idiosyncratic. His criteria for distinguishing these sources are never revealed. Indeed, he states that Dtr 2's use of repetition and imitation makes his history "almost indistinguishable from its antecedents" (1985: 49). As a result, his reconstruction of the various

layers of composition in the DH appears almost entirely subjective.

Like Peckham (1983: 217–18), Hoffmann (1980: 16–17) asserts that Noth's original thesis contains an inherent contradiction in the notion of the Dtr as both author and editor. His own solution to this perceived contradiction is, however, quite different than Peckham's. Hoffmann concludes that the DH is essentially a fictional history of Israel's cult by an exilic or postexilic author. The Dtr's technique is to contrast the right reforms of good kings with the evil "reforms" of wicked kings. This "pendulum swing" effect is more exaggerated as the account approaches its climax (*Zielpunkt*) in Josiah's reform (2 Kings 22–24). Josiah and his reign serve as *the model* for a new beginning when the Exile is over. The story of Josiah shares connections with that of every reforming king before him. Indeed, the hallmark of the Dtr's literary work is the way in which he links texts by a variety of methods. The basis of the Dtr's judgments concerning the kings of Israel and Judah is the first commandment of the Mosaic law, which sets Israel apart from the nations. Jeroboam, who led Israel away from cultic centralization, and Ahab, who imported Baalism, are the paradigms of wickedness. While the Dtr did employ some historical sources, this occurred more rarely than most scholars, including Noth, have admitted, and these sources can no longer be isolated precisely in the Dtr's highly fictional and tendentious narrative (compare the similar views of Van Seters 1983a: 317–21, 354–62). In short, Hoffmann sees the Deuteronomist as a true author, not a compiler or redactor, whose work is far more creative than even Noth perceived it to be.

There is much that is useful in Hoffmann's book. His analysis of the cross-references within the DH confirms Noth's view of the essential unity of the work. He demonstrates the significance of the cult for the Dtr, a topic which had not previously received so full a treatment. He shows, perhaps more clearly than any previous scholar, the importance of Josiah in the DH. However, his theory regarding the exilic setting for the Dtr does not do justice to the significance of Josiah in the DH; the emphasis on Josiah is explained more clearly by Cross' proposal that the original edition of the DH was in fact Josianic. Hoffmann's monograph completely ignores the position of Cross and his followers. His failure to treat any king after Josiah also tends to substantiate the view that the material following Josiah in the DH is a less creative narrative tacked on to the main body of the work. Finally, Hoffmann's judgment regarding the fictional nature of the DH is unwarranted. To be sure, the Dtr (or Dtr 1) is a creative writer with definite interests, whose work must therefore be used with great caution in historical reconstruction. At the same time, the evidence for various historical traditions underlying the DH is too strong simply to dismiss the work cavalierly as fiction (see section 5 below).

d. Toward a Solution. Almost all of the above-mentioned studies on the composition of the DH have some merit, and it is possible to treat their various conclusions as complementary rather than contrastive. For instance, the notion of a Deuteronomistic school is compatible not only with the view that the DH was put together in its final form by a single individual in the Exile, but also with the theory of multiple editions of the DH (Weinfeld 1972: 7–8). The conclusions of Dietrich and Cross are not entirely irreconcilable, since they actually focus on different aspects of the issue of authorship. The arguments of Cross are primarily thematic, while Dietrich's are literary. Yet, Cross' evidence that the primary redaction of the DH supported Josiah carries more conviction than does Dietrich's interpretation on literary-critical grounds. The importance of Josiah for the DH is confirmed not only by the additional evidence from Friedman and Nelson, but also by the observations of Hoffmann. Still, Cross' theory of a double redaction does not answer all the questions raised by the DH. In particular, the significance of the prophetic stories with their generally negative orientation toward the monarchy goes beyond the interests of Dtr 1 and even stands in tension with his support of the Davidic dynasty, especially as it is represented in Josiah. At the same time, the stress on prophecy is not likely a part of the same edition that added the laconic account of Judah after Josiah and blamed Manasseh for the Exile (Cross, *CMHE*, 285–86).

An intriguing addendum to Cross' theory incorporating some of the most important literary insights of Dietrich and Veijola has been proposed by P. K. McCarter. In his volumes on the books of Samuel (*1 Samuel* AB, 18–23; *2 Samuel* AB, 6–8) McCarter takes the position that a pre-Deuteronomistic level of redaction, done from a prophetic perspective, exists in this material. Hence, much of what Veijola identifies as DtrP in 2 Samuel is assigned by McCarter to this prophetic history. The prophetic historian, in McCarter's view, collected the oldest sources underlying Samuel. In 1 Samuel these include the Ark Narrative (1 Sam 2:12–17, 22–25; 4:1b–7:1), a cycle of stories about Saul (beneath 1 Sam 1:1–28; 9:1–10:16; 10:27b–11:15; 13:2–7a, 15b–23; 14:1–46), and an apology for David sometimes called the "History of David's Rise" (1980; *1 Samuel* AB, 18–20), behind 1 Samuel 16–2 Samuel 5. McCarter argues that in 2 Samuel the primary source was an apology for Solomon (the so-called "Succession Narrative"), which was itself a compilation of various stories from David's reign (*2 Samuel* AB, 9–16). See also COURT NARRATIVE (2 SAMUEL 9–1 KINGS 2). The prophetic historian reordered these sources, with editorial comments, into a running, historical narrative. According to McCarter, the skeptical view of kingship and its subjection to prophecy within the prophetic history betrays the work's N origin. However, the history's acceptance of the Davidic dynasty and the text's hopeful orientation toward Judah as the bearer of Israel's future leads McCarter to date the prophetic document to the end of the 8th century, during or shortly after the fall of Samaria (see also Mayes 1983: 84–85).

A. Campbell (1986) has also posited a prophetic document, which he calls the prophetic record, underlying the DH in the books of Samuel and Kings. Campbell's reconstruction differs from that of McCarter in several particulars. Campbell does not assign as much material in Samuel to his prophetic record as McCarter assigns to his prophetic history. For example, Campbell does not believe that the prophetic record included the Ark Narrative or the Succession Narrative (1986: 67, 82–84). Campbell's prophetic record viewed monarchy as the gift of Yahweh

and not as a sinful, human invention, as McCarter argues is the case with his prophetic history. Finally, Campbell dates his prophetic record to the reign of Jehu (late 9th century B.C.E.) and sees it as a document that sought to legitimate Jehu's prophetic anointing and therefore, his kingship (1986: 108–10). Hence, Campbell traces the prophetic record in 1–2 Kings (cf. McKenzie 1985b). He finds it underlying the accounts of the N kings and culminating with a version of Jehu's revolt beneath 2 Kings 9–10. In Campbell's reconstruction, the prophetic record underlies the competition on Mt. Carmel in 1 Kings 18, the Naboth story in 1 Kings 21, and Ahijah's death in 2 Kings 1, but not the rest of the Elijah cycle and none of the Elisha stories.

Despite their differences, both McCarter and Campbell agree that a N prophetic document underlies the Deuteronomistic redaction in the books of Samuel and Kings. The existence of such a pre-Deuteronomistic, prophetic work may help to resolve some of the literary and thematic tensions within the DH. If McCarter's characterization is correct, the prophetic history should continue as an underlying layer in Kings (cf. McKenzie 1985b). Such a layer explains the preservation of lengthy prophetic stories which obviously had little to do in their original form with the concerns of Dtr 1 (e.g., 1 Kgs 13:11–32). It also supports the idea that many of the negative sentiments expressed in the DH toward Israel or its kingship come not from a late redaction of the history but from an earlier level founded in the old league traditions of the north. A number of questions about this prophetic level remain to be answered. What were its exact parameters? Is there any relationship between this prophetic work and the prophetic concerns pointed to by Nicholson in Deuteronomy? Is this prophetic redaction related to arguments by various scholars (Halpern 1981: 48–53; Mayes 1983: 120–25; McKenzie 1985a: 174–76; Weippert 1972) for redactional activity in the DH at the time of Hezekiah? The most that can be said at present is that a prophetic redaction of the sort described by McCarter and Campbell may have served as a major source for Dtr 1's account of the monarchy.

Since the days of Rost, Noth, and their contemporaries, and thanks to their pioneering work, scholars have made important strides in uncovering the process behind the formation of the DH. There is not, of course, unanimous agreement on the issues, yet progress has been made and continues to be made, however slowly, within historical critical scholarship. This is an important point since several scholars in recent years have adopted newer approaches to the Bible, abandoning historical criticism out of frustration with its results (see below). Recent work on the books of Samuel and Kings makes it clear that a more fruitful approach to the question of the composition of the DH may be found not in late redactions (a task that has preoccupied many researchers), but in the search for sources and redactions preceding the edition of Dtr 1. McCarter and Campbell have drawn attention to the significance of intermediate redactions lying between the oldest sources and Dtr 1.

4. New Literary Approaches. A number of works have appeared in recent years which treat portions of the DH with a variety of literary or structuralist techniques (see STRUCTURALISM). These treatments are too many and too diverse to examine individually here. They generally focus on a single section of the DH, predominantly in Samuel, rather than discussing the DH as a whole (see McCarter, *2 Samuel* AB, 16 for a brief listing of some of these works).

R. Polzin's 1980 study, however, deserves special review. This volume is the first part of a literary study of the entire DH. Polzin argues that the domination of reported speech in Deuteronomy in contrast to the preponderance of reporting speech in Joshua and Judges reflects the author's attempt to present himself to his audience in the role of mediator of God's word. Just as Moses was the authoritative interpreter of God's law for his day so the Deuteronomist is the authoritative interpreter of the Mosaic law for the exiles. Deuteronomy stands in relation to Joshua–Kings as prophecy to fulfillment, or as law to application. Polzin describes the book of Joshua as a meditation on the interpretation of the law—a meditation that illustrates the distance between divine law and human interpretation (1980: 144). The book of Judges, for Polzin, tests the traditionalism of Deuteronomy and Joshua. Judges presents a chaotic picture in which "everyone did what was right in his own eyes." A mechanistic interpretation of the Mosaic law would lead one to predict Israel's destruction because of the sinfulness of the judges period. But such an interpretation does not take account of divine mercy. Hence, Israel not only survives the era of the judges, but even prospers. Together, the three books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges, in Polzin's view, militate against the kind of rigid orthodoxy that does not allow flexibility in applying the word of God to new situations. Polzin applies the hermeneutical message he finds in the DH to the current crisis in biblical scholarship caused by the tension between traditional historical criticism and newer literary approaches (1980: 205–12). The DH, he argues, condemns the "scientific" methods of historical criticism that attempt to recover the unitary, original sense of the text. Rather, the DH calls for an approach to its text that constantly reapplies its message to the new situation in which interpreters find themselves.

Polzin's criticisms of traditional scholarship's failure to address the Bible on its own terms and of the scholarly tendency toward theological dogmatism are well taken, although these may reflect problems inherent more in the practitioners than in the method. However, Polzin has failed to show how his approach may interact with historical criticism (cf. Mayes 1983: 20–21). He essentially ignores the historical critical research done on the literary history of the DH, even though he obviously depends on the results of that research (otherwise, he would not treat the DH as a "literary unit" in the first place). Polzin never satisfactorily answers the objection to the literary methods which he employs, namely, that such methods are inappropriate for material that has been redacted numerous times (1980: 16–18). His point that the text must be approached by a method that allows it to be reapplied to the interpreter's ever-changing situation is valid. However, his conclusions seem to ignore the limits which the text places upon itself. His perspective on Judges, in particular, appears to be the result of his forcing the book to conform to the hermeneutical message he wishes to find in Deuteronomy–Judges. His desire to stress what he sees as cultic chaos

recounted in Judges leads him to dismiss the rather rigid pattern of apostasy, oppression, repentance, and deliverance that the editor has imposed on the narrative.

Polzin's work underlines the tension existing in contemporary biblical scholarship between the older approach of historical criticism and newer literary study. Literary theory is more satisfying hermeneutically than historic criticism in facilitating the reader's interaction with the text. But D. Gunn (1987: 69–70) is probably correct that reader-oriented theory undermines historical criticism's attempts at a normative understanding of the text. Moreover, the tendency of literary criticism to deal with canonical unit(s) ultimately is opposed to, or at least dismisses as irrelevant, questions about redactional levels which are at the heart of the topic of the "Deuteronomistic History." Ideally, perhaps, historical criticism and literary criticism should be complementary. Practically, however, the two approaches may simply be moving in different directions with only a few scholars able to bridge the gap between them (Gunn 1987: 72–73). For the perspective on the DH described in this article the view of literary methods is best expressed in the following quotation from R. Alter (1981: 46): "The Bible presents a kind of literature in which the primary impulse would often seem to be to provide instruction or at least necessary information, not merely to delight. If, however, we fail to see that the creators of biblical narrative were writers who, like writers elsewhere, took pleasure in exploring the formal and imaginative resources of their fictional medium, perhaps sometimes unexpectedly capturing the fullness of their subject in the very play of exploration, we shall miss much that the biblical stories are meant to convey."

5. Historiography and Historicity. J. Van Seters, in his recent volume on historiography in the ANE (1983a), argues that Noth's exilic Dtr constitutes the first Israelite historian as well as the first true historian in Western civilization. He contends, therefore, that Dtr did not incorporate any earlier historiographic works into his history, and that those sections of Samuel where scholars have perceived older, independent sources (e.g., the Ark Narrative, the Story of Saul, and the History of David's Rise) are actually original compositions by Dtr, sometimes using preformed traditions. The "Court History of David" or "Succession Narrative," which many scholars have seen as Dtr's source for much of 2 Samuel 9–20 and 1 Kings 1–2, is post-Dtr, i.e., a postexilic addition to the story of David. Thus, like Hoffmann, Van Seters (1983a: 317–21; 1983b: 131–32) regards the DH as largely fictional.

There are problems with some of Van Seters' conclusions. His contention that true history writing comes relatively late in Near Eastern history betrays the assumption that anything approaching historical or theological sophistication (from a modern perspective) must be late. He assumes Noth's date for the DH and does not adequately deal with those reconstructions of the DH that posit earlier redactions and sources. His view of the DH's historicity is probably overly negative and leads him to the conclusion that the first extant example of history writing in Western civilization is essentially a work of fiction. His stress on history writing also leads him to neglect the role played by royal propaganda in shaping the DH and its sources, particularly in its portrait of Josiah.

Nevertheless, Van Seters' volume has also made some very important contributions to the study of the DH. His comparison of the DH to history writing from the ANE and especially from Greece suggests a purpose behind Dtr's work which modern scholars have overlooked, namely that Dtr was an ancient historian who wrote "to render an account to Israel of its past." This understanding of the genre and purpose of the DH also has important implications for the method of composition employed in the DH. Like Herodotus, Dtr was both an author and an editor who creatively shaped Israel's traditions into a long, narrative history. In many respects, Van Seters' work represents a return to and a reinforcement of Noth's original conclusions regarding the DH. Van Seters has pointed the way for future studies on the techniques of composition and genre of literature represented in the DH.

D. Conclusion

The genius of Noth's initial proposal for the existence of the DH was his perception of the overall unity of the account from Deuteronomy through Kings. The genius of Cross' later correction rests in his observation that the principal concerns of this large unit were with an earlier era, rather than the period reached by the DH's account. In Cross' theory, the second editor of the DH was primarily responsible for adding a relatively brief appendix to the body of the work, while the unity of that body was maintained. The search for sources and redactions underlying the DH is certainly a valuable endeavor and has provided scholars with a clearer picture of how this great work developed. However, those who search for sources must be careful not to obscure the unity of the work, Noth's real insight. Some recent treatments of the DH (Hoffmann and Van Seters) call for fresh studies of the creativeness of the Dtr in his use of traditions and in his own composition. Critical scholarship of the DH has a real need for specialists in literary studies and historiography. But those who study the creativity of the Dtr must in turn not lose sight of the conclusions of older literary critics regarding the sources used by the Dtr.

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STEVEN L. MCKENZIE

DEUTERONOMY, BOOK OF.

The fifth and last book of the Pentateuch or Torah.

A. The Name and Its Meaning
B. The Literary Form of Deuteronomy
C. The Covenant at the Plains of Moab
D. Composition and Structure
E. Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic Historiographer
F. "Singular" and "Plural" Layers
G. Deuteronomy—The Archimedean Point of the History of the Pentateuchal Literature
   1. Date of Deuteronomy
   2. The Book of Law (Torah)
   3. The Discovery of the Book of the Torah
H. Deuteronomy as Turning Point in Israelite Religion
I. The National Renaissance at the Times of Hezekiah and Josiah
J. The Land in Deuteronomy
K. The Idea of the Election of Israel
L. Deuteronomy and Wisdom Literature

A. The Name and Its Meaning

The Greek appellation of the book, *to deuteronomion* (hence Latin *Deuteronomium*), as well as the Hebrew appellation, *Mishneh Torah* (*Sipre,* section 160 based on Deut 17:18; Josh 8:32), means "repeated law" or "second law" and alludes to the fact that Deuteronomy is a (revised) repetition of the large part of the law and history of the Tetrateuch (the first four books), cf. Nahmanides to Deut 1:1 and Ibn Ezra to Deut 1:5. Although the words *mšnh htwrh hz't* in Deut 17:18 may mean "a copy of this Torah" (see commentaries) and thus may be rightly considered of secondary nature, it is also true that Deuteronomy constitutes a second covenant besides the Sinaitic one (28:69). Although all the laws were delivered to Moses at Sinai, the people in fact received them only at the plains of Moab and a covenant, besides the one concluded at Sinai (28:69), was established there.

Deuteronomy indeed draws upon the previous traditions of the Pentateuch, but was revised according to the

principles of the Hezekianic-Josianic reforms. Thus, for example, the laws of tithe, of *šĕmiṭṭah* (the year of the release of debts, 15:1–11) and the rules of the release of slaves (15:12–19), of the firstborn animal (15:19–23), and of the three festivals (16:1–17) are all ancient laws (Exod 21:1–11; 22:28–29; 23:10–11, 14–19; 34:19–26). They appear however in Deuteronomy in a new form, adjusted to the principles of centralization of cult as well as to the social-humane tendency which is characteristic of Deuteronomy.

There was thus an awareness of this book being secondary. A similar categorization of stabilized canonic tradition versus secondary, later-added tradition is found in Mesopotamia. There we find the term *šanû* ("second"/"another") for literary sacred material distinct from the original canonic one (Rochberg-Halton 1984). An Akkadian term which overlaps *šanû* is *aḫû* ("external") (140–44), an expression which equals late Hebrew *ḥiṣôn* for which one is to explain the expression *sĕparîm ḥiṣonîm,* "extraneous books," which defines noncanonical literature (*m. Sanh.* 10:1). In the Qumran literature, we find the term *seper hattôrâ hašenît* referring apparently to a noncanonical Torah (4Q177:14, 67–68 in Allegro 1968). Similar thematic appellations are found for the other books of the Pentateuch: Genesis (= Creation); Exodus (= exit from Egypt); Leviticus (= priestly laws, cf. Hebrew *tôrāt kôhanîm,* "priestly laws"); Numbers (= the census of the Israelites, cf. Hebrew *ḥômeš hapĕludîm,* "one-fifth [of the Pentateuch] concerning census" [*m. Yoma* 7:1; *m. Soṭa* 7:7]).

Alongside the Hebrew name Mishne-Torah (Deuteronomium), the prevalent name for the book was *Dĕbārîm* ("the Words"). This was taken from the incipit of the Hebrew book, as was the case with the names of the other books of the Pentateuch: *Bĕrēšît,* "In the beginning," for Genesis; *Šĕmôt,* "The Names," for Exodus; *Wayyiqā*ᵓ, "He called," for Leviticus; and *Bĕmidbar,* "In the Desert," for Numbers. The system for naming a literary creation after its incipit is very ancient; compare the Babylonian creation epic named after its opening: *enuma eliš,* "when above," and the so-called creation "Righteous Sufferer," the ancient title of which was *ludlul bēl nemēqi,* "I praise the lord of wisdom," after the opening words of the work.

B. The Literary Form of Deuteronomy

Deuteronomy is presented as a farewell speech delivered by Moses shortly before his death. The form of the "testament" given to the book looks peculiar but has possible antecedents in the Egyptian method of diffusing moral teaching. Most of the Egyptian wisdom instructions were dressed in the form of testaments of kings and viziers to their successors.

This technique may have exerted its influence on Israel's literature, especially since there exist affinities between Deuteronomy and the didactic Wisdom Literature (see L. below). Indeed the book of Deuteronomy is a kind of manual for the future kings of Israel (17:14–23), written by scribes just as were the instructions for the Egyptian kings as well as those for the Mesopotamian ones. As will be shown below, the valedictory speeches in the Deuteronomic corpus are linked to a ceremony of succession bound by covenant, a ceremony attested in the neo-Assyrian Empire in the vassal treaties of Esarhaddon (= VTE). This concept of covenantal succession is reflected in the Greek rendering of biblical *bĕrît, diathēke* or "testament." It seems that the basic sense underlying *diathēke* in the LXX is "imposed obligation" which is semantically true for the Hebrew *bĕrît.* It is hard to decide whether the valedictory speeches were modeled on the ethical wills of the Egyptian type or rather belong to the covenantal scene of royal succession of the Assyrian type.

At any rate Deuteronomy adopted the form of speech as a literary device for the dissemination of its message. The practice of ascribing religious-ethical valedictories to leaders and kings was also used by the editors of the Israelite historiography who were influenced by the book of Deuteronomy. Thus the Deuteronomic writers end the period of the Conquest with a farewell speech of Joshua (chap. 23), the period of the judges concludes with a valedictory speech of Samuel (1 Samuel 12), and the description of David's life in the Deuteronomic edition ends with a religious-ethical will of David (1 Kgs 2:3–4; Weinfeld 1972a: 10–14). Besides the valedictory speeches, the Deuteronomic school ascribed to the national leaders speeches of prophetic nature, liturgical orations, and military addresses (Weinfeld 1972a: 10–14).

A similar literary method is found in Greek historiography. Numerous speeches are cited in the works of Herodotus and Thucydides, supposedly delivered by national heroes. Thucydides himself declares that it was his habit to make the speeches say what, in his opinion, was demanded by them by the various occasions (i. 22.1) (Weinfeld 1972a: 51–53).

Expressing ideology by means of programmatic speeches put into the mouths of leaders and great personalities continued in Israelite historiography of the Second Temple period. Thus the Chronicles put into the mouth of King Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, a speech that emphasizes the eternity of the Davidic dynasty and the sole legitimacy of the Jerusalemite temple (2 Chr 13:4–12). This was done in order to show that the objection of the northern kingdom to the Davidic Kingdom and to the Jerusalemite temple is a rebellion against God.

The same system is found in the apocryphal literature. Two speeches are ascribed to Judith, the heroine, before acting against the enemy. The first speech (8:11–27) comes to implant faith and confidence in her action by citing the tests to which God put Israel in the past, while the second (9:2–14), which is a prayer, invokes the greatness of the God of Israel and his deeds in the past. Similarly, we find in the farewell speech of Mattathias, the Hasmonean, an enumeration of the faithful ancestors and their keeping God's covenant (1 Macc 2:48–67). This system of programmatic speeches can be traced down to the speeches of Peter and Stephen in the Acts of the Apostles (2:14–16; 7:2–53). These speeches survey Israel's past (Weinfeld fc.) and thus serve a didactic purpose.

C. The Covenant at the Plains of Moab

The change of leadership in the ANE was accompanied by a pledge of loyalty on behalf of the people. The so-called vassal treaties of Esarhaddon (= VTE) which have so much in common with Deuteronomy are none other than fealty oaths imposed by the retiring king on his vassals concerning his successor (Assurbanipal). The cove-

nant in the land of Moab, which is concluded at the time when Moses nominates Joshua as his successor (Deut 3:23–29; 31:1–8), resembles then formally the situation found in VTE. The difference is only that the contents of the Mosaic covenant are divine law and the sworn pledge refers to God whereas VTE is concerned with stipulations of a political nature, referring to the human suzerain. Formally, however, the two documents are of similar nature. Especially striking is the covenantal scene in VTE and in Deuteronomy. Both scenes have the entire population gathered: young and old (Deut 29:9–11, cf. 2 Kgs 23:1–3, and VTE 4–5; for the Assyrian covenantal ceremony, see Weinfeld 1976: 392–93). In both scenes the gathered take the pledge not only for themselves but also for the future generations (Deut 29:14, VTE 6–7, cf. Sefire treaty I A 1–5 [Fitzmyer 1967: 12–13]).

In fact, even before the discovery of the Esarhaddon treaties the particular formal structure of the book of Deuteronomy had been recognized. G. von Rad (1958: 1–78) inquired into the significance of the peculiar structure of Deuteronomy: history (chaps. 1–11), laws (chaps. 12:1–26:15), mutual obligations (26:16–19), and blessings and curses (chaps. 27–28) suggested that the structure reflects the procedure of a formal cultic ceremony. According to von Rad, this ceremony opened with a recital of history, proceeded with the proclamation of law, accompanied by a pledge, and ended with blessings and curses. Since according to Deuteronomy 27 the blessings and curses have to be recited between Mts. Gerizim and Ebal, von Rad identified Shechem as the scene of periodic covenant renewal in ancient Israel (Joshua 24). Although no real evidence for a covenant festival has been discovered so far, the observation made by von Rad that the literary structure of Deuteronomy reflects a covenantal procedure has been confirmed by subsequent investigations. It has become clear that the covenant form as presented in Deuteronomy was in use for centuries in the ANE. G. Mendenhall in 1954 (66–87) found that the Hittite suzerainty treaties have a structure identical with that of the biblical covenant. The basic elements are: titulary; historical introduction, which served as motivation for the vassal's loyalty; stipulations of the treaty; a list of divine witnesses; blessings and curses; recital of the covenant and deposit of its tablets.

However, the treaties of Esarhaddon (dated 672 B.C.E.), discovered in 1956, provided new material and a better understanding of the Deuteronomic covenant. It transpires now that like VTE, Deuteronomy is not a covenant between two parties but a loyalty oath imposed by the sovereign on his vassal. The demands of loyalty are expressed in Deuteronomy and in the VTE in identical terms. "Love" stands in both sources for loyalty and the subjects in both documents are commanded "to love" their suzerain "with all the heart and all the soul" (Deut 6:5; Weinfeld 1976: 384–85). The standard terms for being loyal to the sovereign in both documents are: *"to go after"* (= *"to follow"*), *"to fear," and "to hearken to the voice of."*

Furthermore, even in the contents there is identity between the Assyrian oath and that of Deuteronomy. The whole series of curses in Deut 28:23–35 is paralleled in VTE lines 419–30 and even the order of curses is the same in both documents. While the order of the curses, as for example, leprosy and blindness in the Assyrian treaties, can be explained in that the order follows the hierarchy of the gods Sin and Šamaš who are associated each with a specific curse (leprosy and blindness respectively), the order of the same curses in Deuteronomy cannot be explained, which shows that the curses originated in the Mesopotamian tradition (Weinfeld 1972a: 116–26). Indeed it has been suggested that the Deuteronomic covenant was a substitution for the Judean loyalty oath to the king of Assyria (the time of Manasseh) and hence the identity in the curses (Frankena 1965).

After the discovery of VTE, it became clear that a distinction should be made between a covenant between two equal parties and an oath of loyalty imposed by the suzerain on his vassals. The latter corresponds to the form of Deuteronomy, which is a loyalty oath imposed by God on his vassal, Israel. Such loyalty oaths were prevalent from the days of the Hittite Empire in the 15th–14th centuries through the Assyrian Empire down to the Roman Empire (Weinfeld 1976: 381–83). The Hittites included in their oath a historical introduction in which the benevolence of the suzerain toward the vassal was stressed, which came to justify their demands for loyalty. A similar element is found in Deuteronomy, which has a long historical introduction (chaps. 1–11), an element not attested in the usual Assyrian treaties. It seems that the Assyrian emperor who saw himself as king of the universe felt that it would be both unnecessary and humiliating to justify his demand of loyalty by referring to the benevolence of the suzerain to the vassal in the manner of the Hittite kings. This assumption may also explain the lack of the blessings in the Assyrian treaties on the one hand and the long list of curses on the other. The Hittites felt it necessary not only to justify their demands for loyalty but also to give promises of help in time of danger, as well as to bestow divine blessings for loyal service. The Assyrians neither gave promises to the vassal nor bestowed blessings but, on the contrary, increased and expanded the list of threats and curses in order to terrorize him.

The arrogance of the Assyrian king may also explain the lack of any sign of affection of the sovereign to his vassal. In the Hittite treaties and in the Israelite covenant (Weinfeld 1972a: 69), along with the demand of "love" (loyalty) on the part of the vassal come expressions of affection from the side of the sovereign. The Assyrian king, however, demands scrupulous "love" (= loyalty) from the vassals but no sign of affection on the king' side. In this matter of affection, Deuteronomy follows the Hittite line and not the Assyrian one.

Another parallel feature between the Assyrian oath of loyalty and the one of Deuteronomy is the theme of self-condemnation in connection with the violation of the oath. The end of Deuteronomy 29 reads: "And the generations to come . . . will ask: 'Why did YHWH do thus to this land?' and they will say: 'Because they forsook the covenant of YHWH' " (vv 21–24). The same motif is found in the neo-Assyrian texts concerning the breach of the oath. Thus the annals of Assurbanipal state: "the people of Arabia asked one another saying: 'Why is it that such evil has befallen Arabia?' and they say 'Because we did not observe the obligation sworn to the god of Ashur' " (IX, 68–72 in Streck 1916: 78–79; for an additional example see Weinfeld 1972a: 115).

The pattern which served a political need in the ANE came to serve a religious need in Israel. The religious use of this pattern was especially possible in Israel because the religion of Israel was the only religion that demanded exclusive loyalty to the God of Israel, a jealous God, who would suffer no rival. The religion of Israel therefore precluded the possibility of dual or multiple loyalties, such as were permitted in other religions where the believer was found in diverse relationships to many gods. So the stipulation in political treaties demanding exclusive loyalty to one king corresponds strikingly to the religious belief in one single, exclusive deity.

The idea of the kingship of God seems also to have contributed to the concept of Israel as the vassal of YHWH, the King. It is true that the idea of the kingship of God was prevalent all over the ANE (Frankfort 1948). There was, nevertheless, an important difference between the Israelite notion of divine kingship and the corresponding idea in other nations. Israel adopted the idea of the kingship of God a long time before establishing the human institution of kingship. As a result, for hundreds of years the only kingship recognized and institutionalized in Israel was the kingship of God. According to Israelite tradition (Crüsemann 1978 and Weinfeld 1981) during the period of the judges, YHWH was actually the King of Israel (Judg 8:23; 1 Sam 8:7; 10:19).

Because of the concept of the kingship of God, the relations between the people and their God had to be patterned after the conventional model of relations between a king and his subjects, a written treaty. It is no wonder, then, that the pattern of the vassal treaty found a permanent place in the Israelite religion; nor is it a coincidence that this treaty pattern was adopted in its entirety precisely by the book of Deuteronomy. The pattern of a state treaty based on the demand for exclusive allegiance is well suited to a book in which the concept of the unity of God reaches the apogee of expression. Nicholson's skepticism about the ANE parallel to the covenant of God with Israel (1986) is based on a misunderstanding. The covenant of God with Israel is not to be paralleled to political pacts between states in the ANE but is to be compared with the loyalty oaths of vassals to their suzerains, as indicated above.

D. Composition and Structure

In spite of its apparent formal unity, the book is not a homogeneous piece of work. It has two introductions (1:1–4:40; 4:44–11:32), two different kinds of blessings and curses (27:11–13 with 28:3–6, 16–19, and the curses in the rest of chap. 28 [see below]). In addition we find appendixes of various kinds: the Song of Moses (32:1–33) and the Blessing of Moses (chap. 33) which are old poems ascribed to Moses and appended to the book by the editor of Deuteronomy. Similar appendixes were added by the Deuteronomic historiographer to the stories about David in the books of Samuel. The Song of David (2 Samuel 22) and his last prophetic blessing (2 Sam 23:1–7) were appended to the books of Samuel after they had assumed their basic structure (Weinfeld 1972a: 11–12). The Deuteronomic redaction of the Davidic stories ended the account of David's life with a farewell address (1 Kgs 2:3–4), which was incorporated in the old Davidic testament (1 Kgs 2:1–2, 5–9).

The Song of Moses (32:1–43) had been preceded by an elohistic introduction (31:16–22) which presented the song as a written prophetic *witness* (*ʿēd*) for the next generations when troubles might befall Israel as a result of violating the covenant. This stimulated the author of Deuteronomy to present also the Deuteronomic Torah as a prophetic *witness* for the future generations (32:26–29). Both the song and the Torah were said to be written by Moses (cf. 31:9 with 31:22) and taught by him to Israel (31:22; 32:46).

The composite nature of the book of Deuteronomy has been dealt with by many modern scholars, but no final solution has been reached. There is a general agreement in regards to chaps. 4:44–28:68. It is believed that these chapters constituted the original book, which was later supplemented by an additional introduction (1:6–4:40) and by variegated material at the end of the book (chaps. 29–30). The rest of the book is usually divided into two categories: (1) The Deuteronomic material dealing with the commissioning of Joshua (31:1–8), the writing of the Torah, its use in the future (31:8–13), the depositing of it at the ark (31:24–29; 32:45–47), and the death of Moses (chapter 34). (2) Ancient material appended to the book as indicated above such as the Song of Moses (32:1–43) with its elohistic introduction (31:14–23), the blessing of Moses (33:9–29), and the priestly passage in 32:48–52 which recaptures the priestly tradition about the death of Moses in Num 27:12–14 in order to connect it with chap. 34, the account of the death of Moses.

However, it should be recognized that chaps. 5–28 are also not homogeneous. The law code that constitutes the main part of the book was originally put into a framework of the ceremony of blessings and curses of Gerizim and Ebal. The theme of this ceremony appears at the opening of the code (11:26–32) and at its conclusion (26:16–27:26). This enclosure adds significance to the code of laws. The old Shechemite ceremony which is an act of foundation (Weinfeld 1988a) and which parallels the Gilgal tradition, which also has a ceremony of erecting monuments (Joshua 3–5), was linked by Deuteronomy to the covenant of the plains of Moab. Moses' proclamations about Israel becoming a nation "this day" (26:16–19; 27:9–10) are thus interwoven with the ceremony at Mts. Gerizim and Ebal. The first proclamation in Deut 26:16–19 comes before the command about the erection of the stones and building the altar at Ebal, while the second proclamation in 27:9–10 comes before the blessings and the curses at Gerizim and Ebal (27:11–26). By this combination the author makes it clear that the establishment of the people of Israel at the plains of Moab cannot be dissociated from the foundation ceremony at Mt. Ebal. Moses' farewell address in Deuteronomy is a kind of preparation for the ceremony at Gerizim and Ebal.

Deuteronomy 27 preserved a very old tradition about the establishment of the nation at Shechem, the capital of the house of Joseph. Foundation stories of the Greek world (Weinfeld 1988a) indicate that settlers whose colonization was based on divine instigation used to perform ceremonies accompanied by blessings and curses by writing the sacred laws on stelae and by building an altar and sacrific-

ing. Deuteronomy 27 indeed revolves around the following elements: (1) erecting stones on Mt. Ebal in order to write upon them the words of the covenant (vv 1–4, 8); (2) building an altar and offering sacrifices on it (vv 5–7); (3) the proclamation of the act of foundation (vv 9–10); and (4) blessings and curses (vv 11–13). In addition to these we find there curses for transgressors who perpetrate crimes clandestinely (vv 14–26). The blessings and curses in vv 11–13 actually refer to Deut 28:3–6, 16–19:

> Blessed shall you be in the city and blessed shall you be in the country. Blessed shall be the fruit of your womb, the fruit of your soil and the offspring of your cattle, the fruit of your herd, and the lambing of your flock. Blessed shall be your basket and your kneading bowl. Blessed shall you be in your comings and blessed shall you be in your goings.

Their reversal, i.e., the curses, occur in 28:16–19: "Cursed shall you be in the city . . ." That the ceremony of blessing and cursing on Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal respectively refers to the series of blessings and curses in Deut 28:3–6, 16–19 was already observed by Ibn Ezra. It was also Ibn Ezra who saw that the curse proclamations in Deut 27:14–26 apply to transgressions perpetrated in secrecy.

It is indeed interesting that both types of public anathema—cursing the violators of the oath and banning transgressors—are attested in Greek amphictyonic oaths, concerning the temple of Apollo of Delphi. Thus, for instance, in the oath taken by the members of the amphictyony against Cirrha (the first "holy war," 590 B.C.E.) we read:

> If anyone should violate this, whether city, private man or tribe let them be under the curse . . . that their land bear no fruit; that their wives bear children not like those who begat them, but monsters; that their flocks yield not their natural increase; that defeat await them in camp and court and their gathering place.
>
> (Aeschin. 3. 109–11)

Similarly in the Greeks' oath at Plataeia before the battle with the Persians (479 B.C.E.):

> If I observe what is written in the oath my city will be free of disease: if not it shall be sick . . . ; and my [land] shall bear [fruits]: if not, it shall be barren; and the women shall bear children like their parents; if not they shall bear monsters; and the flock shall bear like the flock; if not [they shall be] monsters.
>
> (Siewert 1972: 5–7)

These blessings and curses are strikingly similar to the series of blessings and curses in Deut 28:3–6, 16–19 quoted above.

As in the Greek oath at Plataeia, every blessing in Deut 28:16–19 has its corresponding curse. And the content of the series is identical with that of the Greek oath: fertility of the soil, women, and the flock. The element of coming and going in Deuteronomy is identical with the element of success and failure in camp, court, and agora in the Greek oath. Furthermore the element of sickness which occurs in the oath of Plataeia appears in an identical series of blessings and curses in the ancient epilogue to the Covenant Code in Exod 23:25–26:

> I shall remove illness from your midst. None will miscarry or go barren in your land.

This is elaborated in Deut 7:13–15 in a chapter which depends on the peroration of Exod 23:25–26. The passage in Deuteronomy reads:

> He will bless the fruit of your womb and the fruit of your soil . . . the increase of your herds, and your flock of sheep . . . there will be neither male nor female barren among you and your livestock and YHWH will remove from you all sickness.

To all appearance, this genre of blessings and curses has its origin in the tribal confederation based on covenant; hence the similarity to the blessings and curses of the amphictyonic oaths in Greece. The stereotyped series of blessings and curses in Deut 28:3–6, 16–19 thus belongs to the ancient Shechemite covenant ceremony which is elaborated by the Deuteronomic author of 28:7–14, 20–69. These Deuteronomic expansions have a lot in common with the Assyrian and Aramaic treaties of the 8th–7th centuries B.C.E. and thus are clearly later than the short stereotypic blessings and curses which have their parallels in the Greek tribal milieu.

The "curses" in 27:14–26 represent a different genre. These are not threats of punishment as are those in 28:16–19, but legal proclamations accompanied by a curse and addressed to those who commit crimes clandestinely which cannot be punished by the authorities. Such "curses" are also attested in the Greek tribal culture. In Greece those who violated the law were *eparatos*, "accursed." So, for example, it is related of Alcibiades (Plut. *Alc.* 22) that he was found liable at law for desecrating the sacra of Demeter. After placing his property under the "ban," his judges decided that the priests and priestesses should curse him. Aristides is said to have suggested that the priests should cast curses on anyone who abandoned the war treaty with the Greeks (Plut. *Arist.* 10). As in Greece so in Israel it is the sacred group (the Levites) who have the authority to "revile," i.e., excommunicate, the transgressors.

However, early Israel's affinities to the Greek tradition are most clearly expressed in the foundation ceremony found in Deuteronomy 27. As indicated above, oath taking, erecting stones during foundation ceremonies, inscribing sacred laws on stelae, and building altars and sacrificing on them are attested in Greek colonization. Indeed, the Greeks as well as the Israelites had elaborate foundation traditions. Israel nurtured divergent traditions about their first settlements in the land. Besides the Shechemite tradition recounted in Deuteronomy 27, we find other versions describing foundation ceremonies linked to other places. According to a cycle of traditions crystallized at Gilgal, the children of Israel crossed the Jordan at Gilgal and erected stones there (Joshua 3–4). Instead of a written covenant, we find there the ceremony of circumcision, which is considered the sign of the covenant in Genesis 17, and the celebration of the Passover, which is the oldest

ritual connected with the Exodus. The mentioning of Gilgal in Deut 11:30 in connection with the ceremony of Gerizim and Ebal might be a reflection of the divergent Benjaminite tradition about the foundation of Israel at its beginning.

In light of all this, it is clear that two different traditions are combined in chaps. 27–28. Deut 27:1–26; 28:3–6, 16–19, although slightly reworked by the Deuteronomic author (Weinfeld 1972a: 164–277), constitute an ancient Shechemite tradition of the premonarchic period, while 28:7–14, 20–68 reflect the neo-Assyrian period. The neo-Assyrian period is also reflected in Deut 29:9–28. The scene of the covenant in vv 9–14 resembles the Josianic covenant in 2 Kgs 23:1–3 and also the neo-Assyrian covenantal gatherings (see above), while the punishment for violation of the covenant in vv 19–28 has much in common with the Neo-Assyrian loyalty oaths to the Assyrian king (Weinfeld 1972a: 114–16). It seems that the exile referred to in 29:27 reflects the fall of the N kingdom, which serves as an example for the punishment of Judah in case of a violation of the covenant.

E. Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic Historiographer

According to M. Noth (*ÜgS*, 12–18) Deuteronomy is a part of the Deuteronomic historiography which started with Deut 1:1 and concluded with 2 Kings 25. See also DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY. Deut 4:44–30:20, in his view, was incorporated en bloc by the Deuteronomic historiographer into his work. Deuteronomy 1–3 is, according to Noth, a historical account which has nothing to do with the code of law of Deuteronomy. Just as the book of Joshua is concerned with the conquest of the promised land in Cisjordan so is Deuteronomy 1–3 concerned with the conquest of Transjordan by Moses. Indeed, for the Deuteronomic historiographer, the beginning of the realization of the promise of the land is the crossing of the Arnon river (2:24–25) and not just the crossing of the Jordan as in the old conventional sources. Furthermore, Deuteronomy 1–3 is linked to 31:1–8 and both form a Deuteronomistic framework for 4:44–30:20. The central concern of this framework is the succession of Joshua. The commissioning of Joshua for the conquest of the land beyond the Jordan is repeated several times in Deuteronomy 1–3 (1:38; 3:21–22, 28) and appears as well in 31:3, 7–8 and this topic opens the book of Joshua. In Deuteronomy 1–3 and 31:1–8 we encounter the same phrases which occur in Joshua 1; compare especially the phrases in Josh 1:5–6, 7, 9 with those of Deut 1–3; 31:1–8: *ḥzq wʾmṣ*, "be strong and courageous" (Josh 1:9; Deut 3:28; 31:6, 7, 23); *ʾl tʿrṣ*, "have no dread" (Josh 1:9; Deut 31:6); *lʾ ʾrpk wlʾ ʾʿzbk*, "I will not fail you and not forsake you" (Josh 1:5; Deut 31:6, 8); *lʾ tyr wlʾ tḥt*, "fear not and be not dismayed" (Josh 8:1; 10:25; Deut 1:21; 31:8); *ʾth/hwʾ tnḥyl/ynḥyl (hʾrṣ)*, "You/he [Joshua] will give the land as inheritance" (Josh 1:6, 7; Deut 1:38; 3:28; 31:7). By the same token the conquest of Transjordan by the two and a half tribes in Josh 1:12–18 corresponds to Deut 3:12–20, cf. especially Deut 3:18–20 with Josh 1:14–15.

The Deuteronomistic framework of the book should not be, however, limited to chaps. 1–3 and 31:1–8. Deut 4:1–40 and especially 4:25–31 correspond to Deut 30:1–10, 15–20. Both sermons foresee the repentance of Israel and the return to its land (4:25–31; 30:1–10). This is actually envisaged in the Deuteronomistic prayer ascribed to Solomon in 1 Kgs 8:44–53 (Wolff 1972).

One should, however, take account of the fact that chaps. 1–3, in spite of being historical in nature, are styled in the first person (as a discourse of Moses) just as are the other chapters of Deuteronomy. Besides, unlike the historiographic accounts of the Deuteronomist in Joshua 1:2ff. which mainly narrate events, chaps. 1–3 are homiletic in character and have much in common with the hortatory of chaps. 5–28. Thus we find here, as in chaps. 5–28, admonitions (cf. 1:26, 43 with 9:7, 23–24), examples of divine care (cf. 1:31 with 8:5), divine blessing (cf. 2:7 with 12:7, 14–24, 29; 15:4, 6, 10, 14, 18, etc.), and similes of different kinds, which are also found in the second introduction, such as "great numerous and tall" (cf. 1:28; 2:10, 21; 4:38 with 9:1–2; 11:23), "large cities fenced into heaven" (*ʿrym gdwlt wbṣrwt bšmym*, cf. 1:28 with 9:1), "it is forty years" (*zh ʾrbʿym šnh*, cf. 2:7 with 8:2, 4), "so much as foot can tread" (*mdrk kp rgl*, cf. 2:5 with 11:24). One must admit, therefore, that although Deuteronomy 1–4 is to be dated in the exilic period, that is the period of the crystallization of the Deuteronomistic literature, from the point of view of genre it belongs to Deuteronomy and not to the historiography of the Former Prophets.

F. "Singular" and "Plural" Layers

The composite nature of the book is recognizable not only in its framework but also in the code which forms the basic section of the book. Thus in chap. 12, two parallel sets of prescriptions about the centralization of the cult are found: vv 1–12 and 13–25. The two sets are distinguished by their styles: in the former the people are addressed mainly in the second person plural (exceptions: vv 12:1a, 7b) while in the latter the address in mainly in the second person singular (except v 24a). The distinction between the singular and plural addresses was observed and used as a criterion for establishing different layers in the book already in 1861 (Begg 1979). This theory was sytematically applied by W. Staerk (1894), by C. Steuernagel (1894; 1923), and later by G. Minnette de Tillesse (1962). Indeed one must admit that there are duplicates and overlapping in Deuteronomy which can be explained by the existence of two separate sources: "singular" and "plural"; compare Deut 6:7–9 with 11:18–20; 12:1–12 with 12:13-25. However, not all of the interchanges of second person singular and plural in Deuteronomy can be explained on literary-critical grounds. The change may simply be a didactic device to impress the individual or collective listener, or it may reflect the urge for literary variation. Certain changes in stylistic addresses can be explained by the supposition that an expression is being quoted (Begg 1980): e.g., 11:19b singular in a plural context which seems to be a quotation from 6:7b. Shifts from singular to plural and vice versa come often in order to heighten the tension, as the example in 4:19, where after the reference in singular to the apostate nations comes the address in plural to Israel which was chosen from other nations (v 20). The author shifts to plural in order to create a contrast between Israel and the nations.

The change in the form of address may be recognized

also in the pre-Deuteronomic sources, such as Exod 22:21–23:

> A stranger shall *thou* not wrong, neither shall *thou* oppress him, for *you* were strangers in the land of Egypt . . . if *thou* dost afflict him . . . I will surely hear . . . his cry and my anger shall blaze forth and I will kill *you* with the sword . . .

The shift from plural to singular and vice versa is also found in the ANE covenantal documents, e.g., the Aramaic Sefire treaties III: 4, 16, 23: *šqrtm*, "*you* will trespass" and in the continuation III: 9, 14, 20 and 27: *šqrt*, "*thou* will trespass" (Fitzmyer 1967: 96–100). Even in places where the distinction between singular and plural forms of address seems to indicate layers like the repetition in chap. 12 (see above), there are still interchanges which cannot be explained by the literary-critical criterion. Repetitions are encountered within units of common style. Thus in the plural section of chap. 12, vv 11–12 repeat vv 4–7. Steuernagel considered these as two different sources and therefore maintained that there were three strands in the chapter. In truth a repetition appears also within the singular section itself: vv 15–16 = vv 20, 22–24; one may, therefore, postulate the existence of 4 layers in chap. 12.

Furthermore, within the plural sections of Deuteronomy 12, singular addresses may be found, as 12:1a and 7b, and vice versa the passage in singular (vv 13–25) contains an address in plural (v 16a). Similar inconsistencies are to be found in the parallel passage of 6:7–9, and in 11:18–20 a singular address is attested in 19b which might be seen as a quotation from 6:7b.

In some instances the verse would lose its sense completely if one isolates sources as, e.g., in 4:25: "when *thou* shall beget children and children's children and *you* shall be long established . . . in the land and *ye* shall act wickedly." The singular without the continuing plural does not make any sense. The singular of the first clause seems to be influenced by the previous verse, which is styled in singular.

In sum, although in some cases the interchange of singular and plural addresses may indicate the existence of different layers, in general the interchange reflects stylistic variations introduced by the same author.

G. Deuteronomy—The Archimedean Point of the History of the Pentateuchal Literature

1. Date of Deuteronomy. The existence of sources in the Pentateuch had been established since J. Astruc in 1753, but no clue for the dates of the composition of the sources had been found. The one who supplied the clue was W. M. L. de Wette in his work of 1805. Trying to trace the historical circumstances underlying the book of Deuteronomy, de Wette found a correspondence between the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah and the legislation of Deuteronomy. Hezekiah was the first to centralize worship in Israel (2 Kgs 18:4, 22). Before the time of Hezekiah, places of worship throughout the land were considered indispensable for the religious life of Israel, so that, for Elijah, destroying altars of YHWH was tantamount to slaying his prophets (I Kgs 19:10, 14). On the other hand, in the legislative literature in Israel the demand for cult centralization occurs for the first time in Deuteronomy. This book would therefore be a model or inspiration, or a reflection of them, for reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah. These reforms are reflected in Deuteronomy not only in the law of centralization but also in: (1) the prohibition against pillars in the worship of YHWH (16:22), which according to the older sources is legitimate and even desirable (Gen 28:18; 35:14; Exod 24:4; Josh 24:26); (2) the references to "astral worship" (*ṣbʾ hšmym*, Deut 4:19; 17:3), which is not mentioned in the earlier parts of the Pentateuch and seems to have been introduced into Judah through Assyrian influence in the 8th century B.C.E. (Weinfeld 1972b: 133–54); (3) the correspondence between the manner of celebrating Passover in the days of Hezekiah (2 Chronicles 30) and Josiah (see below) and the prescription in Deut 16:1–8. According to 2 Kgs 23:22, Passover had not been celebrated in such a manner since the times of the judges.

No less important for the date of Deuteronomy is the unique style of this book, both in its phraseology and manner of discourse (rhetoric). Style such as that was not found in any of the historical and prophetic traditions before the 7th century B.C.E. Conversely, from the 7th century onward almost all of the historical and the prophetical literature is permeated by this style. Theologically and stylistically Deuteronomy has become the touchstone for dating the sources in the Pentateuch and the historical books of the Old Testament. The legal codes which do not presuppose centralization of cult must therefore be from pre-Hezekianic times. On the other hand, the editorial passages of Kings which evaluate the kings of Judah in accordance with their observance of centralization of cult, and the passages in Joshua and Judges which are styled in Deuteronomic phraseology, cannot be from before the time of Hezekiah. An objective clue has thus been established for fixing the date of the editorial part of the historic literature.

A new dimension has been added to the dating of Deuteronomy by the discovery of the vassal treaties of Essarhaddon (= VTE) of the year 672 B.C.E. Many affinities between VTE and the Deuteronomic covenant have been established (see C. above) and these support the dating of Deuteronomy in the 7th century B.C.E.

2. The Book of Law (Torah). The term "Book of the Law" (*seper hattôrâ*) as a sanctified authoritative work which contains all the divine law is encountered for the first time in Israel's history in the account of the reform of Josiah (2 Kings 22–23). In the Pentateuch the term is attested only in Deuteronomy (17:19–20; 28:58; 29:19; 31:11–12) and from here it passed to the Deuteronomistic editorial framework in the Former Prophets (Josh 1:8; 8:34; 23:6; 2 Kgs 14:6). There it is also designated as "the book of law of Moses" (*seper tôrat Mošeh*, Josh 8:31; 23:6; 2 Kgs 14:6). Deuteronomy is, in fact, the only book of the Pentateuch to be ascribed to Moses (Deut 31:9) and the first book to have been sanctified publicly (2 Kgs 23:1–3). Only after the other books were appended to Deuteronomy was the term "Torah" applied to the whole Pentateuch. In the Tetrateuch the term "Torah" designates specific instructions such as "the Torah of the burnt offering/meal offering/sin offering" (Lev 6:2; 7, 18), "the Torah of the guilt offering/well-being offering" (Lev 7:1, 11), "the Torah of

the woman in confinement" (Lev 12:7), "the Torah of the leprosy/leper" (Lev 13:9; 14:2, 32, 54), "the Torah of jealousy" (Num 5:29), and "the Torah for the Nazirite (Num 6:13, 21), cf. also the *tôrôth* as general instructions in Gen 26:5; Exod 16:28; 18:20; Lev 26:46. The transition from Torah as a specific instruction to the sacred "Book of the Torah" of the Josianic period marked a turning point in Israel's spiritual life. The ritual instructions which were kept in priestly circles were written by scribes and wise men (Jer 8:8) and became part of the national lore. This enabled the transfer of the Torah from the priest to the scribe and the sage, as was the case in the Second Temple period. Indeed Ezra, who introduced the Book of Torah into Judah of the Second Temple period, functioned as a scribe (*sôpēr*) (Ezra 7:6, 11, 12; Neh 8:1, 4, etc.). In spite of being a priest, he is named scribe and he performs his religious functions as such. But one should keep in mind that Ezra's function as "scribe of the Torah" (Ezra 7:6, 11) is not a new phenomenon in Israel's life, as H. N. Schaeder (1930) contends, but rather an intensification of the process already started at the time of Josiah. It was the sanctification and publication of "the Book of the Torah" in the time of Josiah that gave rise to scribes with the ability and competence to handle Scripture. Although the real turning point in Torah teaching took place in the period of the Second Temple, it had its roots in the time of Josiah when the process of canonization of Scripture started.

There is a further analogy between Josiah and Ezra. Josiah enforced the law of the "Book of the Torah" both by his royal authority and by means of a pledge taken by the people (2 Kgs 23:1–3). Likewise in the period of Ezra and Nehemiah "the law of Moses" was enforced both on behalf of the Persian crown (Ezra 7:12–26) and on the authority of a pledge, to which the people had agreed in a formal ceremony (*ʾămānāh*, Nehemiah 10).

3. The Discovery of the Book of the Torah. The discovery of ancient sacred documents in a temple was always a thrilling event. Thus we read in the Hittite accounts of the 14th–13th centuries B.C.E. that King Muwatalli presents a prayer of confession for negligence in observing the laws of divinity, as written in the law of covenant (*išḫiul*) in the ancient scripture, and promises to do his utmost to rediscover the written covenant of the gods, and to fulfil it:

> Whatever I . . . now find from written records, this I shall carry out and [what] I have [not] brought into correspondence with the ceremonial rites (*šaklai*) of the gods, you, O storm-god, my lord, know it. And whenever I shall examine (*punušk-*) a venerable old man, as they remember a (certain) rite and tell it, I shall also carry it out . . . I shall follow the (covenantal) bond (*išḫiul*) of the gods that I am rediscovering, and it shall be henceforth carried on.
>
> (*KB* xi, 1)

The written instructions of the gods which the king is to rediscover are defined here as *išḫiul*, which like Hebrew *bĕrît* represents the covenantal law imposed on the people.

Furthermore, just as Josiah, king of Judah, in the 7th century B.C.E., when he rediscovers the ancient law, promises to fulfill it and asks for forgiveness for the violations of the covenant written in the rediscovered book (2 Kgs 22:13), so also does Muwatalli, saying "I ask for forgiveness of the sin of the country."

Very instructive from the point of view of comparison with Hebrew traditions is the king's declaration that he will carry out whatever had been referred to him through the recollection of a venerable old man. This corresponds to the tradition preserved in the Mishnah tractate of *Eduyyot* concerning the collection of testimonies given by sages on legal matters and not attested to in the conventional written lore.

H. Deuteronomy as Turning Point in Israelite Religion

The Josianic reform revolutionized all aspects of Israelite religion. The centralization of the cult was in itself a sweeping innovation in the history of the Israelite cult, but its consequences were, as we shall see, decisively more revolutionary in nature, in that they involved the collapse of an entire system of concepts which for centuries had been regarded as sacrosanct. The elimination of the provincial cult made possible the transformation of Israel's religion into a religion which minimized external expression. Indeed the very purpose of the book of Deuteronomy was to curtail and circumvent the cult and not to extend or enhance it. The Deuteronomic conception of cult is, as we shall show, vastly different from that reflected in the Tetrateuchal sources. It represents a turning point in the evolution of the faith of Israel. Let us start with the concept of the divine abode.

Deuteronomy defines the sanctuary as "the place where YHWH chose to cause *his name* to dwell there." It has been rightly observed (von Rad 1953: 38–39) that the expression "to cause his name to dwell" (*lškn šmw*) reflects a new theological conception of the Deity and that the repeated consistent employment of this and similar expression (*śwm šmw*; *hyh šmw*; *qrʾ šmw*; *bnh lšmw*; *hqdyš lšmw*) by the author of Deuteronomy and his followers is intended to combat the ancient popular belief that the Deity actually dwelt within the sanctuary. The Deuteronomic school used this "name" phraseology in a very consistent manner and never made the slightest digression from it. There is not one example in the Deuteronomic literature of God's *dwelling in the temple* or the building of a *house of God*. The Temple is always the *dwelling of his name* and the house is always built *for his name*. This consistency is seen most clearly when a Deuteronomic text is interwoven with an earlier text which does not know the "name theology." Thus, for example, in the authentic part of Nathan's prophecy the main issue is the building of a house for God's dwelling (*lšbtw*, 2 Sam 7:5, 7) while the Deuteronomist (v 13a) (Driver 1913: 276 n. 1.; McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 205–6) speaks about building a house for *his name*. Similarly the building account of the Temple and the ancient story of the dedication of the Temple speak plainly about building a house for God (1 Kgs 6:1, 2; 8:13) while the Deuteronomist, whenever he mentions the building, describes it as being built "for the name of God" (1 Kings 3:2; 5:17, 19; 8:17, 18, 19, 20, 44, 48).

The most definite expression of this theology is to be found in the Deuteronomic litany of Solomon in 1 Kings 8. According to the Deuteronomistic prayer (vv 14–69), the Temple is not God's place of habitation but serves only

as a house of worship in which Israelites and foreigners alike may deliver their prayers to the God *who dwells in heaven.* The idea that God's habitation is in heaven is here expressed most emphatically in order to eradicate the belief that the Deity sat enthroned between the cherubim in the Temple. Whenever the expression "your dwelling place" (*mkwn šbtk*) is employed, it is accompanied by the word "in heaven" (vv 30, 39, 43, 49). The Deuteronomist is clearly disputing the view implied by the ancient song that opens the prayer (vv 12–13) and designates the Temple as God's exalted house (*byt zbl*) and a dwelling place (*mkn šbt*) forever. The Deuteronomist in the prayer ascribed to Solomon appended consistently to the expression *mkwn šbtk* the word "in heaven" (*hšmym*) in order to inform us that it is heaven which is meant here and not the Temple as the ancient song implies. In actual fact, however, the term "your dwelling place" (*mkwn šbtk*) in early sources as well as in Solomon's song (vv 12–13) denotes the sanctuary and it is the Deuteronomist who is here attempting to alter this meaning and thereby wrests the song from its original sense.

The theological corrective, i.e. the addition of "heaven" to the phrase "holy habitation," occurs in Deuteronomy itself. In Deut 26:15 the Israelite in his prayer says: "Look down from your holy habitation [*mʿwn qdšk*], from heaven." The words "from heaven" seem to be an explanatory gloss intended to prevent misconstruing the expression "holy habitation" as referring to the sanctuary. Indeed, the fact that the earlier, prevailing conception was that God's habitation (*mʾwn*) was in Zion may be inferred from Ps 76:3: "His abode has been established in Šalem, his habitation [*mʾwntw*] in Zion." This abstract view of the heavenly abode is also reflected in the Deuteronomic account of the Sinaitic revelation. In contrast to the account in Exodus 19 of God's descent upon Mt. Sinai (19:11–20) we read in Deut 4:36 "Out of heaven he let you hear his voice . . . and on the earth he let you see his great fire and you heard his words out of the midst of the fire." Deuteronomy has, furthermore, taken care to shift the center of gravity of the theophany from the visual to the aural plane. In Exodus 19, the principal danger confronting the people was the likelihood that they might "break through to the Lord to gaze" (v 21); it was to prevent this that there was need to "set bounds for the people round about" (v 12) and to caution them not to ascend the mountain. Indeed, the pre-Deuteronomic texts always invariably speak of the danger of seeing the Deity: "For man shall not see me and live" (Exod 33:20) and similarly in Gen 32:31: "For I have seen God face to face, and yet my life is preserved" (cf. Judg 13:22; Isa 6:5). The book of Deuteronomy, on the other hand, cannot conceive of the possibility of seeing the Divinity. The Israelites saw only "his great fire" which symbolizes his essence and qualities (4:24: "For YHWH your God himself remains in his heavenly abode"). The danger threatening the people here, and the greatness of the miracle, is that of hearing the voice of the Deity: "Did any people even *hear* the voice of a god speaking out of the midst of the fire as you have *heard,* and survived?" (4:32; cf. 5:23).

This attempt to eliminate the inherent corporality of the traditional imagery also finds expression in Deuteronomy's conception of the ark. The specific and exclusive function of the ark, according to the book of Deuteronomy, is to house the tables of the covenant (10:1–5). No mention is made of the ark cover (*kprt*) and the cherubim which endow the ark with the semblance of a divine chariot or throne (cf. Exod 25:10–22 = P). The holiest vessel to the Israelite cult, in the Deuteronomic view, performs nothing more than an educational function. It houses the tablets upon which the words of God are engraved and at its side is laid the Book of the Torah, from which one reads to the people so that they may learn to fear the Lord (Deut 31:26; cf. vv 12 and 13). The ark does not serve as God's seat upon which he journeys forth to disperse his enemies (Num 10:33–36), but only as the vessel in which the tables of the covenant are deposited. This becomes quite clear when we compare Deut 1:42–43 with Num 14:42–44, a tradition on which the Deuteronomic account is based. In Num 14:44, we read that after the sinful incident of the spies "the ark of the covenant of YHWH departed not out of the camp" and this was the reason for the Israelites' defeat in their subsequent battle with the Amalekites and Canaanites. The Deuteronomic account, on the other hand, completely omits the detail of the ark and ascribes the Israelite defeat to the fact that God was not in their midst without referring to the whereabouts of the ark.

The author of Deuteronomy similarly relates that it was God who went before the people to seek out new resting places (1:33), whereas the earlier source, upon which Deuteronomy depends, relates that it was the ark which journeyed forth before the people to seek out new resting places for them (Num 10:33). The absence of the ark is especially striking in the Deuteronomic law of warfare (23:15). One would expect a passage which speaks of the presence of the Divinity within the military encampment to make some mention of the ark which accompanies the warriors on their expeditions, as in 1 Sam 4:6–7, "And when they learned that the ark of YHWH had come to the camp . . . they said, the gods have come into the camp." The Deuteronomic law, however, speaks of YHWH as moving about the camp (23:15), but does not make the slightest allusion to the ark or the holy vessels.

A similar conception is encountered in the book of Jeremiah, for instance at 3:16–17, "They shall say no more: 'The ark of the covenant of YHWH.' It shall not come to mind . . . At that time Jerusalem shall be called the throne of YHWH." In other words, the ark of the covenant shall no longer serve as God's seat, as the people were previously accustomed to believe, but all of Jerusalem shall be "the seat of YHWH," that is in a symbolic sense.

In another passage the prophet declares: " 'Do I not fill heaven and earth?' says the Lord" (23:24). This reminds one of the words of Deutero- (or Trito-) Isaiah when he expressly repudiates the notion of the sanctuary as the place of God's habitation: "Heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool, what is the house which you build for me? and what is the place of my rest?" (66:1). This view is also met within the Deuteronomic prayer of Solomon: "Behold, heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain thee; how much less this house which I have built" (1 Kgs 8:27). The sanctuary is here conceived as a house of prayer and not as a cultic center. This tendency to minimize the cult is manifest in the book of Deuteronomy and signifies a religious turning point which occurred

following the abolition of the high places and the provincial sanctuaries.

The first thing that strikes our attention when endeavoring to grasp the significance of sacrifice in the book of Deuteronomy is that we do not find sacrifice practiced for its own sake. The Deity, in the Deuteronomic view, has no need of the "pleasing odor," (*ryḥ nyḥḥ*) of sacrifices and no mention is made of the "food of God," which is amply attested in the Priestly Code (Lev 1:9, 13, 17; 21:6, 8, 17, 21). Neither is there any mention of the sin-and-guilt offerings designed to atone for involuntary sins, ritual impurity, perjury, theft, and deception (Leviticus 4–5). The author's view seems to be that spiritual purification and repentance—consisting of confession and prayer—and not sacrificial offerings expiate sin. The sole instance in which the book of Deuteronomy does mention a rite analogous in character to the sin-and-guilt offering is in the law of unsolved murder (Deut 21:1–9). Yet interestingly enough it is precisely this law which reflects Deuteronomy's special attitude toward sacrifice. The rite conducted here does not consist of a sacrificial offering complete with ceremonial slaughter and blood sprinkling, but calls only for the breaking of the heifer's neck in an uncultivated valley. The priests are present during this act, not because they play any part in the execution of the ritual, for this is carried out entirely by the elders, but merely to guarantee the religious aspect of the ceremony by presiding over it. The entire act has a symbolic value: the heifer's neck is broken at the scene of the crime, as it were, and the elders cleanse their hands only as a purificatory expression of their innocence (Pss 24:4; 26:6–10; 73:13; etc.). There is no laying of the hands on the heifer nor a transference of the sin to it as in the case of the ritual scapegoat (Lev 16:21), because its beheading as such does not atone for the sin; expiation is effected only by the confession and prayer uttered at the close of the ceremony (vv 7–8). It is true, the custom itself originated in a rite of elimination (Wright 1987), however, in the present formulation nothing is said about removal of impurity or sin by the priest as in Lev 14:53, 16:22, or about transferring the evil to the open country as in Lev 16:22 and in the Mesopotamian incantations (Wright 1987). In this rite, God absolves the sin himself without recourse to any intermediary; whereas in P all expiatory sacrifices are executed by the priests, whose mediation alone effects the expiation of the sin (cf. the common priestly expression in the book of Leviticus: "and the priest shall make atonement for him"). In the Deuteronomic law, atonement is possible only through the confession of the elders of the city, who, as representatives of the guilty city, beseech absolution through prayers; in P expiation is effected through ritual sacrifice and incense burning which are mostly not accompanied by prayer on the part of the penitent.

Deuteronomic sacrifice consists primarily of offerings which are consumed by the offerer in the sanctuary and are designed to be shared with the poor, the Levite, the alien resident, the orphan, and the widow. The constant emphasis on the obligation to share the sacrificial repast with indigent persons creates the impression that the principal purpose of the offering is to provide nutriment for the destitute elements of Israelite society. The author of Deuteronomy alludes to this himself when, after prescribing that the joyful nature of the festival be shared with the *personae miserabiles*, he goes on to say: "You shall remember that you were a slave in Egypt; and you shall be careful to observe these statutes" (16:22). It is indeed remarkable that the very book which promulgates the law of centralized worship at the "chosen place" has not so much as a word to say about the presentation of communal sacrifices (the daily and seasonal offerings) which constituted the principal mode of worship at this exclusive sanctuary.

Sacrifice according to Deuteronomy is not an institutional practice but a personal one, which has two principal objects: (a) a humanitarian—to share the sacrificial repast with the poor, as noted above; (b) a private—to fulfill a religious obligation and express one's gratitude to the Deity by means of votive offerings (12:6, 11, 17, 26; 23:22–24). God has no need of the sacrifice itself; it is only an expression of gratitude to the Deity, and this constitutes its entire significance. We may perhaps note in passing that the expression *šlm ndr*, "to pay a vow," found in Wisdom Literature (Prov 7:14; Eccl 5:4) is not found in any book of the Pentateuch except Deuteronomy (23:22).

The same attitude is revealed in the only passage in Deuteronomy (12:27) that describes the manner in which the sacrifice is to be offered. The verse differentiates between nonburnt offerings and burnt offerings (*ʿwlh*), and ordains that the flesh and blood of the burnt offering be offered up entirely on the altar, whereas the blood of the nonburnt is to be poured upon the altar and the meat eaten. It is most surprising that the author makes no mention of the burning of the suet, the fat piece which is set aside for God and which thus renders the meat permissible for priestly and lay consumption (1 Sam 2:12–17).

Sacrifice, however, is not the only rite to be conceived differently by the book of Deuteronomy, for all laws pertaining to cult and ritual are here conceived more rationally than in the earlier sources. This is particularly evident in the laws contained in chaps. 12–19, laws which are a direct consequence of the implementation of cult centralization and form the legal basis of the religious reformation. These laws clearly mirror the change in religious beliefs and attitudes which occurred in the wake of the reform.

Chapter 12 promulgates the law of centralized worship at the chosen place, but alongside this law or as a result of it, we find the authorization permitting nonsacrificial slaughter. Whereas before the reform all slaughter—except that of game animals—was deemed to be a sacral act and was prohibited even for nonsacrificial purposes unless the blood was sprinkled upon the altar (Lev 17:1–7; cf. 1 Sam 14:32–35), it was now permissible to perform nonsacrificial slaughter without being obliged to sprinkle the blood upon an altar (Deut 12:15, 16, 20–24). It need hardly be said that the sanctioning of profane slaughter freed a significant aspect of Israelite daily life from its ties to the cultus. The more crucial import of the law, however, is that by sanctioning nonsacrificial slaughter it repudiates the hallowed Israelite dogma which ascribed a sacral quality to the blood and prohibited one from pouring it upon the ground. According to the Priestly Document or, to be more precise, the Holiness Code, the blood of slaughtered animals potentially valid for sacrifice must be sprinkled

upon the altar, whereas the blood of game animals—which are invalid for sacrifice—must be covered with dust (Lev 17:13): for all spilt blood, even of fowl and beasts of prey, cries out for vengeance and satisfaction, and if the shedding of blood cannot be atoned by offering it upon the altar, then it must be covered up. Uncovered blood begs, as it were, for an avenger (Job 16:18, "O earth, cover not my blood . . ." cf. Isa 26:21; Ezek 24:7–8), a role which, in the case of homicide, is assumed by the Deity. The author of Deuteronomy, on the other hand, declares that the blood of all animals slaughtered for nonsacrificial purposes may be poured upon the ground like water (12:16 and 24), thereby asserting that blood has no more a sacral value than water has. He does, to be sure, retain the interdiction on the eating of blood (cf. Deut 12:23 with Gen 9:4; Lev 17:11), but he absolutely repudiates the concept that the spilt blood of animals requires satisfaction.

The book of Deuteronomy also contains a less sacral conception of the tithes than the other Pentateuchal sources. The tithe, which the Priestly Document designates as "holy to the Lord" (Lev 27:30–33), and which according to a second tradition accrues to the Levites (Num 18:21–32), remains by Deuteronomic legislation the property of the original owner (14:22–27). Furthermore, it may be secularized and employed for profane purposes on payment of its equivalent monetary value (without the addition of the fifth part required by P [Lev 27:31]). This provision seems to be yet another expression of the liberation of the cultus from its intimate ties to nature. The sanctity of the tithe is not conceived as an inherent quality of the grain or animal, as in the Priestly Document (Lev 27:30–33); for it is man who consecrates it and may, if he wishes, secularize it through redemption. In the Deuteronomic view, sanctity is not a taboo that inheres in things which by nature belong to the divine realm but is rather a consequence of the religious intentions of the person who consecrates it.

Like the tithe, the firstling is also taken from the possession of the priest and is restored to the owner. According to JE (Exod 22:29; 34:19) and P (Num 18:15–17) the firstling is "holy to YHWH" whether it is given to the Lord (Exod 22:29) or presented to his servants (i.e., the priests, according to P, Num 18:17–18), while according to Deuteronomy it remains in the possession of its original owner, although he is obliged to consume it at the chosen place. Indeed, it is the law of the firstlings which informs us of the author's negative attitude toward holy taboo. In the earlier laws the regulations pertaining to the redemption of the firstlings of clean animals are always accompanied by regulations concerning the firstborn of humans and the firstlings of unclean animals (Exod 13:2, 12, 15; 22:28–29; 34:19–20; Lev 27:26–27; Num 18:15–18). The book of Deuteronomy, however, omits the laws of the human firstborn and the firstlings of unclean animals, because these regulations in no way advance its humanitarian purposes (the participation of the *personae miserabiles* in the consumption of the firstlings), and because they are based on mythical and magical conception which the author of Deuteronomy does not share.

The severance of these laws from the realm of myth and magic finds its clearest expression in the Deuteronomic ordinances concerning the paschal sacrifice. According to the JE and P documents, the paschal sacrifice is a domestic celebration accompanied by apotropaic rites of an animistic nature: the paschal blood is daubed upon the lintel and doorposts (Exod 12:7 [= P], 22 [= JE]), the animal must be roasted together with its head, legs, and inner parts (Exod 12:11). In the Deuteronomic law, however, not the slightest reminiscence of these magical prescriptions has been preserved. The paschal ritual has instead been converted into a communal sacrifice which must be offered up at the central sanctuary like all other sacrifices. The paschal offering—which is the most ancient sacrifice in Israel's tradition and which apparently originates from the tribes' former nomadic life—succeeded in preserving its early primitive character until it was here divested of its original import and recast in a form more consistent with the spirit of the times. Even the earliest features of the sacrifice, such as the requirement that it be selected only from sheep or goats, or that it be roasted by fire—which attest to the nomadic origin of the ritual—have been completely obscured by the Deuteronomic law. The new provision allows the Israelite to select the animal from cattle as well as sheep and goats (Deut 16:2) and permits it to be cooked like any other ordinary sacrifice (v 7).

I. The National Renaissance at the Times of Hezekiah and Josiah

After the fall of Samaria, Hezekiah, king of Judah, made efforts to draw the northern population toward Jerusalem, as may be learned from 2 Chronicles 30. Although the book of Chronicles is a tendentious work we have no right to see the events themselves as fiction. The flow of northerners to Jerusalem in those days is now attested archaeologically. At the end of the 8th century B.C.E., Jerusalem underwent an expansion never encountered before; the same applies to the territory of Judah. As shown by Avigad (1980: 23ff.), Jerusalem of that time included the western hill of the city, now the Jewish quarter. By the same token, the settlement of Judah grew immensely at this period and the population doubled (Kochavi 1972: 20–21). The only explanation for this situation is that after the fall of the N kingdom Israelites began to migrate to the S to the territories under the control of their brethren (Broshi 1974: 23–26). People from the N were attached after the fall of the N kingdom to Jerusalem and its cult. This appears evident from the fact that after the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, people from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria made pilgrimages to the Temple site (Jer 41:5). It seems that in this period, the hatred between Judah and Israel vanished and some kind of symbiosis of the sister nations was established. This is reflected perhaps in Isaiah's consolation oracle of this time:

> Ephraim's jealousy shall vanish and Judah's enmity shall end, Ephraim shall not envy Judah and Judah shall not harass Ephraim.
>
> (11:13)

In the continuation of this oracle we read about the expansion of Israel and Judah toward the Philistine territory in the W on the one hand and Ammon, Moab, and Edom in the E on the other (v 14). The period of Hezekiah

was indeed a period of great expansion. In 2 Kgs 18:8 we hear about Hezekiah overrunning Philistia as far as Gaza and, from 1 Chr 4:41–43, we learn about his incursion toward Seir in the S. It is this period that "the remnant of Israel . . . and the house of Jacob" return to the Lord and to "mighty God" (*ʾl gbwr*); this equals "Hezek-iah" and seems to allude to King Hezekiah (Isa 10:20–21). As has been recently seen by H. Cazelles (1982), the remnant which returns (*šʾr yšwb*) represents the Israelites from the N who join Judah and accept the authority of Hezekiah, styled—among other things—"El Gibbor" (cf. Isa 9:5). The same imagery is found in Micah 5:1. Micah speaks about the youngest of the clans of Judah, who will rule Israel (5:1–2). This rectifies the earlier situation when Judah was cut off from the other tribes (Deut 33:7: "Hear, O Lord, the voice of Judah and bring him back to his people"). Micah goes on to say that the leader of Judah "will stand and shepherd by the might of YHWH . . . Assyria with the sword" (vv 4–6). This suits Hezekiah, who rebelled against the king of Assyria and expanded the territory of his kingdom (before the invasion of Sennacherib).

This period of national revival may explain the nationalistic and patriotic atmosphere prevailing in Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic literature. The book of Deuteronomy abounds with military speeches aimed at strengthening the people in their future wars with their enemies (Weinfeld 1972a: 45–59). These in fact reflect the national fervor of the times of Hezekiah-Josiah. Remarks such as "be strong and courageous" (*ḥzq wʾmṣ*), "no man shall be able to stand against you" (*lʾ ytyṣb ʾyš bpnykm*), "every spot on which your foot treads shall be yours," and "YHWH your God will put the dread and the fear on you over the land in which you set foot" (11:24–25) seem to express the national enthusiasm of the period of Hezekiah-Josiah. I refer to the Hezekianic or Josianic period because it is very hard to date the various layers of Deuteronomic literature. Since the book of Deuteronomy was discovered in the days of Josiah (622 B.C.E.) we must suppose that the main layout of the book was existent long before that time—that is, at the time of Hezekiah. However, we still do not know what belongs to later Josianic elaboration and what existed before.

The idea of the ban on all Canaanite population also seems to have crystallized at this time. According to the book of Deuteronomy, the Israelites are commanded to exterminate all the Canaanites and not to leave a soul of them living (Deut 7:1–2; 20:16–17). Such a policy, obliging the extermination of the whole population of the land whether fighting or passive, is utopian and is indeed unheard of in the historical accounts of Israel. On the contrary, from 1 Kgs 9:21 we learn that the Israelites were unable to annihilate the inhabitants of Canaan, and Solomon subjected them to corvée labor. The command of ban (*ḥerem*) of all the Canaanites in Deuteronomy is a utopian program which reflects the bitter struggle with the Canaanite religion and culture ongoing from the time of Elijah until the time of Josiah. Indeed the reason for the annihilation of the Canaanites in Deut 20:18 is one of *Kulturkampf*: "lest they [the Canaanites] lead you into doing all the abominable things that they have done for their gods and you shall be sinful to YHWH your God." One should acknowledge that the *ḥerem* as such was practiced in ancient Israel as elsewhere in the ancient world. It is found in connection with Jericho (Josh 6:17), Amalek (1 Samuel 15) and is also applied to apostate or treacherous cities within Israel such as the city condemned for idolatry in Deut 13:16 and the cities of Benjamin which were banned because of the sin of Gibeah (Judg 20:40, 48). It seems that Deuteronomy adopted the ancient doctrine of *ḥerem* from the North (cf. also 1 Kgs 20:42) and applied it theoretically toward the seven nations of the land of Canaan. The original *ḥerem* referred to hostile cities, banned by means of votive proclamations (Josh 6:17; Num 21:2–3), whereas Deuteronomy conceived *ḥerem* as an automatic decree which applied to a whole country and its inhabitants. This sort of *ḥerem* is not dependent on any vow or dedication, but is an a priori decree which belongs more to theory than to practice.

The national patriotic attitude of Deuteronomy may also be recognized in its conception of the extent of the promised land. According to the ancient sources of the Pentateuch and, especially, the list of boundaries in Num 34:1–15, Transjordan was not part of the land of Israel. The request of the Gadites and Reubenites to settle in Transjordan was considered by Moses as a sin (Num 32:14), and from Josh 22:19 we may deduce that Transjordan was considered "impure land." The stories of the Conquest in Joshua 2–9 also make it clear that the Conquest started with the crossing of the Jordan. The passage of the Jordan and the erecting of the stones at Gilgal actually commemorate the entrance into the promised land (Josh 3:10; 5:1 etc.). This old conception about the Jordan being the border of the land was not accepted by Deuteronomy. According to Deuteronomy 1–3, the Conquest of the land started with the crossing of the river Arnon (Deut 2:24) at the border between Moab and the Mishor, the territory of King Sihon. In accordance with this view, the Israelites apply the law of *ḥerem* to these territories (2:34; 3:6) just as they are commanded to do to the peoples of the western side of the Jordan (Deut 20:16–17). The conquered territories of the eastern side of the Jordan are divided among the tribes as are the other parts of the promised land, and are not just a gift on condition as in Numbers 32. The author of Deuteronomy accepted the ideal borders of Gen 15:18, which reflected the borders of the Davidic kingdom, as binding borders (Deut 1:7; 11:24); for him, therefore, Transjordan was an integral part of the land (Deut 34:1). In this manner, the author of Deuteronomy affords Transjordan a status equal with that of Cisjordan; this looks like an endeavor to restore Israel to its ideal borders of the Davidic-Salomonic period (Weinfeld 1983).

The national resurgence of the period of Hezekiah and Josiah explains the feelings of superiority expressed in Deuteronomy. Israel is promised exaltation above all nations of the earth (26:19), to be always at the top and never at the bottom (28:13); people who hear the laws of Israel will say: "That great nation is a wise and understanding people" (4:6); "Israel will rule many nations but they will not rule it" (15:6). The book of Deuteronomy depicts Israel as a proud nation unfearful but feared. In accordance with this, it changes and reworks old sources. In Numbers, the Israelites asked permission from Edom to cross its territory. The Edomites refused and went out against the Israelites in force (Num 20:14–21). In the book

of Deuteronomy, the opposite happens: not only do the Israelites pass Edom and buy food there (2:6, 29), but the Edomites fear the Israelites and the Israelites are asked not to exploit this fact in order to provoke the Edomites (2:4–5) (Weinfeld 1967).

The national pride prevailing in Deuteronomy comes to bold expression in the account of Moses' appointing officers for judging the people. According to Exodus 18 the appointment arose from the advice of Jethro the priest of Midian. In Deut 1:13–17, Moses appoints the officers on his own initiative. Jethro is not mentioned at all because, as A. B. Ehrlich says in regard to Deut 1:9: "in the Deuteronomist's days it was not glorious to tell the people that a foreigner contrived such a plan" (1908–14).

J. The Land in Deuteronomy

The gift of the land to Israel, according to the old sources, is a perpetual, unconditional gift (Gen 13:15; 17:8; 48:4). Similarly David was given a dynasty forever (2 Sam 7:13, 16; 23:5; Ps 89:30, etc.) because he served God with loyalty (1 Kgs 3:6; 9:4; 11:4, etc.). As I have shown elsewhere (Weinfeld 1970), the promises to Abraham and to David belong to the type of "grant" to royal servants who devoted themselves to their master, the king. These "grant" documents were common in the ANE from the middle of the second millennium onward, and like the biblical promises (Gen 17:8; 48:4) contained the phrase: "I grant it to you for your descendants after you throughout the generation" (Gen 17:7–8) or "for your descendants forever" (*lzrʿk ʿd ʿwlm*) (Gen 13:15); compare Deut 1:8 (for these legal formulae in Alalakh, Ugarit, and Elephantine, see Weinfeld 1970). In contrast to the vassal treaty, which constitutes an obligation of the vassal to his sovereign, the royal "grant" constitutes an obligation of the sovereign to his vassal.

However, following the fall of the N kingdom an explanation was sought for the failure of the promise and the explanation given was that the realization of the promise to the patriarchs was conditioned a priori by the fulfillment of the obligatory covenant of the Israelites at Sinai in which they committed themselves to keep the laws of God. Two covenants which existed separately—the covenant of God with the patriarchs on land (grant type) and the covenant of Israel with God on law (vassal type)—were thus combined and were seen as dependent on one another (4:25–27; 8:19–20; 11:8–10, 13–17, 22–25; 28:63; 29:24–27; 30:17–18). The same thing happened with the Davidic covenant. After the fall of Jerusalem the divine promise for an eternal dynasty to David which was originally unconditioned (2 Sam 7:13–15) was understood as conditional by the fulfillment of the Sinaitic covenant (1 Kgs 2:3–4; 8:23–25).

Although the loss of land is a punishment for the violation of the covenant, which means abrogation of the law in general, principal sins are specified for which the people will go into exile. Thus, according to the Holiness Code, the land will be desolate and the people will go into exile because of not keeping the laws of land release (Lev 26:34–35). Deuteronomy, however, specifies idolatry as the principal sin for losing the land: "Beware lest your heart be seduced and you turn away to serve other gods . . . for YHWH's anger will flame up against you and he will shut up the skies and there will be no rain and the land will not yield its produce and you will perish from the good land that YHWH is giving you" (11:16–17, cf. 4:25–28; 29:23–27; 30:17–18).

Going in exile and desolation of the land are also specified as punishment for betrayal in the vassal treaties. Thus we read in VTE liness 538–44: "may your seed and the seed [of your sons] and daughters perish from the land (if you violate the treaty)" (Weinfeld 1972a: 133). Similar threats occur in the Hittite treaties with their vassals: "may they break you like reeds, may your name and your seed . . . perish from the land" (Weidner 1923: 34–35, lines 64–66). The latter two curses: "breaking like a reed" and "perishing from the land" are found both together in Deuteronomic historiography: "YHWH will strike Israel . . . like a reed in water and will uproot Israel from this good land which he gave to their fathers" (1 Kgs 14:16).

The whole Deuteronomic corpus actually revolves around the fate of the land of Israel. As has been indicated above, the Deuteronomic law is given to the people for its observance after the entrance into the land (Deut 12:1). The promised land and the occupation of the land is dependent upon the observance of the law (4:26; 11:17; 28:63; 30:19). The aim of the Deuteronomic historiography is to describe the fate of the land of Israel following the sins of the nations. The sins of the period of the judges caused the curtailment of the land in its ideal borders. The "remaining land" (*hʾrṣ hnšʾrt*, Josh 13:2), i.e., the coastal area and the Lebanon (Josh 13:2–5; Judg 3:3) was taken away from the Israelites forever because of their sins after the Conquest (Josh 23:12; Judg 2:21–29). By the same token, the sin of the northern Israelites caused the loss of the territories of the north (2 Kgs 17:7–23) while the fall of Jerusalem and the exile of Judah was caused by the sins of Judah (2 Kgs 21:12–15; Weinfeld 1984: 120–22). It is this consciousness of sin of the Israelites from the Conquest to the Exile that motivated the writing of the Deuteronomic historiography.

It should be remarked, however, that the loss of land is not presented in Deuteronomy as final. If Israel returns to God in the Exile God will recall the promise to the patriarchs and will bring them back to their land (Deut 4:27–31; 30:1–10). It is true that these are late texts (see above) but the idea itself may be of early origin (Hos 13:2–8).

In Deuteronomy the land is depicted not just as "a land of milk and honey" as in the previous sources (Exod 3:8, 17; 13:5; 33:3; Lev 20:24; Num 13:27; 14:8) but as a rich land in every respect: a land of grain, wines, and all sorts of fruits and also of natural resources as iron and copper (8:7–9). Unlike Egypt, which is flat, rainless with only the Nile incessantly flowing through a monotonous landscape, the promised land has a nice variegated landscape: "hills and valleys" through which brooks spring forth (8:7), soaking water from heaven (11:11). The comparison is a theological and not an empirical one: the rain from heaven expresses divine providence. The Egyptians developed a theology of opposite nature. According to their view, the barbarians and the animals depend on the water from heaven, whereas for the Egyptians the water comes from the underground (see notes to 11:10–12 in *Deuteronomy* AB). Moreover, Deuteronomy's view on Egypt stands in opposition to the other sources of the Pentateuch where

Egypt is represented as a most fertile land: "as the garden of YHWH" (Gen 13:10, cf. Exod 16:3; Num 16:13; 20:5).

K. The Idea of the Election of Israel

The particularity of Israel was expressed in the ancient Israelite sources by expressions such as "knew" (*yd*ᶜ) and "separated" (*hbdyl*). Thus Abraham was "known" by God, which means "singled out" in order that his descendants will keep justice and righteousness (Gen 18:19). The same expression is found in Amos 3:2: "you alone have I known [= singled out] from all the families of the earth." In the Holiness Code the particularity of Israel is expressed by the phrases "separate"/"set apart" (*hbdyl*): "I have set you apart from other peoples to be mine" (Lev 20:26). In Deuteronomy this idea is for the first time expressed by the verb "elect" (*bḥr*). This is linked here (7:6; 14:2; 26:18) to the idea of *sĕgullāh* ("special possession," *sigiltu* in Akkadian) which is rooted in the ANE political sphere where the sovereign singles out his vassal by giving him a status of *sglt* (*PRU* V No. 60:7–12, see note to 7:6) which means *peculium*, "special property." Theologically, the peculiar status of the people was defined as "holy people" (*mqdwš*, Deut 7:6; 14:1, 21). In Exod 19:5–6 the *sĕgullāh* is linked to *gôy qdwš*, "holy nation," but there the special status of the people serves as reward for being loyal to the covenant (19:5a) while in Deuteronomy the election serves as a motivation for observing the laws and especially laws of purity and rejection of pagan practices: "You shall not eat *nebelah* . . . because you are a holy people to YHWH your God" (14:21; cf. 14:1–2 against self-mutilation and 7:1–5 against idolatry).

A distinction should also be made between the Holiness Code concept of holiness and the Deuteronomic one. While the Holiness Code urges the people to sanctify themselves and to be holy: "you shall be holy" (*qdšym thyw*, Lev 19:2) or "you shall be holy to me" (Lev 20:26), "you shall sanctify yourselves and be holy" (*whtqdštm whyytm qdšym*, Lev 11:44)—hence not to contaminate their souls with impurity, Deuteronomy reverses the order and urges the people not to contaminate themselves because *they are holy to God* by virtue of their election "because you are holy people to YHWH your God" (*ky ʾm qdwš ʾth lYHWH ʾlhyk*, 7:6; 14:1, 21). In the Holiness Code holiness depends on observing purity (Exod 22:30: "You shall be holy to me, you should not eat flesh torn by beasts . . ."), whereas according to Deuteronomy observance of purity is bound to the holiness of the people which is an established fact. It is true, from the point of view of piety, that the concept of holiness in the Holiness Code is more intense: Israel has to deserve to be holy and is not holy automatically (Milgrom 1973: 158), whereas in Deuteronomy the holiness is inherent in the people and is not conditioned by preserving purity. One should admit, however, that in both cases the privilege of being holy involves obligation: *noblesse oblige*. This applies also to Gen 18:19 and Amos 3:2 where the singling out of the people means responsibility and self-perfection.

It should be added here that there was awareness of the moral danger that the election might involve. The consciousness of election is apt to foster a superiority complex and therefore the author of Deuteronomy, when speaking about election, is eager to add that it is not the virtue and strength of the nation that caused the election, but that the love of God to the patriarchs is the main reason for choosing their descendants (Deut 7:7–8; 9:4–5).

In the Second Temple period the election of Israel was interpreted as God's giving of Torah and Sabbath to Israel. God's bestowal of Torah and Sabbath upon Israel was seen as a graceful act and a sign of election (Neh 9:7–14). This is also attested in a passage from the book of *Jubilees* of liturgical nature (2:31–33) and constitutes an important element in the festive prayers of Qumran (4Q503:24–25 in Baillet 1982) and in the conventional Jewish liturgy for Sabbaths and festivals (Kosmala 1959: 339; Weinfeld 1988b).

L. Deuteronomy and Wisdom Literature

The book of Deuteronomy has a lot of verbal and conceptional affinities to Wisdom Literature. Thus, for example, the term "abomination of YHWH" (*twᶜbt YHWH*), which is found in the OT only in Deuteronomy and in the book of Proverbs, has its parallels in Sumerian wisdom literature, in the Akkadian proverbs (Hallo 1985), and in the Egyptian wisdom instructions of Amenemope (Weinfeld 1972a: 265–69).

As R. Yaron (1985) has demonstrated, many abomination proverbs are structured as tricolons, as for example Prov 17:15:

> he that justifies the wicked
> and he that condemns the just
> both are an abomination for YHWH

which is to be compared with the Mesopotamian proverb:

> the one who perverts justice
> the one who loves an unjust verdict
> it is an abomination to UTU (Šamaš).
>
> (Young 1972)

Especially relevant for our purpose is Prov 20:10:

> alternate weight (*ʾbn wʾbn*)
> one alternate measure (*ʾyph wʾyph*)
> both are abomination to YHWH.

The latter has been legally formulated by Deuteronomy:

> You shall not have in your bag alternate weight (*ʾbn wʾbn*), great and small . . .
> for abomination to YHWH is everyone who does such things.
>
> (25:13–16)

In order to adjust the matter to the spirit of the book Deuteronomy adds the motive clause of retribution (v 15).

There are also other significant overlappings in content between Deuteronomy and Wisdom. Laws which have no parallels in the Tetrateuch have their parallels in Wisdom Literature. Thus the injunctions about "neither adding nor detracting" of the word of God is found only in Deut 4:2; 13:1; and in Prov 30:5–6 (cf. Eccl 3:14; Weinfeld 1972a: 261–65). The injunction about removal of boundaries (Deut 19:14; 27:17) and falsification of weights and

measures (25:13–16) have their verbal parallels in Prov 22:28; 23:10; 11:1; 20:10, 23 and in Egyptian wisdom (Amenemope XVII:15–XIX:3; Lichtheim, *AEL* 2:157). Furthermore, like in Deuteronomy and in Proverbs the Amenemope exhortations about falsifying weights and measures are motivated, as indicated above, by the same rationale: "for it is an abomination to YHWH" (Deut 25:13–16; Prov 11:1; 20:10, 23) and "abomination of Re" in the Egyptian wisdom of Amenemope (XVIII:15–XIX:3).

The warning against vows and cultic commitments in Deut 23:22–26 has its parallel in Eccl 5:1–5. Although Ecclesiastes is a late book it contains a great deal of early material (cf. 9:7–9 with the Gilgamesh epic, *NET* 90, and with the Egyptian Song of the Harper [Lichtheim, *AEL* 1: 193–97] and cf. the Mesopotamian parallel to Eccl 4:9–12 [Shaffer 1967; 1969]). Warnings against rash declarations and vows are a frequent topic of Israelite wisdom (Prov 20:13; 18:7) and non-Israelite wisdom as well, cf. the Babylonian injunction: "guard your lips, do not utter solemn oaths . . . for what you say in a moment will follow you afterwards" (*BWL* 104, 131–33). The motivation for restraint in this area is distinctly utilitarian, typical of sapiential literature. There is consequently no reason to see Pentateuchal influence on this passage in Qoheleth. The style of the exhortation in Qoheleth: "It is better (*ṭwb*) that you should not vow than that you should vow and not pay" (5:4) is sapiential and is characterized by the gnomic dicta which begins with the word "better" (*ṭwb*) (on the *ṭwb* sayings see Zimmerli 1933: 192–94). While using this maxim, Deuteronomy reworked it in order to accommodate it to the religious aims of the book. In place of the neutral sapiential rationale: "for (God) has no pleasure with fools" (5:3) the author of Deuteronomy supplied it with a religious rationale: "for YHWH your God will surely require it from you" (23:22).

Another law which parallels a sapiential exhortation is Deut 23:16: "You shall not extradite a slave to his master," which corresponds to Prov 30:10: "do not slander a servant to his master" (LXX, Syriac, and Weinfeld 1972a: 272–73). Such prescriptions of humane nature are characteristic of Wisdom Literature and are quite strange to be found in a legal code which by nature is concerned with stabilizing interclass relationships rather than prescribing laws which would undermine them (for the duty to extradite slaves, see *ANET*, 166–167 [#15–20], 190 [#22–24]).

The predilection for wisdom in Deuteronomy is recognized in several other places:

(1) Observance of the commandments equals wisdom and understanding (4:6) and the people of Israel who observe the laws and the commandments are considered "a wise and understanding people" (*ʿm ḥkm wnbwn;* 4:6b). (The same term is applied to Joseph [Gen 41:39] and to Solomon [1 Kgs 3:12].) This equation implies some kind of identification of wisdom with law which took place in Israel in the 7th century B.C.E., the period in which scribes and wise men began to take an active part in the composition of legal literature (Jer 8:8; see above; Weinfeld 1972a: 150–51).

(2) According to Deut 1:9–18, Moses appoints "men of understanding and full of knowledge" (*ḥkmym, nbwnym, ydʿym*) in order to judge the people. In the old tradition of Exod 18:13–27, the appointed judges are to possess different qualities: "capable men who fear God, trustworthy men who hate gain." According to Deuteronomy leaders and judges must possess intellectual qualities: wisdom, understanding, and knowledge—traits which characterize the leader and judge in Wisdom Literature (Prov 8:15–16). The same attitude is revealed when Deut 16:19 is compared with Exod 23:8. While Exodus 23 reads: "You should take no bribes for a bribe blinds them *that have sight*" (*pqḥym*), the parallel in Deuteronomy 16 reads: "You shall take no bribes for a bribe blinds *the wise*" (*ḥkmym*). The author of Deuteronomy believes that the qualification of a judge must be intellectual in character.

The same conception is met in the Deuteronomic historiography. Solomon is given wisdom and understanding so that he might judge the people (1 Kgs 3:4–15). Like Moses who complains of the burden of governing a people who are "as the stars of heaven for multitude" (Deut 1:9–10), Solomon speaks of the difficulty to judge a people "that cannot be counted . . . for multitude" (1 Kgs 3:8–9). Like the author of 1:9–18, the Deuteronomic editor in 1 Kgs 3:4–15 regards wisdom as the principal requisite for the complete functioning of the judiciary.

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MOSHE WEINFELD

DEVIL [Gk *diabolos*]. The LXX and NT translation of the OT *sātan. Sātan* is a judicial term referring to an "accuser," "slanderer," "calumniator," or "adversary" in court (cf. Ps 109:6). The NT also uses the transliteration *satanos,* which is synonymous with *diabolos* (cf. Rev 12:9). *Diabolos* is rare outside the LXX and the NT. It is found in Wis 2:23–24, which identifies the serpent of Genesis 3 with the Devil (see *TDNT* 2: 71–81).

SATAN as a supernatural accuser of humankind in the heavenly court and working for God occurs three times in the OT. In Zech 3:1–10 Satan stands at God's right hand to accuse Joshua the High Priest, only to have his accusation spurned. In Job 1–2 Satan questions the sincerity of Job's righteousness before God in the midst of the heavenly council. Here his office is expanded beyond accuser, for he is given control over sickness, death, and nature in the testing of Job. In 1 Chr 21:1 Satan incites David to sin by taking a census. Here the anarthrous form of *Sātan* becomes a proper name. Also apparent here is the tendency to divorce temptation from God and assign it to Satan, for in the earlier version of the census of David, God, not Satan, is the agent of the temptation (2 Sam 24:1; cf. Jas 1:13).

The notion of the Devil as an independent evil power no longer in heaven but ruling a demonic kingdom and headed for judgment is absent in the OT. This move from a subordinate accuser to an independent tempter was a development of the intertestamental period and has been attributed to a number of factors. In limited favor in current scholarship is the proposal that the Hebrew notion of Satan was borrowed or heavily influenced by the dualism of Persian Avestan Zoroastrianism, in which Angra Mainyu, the evil god, opposes Ahura Mazda, the good god. However, in Hebrew thought Satan is always subordinate to God and Angra Mainyu does not function as an accuser in Zoroastrianism. Still, a development of Zoroastrian concepts cannot be ruled out.

The shift in the role of the Devil may have arisen in apocalyptic literature as a way to explain the subjugation of Israel by foreign nations, that is, the rule of evil over the righteous covenant people. This would help to solve the theological tension between the presence of evil in the world and God's absolute sovereignty.

All the features of the Devil in Judaism, including names, functions, and the semi-dualism, are present in the NT. The Devil is a supernatural adversary of God and a tempter of humankind. He goes by a number of names, including "BEELZEBUL, prince of demons" (Matt 12:24 par.), "BELIAL" (2 Cor 6:15), "dragon, ancient serpent" (Rev 12:9; 20:2), "enemy" (Matt 13:39; Luke 10:19), "evil one" (Matt 13:19; Eph 6:16; 1 John 2:13–14; 5:18), "god of this world" (2 Cor 4:4), "prince of the power of the air" (Eph 2:2), "ruler of this world" (John 12:31; 14:30; 16:11), and "the tempter" (Matt 4:3; 1 Thess 3:5).

The Devil brought sin into the world (cf. 2 Cor 11:3) and is the ruler of this world (Luke 4:6; Eph 6:11–12; cf. John 12:31; 14:30; 16:11; 2 Cor 4:4; Eph 2:2). In this capacity he tried to tempt Jesus (Matt 4:1–11 par.) and tempted Judas to betray him (John 13:2, 27; cf. Luke 22:3, 31). He is a murderer and a liar (John 8:44; Rev 12:9) disguised as an angel of light (cf. 2 Cor 11:14). He keeps the gospel from unbelievers (Luke 8:12 par.; cf. 2 Cor 4:4), who are under his lordship (cf. Acts 26:18; Eph 2:2; Col 1:13), oppresses humankind (Acts 10:38), causes illness (cf. Luke 13:11–16; 2 Cor 12:7), and those under his control are his children (John 8:44; Acts 13:10; 1 John 3:10). He is working to lure Christians to him and trap

them in sin (Eph 4:27; 1 Tim 3:7; 2 Tim 2:26; 1 Pet 5:8), to hinder their work (cf. 1 Thess 2:18), and to accuse them (1 Tim 3:6–7; cf. Rev 12:10). The Church must be on guard against his wiles (Eph 6:11; Jas 4:7; cf. 2 Cor 2:11). He has the power of death over those outside the Church (Heb 2:14; cf. 1 Cor 5:5), but not the Christian (cf. 1 John 4:4; 5:18).

Christ came to destroy the works of the Devil (Heb 2:14–15; 1 John 3:8; cf. Eph 1:21–22) and to cast him from heaven (Luke 10:18; Rev 12:9; cf. John 12:31). Christ's victory is yet to be consummated (cf. 1 Cor 15:24–26; Heb 10:12–13). The Devil will intensify his work against humankind and God in the last days (Rev 12:12; cf. 2 Thess 2:9–10), only to be hindered by Christ (Rev 20:2) and be thrown into eternal fire with his angels (Matt 25:41; Rev 20:10).

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DUANE F. WATSON

DEVOUT [Gk *sebomai, esusebes, eulabes*]. This word group (also translated as "pious," "godly," "religious," and "worshipful") derives from the Hellenistic milieu, where it came to mean a reverent and wondering awe at the lofty and pure world of the divine; as such, it is a typical expression of Greek piety. These words have no direct Hebrew equivalent: they are generally avoided in the LXX and the Pseudepigrapha, occurring most frequently in those works composed in Greek (see especially *4 Maccabees* where the entire word group is used extensively). In the NT these words occur most prominently in Acts, the Pastoral Epistles, and 2 Peter (*TDNT* 7: 168–96).

The Pastoral Epistles and 2 Peter use this word group to characterize Christian faith and life. It denotes a life which exhibits a pious attitude toward God and his creation; it is a gift of God (2 Pet 1:3) and extends to the entire life of the Christian (1 Tim 2:2; 4:8). Such piety is at the center of the Christian faith (3:16; 6:3); it stands in contrast to "godless and silly myths" (4:7) and to "irreligion and worldly passions" (Titus 2:12). This attitude is peculiarly Christian, unlike both Jewish piety, which is based on the observance of the law, and Greek piety, based in the cultus.

Luke-Acts presents a different understanding of these words. Here it is not Christians who are called devout; rather for Luke the gospel originated in a devout and righteous community and had its greatest appeal to those who were devout, both Jews and gentiles. Simeon was both "righteous [*dikaios*]" and "devout [*eulabes*]" (Luke 2:25). Zechariah and Elizabeth were likewise righteous (1:2), while Anna worshiped [*latreuousa*] in the Temple daily (2:37). Pious Jews were gathered in Jerusalem at Pentecost (Acts 2:5); devout men buried Stephen (8:2); Ananias was likewise devout (22:12). Cornelius, the first gentile convert, was not only devout (10:2; as was one of his soldiers, 10:7), but also was righteous (10:22) and he feared God (10:2, 22). Only rarely does this word group have a negative connotation. Peter denied that his "piety [*eusebeia*]" enabled him to perform a healing (3:12); Paul was accused of persuading people "to worship [*sebasthai*]" God contrary to the law (18:13). Pagan gods are also said to be worshiped (17:23, 19:27).

The major controversy surrounding the use of this word group arises with the "devout persons [*sebomenoi*]" (Acts 13:43, 50; 16:14; 17:4, 17; 18:7), who have been considered to be the material equivalent of the "fearers of God [*phoboumenoi ton theon*]" (10:2, 22, 35; 13:16, 26). When these phrases are understood in the context of certain literary and epigraphic evidence, they can be understood to refer to gentiles who were interested in the teaching and practice of the synagogue. These so-called "God-fearers" functioned as a bridge between the Jewish and gentile communities and were among Paul's first converts (Lake 1933: 96). Kraabel has emphasized the theological role these gentiles play in Luke's narrative and has questioned the historical existence of such a class of gentiles (1981: 113–26). Even though this argument has not received wide acceptance, it has prompted a reexamination of the evidence. These gentiles do not represent a class with specific requirements or with a clearly defined status in the synagogue of the 1st century (Collins 1985: 184). However, by whatever name they are called, the evidence suggests that there were gentiles who were in some way attracted to Judaism without becoming converts, and at least in some places they formed a defined group (Millar *HJP*^{3} 3/1: 169; Jervell 1988: 11).

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PAUL F. STUEHRENBERG

DEW. See PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF.

DH. The abbreviation for "Deuteronomistic History," which is often used by scholars to designate the narrative spanning the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. See DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY.

DHAHR MIRZBÂNEH (M.R. 156182). The traditional Arabic-Persian name (meaning something like "Ridge of the Persian Governor") of a rocky ridge (450–600 m altitude) just N of the copious spring at ʿAin es-

Sâmiyeh, E of the modern village of Kufr Mâlik, ca. 9 miles NE of Ramallah. The site overlooks the small valley around the spring, the Wâdi es-Sâmiyeh, which opens out eastward into the Wâdi ed-Dâliyeh and then plunges down precipitously all the way to the Jordan Valley N of Jericho (on the Wâdi ed-Dâliyeh caves, see DÂLIYEH, WADI ED- [M.R. 189155]; and for the EB pottery contemporary with the Mirzbâneh tombs, see Dever 1974).

Although the name "Dhahr Mirzbâneh" denotes specifically the ridge N of the spring, we shall include here the general vicinity around the spring, which has remains of a number of interrelated settlement sites and cemeteries from various periods, investigated by several archaeologists over the past 75 years.

A cemetery ca. 400 m E of the ʿAin es-Sâmiyeh spring, Cemetery D (this and the following cemetery designations are from Lapp 1966), was first investigated by D. G. Lyon for the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem in 1907, then again by P. W. Lapp under the same auspices in 1963. At least 100 shaft tombs of the EB IV period (ca. 2300–2000 B.C.) are located here, but in the past century and earlier these had been robbed by villagers from Kufr Mâlik; consequently, the known pottery has been widely scattered in several collections (Lapp 1966; Dever 1972). These collections also contain MB, LB, and probably Iron Age pottery as well (Dever 1972; 1975), so this cemetery was reused, and it probably served the main early settlement at Khirbet el-Marjameh. Both Lyon and Lapp report a considerable number of Roman and Byzantine tombs as well.

Khirbet el-Marjameh, ca. 200 m N of the spring on a rocky promontory, has EB, MB, LB, and Iron Age sherds (especially 8th–9th centuries B.C.), plus Hellenistic-Roman on the surface, as well as visible terrace and domestic walls (Zohar 1980). It is probably the major settlement site near the spring. Albright, Lapp, and others have identified it, rather than et-Taiyebeh, with Ephraim/Ophrah in the tribe of Benjamin (2 Chr 13:9; cf. Albright 1923; Lapp 1966), but Kallai has suggested identifying it with Baal-shalishah (2 Kgs 4:42; cf. Zohar 1980).

Khirbet Sâmiyeh, ca. 300 m SSE of the spring, has mostly Ummayed and later material (Albright 1923; Lapp 1966). The more outlying sites are relatively isolated and are characterized mostly by EB IV shaft tombs. Stretching some 400–1200 m along the Dhahr Mirzabâneh ridge to the N are Cemeteries A, B, and C, where Lapp cleared nearly 100 tombs in 1963 (Lapp 1966). Khirbet el-ʿAqibat, ca. 800–1000 m SSE of the spring along the modern road, was investigated by Lyon in 1907, by Lapp in 1963 (his Cemetery E), and again in 1968–70 (cf. Lapp 1966; Shantur and Labadi 1971). Among the 50 or more EB IV tombs was one that produced a unique imported silver goblet, probably Syrian, with a Mesopotamian-style frieze of deities and animals (Yeivin 1971). Both Lyon and Lapp report Roman-Byzantine tombs as well in Cemetery E. At el-Qasr, ca. 1300 m SE of the spring, was found Cemetery F, described briefly by Lapp (1966); little is known about it.

From even the cursory archaeological investigation of the Dhahr Mirzbâneh–ʿAin es-Sâmiyeh area, it is clear that this location, now so isolated and desolate, was once a major attraction. This was no doubt due to its secure location and perennial spring at the head of an important wadi leading up into the central hills of Palestine (cf. the summary in Dever 1972).

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WILLIAM G. DEVER

DIADEM. See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

DIALOGUE. A literary form used since antiquity, in which two or more characters are represented as conversing or reasoning about some topic.

A. Greek Sources
B. Latin Sources
C. Old Testament
D. New Testament
E. Greek Christian Literature
F. Latin Christian Literature
G. Hermetic and Gnostic Literature

A. Greek Sources

As a literary genre, the Greek dialogue has its origins in *mimesis*, or the art of "imitating" real-life conversations. Such dialogues or conversations can be found in Greek drama, history, and oratory. It was Plato, however, who developed the philosophical dialogue as a distinct and separate literary form. Although the Platonic dialogue grew out of the real-life conversations of Socrates with his friends and students, in the hands of Plato, these conversations were transformed from "imitations" of real-life situations to creative "inventions" which incorporated various dramatic elements for the purpose of progressing toward a philosophical truth.

A typical Platonic dialogue has a lengthy preliminary "scene" in which three or four characters are introduced. As the dialogue progresses, the "scene" disappears and the "action" now centers exclusively on debating a specific philosophical problem, e.g., what is piety? What is temperance? What is beauty? In Plato's early dialogues, it is Socrates who directs the discussion, leading the participants toward the resolution of a certain problem through the technique of dialectic or skilled questioning. Over time, however, the dialogues move away from this lively Socratic method of intellectual "midwifery" toward a more dog-

matic presentation of various ideas, utilizing the techniques of analysis and interpretation that were characteristic of Plato's own teaching in the Academy. In the *Laws*, Plato's last dialogue, only the form of the dialogue remains. Socrates has disappeared as have the dramatic elements, and the discussion among the various "characters" has become didactic and methodical.

It was under the influence of these later Platonic dialogues that Aristotle made his contributions to the genre. Although Aristotle's dialogues are extant only in fragmentary form, two innovations are worth noting: the use of the Skeptic practice of "arguing both sides" (*disputatio in utramque partem*) and the presence of Aristotle himself as one of the participants in the discussion. (Plato, in contrast, never "appeared" in any of his dialogues, as it was Socrates who, in most instances, functioned as his mouthpiece.)

Following Aristotle, the dialogue was abandoned in the Academy but kept alive among the Peripatetics, notably in the writings of Heraclides Ponticus. Heraclides was especially noted for his elaborate introductions or *proems*. He also changed the internal structure of the dialogue by placing the action in the past and then introducing a number of noted historical persons (e.g., men of state, generals, philosophers) as discussants on a wide range of issues (e.g., ethics, politics, literature, history, physics). By setting the action in the past, Heraclides—unlike Aristotle—never appears "on the scene." Heraclides is also noted for deriving the titles of his dialogues from their content rather than from one of the interlocutors, as was the practice of Plato.

The Greek tradition of dialogue disappeared for some time during the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, but was revived in the 2d century C.E. by Plutarch and Lucian. Plutarch is noted for using the traditional dialogue form to explore various religious, moral, and philosophical themes. Lucian, however, is credited with creating an entirely new form: the satiric dialogue. Lucian's genius was in skillfully combining the dialogue with elements of Old and New Comedy to express a basically Cynic view of all human affairs, especially as they related to philosophical and religious beliefs. In Lucian's satires, no one is spared, not even the gods. It is generally claimed that Lucian developed his satiric style from the diatribes of the 3d century B.C.E. Cynic and Menippus, but, as Bompaire argues (1958: 550–60), his debt to Menippus is primarily in appropriating the Menippean "spirit" or "attitude," not in slavish imitation. In general, Lucian's satiric dialogues are a unique contribution to the form and reflect his ability to transpose successfully elements of one genre (comedy) to another (dialogue).

B. Latin Sources

Among Latin writers, Varro experimented with the dialogue, as did M. Junius Brutus. Varro wrote satiric pieces (in the manner of the Cynic diatribe) as well as a collection of philosophical-historical dialogues which explored a variety of general subjects, e.g., health, the education of children, peace, and religion. Unfortunately, these works exist only in fragmentary form, so it is difficult to assess to what extent Varro may have made original contributions to the genre. In one area, however, he clearly was innovative: he included autobiographical elements in his dialogues as well as a kind of "interior" dialogue in which he conversed with himself. As for Junius Brutus, his contribution to the form was the construction of lengthy didactic discourses presented as "dialogues" between his son and himself. The subject matter and *locus dialogi* were distinctly Roman: father and son discoursed on various civil and juridical issues in the leisurely setting of the Roman countryside.

It was Cicero, however, who was clearly the master of the Latin dialogue form. Building on both Greek and Roman influences, Cicero used the dialogue as a literary means for exploring his interests in politics, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology while promoting the moderate Skepticism of the New Academy. Thus, in a Ciceronian dialogue, argumentation becomes an end in itself, with the "characters" in a given dialogue arriving at a "probable" truth vis-à-vis a given proposition, not seeking an "absolute" truth in the Platonic sense. Cicero, then, unlike Plato, is content to exist in the realm of beliefs and opinions. Other contributions of Cicero to the dialogue are: (a) the inclusion of prominent persons, past *and* present, with the author himself "on the scene"; (b) the ideal of learned *otium* as exemplified in the *Tusculanae Disputationes*; (c) the development of the prologue or *proem* as a philosophical essay in which Cicero skillfully locates himself in the wider current of Greek and Roman thought. Ruch (1958: 419–20) argues that these Ciceronian *proems*, in effect, constitute a literary genre of their own. It was Cicero, then, with his eclectic interests and superb literary skills, who would most influence the later Latin tradition of the dialogue, notably among a number of Latin Christian writers (see below).

C. Old Testament

Among the OT writings, the book of Job is the chief example of a literary work in dialogue form, but a type of dialogue that is influenced by literary precedents in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt. In certain of these texts, the "Job motif" of undeserved human suffering is presented as a dialogue in verse form in which an unnamed sufferer laments his misfortunes to a friend, a servant, his "personal" god, or, in one instance, to his own soul. In each case, the response to this lament is basically the same: no man is sinless; the will of the gods cannot be known; one must endure life without complaint.

The book of Job follows a similar pattern of structure and theme, but with greater literary polish and theological profundity. The opening "scene" is set in heaven, where God agrees to let Satan "test" Job's faith. The result is a series of disasters that destroy Job's health, family, and livelihood. When three of Job's friends come to comfort him, Job bemoans his fate in a lengthy verse lament. Each of Job's friends, in turn, offers consolation in the form of the conventional wisdom: God punishes the wicked and rewards the just; if Job is suffering, then he must have "sinned" in the eyes of God. Job, however, unlike his counterparts in the Mesopotamian and Egyptian dialogues, rejects these pieties and continues to insist on his innocence and God's injustice. The climax of this drama is the appearance of God himself in a whirlwind; he offers no answers to Job's pleas but only a series of ironic questions that render Job's laments irrelevant. For the writer of Job, the mystery of undeserved human suffering ulti-

mately remains unanswered. (The prose epilogue, where Job's fortunes are restored, was apparently tacked on to provide a "happy ending." Such "happy endings" are a stock element in the parallel material from Mesopotamia and Egypt.) The subject matter of Job, then, as well as its form, do not fit the classical tradition of Greek dialogue nor other Greek literary styles (notably epic and tragedy), although arguments have been made in each case. As Pope notes (*Job* AB, xxx–xxxi), Job is essentially a piecemeal work that lacks the kind of literary unity that might classify it strictly in one category or another.

D. New Testament

In the NT, there is no particular text that can be designated as a dialogue in the strict sense. However, the conversations between Jesus and various interlocutors in the Gospels approach the dialogue form but in a specific "question and answer" format (e.g., Mark 10:23–31 = Matt 19:23–30 = Luke 18:24–30; Mark 12:13–34 = Matt 22:15–46 = Luke 20:20–40; John 3:1–21; 4:7–30; 6:25–40). Dörrie and Dörries have termed this literary style *erotapokriseis* (*RAC* 6:342–70). What distinguishes this "question and answer" style from the traditional Greek dialogue is that the questioner does not participate in the conversation as a true discussant with a developed point of view but is limited to the role of "student" who asks questions and is often "amazed" or "astonished" at the wise response of the "teacher." Dialogues of this type (especially the longer dialogues in the gospel of John) are close in style and form to similar dialogues found in the Hermetic and Gnostic literature (see below). Dialogical elements have also been isolated in the epistles of Paul, notably Rom 3:27–4:2, where there is an implied exchange between Paul and an interlocutor on the subject of boasting in relation to faith and works. The style here is based on similar dialogical exchanges in the Hellenistic diatribe (Stowers 1981: 155–84).

E. Greek Christian Literature

It was among Christian apologists in the 2d century that the Greek dialogue, in its traditional form, was appropriated for purposes of defending the faith. Many of these dialogues were constructed as conversations between Christians and Jews, with the Christian converting the Jew by demonstrating how the prophecies of the OT regarding the Messiah applied to Jesus. The model for dialogues of this type was evidently Aristo of Pella's *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*, written ca. 140 C.E., but no longer extant.

The most important apologist of the 2d century to write in dialogue form, however, was Justin Martyr. His *Dialogue with Trypho*, written ca. 155 C.E., is innovative in that Justin abandoned the Aristotelian method of "arguing both sides" in favor of a mutual understanding of the other's position. At the end of the dialogue, Trypho, the Jew, is not converted; rather, he and Justin depart with goodwill on both sides. Further, this dialogue was written with a specific audience in mind, namely the educated pagan familiar with Greek philosophy. By demonstrating how each of the philosophical schools of the period (e.g., Stoic, Pythagorean, Peripatetic, Platonic) was unable to satisfy him intellectually until he was persuaded of the truth of Christianity, Justin is arguing for the viability of Christianity as a philosophy rather than a religion.

F. Latin Christian Literature

Among Latin Christian writers, Minucius Felix was the first to write an apology in dialogue form—the *Octavius*—evidently written as a reply to the Roman orator Fronto, who had attacked Christianity in a speech to the Senate sometime in the mid 2d century. Although Fronto's speech is lost (apparently this address was the only literary attack on Christianity written in Latin) his arguments are preserved in the remarks of Caecilius, one of the participants in the dialogue. The Christian side is argued by Octavius (for whom the dialogue is named), with Minucius (or Marcus) functioning as a kind of referee. As a literary work, the *Octavius* is clearly indebted to Cicero. The setting of the dialogue is a leisurely outing of three friends en route to Ostia to enjoy the sea; the author, Minucius, is "on the scene"; the arguments presented for and against Christianity are equally balanced and persuasively presented. However, in the end, following the usual apologetic model, Caecilius admits himself defeated by Octavius' defense and henceforth converts to Christianity. Of particular interest is the fact that the *Octavius* contains no biblical references nor even direct mention of Christ. Instead, the arguments in favor of Christianity are made on the philosophical basis of its monotheism and ideas of divine providence coupled with an attack against pagan mythology. Again, these arguments are designed to convince the educated pagan of Christianity's philosophical respectability. Whether Tertullian modeled his *Apology* on the *Octavius* or vice versa has never been satisfactorily settled. Consequently, the *Octavius* is variously dated in either the mid 2d or early 3d century.

Augustine was also a writer of dialogues in the Latin Christian tradition, most of which were written during his contemplative retreat at Cassiciacum following his conversion (386–87 C.E.) or shortly thereafter. These dialogues, although clearly influenced by the Ciceronian model, are minor works in the Augustinian corpus. They represent an early attempt on the part of Augustine to integrate the ideal of contemplation—especially contemplation of the trinity—with preliminary training in the liberal arts. Since the participants in these dialogues are those friends and family who accompanied Augustine to Cassiciacum, the overall impression is one of talk between "amateur philosophers" who are intellectually curious but not terribly profound.

In terms of Augustine's literary style, Voss (1970: 198–280) distinguishes two types of dialogue: the "scenic," or that type in which Augustine situates several participants in a physical location (e.g., *Contra Academicos*, *De Beata Vita*, *De Ordine*) and a "nonscenic," or that type which has no specific location and is essentially a discussion between a teacher and student (e.g., *De Magistro*, *De Musica*). Voss also notes a "hybrid" form as represented in the single instance of Augustine's *Soliloquia*. In this dialogue, the conversation is between Augustine's "Reason" as teacher and his "Soul" as student; as such, the work is constructed as a form of "internal" dialogue in which the mind converses with itself. The *Soliloquia* was evidently an important model for Boethius' later work, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, which is

similarly constructed as an "internal" dialogue, although direct dependence is problematic (Lerer 1985: 46–56).

G. Hermetic and Gnostic Literature

A good number of Hermetic and gnostic writings can also be classed as dialogues, but in the specific sense of "revelation" or "initiation" dialogues. The emphasis in these texts is not on philosophical debate or argumentation but on the imparting of secret, esoteric knowledge ("gnosis") by a divine, revealer figure to a disciple-devotee (e.g., *Corp. Herm.* I, II, X, XI, XII, XIII; *Asclepius; Ap. John; 1 Apoc. Jas.; Apoc. Paul; Dial. Sav.; Eugnostos; Soph. Jes. Chr.; Pist. Soph.; Gos. Mary; Disc. 8–9*). The reception of this "gnosis" by the disciple (sometimes coupled with specific ritual/cultic acts) often engenders a spiritual "rebirth" or "regeneration" which culminates in the disciple's "salvation" (e.g., *Corp. Herm.* I, XIII, *Disc. 8–9*). Most of these texts are close in style to the "question and answer" format discussed above; Rudolph argues (1968: 88–89) that these texts should properly be termed dialogues only when the repeated questions of the disciple approach a real conversation and a physical "setting" is provided (e.g., *Soph. Jes. Chr.; Apoc. Paul; 1 Apoc. Jas.; Pist. Soph.; 2 Jeu; Gos. Mary*). In general, no one term adequately covers all the extant examples; however, it is clear that the writers of these texts were familiar with the traditional Greek dialogue but reshaped it to suit their own instructional and polemical purposes. For further discussion see *RAC* 3: 928–55.

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RUTH MAJERCIK

DIALOGUE OF THE SAVIOR (NHC III,5).

The *Dialogue of the Savior (Dial. Sav.)* is the fifth and final treatise preserved in Codex III of the Nag Hammadi Library, discovered in Upper Egypt in 1945. See NAG HAMMADI (CODICES). Originally written—or better, compiled—in Greek, perhaps early in the 2d century C.E., it is preserved only in a Coptic translation made before the end of the 4th century. Only recently has a critical edition been published (Emmel 1984); scholarship on this important document is in its infancy.

The *Dial. Sav.* (the title is present at the beginning [*incipit*] and end [*explicit*] of the work) is a compilation of several earlier sources of differing length and purpose. These sources, detected on the basis of form and content, are probably four in number: (A) a dialogue between Jesus and his disciples; (B) a fragment of a creation myth; (C) a cosmological wisdom list; and (D) a fragment of an apocalyptic vision (Koester and Pagels 1984: 2–9). The four have, however, been woven together, so that the dialogue is now in four parts (4–14; 19–20; 25–34a; 41–104a; Koester and Pagels 1984: 2; paragraph numbers as in Emmel 1984), the creation myth in two (15–18; 21–24), while the wisdom list (34b–35) and apocalyptic vision (36–40) follow part three of the dialogue. The compiler has supplied an introduction (1–3) and a conclusion (104b) to the work.

The critical task therefore has several facets: to distinguish between tradition (oral or written sources) and redaction; to determine the probable origin and life setting of each of the sources; and to isolate the redactional theology of the *Dial. Sav.* so as to propose a life setting for the present work as a whole. The fragmentary state of the single extant ms hinders progress at every stage; nevertheless, some preliminary conclusions may be drawn.

The *dialogue* presents traditional sayings of Jesus together with introductory questions or interpretations and expansions. For example, in *Dial. Sav.* 9 (126.6–8) the disciples ask, "[Lord], who is it who seeks, and . . . reveals?"; the Lord replies, "He who seeks . . . reveals . . ." (10 [126.9–10]). Thus the dialogue, a putative "conversation" between Jesus and three disciples (Matthew, Judas, and Mary), is the literary platform not for extended theological discourse but for an authoritative presentation of sayings and exegesis (Koester 1979: 544–56). Since the writings closest to this compositional model include the NT gospel of John and the *Gospel of Thomas* (NHC 2, 2), works with which the *Dial. Sav.* also has sayings materials in common, it has been argued that the dialogue source in the *Dial. Sav.* may be dated in the late 1st century C.E. (Koester and Pagels 1984: 16).

Comparison with the *Gospel of Thomas* suggests a further connection with the *Dial. Sav.* In *Gos. Thom.* 2 (32.14–19) Jesus announces the steps to salvation: seeking, finding, being troubled, being astonished, ruling (*P. Oxy.* 654 adds "resting"). This sequence seems to be referred to in the *Dial. Sav.*, and has perhaps supplied the principle according to which the topics are arranged. The present for the disciples, and hence for the readers, is an interim before ruling and resting. At the same time, the *Dial. Sav.*'s introduction (1 [120.2–6]) offers an assurance that "already" the time has come to rest (1 [120.6–8]). This tension, between the rest as present and as future, finds its resolution in the probable setting of the writing: baptismal initiation, into which "the opening introduction invites the believer" (Koester and Pagels 1984: 11). In baptism the believer, now empowered to "save that [which] (or: him [who]) can follow" (44 [137.16–17]), anticipates rest from the labors that characterize life in the flesh (cf. 28 [132.9–12]).

The *creation myth*, in question and answer form, reflects

upon the generative power of the divine word through water. The *wisdom list,* in the form of a monologue punctuated by rhetorical questions, emphasizes the need for an understanding of the natural elements; these are interpreted soteriologically, with explicit reference to baptism (35 [134.5–8]). The *apocalyptic vision,* in which the disciples are granted a view of "an exceedingly high place" and of "the abyss" (36 [135.4–10]), presents "the Son of Man" (37 [135.16–17]) as the "interpreting angel" (a standard feature of apocalypses). In the *Dial. Sav.* this figure is identified with Jesus during an exchange which anticipates later discussions of the double presence (on earth and in heaven) of the Lord (38–40 [136.5–137.3]; cf. Hippolytus *Contra Noetum* 4.11, and esp. *Gos. Bart.* 28–35).

Although typically gnostic terminology and concepts permeate the *Dial. Sav.*, the work "cannot be understood as the simple product of gnostic theology. Rather, it resembles the gospel of John in its attempt to interpret the sayings of Jesus in the horizon of gnostic thought" (Koester and Pagels 1988: 244).

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JULIAN V. HILLS

DIATESSARON. Diatessaron (Greek: *dia tessaron:* "through [the] four [Gospels]") is the name given by Eusebius (*Hist.Eccl.* 4.29.6) to a "combination and collection" of the Gospels created by TATIAN about the year 170 C.E. As one of the earliest witnesses to the text of the Gospels (it is rivaled only by the quotations of Justin, Marcion, and Clement), it occupies a preeminent position in NT textual studies.

Employing the four canonical Gospels and, perhaps, one or more extracanonical sources, Tatian wove a single, continuous narrative. He omitted doublets, harmonized discrepancies, and "corrected" omissions found in his source gospels. Although some scholars have seen Tatian's theology as the impetus for creating a harmony (so both Elze 1960 and Baarda 1969), the idea was patently "in the air," for we know that Justin used a gospel harmony (Bellinzoni 1967: 140), and that gospel harmonies or synopses were created by Ammonius of Alexandria (Eus., *Ep. ad Carp.*) and Theophilus of Antioch (Jerome, *Ep. ad Algasiam*). Practical advantages must also be considered: a harmony would have—perforce—a unified point of view and, thus, been ideal for evangelization; as a compact epitome it would have been easier to transport and cheaper to copy than the separate Gospels.

The Diatessaron proved itself one of the most popular editions of the Gospels ever produced. It was used by Catholic Christians, such as Ephrem Syrus, by Judaic Christians (Epiph., *haer.* 46.1.8–9), Manicheans, and missionaries, who took it to the furthest reaches of Christendom. Its greatest impact, however, was in Syria, where as late as the 5th century it was the standard gospel text. This is demonstrated by the fact that the *Canons of Rabbula* specifically direct that the "Euangelion da-Mepharreshe" ("separated gospel," i.e., canonical Gospels) be read in the churches, and that Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus from 423 to 457, reports impounding over 200 copies of the "Euangelion de-Mehallete" ("gospel of the mixed," another name for the Diatessaron) from the churches in his diocese.

Reconstruction of the Diatessaron's text is necessary, for no copy has come down to us. Witnesses to its text are diverse: translations (often rearranged), commentaries, and quotations. On the basis of provenance and language, these witnesses are classified as Eastern and Western. The most important include (in the East): Ephrem's *Commentary* (extant in both the Syriac original and an Armenian translation; both 4th century); the gospel quotations of Aphrahat (Syriac, 4th century); an Arabic Harmony (Arabic, 12th–13th century); a Persian Harmony (Persian, 1547 C.E., a copy of a 13th century ms); Isho'dad of Merv's *Commentary* (Syriac, 9th century). Further, since the Diatessaron preceded and influenced all extant versions of the separated Syriac gospels (Black 1972: 142), the most ancient Syriac verions ($syr^{s.c.p.pal}$, 4th century and later) also contain numerous Diatessaronic readings. In the West the most important witnesses include: Codex Fuldensis (Latin, 6th century); a poem, *The Heliand* (Old Saxon, 9th century); the Liège Harmony (Middle Dutch, 13th century); related to the Liège Harmony are the Stuttgart, Cambridge, Haaren, and Haagse Harmonies (all in the Middle Dutch, 14th–15th century) and the Middle German *Leben Jhesu,* or Theodiscum Harmony (14th century); the Tuscan Harmony (Middle Italian, 13th–14th century); the Venetian Harmony (Middle Italian, 13th–14th century); and the Pepysian Harmony (so named, for it was once owned by Samuel Pepys; Middle English, ca. 1400 C.E.). This diverse array of sources bears witness to the popularity of Tatian's creation among the common folk wherever it went.

The problems in reconstructing the Diatessaron's text are twofold. First, all of the witnesses have been "Vulgatized" to some degree; that is, the nonstandard Diatessaronic reading (exactly what the text critic prizes) has often been replaced with the standard ("Vulgate," regardless of the language) reading of the language. Second, since each witness has its own textual history, variants in them cannot automatically be regarded as Diatessaronic. This has led some scholars to dispute whether certain "witnesses" or readings actually are Diatessaronic (de Bruin 1980: 204; Fischer 1972: 48, n. 158). Research, however, has now convinced most experts of their relationship to the Diatessaron, for only in this manner can their singular agreements be explained (van den Broek 1974; Quispel 1975;

Petersen 1985). The question of where Tatian composed his harmony remains open. Rome, where he studied with Justin, is possible, as is the Syrian East, where he returned after having been expelled by the Roman Church as a heretic (in the East he is first called a heretic in the 4th-century Syriac translation of Eusebius' *Hist.Eccl.*). On the basis of the text it uses in its OT citations and certain Semitic syntactic features—present even in the Western witnesses—it seems quite certain that Syriac was the original language of the Diatessaron (Petersen 1986). The number and identity of the sources employed by Tatian remain unclear. Numerous readings attributed by Church Fathers to "the Gospel of the Hebrews" or "the Jewish Gospel" appear in the Diatessaron. An example is the "light" which shines in the Jordan at Jesus' baptism. Epiph. (*haer.* 30.13.7) says this stood in the "Hebrew Gospel"; the reading is also in Justin (*Dial.* 88.3) and at Matt 3:16 in two Old Latin mss (*a* and g^1, 4th and 9th century, respectively). Whether a "fifth source," such as Epiphanius' "Hebrew Gospel," is Tatian's source for this reading, or whether it came from a variant ms of the gospel of Matthew, as represented by the two Old Latin mss, cannot be determined until we have a clearer picture of the Gospels in the mid 2d century. Nevertheless, a strong prima facie case can be made that Tatian employed sources other than the canonical Gospels, for there are numerous examples of such extracanonical readings in the Diatessaron (Phillips 1931).

Textually speaking, the Diatessaron is a gold mine of early readings, some of which may, arguably, antedate the reading offered by the canonical Gospels (Petersen 1983; 1985: 165–67). The Diatessaron's text is related to the so-called "Western Text" (which is actually of Eastern origin); Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D) and Washingtonianus (W) sometimes follow its readings. Even more remarkable, however, are the number of agreements offered by the Old Latin mss—a greater number of agreements than with the Greek mss, although from a far smaller number of mss. This phenomenon was first noted by Vogels (1911), and remains unexplained. Whether the agreements are due to Tatian's appropriation of the text used in Rome in the mid 2d century (Klijn 1969: 54–55), or whether the agreements indicate that the Diatessaron preceded and influenced the earliest Latin translation of the Gospels, is unclear. Von Soden's (1911–13) hypothesis that the Greek Gospels owed most of their cross-gospel harmonizations to the influence of the Diatessaron is discredited today, for such harmonizations appear to have been a common tendency of scribes, and many of the harmonizations present in the Greek gospel mss are absent from the Diatessaronic witnesses.

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WILLIAM L. PETERSEN

DIATRIBE. Diatribe had several technical senses in antiquity. It was used for the teaching activity of philosophers and sophists. In this sense it can be translated as "conversations," "lecture," "a class," or "seminar." Plato used the word for Socrates' teaching by informal conversation (*Ap.* 37c–d; *Grg.* 484e; *Chrm.* 153a). Writers could speak of a teacher giving a diatribe or students participating in a diatribe. The word could also be used as an equivalent to *scholē* in the sense of an institution or sect, a school of philosophy. The modern scholarly concept of the diatribe is most closely linked to the use of the word for the records, literary by-products, or imitations of such teaching activity. This usage is attested as early as the 4th century B.C. At the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2d century A.D., Arrian took notes of the lecture-discussions of his teacher Epictetus. The oldest manuscripts give the title "diatribes" to Arrian's record of Epictetus' teaching discourse.

A. Matters of Definition
B. A School Method
C. Rhetoric and Style
D. Subject Matter
E. History
   1. Non-Christian Authors
   2. Christian Authors

A. Matters of Definition

The modern scholarly concept of the diatribe has often been imprecise and unduly broad. It has been closely tied to the idea of popular philosophy. In the earlier part of this century, scholars developed the idea that the diatribe was the primary oral and literary genre of the supposed popularization of philosophy for the masses in the Hellenistic period. They often claimed, but without warrant, that Bion of Borysthenes (ca. 324–255 B.C.) was the origi-

nator of this genre. Modern writers have frequently described the diatribe as a sermon for the common man developed by the Cynic and Stoic street preachers. The main criteria for classifying a work as a diatribe in the early part of this century was that it contain moral teachings advocated by the Hellenistic philosophies and that it employ a lively popular style.

Scholars have at one time or another called a variety of genres diatribes because they are works which seek to teach individuals the attitudes and ways of life advocated by the Hellenistic philosophies. The iambic poems of Hipponax, Cercidas, Phoenix of Colophon; the satires of Varro, Horace, and Lucian; the epideictic and deliberative speeches of Dio Chrysostom; and the philosophical treatises of Cicero—all have been called diatribes. This broadening of diatribe to mean nontechnical and moral-philosophical literature has been strongly criticized by classicists. It is better to use diatribe only for moral lectures and discussions in the philosophical schools, written records of that activity, and literary imitations of that kind of pedagogical discourse. It is also appropriate to speak of other genres employing features of style and rhetorical techniques from this tradition.

B. A School Method

First, it is important to understand the nature of ancient philosophical schools. Indeed, the term school can be misleading since it often means a continuing institution with a permanent location and a formalized organization. Aside from the traditional schools in Athens which had some organization and institutional continuity, most schools consisted only of a teacher and students. These circles of teachers and disciples met either in the teacher's home or in public places such as a gymnasium or stoa. In Hellenistic and Roman times the teacher was above all the guide, mentor and model for the students' character formation. The diatribe was a tradition of rhetoric for such moral-pedagogical purposes. See SCHOOLS, HELLENISTIC.

Most of the authors of diatribes whose works are extant look back to Socrates as a model for their own teaching activity. Records with minimal literary shaping of actual dialogues among individuals in the setting of a class or larger audience are extant from Epictetus and Dio Chrysostom. The dialogical style associated with the diatribe is more typically simulated rhetorically in a lecture or informal discourse. This philosophical-school style was an attempt to adapt the "Socratic" elenchus and protrepticus to the rhetoric of a speech. The elenchus was Socrates' method of critical questioning by which he attempted to expose the ignorance and moral inconsistency of his discussion-partner. The elenchtic method is especially prominent in Plato's earlier dialogues. The protrepticus is Socrates' positive exhortation to virtue or the philosophical life (*Euthydemus* 278E–282D). Both elenchtic and protreptic discourse have the character of direct address to an individual.

C. Rhetoric and Style

The diatribal authors simulate direct address in their discourses by creating an imaginary discussion partner and by employing direct address to their audiences. The dialogical element in the diatribe takes several forms and within limits varies considerably from author to author. One method consists of short exchanges of questions and answers. Often this is in the Socratic manner with the teacher leading the fictitious interlocutor by means of pointed questions frequently posing absurdities which the interlocutor must strongly reject. This method is prominent in Teles, Epictetus, and Dio Chrysostom. Paul employs it in his letter to the Romans (3:1–9; 3:27–4:2). Sometimes the interlocutor asks the questions and the teacher answers. A technique of many authors is to string a series of objections and false conclusions from the interlocutor throughout the lecture or treatise. The interlocutor's question draws a false inference from which the author wishes to guard himself or poses a typical objection to the author's line of reasoning. The teacher's answer, then, serves as a transition to a new topic or step in the argumentation. A series of such objections may become a structuring principle for a discourse (Rom 6:1, 15; 7:7, 13; 9:14, 19; 11:1, 11, 19). In objections and other forms of imaginary speech (Rom 7:7–25), the diatribe made much use of the rhetorical techniques of *prosōpopoiia,* character delineation.

Diatribes also effect their style of direct address by means of brief speeches were the teacher turns from his real audience to address an imaginary individual. Typically but not always, these are sharp censorious words which rebuke the interlocutor for some vice or pattern of behavior (Rom 2:1–5, 17–24; 9:19–21; 11:17–24). These apostrophes tend to function as characterizations of the interlocutor and employ the techniques of *prosōpopoiia.* Addresses to an interlocutor employ vice-lists, rhetorical questions, and vocatives such as "O man" (Rom 2:1), "fool" (1 Cor 15:36), and "sir". They are usually spoken in the 2d person singular. The writer or speaker tends to maintain contact at various points with the audience in a way which is similar to letter-writing style. Diatribal and epistolary styles combine easily. The author may turn from the interlocutor or general argumentative discourse to exhort the audience or address a question to it.

Other elements of style vary widely according to the cultural-educational backgrounds, philosophical stances, and immediate purposes of the particular authors. Nevertheless, there are a number of rhetorical features which characteristically serve the didactic and hortatory purposes of the diatribe. The style tends to be conversational with parataxis and elliptical expressions, although some authors use periods. Rhetorical figures such as isocola, parallelism, and antithesis are popular. The style is certainly didactic and sometimes hortatory. Thus, much use is made of quotations from poets and philosophers in the form of maxims and brief citations. Anecdotes or *chreia,* comparisons, and especially examples from history and legend are very important. Irony and sarcasm, especially in connection with the imaginary interlocutor, are prominent. A number of authors personify abstract ideas such as death, poverty, and wealth (Rom 10:6–8; 1 Cor 12:15–16).

D. Subject Matter

A great number of themes are found in diatribes and literature influenced by the diatribe. The style is appropriate to almost any topic related to morality and manner of

life. There are certain topics, however, which recur in the diatribal literature. These became standard topics for moralists from many schools and various points of view. Such topics largely constitute the content of what has been known as Hellenistic popular philosophy. Among these topics which are prominent in diatribes, other genres of moral literature and Christian writers from the 2d century onwards are: poverty and wealth (Jas 2:1–7; 5:1–6); exile; death not to be feared (1 Thess 4:13–18; 1 Cor 15:12–56); contentment and self-sufficiency (1 Cor 9:1–27; Phil 4:11–13); freedom (1 Cor 6:12–20); luxury; passions (Rom 1:24–29; 7:7–25; Jas 4:1–3); divine providence; fate; anger (Jas 1:19–20); happiness; covetousness; self-control (1 Cor 9:24–27); old age; tranquility (1 Thess 4:9–12); pleasure; ascetic training; the wise man's speech (1 Thess 2:1–12); and moral armor (2 Cor 10:1–6).

E. History

The evidence is insufficient to write a history of the diatribe showing consistent lines of influence and development. Rather, a more modest survey of diatribal authors and the use of the diatribe by early Christian writers is possible and appropriate to the evidence.

1. Non-Christian Authors. We have the portrayals of Socrates' teaching activity by Plato and Xenophon but it is not until later Hellenistic times that the typical teaching style of the diatribe appears. Whereas the classical philosophies of Plato and Aristotle focused on the reform of the city-state, the Hellenistic schools tended to focus on the character development of individuals and a corresponding alternative style of life. This is true especially of the Stoics, Cynics, and Epicureans. Nontechnical and nontheoretical ethics, which emphasized practice and methods of moral training, became increasingly important into the early Roman Empire.

Teles, who lived in the mid-3d century B.C., is the author of the earliest extant diatribes, although references exist to the "diatribes" of many individuals who lived from the time of Socrates onwards. Teles was a Cynic teacher who conducted a school for young men, probably in Megara. Teles employs fictitious exchanges of question and answer with an unnamed interlocutor and censorious address in his lectures. His diatribes are full of quotations and paraphrases from philosophers and various moral authorities. Because he quotes Bion of Borysthenes, whose witty style is mentioned by a number of later writers, many scholars at one time accepted the thesis of Otto Hense that Teles' diatribes were merely copies of Bion, the originator of the style. Paul Wendland even outlined a history of the diatribe based on the assumption that the rhetorically and philosophically eclectic Bion had invented the diatribe. Wendland believed that the lively and entertaining diatribe of Bion had evolved into the duller and more serious diatribe of Roman times. It is now clear that Bion did not invent the diatribe and that the dialogical style found in Teles belongs to him and not Bion.

Most of the extant evidence for the diatribe comes from the period of the early 1st century B.C. to the early 2d century A.D. Philo of Alexandria (ca. 30 B.C.–A.D. 45) employs many of the typical themes of the diatribe and sometimes elements of diatribal style in his peculiar exposition of Judaism. The Epicurean, Philodemus, earlier in the 1st century B.C., came from Palestine to Italy where he gathered a circle of aristocratic Roman followers. His treatise on death *(de Morte)* employs the style of the diatribe and his *de Ira* "On Anger" has been variously called a diatribe or a treatise in diatribe style. His use of the first person plural in connection with dialogical features shows interesting similarities to Paul's style. Seneca, the contemporary of Paul and tutor of the young Nero, makes significant use of the diatribe's didactic dialogical style in several of his letters to Lucilius and certain of his moral essays. Seneca's letters illustrate how diatribal and epistolary styles, both of which are dialogical and employ direct address, could be effectively integrated.

The Stoic teacher Musonius Rufus (ca. 30–101 A.D.) conducted a school in Rome and then on the desolate isle of Gyaros where Nero had banished him. His extant diatribes are based on the notes of a student who, by paraphrasing and summarizing, has obscured much of the originally lively style. One of Musonius' students was Epictetus, who began a school in Nicopolis when banished from Rome by Domitian (89 A.D.). His "discourses" were stenographically recorded in shorthand and edited by Arrian. They provide the most extensive and detailed picture of a teacher's diatribes in the context of a school. We see him explaining doctrines, censuring and exhorting students, often using imaginary discussion and address to various interlocutors. He can move from conversations with people in his school to lecturing discourse with a full array of rhetorical techniques.

Dio Chrysostom began as a rhetorician but later turned to philosophy and took up the life of an itinerant Cynic when exiled by Domitian (82 A.D.). Many of his speeches are representative of the style and ethos of the Second Sophistic. Some, however, are informal lecture-conversations which purport to record his teaching activity with a small group of listeners. These are diatribes which combine Dio's version of what he considered a Socratic teaching style with moral lecture. His diatribes often begin with short dialogues and make frequent use of objections from imaginary interlocutors. Dio's contemporary, Plutarch (ca. 50–120 A.D.), headed a school of philosophy at his home in Chaeronea. A number of Plutarch's moral treatises are based on school lectures or reflect the discussions of the school. Although these treatises have been given literary form, they often contain dialogical and other stylistic features of the diatribe. From the second half of the 2d century, 41 discourses are extant which the eclectic philosopher and sophist Maximus of Tyre gave to a class of aristocratic young men. Maximus mixes popular-philosophical themes, the style of the diatribe, and sophistic oratory in these discourses.

Other evidence for the diatribe is scattered over several centuries and needs further study. Certain discourses of Favorinus (ca. 80–150 A.D.) and Themistius (317–88 A.D.), for instance, have been described as diatribes. Some letters, as for example, certain of those ascribed to Apollonius of Tyana (died ca. 97 A.D.), employ diatribal style. There are also papyrus fragments of writings from Egypt which appear to be diatribes.

2. Christian Authors. The letters of Paul are the earliest pieces of Christian literature to show the influence and use of the diatribe. Some have suggested that Paul acquired

the style through Hellenistic Judaism and "the sermon" of the Hellenistic Synagogue. We have no evidence for the latter, but any artisan and traveler of the cities in the Greek East could be expected to know of the diatribe. Schools often operated in public view, a teacher gathering a circle of students in a market, gymnasium, or stoa. There are many descriptions of passersby stopping to listen to a philosopher lecturing to his disciples in a public place. Satirists, comic playwrights, and moralists parodied the philosopher's teaching style assuming that their audiences were familiar with it.

As any other writer, Paul's employment of diatribal techniques is an adaptation to his own purposes and rhetorical style. The dialogical style of the diatribe is most prominent in Romans. He uses it to present himself as a teacher to a church where he wants to preach his own particular gospel concerning the redemption of the gentiles. In 2:17–29 Paul introduces and characterizes a Jewish interlocutor whom he censures for failing to be a light to the gentiles. Diatribal dialogues with this interlocutor ensue in 3:1–9 and 3:27–4:2 where Paul urges him to give up his boastful attitude toward gentiles. A series of objections and false conclusions are raised in chaps. 6–11 (6:1, 15; 7:7, 13; 9:14, 19; 11:1, 11, 19). These false inferences, which pose possible objections to Paul's line of argument, are usually rejected by the phrase *me genoito* (by no means!); then reasons are given for the rejection. Address in the second person singular to imaginary interlocutors also occurs (2:1–5, 17–29; 8:2; 9:19–21; 11:17–24; 14:4, 10). As in the diatribe, Paul uses censorious rhetorical questions, the expression "O man" and other typical elements of such apostrophes. The address in 11:17–24 is to a gentile interlocutor who boasts over Jews. Paul also employs a number of other rhetorical features typical of the diatribe including: lists of virtues and vices (Rom 1:29–31; Gal 5:19–23; 1 Cor 6:9–11), personification (Rom 11:17–24), comparisons (Rom 7:1–6; 1 Cor 12:12–26, and frequently), examples (1 Cor 3:5–4:7; 9:1–27; 10:1–13; Phil 2:1–11; Gal 1:10–2:21), and rhetorical questions (1 Cor 4:7–9 and frequently).

The methods of the diatribe are not of such central importance to any of Paul's other letters although the style appears at various places. In 1 Cor 6:12–20, for example, Paul dialogues with a sloganeering interlocutor. Many diatribal features are clustered in 1 Cor 15:29–35: rhetorical questions, direct address and exhortation to the audience, a proverbial saying, a quotation from the poet Menander, a question from an imaginary objector, censorious address to the objector, a comparison. In addition, Paul uses the metaphor of fighting the wild beasts which was used by philosophers for the struggle with their passions.

The hortatory letter of James employs both themes and rhetorical techniques of the diatribe. These include: indictment through the use of rhetorical questions (2:2–7, 14–16; 3:20–21; 4:4, 12), dramatic characterization (2:3, 16; 4:13–16), objection of an interlocutor (2:18), censorious address to an interlocutor (2:19–23; 4:13–5:6), examples (2:21–24, 25; 5:10, 17–18), comparisons (1:11, 23–24; 3:2–8, 11–12), quotations (2:8, 11; 4:5–6), control of the tongue (3:3–12), word versus deed (1:22–27; 2:14–26), censure of pretentiousness (4:13–17; cf. 6–10), and the passions as the basis for vice (4:1–3). In James, as in any other writing, it is not the occurrence of isolated stylistic phenomena but the combination of multiple features in typical ways which identifies the style as diatribal.

The style of the diatribe was employed by many later Christian writers and in Christian preaching. In 2d century N Africa, Tertullian (ca. A.D. 160–ca. 240) employed the style with vigor *(De pallio; De cultu fem.; De spect.)*. Clement of Alexandria (b. ca. 150) quotes large portions of Musonius Rufus' diatribes almost verbatim. In the 4th century, Basil (ca. 330–79) and especially Gregory Nazianzus (329–89) reflect not only the highest philosophical and rhetorical training but also themes and stylistic methods of the diatribe in many of their works. John Chrysostom (ca. 354–407) and Asterius of Amasia (fl. ca. 400) very effectively acculturated the style and themes of the diatribe to the rhetoric of their sermons.

In the diatribe, then, early Christian speakers and writers adapted a style of teaching and exhortation which had developed in circles of philosophical teachers and their students. By the 1st century A.D. this style had been widely influential in moral literature and philosophical rhetoric. In the NT the style of the diatribe is most important in Paul's letters, especially Romans, and the epistle of James. An understanding of its features and functions is invaluable for the exegesis of these texts.

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STANLEY K. STOWERS

DIBLAIM (PERSON) [Heb *diblāyim*]. Father of Gomer, the wife of the prophet Hosea (Hos 1:3). Especially among those who interpret the first 3 chapters of Hosea allegorically, attempts have been made to find a figurative meaning in "Diblaim." The name has been understood as a dual form of the word *"dĕbēlâ"* (that is, compressed cake). "Daughter of Diblaim" is then taken either to mean that the prostitute Gomer could be hired for the price of two fig cakes, or (given the association of raisin cakes with the Baal cult) to refer to her association with Baal. However, such allegorical interpretation of the name is unlikely. Each of the three unambiguous sign names in Hosea 1 is accompanied by an interpretation of its meaning; in the absence of such explanation, it is best to take "Diblaim" as a concrete historical detail. "Daughter of Diblaim" might refer to Gomer's hometown (cf. the Moabite town, Diblatayim). However, it is most likely simply the name of Gomer's father, about whom nothing else is known.

CAROLYN J. PRESSLER

DIBON (PLACE) [Heb *dîbôn*]. One of the cities of the Moabites, which, according to Num 21:26–30, was captured by Sihon, king of the Amorites, in his campaign against Moab shortly before the arrival of the Hebrews on their traditional movement from Egypt to Canaan. Literary documentation for Dibon is found mainly in the OT and the Mesha stele (see *ANET,* 320–21). The former, insofar as it concerns Moab's role in Israel's own settlement traditions, and as colored by mutual hostility and ignorance over centuries, must be treated with caution.

A. History

The Israelites captured this territory N of the Arnon (Num 21:21–25, 31) and it was assigned to the tribe of Reuben (Josh 13:15–23). In Num 32:34, however, it is said that Dibon, ʿAtaroth, and Aroer were built by Gad, even though its traditional allotment was further N, extending to the Jabbok river (modern Wâdī Zerqā). Reuben's displacement of Gad in this territory is supported by the term "Dibon-Gad," that is "Dibon of Gad" in Num 33:44–45 and the statement of the Mesha stele (lines 10–11) that "the men of Gad dwelt in the land of ʿAtaroth from of old and the king of Israel had built ʿAtaroth for himself" (ʿAtaroth is probably to be identified with Khirbet ʿAṭrūs, 14 km NW of Dibon). Dibon is on the ancient main route ("The King's Highway" in Num 20:17; 21:22) running N from ʿAqabah via Kerak to ʿAmman, and probably onward to Damascus. Its site is localized by the name of the village of Dhībān, situated on a low mound (M.R. 224101) 64 km S of ʿAmman and 3 km N of the biblical Anon river (the Wâdī el-Mūjib). However, the ancient city stood on a prominent mound N of the modern village, cut off by a deep wadi on the W and N, and by a shallower depression on the E, from the tableland surrounding it. This part of the mound, until recently, supported extensive ruins of the Byzantine and Arab periods. On the S, the mound descends gradually into a bay flanked on either side by slight elevations where, reportedly, the Moabite Stone (the stele of Mesha, king of Moab) was found in 1868. Finally, it merges into a low saddle with joins it to the S mound.

The book of Judges recounts that the children of Israel served Eglon, king of Moab, for 18 years, until delivered by Ehud (Judg 3:12–30); later, apparently, it was necessary for Jephthah to deliver the land N of the Arnon from an Ammonite occupation (Josh 11–12:7). A Moabite domination is referred to, also, in 1 Sam 12:9. King Saul warred against his neighbors, including Moab (1 Sam 14:47), to ensure that they would not pose a threat to his newly founded kingdom. David conquered Moab and put it under tribute (2 Sam 8:2); his census of his kingdom included the lands from the Arnon river N (2 Sam 24:5). Dibon was certainly included within the dominion of Israel at this time, but it is probable that Moab regained its territory N of the Arnon after the death of Solomon when the N tribes seceded. To this period, during the reign of Jehoshaphat, we should ascribe the strange account of an invasion of Judah by Transjordanian states, including Moab (under Mesha's father, *KMŠYT*?) which was repulsed only by divine intervention (2 Chr 20:1–30). It was, however, Omri of Israel according to the Mesha stele (lines 4–5) and 2 Kgs 3:4, who led a successful attack against Moab N of the Arnon, took "possession of all the land of Medeba," and exacted a heavy tribute.

After Ahab's death, Mesha revolted. Jehoram, the grandson of Omri, Jehoshaphat of Judah, and the latter's vassal-king of Edom (1 Kgs 22:47; 2 Kgs 3:4–27) launched a joint campaign against Mesha from the S around the Dead Sea. His army was defeated, his land laid waste, and his city, Kir-hareseth (usually identified with modern Kerak) besieged. Mesha resorted to the ultimate sacrifice of his eldest son as a burnt offering on the wall of the city to appease the divine powers; the desperate act achieved the result he desired—the allied forces lifted the siege and retired, leaving him in control of Moab.

Threatened from N and S, Mesha appears to have decided that his N border was the most vulnerable and launched an attack on the Israelite-held towns N of the Arnon. The Mesha stele gives very detailed information on his campaigns: his assault on Ataroth, rebuilt by the king of Israel, and the slaughter of its Gadite inhabitants; his capture of Nebo, the sacrifice of its populace, and the devotion of the ritual objects of Yahweh to Chemosh, his god; and his seizure of other cities culminating in the capture of Jahaz, the stronghold built by the Israelite king when he came to the aid of the Israelite inhabitants (Mesha stele, lines 4–21; cf. *ANET,* 320).

As Mesha was a "Daibonite," he established Dibon as his capital adding or rebuilding, at its S extremity, a new quarter called *Qrḥh* (possibly pronounced, *Qarḥoh*): "I made this sanctuary for Chemosh in Qrḥh" (line 3); "I built Qrḥh, the wall of the parks and the wall of the acropolis. I built its gates, I built its towers, I built a palace, and I made the retaining walls of the reservoir inside the town" (lines 21–24). As the new quarter had no cisterns, Mesha directed the inhabitants to make cisterns for themselves (lines 24–25). The stele with its triumphant declarations was probably set up in the sanctuary of Chemosh in Qrḥh, near where it was found in 1868.

Mesha's successes may not have been lasting. Hazael of Damascus is said to have conquered Israel's territory E of the Jordan as far as the Arnon (2 Kgs 10:32–33), which may mean that this part of Moab had been lost, perhaps to King Jehu, before this time. On the other hand, there are hints in the OT that Moab maintained a precarious existence including even its territory N of the Arnon. The references in Isa 15:2 and, perhaps, in Jer 48:18, where Moab is called "the daughter of Dibon" suggest that Dibon might still have been the capital. The oracles against Moab of Isaiah 15–16 and 25:1–12, of Jeremiah 48, and Ezekiel 25:8–11 name not only Dibon but other towns N of the Arnon as though they still belonged to Moab: Heshbon, Aroer, Nebo, Medeba, Jahaz, and others. This was the period of Assyrian and Babylonian expansionism and the states of Syria, Palestine, and Transjordan were forced to submit or be destroyed. By submitting to this foreign domination and paying its tribute, Moab was allowed to keep its own shadow government and kings; four of these are named in the Assyrian annals. That it should be at peace—and no doubt gleefully witnessing Israel's and Judah's travails, in spite of their prophets' dire warnings—was a very sore point with those prophets and made their oracles against Moab bitter and gloating. Finally, Moab, too, committed the fatal mistake: It joined a widespread

rebellion against the Babylonians and lost all semblance of independence, probably at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar (582 B.C.).

Moab (and Dibon) play no important role in the centuries that followed, but with the rise of the Nabatean power and the growth of trade, Moab must have flourished. However, Judah, as a result of the Hasmonean triumph over the Greek rulers of Egypt and Syria and the establishment of a strong state, once more turned its eyes to its former territories in Transjordan. Both John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus warred against the Nabateans, winning back some of the lost cities. Whether Dibon was one of these we are not told, but one coin of Hyrcanus II (63–40 B.C.) found at the site, suggests that Dibon was included within the Peraea, "the land beyond (the Jordan)," an adjunct of the Jewish state. If so, it is probable, on the basis of the archaeological evidence, that it reverted to Nabatean rule at least as early as the 1st century B.C. and was incorporated into the new Roman province of Arabia in A.D. 106.

Two inscriptions found at Dibon suggest strongly that there was a Roman garrison here in the latter part of the 2d century and much of the 3d. Eusebius, in the 4th century, notes Dibon as a "very large town." Yāqūt, the Arab geographer, writing in the first quarter of the 13th century, mentions "Dhibyān." By Ottoman times, the village had moved to the S hill and closer to the main road.

B. Excavations

A preliminary sounding was conducted in 1950 with full excavations the following year under the direction of F. V. Winnett. His report provides valuable insights into the interpretation of the Mesha stele and the other documentary sources. The field work was continued in 1952 by W. L. Reed; in 1952–53 by A. D. Tushingham; and finally in 1955–56 and 1965 by W. H. Morton. The first 3 expeditions were confined to the SE part of the mound; those of Morton consisted of soundings to bedrock on higher and hitherto untouched parts of the mound—the NE, NW, and summit.

1. The Bronze and Iron Ages. Morton's reseaches filled serious gaps in the city's archaeological record. For the first time, excavations to bedrock revealed undisturbed EB Age deposits. In his section H–VII were found bonded walls, 1.40 m thick, running E-W and N-S, resting on bedrock and enclosed within a fill whose ceramic content was consistently EB; their proximity to a gateway of the Iron Age and segments of other walls to the W and N attributed to the EB make it possible to infer a defensive system of this period. While the duration of this early occupation may encompass EB II–IV, there is absolutely no evidence for the MB and LB Ages at Dhiban.

Settlement begins once more in the Iron Age. Pottery characteristic of the early Iron Age has been found, but it is still not possible to assign any structures to this period. At least two Iron Age II stages of a major gateway are represented in Morton's section H. The earlier is built of stone and mudbrick and is approached by a curved, sometimes stepped, pathway on bedrock. Probably to the destruction of this wall is to be ascribed the charred grain found resting on bedrock outside it, which can be compared with the grain found by Reed in a house at the S end of the mound, dated by radiocarbon and ceramic evidence to ca. 850 B.C. The later Iron Age city wall stands to a height of 3.5 m; the gateway as found, however, represents a reworking in the Nabatean period. Outside this wall were large circular grain silos with plastered stone sides and bottoms which may belong to the time of Mesha. They indicate the city's prosperity and the importance of grain as a major staple crop of the kingdom (Ruth 1:1), as of Transjordan generally (for Ammon, 2 Chr 27:5). To this same period may be ascribed a large public building in section L, referred to as a "palace," measuring 42.9 × 21.1 m. Its stone walls rest on bedrock, cutting through 30–40 cm of EB deposits. Its E end may have been a sanctuary; in this area were found pieces of an Iron Age I incense stand and nearby 2 "fertility" figurines. The "palace" and "sanctuary" may be the buildings referred to in the Mesha stele (lines 3 and 23).

It seems more likely at present, however, to seek Mesha's new royal quarter of Qarhoh in the area partially investigated in the 1950–53 expeditions, even though this area was generally low-lying and difficult to enclose within the city's main defenses. Yet it was here, tradition holds, that Mesha's memorial stele was found—a logical site if it was set up originally in or adjacent to "this high place in Qarhoh" (Mesha stele, line 3). Its subsequent development as the citadel of the city involved great labor and expense which may confirm its identification with Mesha's royal quarter.

Three building stages in this area have been distinguished. The earliest, resting on or immediately above bedrock, contains traces of occupation and city walls, but no fills to raise the occupation level towards that of the main settlement to the N. It probably represents a lightly fortified suburb outside the city's main walls. Occupation there can be dated to about 850 B.C.

A major redevelopment of this area included heavy walls along the S, SE, and E (the W part of the area has not been excavated) and an impressive square tower at the SE corner. These supported a great fill which elevated the S quarter to at least the threshold level of the tower 13 m above bedrock. A second tower or other major building may lie beneath an unexcavated knoll to the W. What appears to be a casemate wall in part underlying the S and part of the E podium of the later Nabatean temple, together with other fragments of walls, may be related to the "high place for Chemosh" and palace referred to in the Mesha stele (lines 3 and 23); this may be inferred from the tendency in the Near East for holy places to retain their sanctity and power through a series of shrines. It seems possible that this major building program, although still not completely excavated or defined, represents Mesha's work.

The latest and most spectacular building project at Dibon consists of a great battered wall of roughly dressed blocks averaging 1 × 0.5 m laid horizontally, revetting and supporting the earlier constructions. Where revealed, it still stands up to 10 m above bedrock. Dibon's impressive citadel, when completely visible, must have resembled the podium of David's citadel at Jerusalem recently excavated by Yigal Shiloh. Such expensive works, and permission to build them, suggests that a ruler of Dibon had won special favor from his overlord; such an occasion may be the

"defeat in an open battle" inflicted by "Kamashaltu, king of Moab," vassal of Ashurbanipal, on an Arab king who had revolted. Apart from the defenses, archaeology has revealed little of architectural significance; the excavated tombs of the Moabite period, however, reveal that in material culture, at least, Moab differed little from its neighbors E and W of the Jordan.

Dibon's security and prosperity came to a sudden end when Moab joined in a general revolt against Nebuchadnezzar, the new Babylonian overlord. Moab lost all independence in 582 B.C., although there is no evidence that Dibon itself was destroyed. However, apart from some Hellenistic pottery there is no structural evidence of occupation during the Persian and Hellenistic periods which followed.

As we have already noted, the discovery at the site of one coin of Hyrcanus II (63–40 B.C.) may suggest that Dibon formed part of the Peraea, ruled from Jerusalem by the Hasmonean priest-kings of a resurgent Judea. If so, evidence of occupation at this time must be elsewhere on the site, perhaps on the summit of the tell.

2. The Nabatean Period. Dibon enjoyed a renaissance with the rise of the Nabatean kingdom. Excavations on the summit have revealed a rich Nabatean deposit, including a city gate, closely dated by the typical fine, thin, sometimes painted and dimpled Nabatean pottery. The chief monument that we can speak about with some assurance is the temple built at the SE corner of the mound. As reconstructed, it is of *distyle in antis* form, and consists of pronaos, naos, and tripartite adytum; the podium walls project northward on either side of a broad flight of steps leading to the entrance. Its overall width, with podium walls, is 19 m; its length, with staircase, is 28 m. Fragments of capitals, columns, pedestals, and entablature permit us to visualize the building. In many respects, it is similar to the Qasr Bint Farʿun in Petra and was probably built in the early part of the Ist century A.D., perhaps under Aretas IV. The temple was surrounded by a flagged pavement supported by walls to the S and E. Running parallel to its S wall was an aqueduct, carried on arches. There was no defensive wall surrounding the temple precincts; instead, a monumental flight of stone steps (originally 8 m wide) led from the S over the ruins of the Moabite defenses. There are evidences for modifications in this plan, but there is no evidence of destruction; it is probable that the temple was abandoned about the time the Nabatean kingdom was absorbed into the Roman province of Arabia in A.D. 106.

3. Roman, Byzantine and Arab Periods. A few coins, and particularly 2 inscriptions establish a Roman presence at Dibon: One inscription, probably to be dated to A.D. 201, may mark the establishment of a Roman military post to guard the main N–S road through the province; the other commemorates the construction, in A.D. 245/46, of a tower (?) and refers to a Roman governor (Claudius Capitolinus), hitherto unknown. A bath complex (mostly unexcavated) and what may be a contemporary city wall have been tentatively assigned to this period.

Eusebius knew Dibon in the 4th century as a large, unwalled town, but it obviously shared the general prosperity of Transjordan and Palestine, particularly in the 6th and 7th centuries. Excavation revealed a vaulted hall and an open courtyard to its E, a structure of unknown purpose on the old Nabatean temple podium, a piazza area which was modified to provide vaulted baths, and 2 churches (neither comparable with those at Nebo and Medeba), but no city wall. Three phases of construction or repair have been distinguished running from the middle of the 6th century to the Arab conquest. Tombs of the period give us an insight into the personal lives of Christians in this somewhat remote region of the empire.

The first Muslim occupation appears to have occurred almost immediately, under the Umayyad caliphate. A complex of vaulted rooms overlying the "Gateway" church, W of the Nabatean temple platform, may represent the manor house of a local chief. Its defense wall enclosed the Byzantine bath rooms, converted into vaulted dwellings, as well as the reoccupied Byzantine hall. Morton also reports 2 vaulted Umayyad buildings on the summit of the tell. There is also numismatic and stratified ceramic evidence for an 8th–9th century Abbasid settlement.

The manor house was reused, and a scattering of fragmentary walls over the N church and its atrium suggest a rather extensive occupation in the medieval Ayyubid and early Mamluke period. On the summit of the mound, very substantial remains (some of them originally Byzantine) are probably to be dated to this period.

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A. D. TUSHINGHAM

DIBRI (PERSON) [Heb *dibrî*]. Member of the tribe of Dan whose grandson is stoned to death for blasphemy against the Name of Israel's God (Lev 24:11). Nothing is known of his life, but his daughter is mentioned by name, Shelomith, and it is noted that she was married to an Egyptian. There is some ambiguity as to the exact nature of the crime of Dibri's grandson, but it seems that at issue in the story is the extension of the law against blasphemy of God (Exod 22:28) to include the utterance of the Name, as well as blasphemy, by one who is only half-Israelite (see Porter *Leviticus* CBC).

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PAULINE A. VIVIANO

DIDACHE. An early work on Christian discipline, known also as the *Teaching of the (Lord through the Twelve) Apostles (to the Nations)*. The only independent Gk manuscript (dated to 1056 C.E.) of this relatively compact handbook of Christian ethical (chaps. 1–6) and liturgical-community (chaps. 7–15) instructions, concluded by a brief eschatological admonition (chap. 16), was "discovered" (recovered) by P. Bryennios in 1873 and quickly brought to the attention of modern western scholarship. Related forms of part or all of this material were already available in such compilations as the Apostolic Constitutions (7:1–32), the Apostolic Church Order traditions (especially Ethiopic), and the Epistle of Barnabas (chaps. 18–20), although recognition of this fact was not achieved until the Bryennios text became available. Fragments of the Didache tradition have also been found in Latin ("Doctrina"), Coptic, and Georgian, as well as in a Gk papyrus remnant, and there are various patristic references from the time of Eusebius onward to a writing or writings called the "Teaching(s)" of the Apostles.

Didache and these associated materials provide an excellent example of early Christian "evolved literature" of which snapshots of various stages in the development have haphazardly survived. Clues to the existence of earlier strata are abundant in the text of Didache, and have provoked much scholarly discussion. There seems to be a general consensus that the "two ways" material in chaps. 1–6 has a prehistory that connects with Jewish ethical concerns (see Harnack 1896) which probably took shape in both Greek and Semitic formulations. This helps to explain the similarities and differences between the two ways in Didache, Barnabas, Doctrina, and elsewhere (e.g., Goodspeed 1945; Rordorf 1972). To this basic substratum, the Didache form of the two ways has attracted the additional sections in 1:3b–2:1 (gospel sayings and related admonitions; see especially Layton 1968; Mees 1971) and 3:1–6 (the "fences" tradition).

Similarly, the apparent intrusion of such sections as 12:1–5 (compare 11:4–6) and 14:1–3 into the flow of the community instructions, and the evidences of developmental language even within the existing instructions (e.g., the concessions in 6:2 and 7:2–3, the change from itinerant to local ministry in 15:1–2) illustrate the evolving nature of this material even outside the two-ways section. It is no wonder that scholars have found in the Didache a formidable challenge for their analytical and synthetic skills at the level of text and tradition analysis (see especially Audet 1958; Giet 1970; Rordorf and Tuilier 1978).

Assigning firm dates and locations to this type of material has proved especially challenging. Clues that help unlock the mysteries of one part of the composite do not necessarily apply to the whole. Indeed, in such discussions it is important to be very clear about what is identified as the "text" receiving focus (Didache) and what constitute "sources," "recensions," "interpolations," and the like. Thus it may be that the reference to wheat (bread) scattered on the mountains in the prayer language of 9:4 suggests imagery from somewhere (Syro-Palestine?) other than Egyptian wheatflats, but that does not necessarily mean that the person who embedded this prayer in the Didache, or the people to whom the instruction was directed, were located in hilly country. Similarly, the fact that Didache often seems to have an archaic flavor, as with the prayers in chaps. 9–10 or the references to itinerant "apostles and prophets" (and "teachers") in chaps. 11–15, does not necessitate that the surviving form was "published" at an early date, although it may suggest that certain sections of the surviving form have a significant prehistory.

Some commentators argue for a date of effective origin as early as around 70 or soon thereafter (Kleist 1948; Rordorf and Tuilier 1978), and others as late as the later 2d century (Vokes 1970) or even the 3d century (Peterson 1959). The fact that Christian witnesses from the 4th century onward, especially in the vicinity of Egypt, provide the strongest evidence for the existence of the Didache tradition, is the necessary starting point for controlled discussions of its origin and date. That most commentators now seem to opt for Syria (Audet 1958; Hazelden Walker 1966; Rordorf and Tuilier 1978) or Syro-Palestine (Niederwimmer 1977) as the place of origin is not in itself an indication that the supporting evidence is compelling; Egypt (Kraft 1965) and Asia Minor (Vokes 1970) also have their supporters.

The Didache has provoked an enormous amount of scholarly interest, not only with reference to the text and traditions it represents, or the circumstances of its origin, but also concerning its evidence for reconstructing aspects of early Christian thought and practice. The two-ways material seems to be presented in the larger framework as prebaptismal instruction (7:1) and perhaps also as a criterion for evaluating itinerant teachers (11:1). Although the baptismal rite described in chap. 7 may have been an annual event, the immediately subsequent instructions on fasting and formal prayer explicitly refer to weekly and daily observances. There is much debate about the relationship of chaps. 9–10 (on how to give thanks, *eucharistein*) and the prayers prescribed therein to such early Christian practices as *agape* meals and "eucharistic" celebrations (annual as well as more frequent; see also chap. 14 on possibly weekly "eucharists," and 16:2), and to related uses of ointment/incense (10:8 in some texts; see Peterson 1959; Kraft 1965; Gero 1977; Niederwimmer 1982). And the allegedly "primitive" language (christology, eschatology) of the prayers has also received much attention in various connections (Peterson 1959; Clerici 1966; Niederwimmer 1982).

Equally fascinating has been the Didache's treatment of early Christian leadership (chaps. 11–15), with the focus on itinerant ministry of apostles/prophets and others ("teachers," coreligionists), but also with reference to settled "bishops and deacons" who are in danger of being considered inferior to the itinerants (15:1–2)! How this all relates to similar issues in the sweep of early Christian evidence from Paul through the Montanist crises of the later 2d century has produced much discussion and debate (Niederwimmer 1977; Halleux 1980; Stempel 1980).

Finally, the relationship of the apocalyptic "appendix" in chap. 16 to early Christian traditions (Kloppenborg 1979) and to the remainder of Didache has been subjected to close scrutiny. The relative absence of apocalyptic interests or language elsewhere in the document is noteworthy (compare the more general eschatological phrases and ideas in the prayers of 8:2; 9:4; 10:5–6), as is the general absence of traditional Christian theological and soteriological concerns. The significance of apparent parallels between Didache and the canonical Synoptic Gospel traditions, in chap. 16 and elsewhere, have been widely debated (Hazelden Walker 1966; Kloppenborg 1979). In general, the analyses of the internal contents and concerns of Didache have functioned hand in hand with the external and textual evidence to fortify the impression that a variety of layers underlie the form of the tradition that happens to have survived in the Bryennios manuscript. It is no wonder that, more than a century after its resurrection, the Didache continues to frustrate those who try to fit it into a neat and consistent picture of early Christian history and thought.

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ROBERT A. KRAFT

DIDYMUS. See THOMAS (PERSON).

DIET. See MEAL CUSTOMS; ZOOLOGY.

DIKLAH (PERSON) [Heb *diqlâ*]. A son of Joktan and hence the name of a S Arabian locality or region (Gen 10:27; 1 Chr 1:21). The name is to be explained in accordance with Jewish Aramaic *diqlâ*, Syriac *deqlâ*, Middle Hebrew *deqel*, "date palm," and in biblical Hebrew is probably an otherwise unattested word for the same species. Hence, it follows that the name refers to a region rich in palms or to an oasis with groves of date palms (comparable to this is Heb *tāmār*, "date palm," which likewise occurs as a place-name, or *ʿîr hattĕmārîm*, "city of palms," as an epithet of Jericho (Judg 3:13). Since a root *dql* is not attested in Epigraphic South Arabic either as a proper name or as a noun, it can be assumed that *diqlâ* is the translation of an Old South Arabic word, probably *nḫl*, "palm grove, palm plantation" (cf. Ar *naḫl*, "date palms"). Since in Hebrew *naḥal* normally designates a valley with a brook and *tāmār* was already being used for a place in Palestine, another word had to be chosen.

With regard to a possible location in S Arabia, E. Glaser (1890: 435) proposed the region around Ṣa'da or the Tihāma, i.e., the Yemenite coastal plain. The most numerous references to *nḫl* in the Old South Arabian inscriptions originate, however, from the oasis of Mārib (e.g. CIS IV 375 = Ja 550,1, where no less than 12 palm groves in the Wadi Aḏanat are mentioned by name) and from the region around Ṣirwāḥ (cf., e.g., Höfner 1973: 10–20, where 5 inscriptions are published in which reference is made to one, two, or even more palm groves). Ṣirwāḥ, which is situated WSW of Mārib, was (next to the capital city) the second most important town of the early Sabaean kingdom. Somewhere in the vicinity of that town was a place whose name contained the word for palm grove, *'rḍhmw nḫl ḫrf*, "their land *Naḫl Har(ī)f*" (CIS IV 398,14 and CIS IV 544,100: the donors of these two inscriptions designate themselves as inhabitants of Ṣirwāḥ). In the plain of Raḥāba on both sides of the Wadi Aḏana above the former dam of Mārib in the direction of Ṣirwāḥ there were (as late as in the 10th century A.D.) large palm groves from which most of the dates originated which were sold in Ṣan'ā' (al-Hamdānī 1884: 102).

The inscription CIS IV 601 is the decree of a Sabaean king prescribing taxes which had to be paid by the country people from the produce of the soil. The passage *sb' wyhblḥ, Saba' and Yuhabliḥ* occurs in this text (lines 5–6), which likewise originates in Ṣirwāḥ. Hommel (1926: 145) explained *Yuhabliḥ* (which he, however, localized in N Arabia) as *regio dactylifera*, i.e., as Diklah of the OT. The explanation of *yhblḥ* is based on Ar *ablaḥa*, "to bring forth green dates." In the inscription CIS IV 601, *Yuhabliḥ* is mentioned side by side with *Saba'*, i.e., the Sabaeans in the oasis of Mārib, and it is possible that *Yuhabliḥ* designates the inhabitants of the land on both sides of the Wadi Aḏana and its tributary valleys above the great dam of Mārib, a region in which dates were cultivated. The epigraphic testimony of the early Sabaean period—with its frequent attestation of date groves in the district of Mārib and Ṣirwāḥ and the occurrence of *nḫl* as name of a place in the vicinity of Ṣirwāḥ—seems to indicate that *diqlâ*, "(the land of) the date palm," must be located in the region around Ṣirwāḥ.

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W. W. MÜLLER

DILEAN (PLACE) [Heb *dilĕ'ān*]. A town situated in the Shephelah, or low country, of Judah (Josh 15:38), within the same district as Lachish and Eglon. This settlement, whose name perhaps means "protrusion" (from *dl'*, "to protrude"), is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The location of the ancient settlement is uncertain.

WADE R. KOTTER

DILL. See FLORA.

DIMNAH (PLACE) [Heb *dimnâ*]. Var. RIMMONO. One of the cities in the tribe of Zebulun given to the Levitical family of Merari (Josh 21:35). The apparent parallel in 1 Chr 6:62 [—Eng 6:77] reads Rimmono (Heb *rmwnw*), suggesting that the original may have been RIMMON, a Zebulunite town mentioned in Josh 19:13, and that "Dimnah" is an erroneous form resulting from a misreading of the initial *reš* as a *dalet*.

GARY A. HERION

DIMON (PLACE) [Heb *dîmôn*]. On the basis of the MT, the KJV reads "the waters of *Dimon* are full of blood" in Isa 15:9. Following the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QIsa^{a,b}) and the Vulgate, the RSV has *Dibon*. Some scholars suggest that *Dimon* represents a scribal corruption, while others believe that *Dibon* was deliberately changed to *Dimon* to create a play on words between the sounds of *Dimon* and *dām* (Heb "blood"), included in this same verse.

This textual problem occurs in Isaiah's oracle against Moab (chapters 15–16), which has parallels with Jeremiah 48. In fact, the place-name *Madmen*, mentioned in Jer 48:2, is often emended to *Dimon*, since the initial *m* could have resulted from dittography. Dimon, in Isa 15:9, and the emended Madmen (= Dimon) of Jer 48:2 have been identified with Khirbet Dimneh (M.R. 217077), located ca. 2½ miles NW of Rabbah, in Moab. A recent surface survey was conducted at modern Dimneh, with virtually no Iron Age pottery being recovered.

Two other factors should be considered in selecting the correct reading for Isa 15:9. (1) It has been argued that Dibon is not on a large stream, as would be required by the phrase "the waters of Dibon," although it does sit at the head of a wadi. On the other hand, Dimneh is located on the Moabite plateau overlooking Wadi Ibn Hammād, a major wadi system that could qualify as "the waters of Dimon." (2) More importantly, Dibon was already mentioned in Isa 15:2. Since no other place-name occurs twice in this chapter, it seems likely that a different town was intended in v 9, a place named Dimon.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

DIMONAH (PLACE) [Heb *dîmônâ*]. A settlement of the tribe of Judah. Dimonah is only mentioned once, in Josh 15:22, where it is listed among the settlements occupied by Judah in the aftermath of the conquest. Though the present literary context of the Judean town list is set in the period of Joshua, its original setting was part of a post-Solomonic administrative division of the S kingdom. The date for the establishment of this system is debated, with suggestions ranging from the early 9th to the late 7th

centuries B.C. Dimonah is in the southernmost district of Judah, the Negeb.

The location of Dimonah is problematic. In the list it is placed between Kinah and Adadah (probably a mistake for Aroer), which would place it in the E Negeb. It may be that Dimonah is to be equated with the Dibon of Neh 11:25 which was one of the sites settled to the S of Jerusalem by the exiles returning from Babylon. If this suggestion is valid, a possible location could be Khirbet edh-Dheiba, (*GP* 2: 305) 3.5 km NE of Tell Arad (Hebrew Khorvat Taiyib, M.R. 164079).

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

DINAH (PERSON) [Heb *dînâ*]. Daughter of the patriarch Jacob. She is the only female descendant mentioned in the Genesis account of Jacob and his 12 sons (but cf. Gen 46:15, which mentions both Dinah and daughters [plural] of Jacob). Announcement of Dinah's birth (Gen 30:21) stands out in the narrative both because it presents a female child and because it lacks an explanation of her name, in contrast to the etiologies present for all the 12 brothers. Because of these features, the authenticity of Dinah's place within a unit of Genesis (29:31 to 30:24) that lists the birth and names of eleven of Jacob's sons has been called into question. However, other aspects of Dinah's position in this matriarchal section may mitigate the apparent strangeness of the Dinah verse.

Dinah's birth to Leah follows the announcement that Leah had borne 6 sons to Jacob. Her 7th child is thus a daughter; and, with a female, her childbearing comes to an end. The 7th position, considering the symbolic value of that number, represents the fulfillment of Leah's maternal role, one that includes at least one female child. Furthermore, the birth of Dinah occupies the pivotal spot in the transition between Leah's childbearing and that of the previously barren but favored wife, Rachel. Once Leah's part of the Jacob family is complete, God "remembered" Rachel and opened her womb for the birth of Joseph.

The lack of an etiology for Dinah, a name that, like the name of her brother Dan, is from a Hebrew word meaning "to judge" must be seen in the context of the eponymous nature of the 12 sons of Jacob. All represent tribal groups, and the presence of name explanations contributes to the ancestor traditions surrounding the 12 sons. Because Dinah is not an eponymous ancestor, an elaboration of her birth announcement would be inappropriate.

Dinah's presence in the birth account of Jacob's family also anticipates her appearance in the unusual narrative of Genesis 34, which recounts the rape of Dinah by a local Canaanite named Shechem (son of Hamor), the attempt of Hamor to arrange a marriage between his son and the woman he has violated, the resistance of two of Dinah's brothers (Simeon and Levi) to the proposed arrangement, and the subsequent deceit and slaughter of the prospective bridegroom, and all the men in his city, by the vengeful brothers.

This story departs from the previous narratives in the way it moves from the stories of individuals to personalized history (see Speiser *Genesis* AB, 266–68). As such it deals with two interrelated and complicated aspects of proto-Israelite existence.

Insofar as Shechem represents a Canaanite city and the two antagonistic brothers depict the ancestors of two Israelite tribes, the tale apparently reflects a proto-Israelite struggle and perhaps also the special position of Shechem as both a congenial and a troublesome place in pre-monarchic Israel. Unlike most of the Canaanite cities, it apparently became part of Israel without military conflict; it is the site of the great covenant gathering described in Joshua 24; it is the site of an early monarchic move by Abimelech that results in the destruction of the city (Judges 9).

The second aspect of the story is related to the tension involved in Shechem's status as part of Israel, yet it is different. The personalized tale dealing with marital customs confronts the difficult problem of ingroup (endogamous) vs. outgroup (exogamous) marriage. Israel struggled with the advantages and disadvantages of limiting marriage possibilities to endogamy throughout most of its history. As anthropologists (Pitt-Rivers 1977; cf. Gottwald 1979: 301–15) have pointed out, the shock value of the story draws attention to a sensitive issue. Marriage alliances are useful in territorial expansion or in compensation for demographic shortages; but they also involve the threat that divergent cultural values will be brought into the group and threaten the group's stability.

The story of Dinah is thus a reflection of both the political history of proto-Israel and early Israel and the social history of all Israel. This interweaving of themes is reflected in the long-recognized complexity of the literary sources and structure of Genesis 34.

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CAROL MEYERS

DINHABAH (PLACE) [Heb *dinhābâ*]. The residence of the Edomite "king" Bela (Gen 36:32; 1 Chr 1:43). See BELA. Bartlett (1965: 302–4), following Eusebius, located Dinhabah in Moab at either Dannea/Kh. ed-Denn (M.R. 221087), 7.5 miles N of er-Rabbah, or Danaba/Kh. el-Mhatta, W of Heshbon (see Mittmann 1971). These identifications are unlikely on both historical (Weippert 1971: 428–29) and linguistic grounds (Knauf 1985: 250, n. 27). The name has not satisfactorily been explained. Tentatively, one may suggest deriving the name Dinhabah from a clan or tribal name *Dahhaba(t), attested as a personal name in Safaitic and Qatabanic (Harding 1971: 259), by dissimilation of the geminate *h*. Dissimilation of geminates is fairly widespread in Aramaic and Arabic.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

DIOGNETUS, EPISTLE TO. A late 2d century apology addressed to a certain Diognetus who is otherwise unknown. Diognetus was a tutor of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, who admired him for his freedom from superstition and sound educational advice (*Meditations* 1.6), but he is not likely to be the recipient, or even the assumed recipient, of this apology from around A.D. 200. The work itself survived (with other writings ascribed to Justin) only in a 13th century manuscript, formerly at Strasbourg but burned during the invasion of 1870.

The apology is relatively simple and straightforward, though it consists only of the first 10 chapters; the last 2 come from another work, presumably a sermon, composed in the style of Melito of Sardis. In theory it answers several questions raised by pagans about (1) the God of the Christians; (2) the nature of their religion, which results in disregard for the world, the despising of death, and the rejection of pagan gods as well as the superstition of the Jews; (3) the character of their mutual love; and (4) why the religion arose when it did and not earlier. The author deals with the first 2 questions together (chaps. 1–2), then with Judaism (3–4), with Christianity (5–7) and with the appearance of Christ (7–10). Mutual love is discussed only indirectly. The last two chapters (11–12) are also concerned with the appearance of the Logos-Son, but in a rhetorical-homiletic manner.

The treatise *Epistle To Diognetus* resembles the *Exhortation* by Clement of Alexandria and has the same drive toward generalities, lacking the detailed precision of earlier apologetic works. While the work was especially admired in the century after its first publication (Henricus Stephanus, 1592), its lack of historical attestation and its remoteness from a historical setting have led to a neglect that is partly deserved. On the other hand, the pictures of Christians in the world, comparable to soul within body (chaps. 5–6), of divine providence at work (7.2), and of the coming of the king's son—"persuading, not compelling, for force is no attribute of God" (7.3–4)—remain impressive. The discourse is basically moral, not theological.

There are no biblical quotations and relatively few allusions. In chap. 5, the author evidently relies on Paul's self-description in 2 Corinthians 6 for his picture of Christians in general, but he does not mention the apostle. He does not name Jesus and is rather fond of the archaic and liturgical term "child" (Gk *pais;* chap. 8), though he also calls him Logos, maker (7.2), king, God, man (7.3), and indeed "nurse, father, teacher, counselor, physician, mind, light, glory, strength, life" (9.6). Such lists are rhetorical rather than theological in nature; some have Platonic antecedents, some biblical.

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ROBERT M. GRANT

DIONYSIUS (PERSON) [Gk *Dionysios*]. A Gk name derived from Dionysus, the god of vegetation, wine, and drama. In the NT, an individual named Dionysius was an Athenian and a member of the prominent Areopagus who was converted along with others by Paul's preaching (Acts 17:34). Although Paul's address to the Areopagus is usually viewed as less than successful, Dionysius' response suggests that Paul's message was not a complete failure. The conversion of such an important official no doubt gave the young church a good start, but little is known about the subsequent development of Christianity in Athens.

Eusebius reported that a bishop of Corinth also named Dionysius (ca. 175 C.E.) stated that Dionysius the Areopagite was the first bishop of Athens (*Hist.Eccl.* 3.4.11; 4.23.3). Eusebius's tradition is difficult to verify, but it would not be unusual for such an important individual to become a leading figure in a young church. The Neoplatonic literature of the 5th and 6th centuries attributed to Dionysius is an obvious pseudonymous attempt to acquire acceptance of a body of literature by an unknown author.

FRANK E. WHEELER

DIONYSUS (DEITY) [Gk *Dionysos*]. The Greek god of wine and ecstatic experience generally, and to some extent also of vegetation, and of death and rebirth. He was also remarkable as being subject to birth (from a mortal woman), death, and resurrection.

He is a peculiar phenomenon and something of an intruder into the Olympic pantheon. Known to Homer, but not, apparently, part of the epic tradition on which Homer is drawing (though the name has now been found on Mycenean tablets), Dionysus comes into his own as a god in Greece only in the Archaic Age (7th–6th centuries B.C.E.). Traditionally son of Zeus and a mortal mother, Semele, daughter of King Cadmus of Thebes, he should strictly have been classed as a "hero." That he was not was owing to an unfortunate misunderstanding, arising from the machinations of the jealous Hera, as a result of which his mother was blasted to ashes by the onset of Zeus some time after he was conceived; the embryo was snatched up by Zeus and lodged in his thigh, to be born again from there, at the due time. In fact, however, his mother's name betrays her origin as the Phrygian earth goddess Zemelo, and the curious primitiveness of the legend marks it as of Asia Minor origin (he himself was worshipped in Phrygia as *Diounsis*, a god of vegetation, who died and was resurrected). Semele became connected with Thebes only after it became a center of Dionysiac worship (probably in the early Archaic Age).

Universal tradition in fact presents Dionysus as an intruder into Greece, from Phrygia by way of Thrace. His other main title, Bacchus (Gk *Bakchos*), is originally Lydian, as we can see from inscriptions in that area. This probably reflects some historical reality, though the "resistance tales" associated with this—the one concerning Thebes,

immortalized in Euripides' *Bacchae,* is the most famous—are perhaps best taken as dramatized rationalizations of the antagonism between the sexes stirred up and mediated by the introduction of Dionysiac worship. However that may be, Dionysus always remains to some extent a god worshipped on the fringes of society, or in "liminal" situations.

Dionysus is essentially the god of ecstasy, in particular that induced by wine, of which he is celebrated as the inventor. Particular festivals at Athens celebrated this aspect of him. At the Anthesteria, in late February, the new wine was blessed in the presence of a mask of Dionysus. There were wine-drinking competitions, and a procession took place recreating the arrival of the god from overseas, a ceremony matched by many others, called *katagogia* ("bringing home") in various Ionian cities. At the Lenaea (in January), and the City Dionysia, or Great Dionysia (early April), the ecstatic element was also in evidence, though in classical times this was primarily expressed in the form of dramatic performances, comedy (predominantly) at the Lenaea, tragedy and comedy at the Dionysia. There were also local Dionysiac festivals, the rural Dionysia, celebrated throughout Attica in December, the central feature of which was a procession escorting a phallus, presumably to promote fertility among the slumbering seeds in midwinter.

After the conquests of Alexander, Dionysiac worship spread throughout the Middle East. There is abundant inscriptional evidence of Dionysiac cults and associations, with initiation rituals, where the underworld aspect of the god, his connection with death and resurrection, is often prominent. In these Hellenistic Dionysiac clubs, social wine-drinking was raised to the level of ritual, with elaborate rules regulating the members' conduct. The lobakchoi of Athens are a good example; besides ritual drinking, they on occasion performed a kind of sacred drama, featuring Dionysus and such figures as Kore and Aphrodite.

These were all-male associations. For the women, there was ritual maenadism, again well attested in inscriptions. This involved festivals every other year, when both maidens and married women took up the thyrsus, donned the fawnskin, and retired "to the mountain" to dance ecstatically, handle sacred objects, and eat raw meat *(ōmophagia)*—but not, it seems, drink wine, despite what many men believed. Whatever the remote origins of the phenomenon of maenadism, in Hellenistic times it seems to have been a well-controlled periodic demonstration of female self-assertion, comfortably contained within the confines of civilized society.

There are also attested in the Hellenistic and imperial periods sexually unrestricted Dionysiac groups, in which sexual intercourse, cultic or otherwise, may have been a feature, but there is no evidence of large-scale promiscuity, though it was alleged in hostile sources (leading to the banning of Dionysiac worship in Rome in 186 B.C.). Otherwise men and women continued to celebrate together at the major public festivals, such as the Anthesteria and rural Dionysia in Attica.

As Dionysus spread through the Mediterranean in Hellenistic and later times, he inevitably came up against various Semitic and other gods who filled some or all of the same roles in their society. Liber Pater in Rome, Sabazios in Phrygia, and Osiris in Egypt are obvious examples, but one more relevant to the present article is the "Dionysos" who was worshipped in Sidon, whose cult myth, involving the changing of water into wine, has significant analogies to the Johannine story of the Marriage Feast at Cana (Smith 1975). This was in fact a common feature of Dionysiac legend. Every year on the day of the Dionysus feast, the temple springs in Andros and Teos were said to have poured out wine instead of water, and in Elis, on the eve of the feast, 3 empty jars were set up in the temple, which were then found full of wine on the next morning.

Distinctive features of Dionysiac worship in the Hellenistic era (and earlier) may be summed up as follows: a set of cult objects and symbols (phallus, thyrsus, ivy, grape cluster); a cult language of passwords and symbola, recognizable only by an initiate; ceremonies intended to stimulate a sense of identity with the god, originally, at least, by ceremonially eating an animal (properly a bull) representing the god; a breaking free from, or even reversal of, societal roles; and a belief in a happy life after death for initiates. Many of these features are shared with other cults or movements, such as Pythagoreanism or Orphism, but the totality is distinctive of Dionysiac worship.

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JOHN M. DILLON

DIOSCORINTHIUS [Gk *Dios Korinthiou*]. Name of the month dating the first of four official documents (2 Macc 11:21). While all the Greek witnesses and La^{B} contain this reading of the name, the fact that it is not attested elsewhere in antiquity has raised questions concerning its authenticity. Katz (1960: 15) and others prefer to read *dioskoridou,* the genitive of *dioskorides,* at this point as well as for v 38, based on the Latin versions which sometimes attest to older forms of the text. Hanhart (1961: 473–74) rejects such a proposal, arguing that it creates additional difficulties in reading and understanding v 38, thus is not valid for v 21 either. While pointing out that one of the Greek cities could have named a month after the *Dioskouroi* (or *dioskoroi*), the twin sons of Zeus (cf. Acts 28:11), Goldstein (*2 Maccabees* AB, 413) notes that there is no known Greek month with an *-ides* ending. *Dioskouros* is attested

during the time of the Roman Empire in the Cretan calendar.

Dios, derived from the genitive form of *Zeus* and also found in *Ant.* 1.80, is used as the name for the first month in the Macedonian calendar (Bickerman 1980: 20), coming at the beginning of autumn. This would seem to be the most likely date which the epitomist and probably Jason had in mind. More puzzling is the additional *Korinthiou.* While Corinthian Zeus as a deity does appear in Gk literature, it is not found in any recorded calendar (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 413). One suggestion has been that the extra term, whatever its original form, was used to designate an intercalary month, as suggested by the Syriac text. Any good explanation for this term eludes present-day scholarship.

The foregoing discussion is based on the premise that the letter in which it is found is authentic. While most recent scholarship has accepted this argument, there remains marked differences in the interpretation of the relationship between the four documents preserved in 2 Maccabees 11 (cf. Habicht 1976 and Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 408–9).

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JOHN KAMPEN

DIOSCURI [Gk *Dioskouroi*]. The combined form of *Dios kouroi*, "The Sons of Zeus." It was the title (first used in an archaic inscription, *IG* 1898: no. 359, Thera; in script, *Homeric Hymns* 33.1) of Kastor and Polydeukes (Pollux) that formed the insignia *(parasēmon)* of the Alexandrian ship in which Paul sailed from Melita (Acts 28:1) to Puteoli (v 11). The two brothers of Helen (*Iliad* 3.236–42) and Klytemnestra were first located in Lakonia and are frequently referred to as the Tyndaridai, after Tyndareos, husband of Leda and king of Lakedaimon. Already according to Homer (*Od.* 11.298–304) they are the sons of Tyndareos and Leda (Terpandros, fragment 3 Bergk), but Pindar (*Nemean Odes* 10) isolates Kastor as the son of Leda by Tyndareos, and Polydeukes as the son of Leda by Zeus. (See Cook 1914, 1: 760–75; Bethe PW 5: 1087–123; Nilsson 1967: 406–11; Rose and Robertson *OCD*, 354.)

In reprisal for Theseus' kidnapping of Helen, the Dioskouroi invaded Attic and carried off Aithra, mother of Theseus. Later, during the expedition of the Argonauts, Polydeukes earned his reputation as a boxer. Challenged by Amycus, king of the Bebrykes, to a match, with winner take all, Polydeukes proved that skill could overcome brute strength. Destiny's turn finally came for the brothers after they carried off Hilaeira and Phoibe, daughters of Leukippos (Farnell 1921: 175–233). In his 10th *Nemean Ode*, Pindar relates that Idas and Lynkeus, nephews of Leukippos and sons of Aphareus, were irate over the loss of some oxen and stabbed Kastor. Polydeukes came to his brother's aid and slew Lynkeus, whereupon Zeus struck Idas down with a thunderbolt. Polydeukes pleaded with Zeus for his dying brother, and Zeus offered him the choice of full time spent in heaven or half the year with Kastor in Hades (Homer *Od.* 11.301–4).

In time, Kastor was revered for his equestrian skill and Polydeukes became the patron of wrestlers. Their astral associations (Euripides *Hel.* 137–40, 1499; *El.* 990; *Orestes* 1636–37) were connected with the prestige they enjoyed, especially in later times, as the "Savior Gods" *(hoi sotēres).* Epictetus (2.18.29) notes that voyagers call upon them in a storm. In gratitude for their help, Catullus dedicated a poem to them (*Carmina* 4.27). And Horace, taking note of their constellation known as the *Gemini*, prays for a safe trip (*Odes* 3.29.64). With the words *lucida sideras* (bright stars) in *Odes* 1.3 the same poet appears to refer to the phenomenon known as corposant, which gladdened the hearts of sailors when it seemed to dance double on the masts and yards of a vessel. In the poem *The Battle of the Lake Regillus* (canto 40), Macaulay recalls the phenomenon of "St. Elmo's fire" as he celebrates the role of the Dioskouroi in a victory won by the Lokrians:

> Safe comes the ship to haven
> Through billows and through gales,
> If once the Great Twin Brethren
> Sit shining on the sails.

In his *Evangelica Praeparatio* (1.10.14), Eusebius documents the Twins' reputation for both medical skill as well as naval acumen. According to the scholiast of Pindar *Pythian* 5.6, their cult was vigorously pursued "in the district of Cyrene, near Alexandria," the port of origin of the ship cited by Luke.

Since the Twins were tutelary deities of mariners, their insignia (Acts 28:11) was displayed on the prows of ships, and probably on both sides in the manner of *The Isis*, as described by Lucian (*Nav.* 5; other references in BAGD, s.v. *parasēmos*).

As their appearance on Roman sarcophagi attests, even more important than the Brothers' reputation for tutelary functions is the stimulus their cult gave to belief in personal immortality. Also, they encourged fidelity to friends (Theognis 1087) and respect for long-standing traditions of hospitality (Pindar *Nemean* 10.49–50 and *Olympian* 3.38–40).

Two works by Harris (1903, 1906) trace the Twin Brothers motif in a variety of folklore.

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FREDERICK W. DANKER

DIOTREPHES (PERSON) [Gk *Diotrephes*]. An early churchman who asserted authority over all in his local church, rejected the authority of the elder who wrote 3 John, attacked the elder in public, forbade anyone to receive the elder's emissaries, and excluded all who did (3 John 9–10). The name Diotrephes, which means "nourished by Zeus," occurs in the NT only in this one passage.

Some consider Diotrephes as a representative of the same docetic interpretation of Jesus as 1 and 2 John reflect (Bauer 1971: 93). The author of 3 John, however, never charged Diotrephes with heresy. The conflict was over authority in the church instead of theology.

According to one view, Diotrephes was a monarchical bishop (Zahn 1909, 3: 374–81). On the other hand, he could have been an elder or a deacon who abused his authority. Or he may have exercised authority over the entire church by the dominance of his personality without holding any office.

The conflict between the elder and Diotrephes probably represented a transition period in church government. In that case the elder represented the older, centralized leadership of an elder over a number of churches in the region. Diotrephes represented a younger generation that sought greater local autonomy and moved in the direction which eventually led to the monarchical episcopacy (Dodd *Johannine Epistles* MNTC, 163–64).

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VIRGIL R. L. FRY

DIRECTION AND ORIENTATION. Orientation is the means by which persons determine direction. From earliest antiquity, there seem to have been the 4 cardinal directions: north, south, east, and west (N, S, E, and W). This is true of Hebrew, Akkadian, and Sumerian culture. It is also true for Egyptian. Directions were usually related to specific spatial phenomena. Often astronomical or terrestrial features served as the basis for orientation. Astronomical features would make use primarily of the sun for one's point of reference; secondarily, specific stars or constellations might play a role in getting bearings. The rising and setting of the sun served as primary indicators of E and W in Mesopotamia and in Syria/Palestine. Terrestrial features such as mountains and seas served as indicators of direction. Heb *yam,* "sea," referring to the Mediterranean, was one indicator of "west." In a similar manner Akkadian *šadû,* "mountain", was one indicator for "east."

In other instances, once the primary bearing was determined, the individual faced that direction and used the body as a simple compass to locate other directions (when one faces N, the right hand is to the E, the left to the W, south is behind). Since the development of the magnetic compass, N has been the primary direction. Yet the very words *orientation* and *orient* point to the E, probably using the rising sun, as the primary reference point. From the OT itself there are numerous indicators that E served as the primary direction for bearings. In biblical Hebrew the related word group *qedem, qēdmâ,* and *qādîm* appears most frequently for "east." These words literally mean "in front, before." Thus E was the direction in front of one, the direction by which one gained one's orientation and bearings. This usage of the root *qdm* to indicate E is not limited to Hebrew; it has a similar usage in Ugaritic, indicating E or the E wind. One of the Hebrew word groups for "west" was *ʾāhôr* and *ʾahărôn.* The "western sea" *(yam ʾahărôn)* referred to the Mediterranean Sea. Literally, *ʾāhôr* and *ʾahărôn* meant "back" or "behind." Hebrew also used *śĕmoʾl,* "the left hand," to indicate north and *yāmîn,* "the right hand" to indicate S.

However, not all ANE cultures used the same pattern of orientation as the Hebrews. The Egyptians, for example, had S as their primary reference point, probably because it was the direction of the source of the Nile, their lifeblood. Although they also used the body as a compass, different directions resulted from a different orientation. Facing S, the right hand *(wnmy, ʾimn)* indicated W *(ʾimnt)* and western *(ʾimnty).* Likewise, for the Egyptian, left and left hand *(ʾi3by* and *ʾi3bi)* indicated E *(ʾi3bt).*

Using an astronomical basis for directions, most Semitic peoples used the rising of the sun for the primary direction and bearing. In Akkadian, *ṣitū šamši,* "the rising of the sun," was a common expression used to describe E. Likewise in Hebrew, *mizrāḥ (haš)šemeš,* "the rising of the sun" indicated E, as did *mizrāḥ* alone. Similarly, Akkadian *erēb šamši,* "the setting of the sun" was a phrase to indicate W. The Hebrew *maʿărāb* also means "west," and is cognate with the Akkadian. Hebrew also uses the phrase *mābôʾ (haš)šemeš,* lit. "the entrance of the sun," as the opposite of sunrise, as sunset, and as the direction W.

JOEL F. DRINKARD, JR.

DISCHARGE. An emission or secretion of semen, pus, or blood from the genitalia which is considered ritually impure. The main discussion of these conditions is in the Priestly legislation (= P) of the Pentateuch (Leviticus 12, 15). The cases may be classified into normal discharges (seminal emission, menstruation, and lochial discharge after birth), and abnormal discharges (purulent discharge because of urethritis in males and irregular menstrual flows). The cases of menstruation and abnormal discharges are described with the Hebrew verb *zwb* "to flow, stream; to have a discharge" and the noun *zôb* "discharge, flux."

A. Impure Discharge
   1. Seminal Emission
   2. Menstruation
   3. Lochial Discharge
   4. Irregular Male Genital Discharge
   5. Abnormal Menstrual Flow

B. Other Bodily Excretions

C. Rationale for the Impurity of Discharges

A. Impure Discharge

1. Seminal Emission. In ritual terms, a seminal emission is the least severe of all the discharges (Lev 15:16–18, 32). It causes the emitter to suffer a one-day impurity ("until evening"). Any clothing the semen touches is also unclean for one day. Sexual intercourse brings a one-day impurity to the woman involved as well as the man.

Those contaminated by semen are to purify by bathing in water and waiting until evening. Polluted clothing becomes clean after it is laundered and evening passes.

In the context of P, those persons and things polluted by semen cannot pollute other persons and things of a profane (i.e., non-holy or common) nature. Hence semen-polluted persons and things need to be restricted only from the sphere of the holy (i.e., the sanctuary area and holy items extant outside the sanctuary such as sacrificial meats; cf. Lev 22:4–7); they are presumably allowed free access in the community's area of habitation. Outside of P, Deut 23:10–12 requires one who has an emission to leave a war camp until the next evening when, after bathing, he becomes pure. This is because the entire camp is holy—God's presence is there—and therefore no "abhorrent thing" can remain there lest God leave and the army fail in battle. Other passages talk of abstinence from intercourse in preparation for encountering what is holy or in war (cf. Exod 19:10–11, 14–15; 1 Sam 21:4–7; 2 Sam 11:11). For a more rigorous scheme of exclusion for emissions, as well as other impurities, see the Temple Scroll cols. 45–48 (cf. Wright 1987: 178–79 n. 33).

2. Menstruation. The impurity of menstruation is more severe than that of an emission (Lev 15:19–24). A woman in this state suffers a communicable impurity for 7 days from the beginning of blood flow (not 14 days, contra Krause 1983). Persons or objects touching her become impure for one day. Beds and chairs on which she lies or sits become polluted, and they can in turn pollute other persons and things for one day. An object that is on a piece of furniture on which she is sitting or lying can pollute persons or things touching that object (v 23). A man who has sexual intercourse with a menstruant contracts an impurity equal in strength to that of a menstruant.

P does not explicitly state how a menstruant is to be treated in her contacts with the profane sphere. It is doubtful if she was required to leave the area of habitation (cf. Num 5:2–3), but she would probably be required to restrict herself within the habitation (i.e., to stay at home) during the 7-day period so that she would not pollute others in the community generally. Non-P writings display the abhorrence that was felt toward menstruants (Isa 30:22; Ezek 7:19–20; 36:17; cf. Gen 31:35). Moreover, it was considered a sin to have intercourse with a menstruant (Lev 18:19; 20:18; Ezek 18:6; 22:10; and perhaps 2 Sam 11:4–5). Later Jewish tradition, to some extent at the time of the Mishnah and Talmud, but to a greater extent later, developed rather extensive restrictions for the menstruant (cf. the tractate *Niddah* in the Mishnah and Talmud; also Dinari 1980).

P does not prescribe purification rites for the menstruant, but, in view of other examples of purification, it seems that she would have to bathe and launder on the 7th day and wait until evening (cf. 2 Sam 11:4). Note that no sacrifices were required as with more severe sexual impurities (see below).

3. Lochial Discharge. An impurity more severe than menstruation is that of a lochial discharge in a woman after birth. (Note it is the discharge, not the birth itself, that is polluting.) Leviticus 12 distinguishes between 2 stages of impurity after childbirth. The 1st stage is immediately after birth, for 7 days if the child is a male and 14 days if it is a female. The impurity of this initial period is like that of a menstruant (vv 2, 5). Socially and cultically she would be treated as a menstruant. The 2d stage, an additional 33 days for the male or 66 days for a female, is a lighter impurity where the woman, though still a threat to holy things and therefore restricted from them (v 4), can presumably mingle with the profane sphere. At this time, intercourse with her husband is presumably permissible. Thus the P system differs radically from other cultures in having a short postpartum sex taboo. The distinction in the length of impurity for a male child versus a female is not unique to the Bible (Macht 1933). The basis for the distinction appears to be founded in the dominance of the male in Israelite society (Selvidge 1984: 620–21; Macht's attempt to find a physiological basis must be rejected). It should be noted that though the mother is impure, there is no indication that the new child is impure. Except for the circumcision of the male (v 3) the legislation totally ignores the child. This contrasts with customs in many other societies where both mother and baby are impure after birth.

The purification of a puerperal woman is accomplished in stages. Much of this must be deduced. At the end of her initial stage (7 or 14 days) she probably launders her clothes and bathes. After these ablutions at evening she presumably enters into her 2d stage of impurity. On the last day of this stage she presumably launders and bathes and at nightfall is pure in regard to not only the profane sphere but the holy sphere as well. Finally, supposedly on the day after these final ablutions (i.e., on the 41st or 81st day) she brings sacrifices (a lamb or bird for a burnt offering, and a bird for a purgation offering) which complete and confirm her purification process (12:6–8).

4. Irregular Male Genital Discharge. An impurity similar in ritual effect and strength to that of the parturient is that of a male with an irregular genital discharge (the *zāb;* Lev 15:2–15). The physical symptoms in these verses appear to be those of urethritis with an accompanying discharge of pus. Urethritis is commonly associated with the sexually transmitted disease gonorrhea, caused by the bacterium *Neisseria gonorrhoeae.* Though some have argued that gonorrhea did not exist in biblical times (Kinnier-Wilson 1982; Vertue 1953), evidence suggests that in fact gonorrhea was an endemic disease of great antiquity (Hare 1967; Felton 1979). Therefore, gonorrhea still must be considered one of the causes of the discharge described in these verses of Leviticus 15. But though gonorrhea is a major cause of urethral discharge, it is not the only cause. Consequently translation of Hebrew *zāb* as "gonorrheic" should be avoided.

Understanding the ailment as urethritis allows the symptom of being "stopped up" in v 3 to be explained. Here may be indicated an inability to pass urine due to swelling and inflammation of the chronically infected urethra. This

is a common complication of untreated urethritis seen in gonorrhea and other infections (e.g., Osaba and Alausa 1976; Kibukamusoke 1965).

The effect of the pollution of a *zāb* is similar to that of a menstruant. Every bed, chair, or saddle on which he sits becomes communicably impure so that it can pollute other persons or things with a one-day impurity. Anyone touching the *zāb* directly, or anyone whom the *zāb* touches when his hands are not washed, becomes impure for a day. Moreover, if the *zāb* spits on another person, the latter becomes impure for one day. Inanimate objects that the *zāb* touches also become unclean for one day.

The treatment of the *zāb* in regard to the profane sphere varies in different texts. In Num 5:2–3, the *zāb* (this includes not only the male, but the female equivalent, the *zābâ;* see below), corpse-contaminated persons, and those with scale disease (see LEPROSY) were to be excluded from the sanctuary camp. Leviticus 15, by its silence, implies that, in contrast, the *zāb* and *zābâ* were not excluded (Numbers 19 similarly implies that corpse-contaminated persons could remain in the habitation). The difference in this conception is probably due to the fact that the sanctuary camp, a type of war camp, was subject to stricter rules of purity than a settled habitation in Lev 15 (Wright 1987: 172–73). The stigma attached to those with severe fluxes is intimated in David's curse of Joab and his house (2 Sam 3:29).

When a *zāb* recovers from his physical affliction, he waits 7 days before beginning his regimen of purification. This was probably to make sure that he has really recovered (cf. a similar waiting period for one recovered from scale disease, Lev 14:8–9). On the 7th day, he launders his clothes and bathes. Presumably when evening passes after this set of ablutions he is pure in regard to both the profane and sacred spheres. On the 8th day he brings sacrifices (2 birds for a burnt offering and purgation offering) to complete his purification process.

5. Abnormal Menstrual Flow. The female counterpart of a *zāb* is the *zābâ,* a woman with an abnormal menstrual flow (i.e., bleeding outside the normal menorrheal period or bleeding beyond the normal duration of menstruation; Lev 15:25–30). In the context of underdeveloped societies in the Middle East, a variety of causes for this condition are found including parasitism, malnutrition, and anemia. It is well-known that some apparently normal women menstruate irregularly with some unpredictability of flow (for example, El-Kholi, et al. 1971).

Note that this condition is not medically equivalent to that of the *zāb.* Here it is an irregular blood flow, not a discharge of pus. That a purulent discharge is apparently not considered impure in women may be due to the difficulty in detecting such a discharge in females.

A *zābâ* pollutes exactly like a *zāb.* However, in addition it is logical to suppose that one who had intercourse with her contracted an impurity equal to hers, as in the case of a menstruant. The *zābâ*'s course of purification is like the *zāb*'s.

In the NT a woman with an irregular blood flow as healed after touching Jesus' hem (Mark 5:25; Matt 9:20; Luke 8:43). For him to make contact with her was startling in the cultural context (see Selvidge 1984). On those with abnormal discharges in Jewish tradition, see the Mishnaic tractate *Zabim.*

B. Other Bodily Excretions

Urine and excrement are not impurities in P's system. This is perhaps due to their normality and regularity. Deut 23:13–15, however, treats excrement as an impurity in the context of a war camp. Also, Ezekiel puts food cooked on human dung in the same category as improperly killed animals and desecrated sacrificial meat (Ezek 4:12–14). Moreover, though P does not concern itself about perspiration, Ezek 44:18 requires the priests to not wear any clothing that causes sweat. This prescription, however, does not indicate that perspiration was considered impure. Finally, though the *zāb*'s spittle was considered impure, that of a clean person was not defiling.

C. Rationale for the Impurity of Discharges

Two questions must be addressed in respect to the question why these discharges were considered defiling. The first is quite easy to answer: Why were some discharges more severely polluting than others in the context of P? The factors that seem to determine this are the normality, duration, and frequency of the conditions. For example, a seminal emission is a normal, nonpathological condition; it is short-lived; and it is the most frequent of the conditions. Consequently, it is the least severe. On the other hand, urethritis is abnormal and pathological; it can be rather long-lived; and, relatively speaking, it was rather infrequent. Hence urethritis, with the irregular blood flow of a woman, is the most severe. The other discharges fit in this spectrum according to these criteria.

The second question is more difficult to answer: Why are these discharges considered impure in the first place? Anthropologists have studied in depth the rationale for sexual impurities, especially that for menstrual impurity. A survey of their views on the rationale behind catamenial impurity indicates the possible directions that interpretations of sexual impurities may take. Some explain menstrual taboos in psychological or social psychological terms: They are a reflection of vagina envy or castration anxiety in males; they are a justification men invent to assuage their guilt for being the dominant sex; they arise from mere disgust or aversion; or they arise from the perception that menstruation is a liminal or marginal state inasmuch as it is a relatively infrequent occurrence in preindustrial societies. Others see a biological basis for menstrual taboos: Menstrual blood is impure because it contains a "menotoxin" which is claimed to have an adverse effect on the growth of certain plants. An ecological or population management basis has been advanced: The taboos serve as a form of birth control or, the reverse, they increase population by increasing coitus during the fertile period due to abstinence during menstruation. Some argue for an ethological basis: Menstrual blood can be smelled by game animals; hence women are restricted so that hunts will succeed. Historical causation is considered a significant rationale: Menstrual taboos appear because they have been learned from another culture or from tradition. Most tend to explain menstrual impurity in social terms: It is often seen as an expression of male dominance and a means of separating between male and female spheres. It has been

observed that women can secondarily use pollution rules to manipulate men. It has also been argued that menstrual pollution rules act as a means for a couple to express their commitment to a sound marriage and to living up to society's expectations in marriage. (See Balzer 1981, Douglas 1975, and Montgomery 1974 for summaries and bibliographies of most of these views.)

Many of these views cast significant light on the understanding of menstrual and other pollution practices, but a major failing in the studies presenting them has been a focus on only menstrual pollution, with a general exclusion of other sexual impurities and the larger system of purity of a particular culture. Another failing has been the one-sided approach of many of the studies. Certainly menstrual and other impurities are to be explained by several rationales working together—not by just a single rationale.

Apart from anthropologists, OT scholars have advanced other rationales: Discharges are impure because they are considered demonic; they arise from the Hebrew feeling of sexual shame; they are unhealthy; or they are connected with sin. Another rationale for sexual and other impurities, not new to biblical scholars, has been reopened by G. Wenham (1983). He modifies M. Douglas' explanation that purity or holiness is what is whole or normal and that impurity is what is not whole or normal. He argues that the polarities of holiness/purity and impurity are to be explained by issues and conditions of life and death, respectively. Seminal emission, menstruation, and childbirth are normal conditions, but since they involve the loss of vital liquids, they are associated with death. Hence they, too, become the focus of various pollution rules with the abnormal discharges which are more clearly associated with the idea of death. See also HOLINESS; UNCLEAN AND CLEAN.

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DAVID P. WRIGHT
RICHARD N. JONES

DISCIPLE, DISCIPLESHIP.

The people in the NT who stood in a special and intensive relationship with the earthly Jesus.

A. Usage and Occurrence
B. Historical Reconstruction of Discipleship
   1. Main Characteristics of Discipleship
   2. Comparable Phenomena
   3. Sociohistorical Aspects
C. Understanding of Discipleship in the Gospels
D. Toward the Understanding of Discipleship in Acts

A. Usage and Occurrence

The concept of disciple is expressed in the NT through the word *mathētēs*. The substantive meaning "discipleship," however, does not occur. The verb *mathētēuō* (in most cases in the active voice) "to make someone into a disciple" seldom appears. However, *akolouthein* "to walk behind, to follow" (frequently used in the NT as a specialized term for following Jesus) must also be considered. This verb characterizes the central quality of existence as a disciple. All 261 references to "disciple" in the NT are found in the Gospels and Acts. The emphasis clearly lies in the Gospels, inasmuch as only 10 percent of the references occur in Acts. The case is like that of the word *akolouthein* "to follow after": Of the 90 occurrences, 79 are found in the Gospels, the rest in Acts (4), Revelation (6), and 1 Corinthians (1). This discovery already indicates that discipleship is a phenomenon which demonstrates a close association with Jesus himself.

B. Historical Reconstruction of Discipleship

1. Main Characteristics of Discipleship. One becomes a disciple when called by Jesus himself (e.g., Mark 1:17; 2:14). The initiative lay with Jesus alone; apart from his call, there is no recognizable motive for one to become a disciple and follow Jesus. The synoptic tradition contains instances when the would-be disciple takes the initiative, but all of these attempts fail, and there is no evidence that discipleship would have resulted. In Mark 10:17–27 the rich young ruler turns to Jesus, but when the call to

discipleship confronts him, he goes away sadly. According to Luke 9:57–60 Q, several came to Jesus with the intention to be his disciples, yet failed to become disciples because they remained bound to their past. We should take note that the stories for every one of the disciples have not come down to us. The self-understanding of Jesus, who saw the embodiment of the breaking in of the entirely new (the Kingdom of God) in his own person (cf. Luke 11:20 Q; 17:21), was reflected in the call which created the discipleship existence. This call is the indication of the nearness of God, who anticipates the human search for him and unexpectedly and uninvited enters the human life.

The exclusivity of Jesus' initiative in the call to discipleship accords with the great variety of people among the disciples. Because this circle was founded exclusively through Jesus' call, no other social factors needed to surface: Indeed, antisocial factors in this circle could be overcome. At least one Zealot (Simon the Canaanite, Mark 3:18, cf. the historically accurate rendering of "zealot" in Luke 6:15) belonged to the Twelve, as did a tax collector (Levi, cf. Mark 2:14)—representatives of 2 groups that fought bitterly. Much is to be said for counting women, for whom it was otherwise unthinkable to enter into discipleship. (Luke 1:1–3 speaks of several women who followed Jesus; Mark 15:40f also names women who followed Jesus to the cross). It is evident that Jesus called people into fellowship regardless of social, religious, and ethnic background or gender.

The call of Jesus demanded a total break with the past. The disciples immediately left their families and their vocations (e.g., Mark 1:16–20; 2:14), and followed Jesus. So it could become a direct condition of discipleship that only one who hated his or her own family was eligible to be a disciple of Jesus (Luke 14:26 Q). The same break with the past expressed itself further in self-denial (saying no to oneself) and in the distancing from independent income (cf. Mark 8:34f). In view of the call of Jesus, the holiest duties of the past became objectless (Luke 9:57–60 Q). Finally, it also belonged to discipleship that customary values be radically broken (cf. Mark 10:41–45). Conditional relations are to be carefully considered in light of the break with the past: It is discipleship which demands and makes possible this break, but the break itself is not to be equated with discipleship. The call of Jesus demands and makes possible the break with the past in as much as it gives the disciple a new future.

Discipleship means entering into a lifelong relationship with Jesus (cf. Mark 3:14, where the meaning of discipleship is given: "That they be with him"). This includes the participation in the uncertain life of a traveling preacher and then also in the suffering and death of the teacher (cf. Mark 10:39; 8:34). The disciple is not there merely to learn from the teacher but to share his whole life with him without reservation.

Discipleship is characterized by establishing a fundamental life relationship to the person of Jesus (and not merely to his teaching). Jesus newly qualifies the life of his disciples: They are now "wedding guests" whose time is entirely determined by the presence of the "bridegroom"; this makes it impossible for them to fast (Mark 2:18–22). Jesus gives them the freedom to let the law be for humanity (instead of humanity for the law, cf. Mark 2:23–28). The qualitative difference between master and disciple always remains preserved. It can therefore never be the goal of a disciple to become like the master. Discipleship means to live from what Jesus distributes, to realize that to which he calls. The disciple is as recipient dependent upon what Jesus embodied in his person, not merely upon what he taught.

There is of course no reason to doubt that the sending out, too, goes back to Jesus himself. It is characteristic of Jesus that he approaches people. This movement perpetuates itself in the sending forth of the disciples. According to Mark 1:17, the call to discipleship is simultaneously a sending to the assembly of people (in Israel). Also, Mark 3:14f shows that discipleship is connected with the mission of proclamation (of the approaching Kingdom of God, cf. Matt 10:7 Q) and with the power to exorcise (and to heal human infirmities, cf. Matt 10:8). Here, too, the reference to Jesus is preserved: the disciples do not replace Jesus but receive from him the power to cast out demons (cf. Mark 6:7). The disciples, equipped only with bare essentials, are to remain dependent on the goodwill of people (Mark 6:8f; Matt 10:9f). Their equipment should be a reflection of the gospel itself, which appeals to people to permit themselves to be gifted with grace. It would therefore be contradictory if the disciples were to demonstrate material independence. According to Matt 10:6, the sending was restricted to the "lost sheep of Israel," namely to those who belonged to the people of Israel who through their impure way of life or their ignorance of the law were fallen out of the religious fellowship of the nation. In that, Jesus' sympathy to the sinners and outcasts repeats itself.

The word "disciple," even when thoroughly restricted to disciples of Jesus, names a series of groups who must be distinguished from each other. First, it refers to the rather large number of Jesus-followers who are best referred to as his adherents (cf. Luke 6:13–17; Mark 2:15). In all probability, women, too, belonged to these "disciples" (see above). The word "disciples" refers particularly to the Twelve. It has long been debated whether this was an institution of Jesus. The fact that the description "one of the Twelve" was applied particularly to Judas, the traitor, speaks strongly against post-Easter origins for the establishment of the Twelve (cf. e.g., Mark 14:10). Also, even the later meaning of the Twelve can be better explained if they form an entity instituted by Jesus. The Twelve symbolize the claim of Jesus on all of Israel, his non-exclusive movement towards the whole nation. The creation of the Twelve can be understood as a symbolic act that suits the appearance and the proclamation of Jesus well. The Twelve were chosen by Jesus from out of the crowd. These Twelve are then also the "sent ones" *(apostoloi)*. It can be said that although every one of the Twelve was a disciple, not every disciple belonged to the Twelve and was an apostle. The concept "apostle" in earliest time was also used of some who had no recognizable connection with the earthly Jesus (for example, Paul), who neither were disciples nor belonged to the circle of Twelve (see APOSTLE).

Recent scholarship has been moving again toward understanding the disciple relationship more in terms of the teacher-student model. The development of the tradition which led to the Gospels is being understood as analogous to the rabbinical tradition. Thus Jesus is often addressed

as "teacher" or "Rabbi" (e.g., Matt 25:25; 8:19). There are, however, two problems with this: first, it is not clear whether Jesus himself established the memorializing and traditionalizing of his own teaching. The growth of the tradition, on the other hand, permits us to recognize an astonishingly free use of the words of Jesus. Secondly, it is worth observing that Jesus placed not his teaching but his person in the center, so that the disciples had no student relationship but a life relationship to him.

It is characteristic of the Twelve for them to desert Jesus in the decisive hour. In contrast to the women (Mark 15:40f), who at least witnessed the crucifixion from afar, the Twelve fled to Galilee (Mark 14:50, a report that does not in the least attempt to justify their flight), and their discipleship dissolved itself into nothing. The frankness with which their failure—especially that of the prominent disciple Peter—is preserved in the memory of the Church is remarkable (cf. Mark 14:53–72). The disciples could probably only afford such a reminder because they were saturated with the experience that the Resurrected One himself had overcome their failure. Seen historically, it was the appearances of the Resurrected Jesus in Galilee which led them to move to Jerusalem and to risk their lives for the Christ.

2. Comparable Phenomena. As analogue to discipleship, the teacher-student relationship, as practiced by the scribes and by later rabbinic schools, first comes to mind. At first glance, there are apparently great similarities: Jesus is addressed as Rabbi, *mathētēs* being the Gk translation of the Heb *talmîd,* and the rabbinic scholars live with the master in order to follow him in his ways. Of course, there are also considerable differences, which all are related to the distinction between teaching and person. While the rabbinic scholar is bound beyond the teachings of his teacher to the Law, discipleship means an unmediated connection to the person of Jesus (that is, with that which is embodied by this person). While the student is concerned with becoming a teacher himself, discipleship is characterized by an insuperable qualitative difference from Jesus. While the Rabbi is petitioned by his students, discipleship always comes into being as the result of the call of Jesus. While the relationship of rabbinic apprenticeship is limited to an agreed-upon period of time, there is no sign of temporal limitation to the term of discipleship to Jesus.

In a few places, the NT reveals tht John the Baptist, too, had gathered a group of disciples (cf. e.g., Mark 2:18; John 1:35ff; 4:1; Matt 11:2ff). Of their calling, however, we hear nothing. It is also not known in what relationship these disciples stood with John. A few of Jesus' disciples probably came from John's group of disciples (John 1:35ff). The group of disciples was preserved after John's death and extended itself as far as Asia Minor, perhaps in heretical groups of Judaism. Its existence was contemporary with the early Church (cf. Acts 18:24; 19:7). John's disciples were difficult to distinguish from Christians on the basis of external characteristics (baptism regarded as sign of membership; local groups separated from the synagogue).

In Greek culture, the phenomenon of discipleship appears in a number of forms (philosophy students, religious scholarship, and mystery cults). The teacher-student relationship is predominantly characterized by the concept of *mimēsis.* Teachers and students are bound together by a certain teaching and practice of life, and the student is recognizable in his imitation of the teachings and life of the teacher. Teachers like Pythagoras or Apollonius of Tyana enjoy expressly religious veneration. The principle of tradition is a further indicator; each student generation cares for and further develops it.

The closest analogy to the discipleship which Jesus created is to be seen in the prophet's vocation. Here, God himself was the one who calls, which reflects the theological quality of discipleship. Jesus stood in the place of God; his call was the call of God. This is responsible for both the unquestioning and the unconditional nature of discipleship.

3. Sociohistorical Aspects. The phenomenon of discipleship has been examined sociohistorically in recent scholarship. Sociologically describable aspects are: renunciation of possessions, abandonment of all social ties (residence and socially accepted patterns of behavior), and existence as a wandering charismatic. The sociological description of discipleship is a partial perception, which in accord with its own claims does not desire to compete with religious description. Therefore it is rigorously guarded against, that discipleship is not unintentionally derived from its social conditions (a crisis situation in ancient society). Seen sociologically, the movement to discipleship is categorized as "social uprootedness" (comparable to emigrants, Qumran people, robbers, zealots, vagabonds, prophetic movements). In spite of this categorization, attention to the individual pecularity of the disciples of Jesus must hold good. Having renounced all possessions, they lived a life of wandering and homelessness, even after the death of Jesus, and carried the message and power of Jesus to the people. Among these wandering charismatics, the carriers of the *Logienquelle,* the Stephan-circle, and Barnabas and Paul are to be counted. It is debatable whether they came from the proletariat or from the artisan and farmer class. In the latter case their renunciation of possessions would not have been a condition but a voluntary act. Even when seen from a sociological point of view, it remains certain that Jesus himself and his message is the only factor which can explain the origins of the Twelve.

C. Understanding of Discipleship in the Gospels

A pervading motif in the narrations of the Gospels is the misunderstanding of the disciples. Particularly these, who know Jesus best, are confounded again and again by the newness of that which he brings. The expectation of the Messiah, too, is prematurely applied to him by the disciples (cf. Mark 8:27–33). The misunderstanding disciples, who receive special instruction through Jesus, give way to those who can enter into the later churches with their own difficulties in understanding. A further continuous motif is the persecution which the disciples must take upon themselves as a consequence of their following of the cross. The churches are strengthened by their social resistance.

Matthew especially emphasizes the demand for perfection of the disciples (Matt 5:48), whose righteousness had to far exceed that of the Pharisees (Matt 5:17). Discipleship is a radical way of life, radical also in obedience to the will

of God, as it is interpreted through Jesus. Mark especially emphasizes the fact that failure and discipleship do not necessarily disqualify each other. The discipleship stories highlight the following motifs: Jesus approaches human beings in order to get them to approach others; Jesus "sees" human beings; one becomes a disciple not through certain conditions of life but because of the unexpected call of Jesus; the call itself creates what it demands, since discipleship is understood as creation of this call and not as decision of the called. Discipleship is entirely dependent on Christology; in being a disciple, the service of the Son of Man as humility, service, and peacemaking replicates itself (Mark 9:33–50; 10:42–45). Luke identifies the Twelve with the apostles and is especially interested in the continuity of the disciples with the period of Jesus' life. The gospel of John especially stresses the conversion of the disciple John to Jesus. Everything depends on remaining in the word of Jesus—on the living relationship to Jesus—whose service in love makes the disciples into friends (John 13; 15). The mark of discipleship is love, which is authoritative in the Church (John 13:34f). Analogous to the sending of the Son, the disciples are also sent into the world (John 17:18); in them God's gift to the world, which became an event in the incarnation of the Word, perpetuates itself.

D. Toward the Understanding of Discipleship in Acts

In Acts, the word "disciple" refers to the "Christians" (from 6:1) nearly without exception. Here the only example in the NT of "female disciple" is to be found (9:35; it is not entirely certain, however, whether Tabitha was a disciple of Christ). This occurrence appears to draw on a pre-Lukan linguistic use, which points to a self-description of the (Palatinian) tradition carriers. This usage plays no further role in the rest of the literature of the NT; it is to be assumed that it disappeared from the consciousness of the Christians. Possibly the word "disciple" as self-description of the Christians in the Hellenistic world led to occasion for confusion with the schools of philosophy.

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HANS WEDER
Trans. Dennis Martin

DISCIPLINE, MANUAL OF. See COMMUNITY, RULE OF THE (1QS).

DISCOURSE ON THE EIGHTH AND NINTH (NHC VI,6). A previously unknown Hermetic tractate in the Coptic language, and one of three Hermetic texts preserved in the Nag Hammadi Library. As part of Codex VI, it is written in the Sahidic dialect but with traces of Subachmimic and Achmimic influence: Its official designation is NHC VI,6,52,1–63,32. The text is generally well preserved with the exception of damage at the top of each page; thus the original title is lost. The modern title, "The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth," is derived from the text itself (53,24–26; cf. 61,21–22) and is descriptive of the contents. The Coptic text can be dated towards the middle of the 4th century C.E., or the approximate date of the copying of Codex VI. The Greek original probably dates from the 2d century C.E. as certain terms and concepts demonstrate an affinity with Middle Platonic speculation which was current at that time.

A. Contents

Disc. 8–9 can be described as a Hermetic revelatory dialogue in which a mystagogue and initiate undergo a process of spiritual ascent and illumination at the levels or stages of the "Eighth" and "Ninth," designations which refer to levels within the Divine realm beyond the 7 planetary spheres. The Eighth or Ogdoad is described as the place or sphere where souls and angels continuously praise the Ninth with hymns; the Ninth or Ennead is the dwelling place of Nous or Divine Mind. A tenth level is not mentioned but is perhaps assumed; this would be the dwelling place of the Highest God (cf. *Corp. Herm.* I; *Apoc. Paul*). The mystagogue is identified in the text as Hermes (58,29;

59,11; 63,24) and Trismegistus (59,15.24). The initiate is unnamed.

The spiritual ascent described in the text follows a prescribed order, the so-called "order of the tradition." The text begins with the recollection of a promise made by Hermes to bring the mind of the initiate into the Eighth and Ninth; Hermes acknowledges the promise and declares that he and the initiate are now ready to proceed. At an earlier point, both had advanced to the level of the Seventh (stages 1 to 7 are implied in the text but not described). The initiate had also undergone a period of intellectual preparation by reading certain books. As a result, he was now in a proper state of piety and living according to Divine law and was thus ready to advance to the levels of the Eighth and Ninth. This final ascent is described in terms of 2 stages of ecstatic illumination which are experienced mutually by Hermes and the initiate through the agency of spoken dialogue, prayer, hymns of praise, the chanting of magical vowel sounds *(voces mysticae)*, and sacred silences. A further element is a fraternal "kiss" which specifically engenders the divine birth of Hermes as unified Mind (Nous). In this divinized state, Hermes as Nous first sees and describes the vision of the Eighth: he sees an indescribable Depth, then the Source or Fountain of life, and finally sees the souls and angels of the Eighth singing a silent hymn. A second illumination occurs when the initiate shares in this experience and both he and Hermes see the souls and angels silently praising the Ninth and its powers. This vision of the Ninth is followed by an act of grace and thanksgiving, further hymnic praises, and the calling out of the hidden name of God (a series of magical vowel sounds). Hermes then instructs the initiate to inscribe the discourse on turquoise steles and deposit them in the temple at Diospolis, Egypt. This must be done in conjunction with certain astrological signs. The tractate concludes with a sacred oath to keep the words of Hermes protected: those who do so will be blessed; those who do not will be cursed.

B. Importance

Disc. 8–9 is important for several reasons. First, as a Hermetic tractate, it shows special affinities with *Corp. Herm.* I, IV, VI, VIII, XIII, as all these texts demonstrate a common world-negating dualism of the body and the spirit. The closest parallels, however, are with *Corp. Herm.* XIII, as this text describes a similar path of ascent, accomplished via Nous, and resulting in an ecstatic experience of spiritual rebirth. In both texts, this spiritual ascent can be understood as a prefiguring of the soul's ascent through the various celestial spheres after death (this postmortem ascent is described in *Corp. Herm.* I). A major difference, however, is that *Disc. 8–9* is far more coherent as a literary text, demonstrating a symmetry of structure and language that is not apparent in *Corp. Herm.* XIII. Further, *Disc. 8–9* represents a more-advanced stage of illumination than that of *Corp. Herm.* XIII and focuses in particular on a special aspect of the ascent (the word, Ennead [Ninth], for example, is found in no other Hermetic text). *Corp. Herm.* XIII, in contrast, is a more-loosely organized text which relates an entire anagogic path whereby the soul, before it enters the Ogdoad, is systematically cleansed of various vices by 10 purifying powers or virtues (in *Corp. Herm.* I, these vices and virtues are associated with the 7 planetary spheres in terms of the soul's postmortem ascent). Consequently, the rebirth experience of *Corp. Herm.* XIII can be understood as a form of metamorphosis achieved from without, in automatic or mechanistic fashion. In *Disc. 8–9*, rebirth is experienced dynamically from within as an awakening of a divine power or element that the initiate already possesses. Thus the relationship between the 2 texts is not one of literary dependence but of genre: both are revelatory discourses or dialogues, but represent different traditions of spiritual regeneration.

A second feature of importance in *Disc. 8–9* is its connection with an explicit Egyptian locus. The instructions at the end of the tractate—to inscribe the text in hieroglyphic characters (lit. "in letters of the scribe of the House of Life") on steles and deposit them in the temple at Diospolis—point to the existence of a Hermetic community in Upper Egypt during the Hellenistic period, either at Diospolis Parva (near Nag Hammadi) or Diospolis Magna (ancient Thebes). This community, under the protection of Hermes Trismegistus, would most likely have had links with the Egyptian priesthood, perhaps in connection with a temple of Thoth, the Egyptian scribal god who was said to live in the "House of Life" (the figure of Thoth appears in the guise of Tat in other Hermetic texts). A further reference in the text to 8 frog-faced and cat-faced guardians who protect the temple along with the sun are probable allusions to the primordial Ogdoad and Ennead honored, respectively, at Hermopolis and Heliopolis. Although these Egyptian allusions are not exact (e.g., the Ogdoad at Hermopolis consisted of frog-faced and serpent-headed deities), their inclusion in *Disc. 8–9* points to an authentic Egyptian inspiration for this text and perhaps for the *Corpus Hermeticum* as a whole. This is a significant suggestion as previous scholars had generally discounted any Egyptian influence on the Hermetica (with the notable exception of Reitzenstein), preferring to regard any Egyptian references in symbolic rather than literal terms. The evidence from *Disc. 8–9* would now seem to refute this consensus.

Of further significance is evidence in *Disc. 8–9* for a ritual/cultic context involving a "brotherhood" engaged in esoteric study, prayer, hymnic praises, ascetic disciplines, and a mystery initiation aided by the community leader or "Father" (identified with Hermes). In this context, the ritual "kiss" of Hermes and the initiate can be viewed as a sacramental act reminiscent of the "kiss" in the bridal chamber ritual associated with Valentinian circles. This evidence, then, would argue against those scholars who have viewed the *Corpus Hermeticum* solely in terms of "reading mysteries" with only symbolic but not actual ritual or cultic significance. The evidence from *Disc. 8–9* would now appear to disprove this theory as well.

Finally, the existence of Hermetic material in a gnostic library brings up the question of gnostic parallels. First, the names for God found in the text ("Father of the All," "Source," "Depth," "Fountain," "Ungenerated," "Self-Generated") can be paralleled in various gnostic texts. This is the case with other terms as well; e.g., "pleroma," "pronoia," "aeon," "Hebdomad," "Ogdoad." In addition, the use of *voces mysticae* in an ascent context in conjunction with prayers, hymns, and sacred silences, are also features of

gnostic anagogic material. The ritual "kiss" and its Valentinian parallel has already been noted. However, much of the above can also be found in traditions not directly dependent either on Hermeticisim or gnosticism; e.g., the Chaldean Oracles and the magical papyri. Indeed, the repeated use of forms of noesis/noein ("perception," "understanding") in connection with salvation in this text, rather than forms of gnosis (found only once), suggests more direct links with Middle Platonic speculation than with strictly gnostic thought. It is prudent then not to identify *Disc. 8–9* as a form of Hermetic gnosticism, as certain scholars suggest, but to view it as a form of Hermeticism which, like forms of gnosticism, belonged to a wider current of thought (dualistic in nature, astrologically based, and anagogic in orientation) which found expression in a variety of philosophical and religious traditions of the Hellenistic period.

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RUTH MAJERCIK

DISCOURSE, DIRECT AND INDIRECT. The predisposition of the biblical writers to use direct discourse as a means of narration has often been noted, and the new wave of literary studies of the Bible since the 1970s has done much to illuminate the artful complexity in the deployment of direct discourse. Because biblical narrative is very sparing in description and circumstantial detail, its characteristic rhythm is rapid summary—often covering a period of years in a verse or two—suddenly slowing down to a significant scene represented chiefly through dialogue. Thus, in Genesis 25, the narration moves from Jacob's and Esau's birth to their young adulthood in 2 brief verses (Gen 25:27–28), and then the crucial scene of the selling of the birthright (Gen 25:29–34) is represented mainly by direct discourse that subtly characterizes each of the twins through the kind of speech he uses and also sets the terms for the whole ensuing story (Alter 1981: 42–46). The instance of Jacob and Esau equally illustrates the tendency of the biblical writers to exploit the first piece of dialogue assigned to a personage as an initial, revelatory exposition of character.

The biblical writers are so inclined to use direct discourse that they often do so where it would be avoided by other narrative traditions, or even where actual speech is not represented. Inquiry of an oracle, for example, was usually done through the manipulation of a cultic device such as the Urim and Thummim, but in biblical narrative the result of this inquiry is represented as a verbal response to a verbal query (e.g., 2 Sam 1:1). When, however, a full-scale dialogue or a sequence of dialogues is introduced into the narrative, the shift to direct discourse is generally an index of the importance of what is happening. David's adultery with Bathsheba in 2 Samuel 11 takes up just 5 verses with only two small bits of dialogue. His machinations that lead to the murder of Uriah are conveyed through an elaborate chain of dialogues and speeches reporting or responding to other speeches that unfolds over the remaining 22 verses of the chapter. On the plane of moral significance, one infers that the truly grave transgression is not the adultery but the killing with which David compounds his sexual crime (Perry and Sternberg 1968; Sternberg 1985: 190–229).

The intricacy of the biblical representation of characters' language is especially evident in the frequent tendency to embed direct discourse within direct discourse. Occasionally, one encounters Chinese-box constructions, as in Jer 36:27–31, where the Lord addresses Jeremiah, quoting the words the prophet is to say to King Jehoiakim, in which are embedded the king's angry words to Jeremiah, which in turn incorporate the words written by the prophet in the scroll he delivered to the king (Alter 1985: 138–39). More characteristic is the subtle interplay between embedding and embedded discourse, or, alternately, between direct discourse and the narratorial report that it seems to mirror more or less verbatim. The rule of thumb is that whenever a character repeats in dialogue what either the narrator or another character has said, small but significant changes are introduced—in the suppression or alteration of a detail, in a choice of terms, in the order of items—that tell us something about the position and attitude of the speaker or the audience he or she is addressing. In the Genesis 24 story of the proxy wooing of Rebekah by Abraham's servant, the dialogue at the beginning, in which Abraham exacts an oath from the servant, is repeated by the servant in his speech to Rebekah's family; but many details are modified in order to play down Abraham's role as emigrant to a divinely promised foreign land while playing up family ties (Savran 1985; Sternberg 1985: 131–52). In Genesis 39, when the Egyptian lady denounces Joseph as a rapist, she uses virtually the same words the narrator has just used to report the action in which she in fact assaulted Joseph; but the order of the items is changed (in her version, first she cries out and then he flees, instead of the other way around), and the telltale garment is no longer "in her hand" but "by" her. When she accuses Joseph to the household staff, who are presumably slaves, he is a "Hebrew fellow"; when she repeats nearly the same words of accusation to her husband, Joseph becomes a "Hebrew slave" (Alter 1981: 109–10; Sternberg 1985: 423–27).

Direct discourse is also sometimes used to represent the thoughts of the characters in biblical narrative. The scale of such representation is highly restricted, but these nev-

ertheless qualify formally as interior monologues. In some instances, interior monologue is explicitly introduced by the phrase "he said in [or to] his heart," as in 1 Sam 27:1: "And David said in his heart: Now one of these days I shall perish by the hand of Saul. The best thing for me is to flee to Philistine territory . . ." Often, the Hebrew verb "to say" has the force of "to think" even without the adverbial "in his heart," as when Saul schemes, clearly talking to himself, to have David killed: "And Saul said: Let me give her to him so that she can be a snare to him, and so that the hand of the Philistines will be against him" (1 Sam 18:21). The play of variations in the citation of direct discourse in dialogue can even occur when the direct discourse cited is interior monologue. A piquant example that illustrates how subtly this general technique can be employed occurs in the repetition of Sarah's unspoken speech of skepticism about the promise of a son (Gen 18:12–13). "And Sarah laughed inwardly, saying: After being shriveled, will I have pleasure, and my lord is old!" The angel of the Lord, with the advantage of the auditory equivalent of chairvoyance, hears these unvoiced words, but this is how he repeats them to Abraham: "Why is it that Sarah laughed, saying: Will I really give birth, I being old?" The angel, with divine tact, has clearly tempered the vehemence of Sarah's interior monologue. The most salient of the changes he makes in her speech was already noticed by the great medieval Hebrew exegete Rashi: No mention is made now of Abraham's age, only of hers. The angelic version also edits out Sarah's biological concreteness. There is no reference to being shriveled or worn (Heb root *blh*), or to pleasure (in all likelihood, the Hebrew root *ʿdn* indicates sexual pleasure, though it might merely allude to the "pleasure" of maternity). This purposeful transformation in repetition of direct discourse is characteristic of the procedure throughout the Bible: in this instance, nothing is left of Sarah's words that might offend her husband's sensibility.

The biblical writers are far more concerned with how the characters manifest themselves in their speech than in their chains of perception, musings, and preverbal sensation; but there are nevertheless many brief instances of what students of narrative call free indirect discourse or narrated monologue (Cohn 1978: 99–140)—that is, the representation of the unvoiced inner speech of the character not through direct quotation but through the 3d person grammatical perspective of the narrator. Biblical Hebrew has a convenient term, the so-called presentative, *hinnēh* (KJV "lo" or "behold"), that often serves as a shifter from the point of view of the narrator to that of the character. (In direct discourse, that term is a way of pointing to an object or person visible to the speaker, as when Isaac says to Abraham, "Behold [*hinnēh*] the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for the offering?"; Gen 22:7). The shift itself is typically made to dramatize a moment of climactic discovery. Thus, when the Israelite general Barak is brought by Jael into her tent where she has just killed the Canaanite commander Sisera, all she says to Barak is that she will show him the man he seeks. Then the narrator reports what Barak sees in the following language: "And behold [*wĕhinnēh*] Sisera lying dead, the tent-peg through his temple" (Judg 4:22). The immediacy of perception intimated through indirect discourse is caught by the use of a participial form instead of a verb in the perfect tense, and even more by the syntax, which beautifully replicates the quick successive stages of Barak's discovery: first the identity of the figure before him; then the fact that he is not just sprawling but dead; then the precise instrument of death—the tent-peg through the temple.

At less dramatically defined moments, the shift into free indirect discourse is chiefly a way of bringing to the fore the subjective viewpoint of the character as he undergoes an experience. This is the case when Jacob, at the beginning of Genesis 29, arrives at the site of a country well in an unfamiliar Mesopotamian setting, after a journey by foot of hundreds of miles and just before the moment he will meet the woman he is to love (Fokkelman 1975: 50–51). "He saw, and behold [*wĕhinnēh*], a well in the field, and behold [*wĕhinnēh*] there, three flocks of sheep lying by it (for from that well they would water the flocks), and the stone was big on the mouth of the well" (Gen 29:2). The double use of the presentative punctuates two successive moments of perception—First, Jacob notices the well, then the sheep nearby; then, in the phrase placed here in parenthesis, the narrator appears to intervene momentarily from his perspective to explain the local practice of watering; and, finally, Jacob's eyes fix on the great stone over the mouth of the well, the stone against which he is about to pit his strength. Such use of indirect discourse is of course modest in comparison to the richly sustained elaboration of that technique in the 19th and 20th century novel, but it illustrates the finely adjusted mobility of biblical narrative in the means of presentation it adopts. The inner experience of the characters may be conveyed by quoted monologue, or as here, by narrated monologue by narratorial summary of attitudes and feelings, and by the way the characters respond to each other in speech and action. Similarly, the narration of events and relationships may be conveyed by dialogue, or dialogue embedding previous dialogue and narration, or by a variety of modes of narratorial report.

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ROBERT ALTER

DISEASE. See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

DISHAN (PERSON) [Heb *dîšān*]. A son of Seir, the Horite (Gen 36:21; 1 Chr 1:38), brother of Dishon (Gen 36:21; 1 Chr 1:38), uncle of Dishon (Gen 36:25, 26 [read, with 1 Chr 1:41, Dishon instead of Dishan]), and the father of Uz and Aran (Gen 36:28; 1 Chr 1:42 [read Dishan instead of Dishon, but see below]). See also SEIR; HORI; DISHON; UZ. According to Gen 36:30, both Dishan and Dishon were Horite/Seirite tribes, regardless of whether one translates Heb *ʾallûp* as "tribe" or "chief". Furthermore, the names Dishan and Dishon are identical, Dishon exhibiting the Canaanite (and ancient NW Arabian) shift *â* > *ô* whereas Dishan shows the Proto-Semitic, Aramaic, and Central Arabian form of the same name. The occurrence of the same name in 3 different positions of the genealogy (Gen 36:20–28; 1 Chr 38–42) makes it doubtful that this genealogy is an actual representation of the Horite/Seirite tribal system. The Masoretic tradition may have expressed similar doubts by misspelling the name of Dishon/Dishan twice (Gen 36:26; 1 Chr 1:42). Gen 36:20–28 forms one of the most ancient components of Genesis 36 (Weippert 1971: 443); it seems, however, to have been compiled from conflicting traditions well after the demise of the Seirite/Horite tribal system.

The name Dishan/Dishon signifies an unspecified piece of game (Nöldeke 1904: 84). For more animal names among the tribal/personal names recorded in Genesis 36, see also ACHBOR; AIAH; ARAN.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

DISHON (PERSON) [Heb *dîšôn*]. The name of two men in the OT. It may mean "mountain goat" (*IDB* 1:854).

1. The 5th son of Seir, the Horite, who lived in the land of Edom (Gen 36:21; 1 Chr 1:38). He was the father of Hemdan, Eshban, Ithran, and Cheran (Gen 36:26; 1 Chr 1:41). Some scholars believe that Dishon is a variation of DISHAN, but in the genealogy of the Horite chiefs he is listed as the brother of Lothan, Shobal, Zibeon, Anah, Ezer, and Dishan (Gen 36:20–21). The form *dîšon* occurs only in Gen 36:26.

2. The son of Anah and grandson of Seir, the eponymous clan leader of the Horites who lived in Edom (Gen 36:25; 1 Chr 1:41).

CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

DISMEMBERMENT. See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

DIVES. See LAZARUS AND DIVES.

DIVINATION, DIVINER. See MAGIC (OT).

DIVINE ASSEMBLY. Common to the mythopoeic world of the ANE was the idea of a council or assembly of the gods that met to determine the fates of the cosmos. Depictions of such divine gatherings are found in the religious and mythological literatures of Mesopotamia, Ugarit, Phoenicia, and Israel. Though the concept of a "synod" of the gods was present in Egyptian mythology, it seems to have played little active role in Egyptian religion. While there is much to suggest that in Mesopotamia and Canaan this heavenly assembly reflects a developed political reality within the human realm, in the literatures of these cultures the council of the gods is presented as a standard part of the organization of the divine realm which constituted the major decision-making body in the divine world to which all the members of the pantheon were subject.

Within the biblical materials, the concept of an assembly of divine beings is found throughout the OT as an expression of Yahweh's power and authority. Yahweh is frequently depicted as enthroned over an assembly of divine beings who serve to dispense his decrees and messages. It is this mythological setting that provides the background, in part, for the development of the angelic hierarchy that occurs during the intertestamental period. This concept of divine authority and power also supplies the conceptual background for understanding the idea of prophetic authority within the Hebrew texts.

A. Terminology
  1. Extrabiblical
  2. Biblical
B. Members of the Assembly
  1. Mesopotamia
  2. Ugarit
  3. Israel
C. The Messenger of the Council
D. Hebrew Depictions of the Assembly
E. Development of Specialized Functions

A. Terminology

Despite the common mythological depictions of the assembly of the gods, the terminology used to describe this concept is rather diverse.

1. Extrabiblical. In the Mesopotamian materials, the standard term used for the assembly is *puḫru*—the assembly of the gods is most commonly designated as *puḫur ilāni.* Among the various terms used to designate the assembly in the Ugaritic materials is the analogous phrase *pḫrʾilm.* While it remains disputed whether *ʾilm* in this and analogous phrases in Ugaritic is to be read as the plural, "gods," or as the singular, "El" (+ enclitic *m*), it is apparent that it is one designation for the assembly of the gods in the Ugaritic texts (*UT* 17.7 [*KTU* 1.47.29]; *Ug* V.9.1.9 [RS 24.643; *KTU* 1.148]). In *UT* 51.III.14 (*KTU* 1.4) the phrase *pḫr bn ʾilm* designates the assembly of the gods while *mpḫrt bn ʾll* is frequent in the liturgical texts (*UT* 107.3 [*KTU* 1.65]; *UT* 2.17, 34 [*KTU* 1.40; see also lines 8, 25]). To this should be compared the 10th-century B.C.E. Phoenician reference to "the assembly of the holy gods of Byblos" (*mpḫrt ʾl gbl qdšm; KAI* 4.4–5). In the most detailed Ugaritic description of the assembly (*UT* 137.14, 15, 16–17, 20, 31 [*KTU* 1.2]), the compound expression "gathered

assembly" (*ṗḫr mᶜd*) is employed. Elsewhere in the Ugaritic texts the most common designation for the assembly is *dr ʾil/dr bn ʾil*, "the assembly of El/the assembly of the sons of El" (*UT* 107.2 [*KTU* 1.65]; *UT* 2.17, 25–26, 34 [*KTU* 1.40; see also line 8]; *UT* 1.7 [*KTU* 1.39]; *UT* 3.16 [*KTU* 1.41]; RS 18.56, 17–18 [*KTU* 1.87]; *UT* 128.III.19 [*KTU* 1.15]). In the Keret text the phrase *ᶜdt ʾilm* is also used to connote the assembly of the gods (*UT* 128.II.7, 11 [*KTU* 1.15]).

2. Biblical. The terminology used in Hebrew to denote the assembly is also diverse. Biblical Hebrew, while not using the term *puḥru/ṗḫr* to designate the assembly, does employ the terms *ᶜedâ*, "assemblage" (Ps 82:1) and *dôr*, lit. "generation" (Amos 8:14; see also Pss 14:5; 49:20; 73:15; 84:11; 95:10; 112:2; Isa 53:8; Jer 2:31, 7:29; Prov 30:11–14; compare *dr* in *KAI* 26.III.19;27.12), both of which are used of the council in Ugaritic materials. Additionally, Isa 14:13 employs the phrase *har môᶜēd*, "mount of assembly" (cf. Ug *ṗḫr mᶜd*), and *qēhal qĕdōšîm*, "assembly of the holy ones" (Ps 89:6). The term *sôd* also occurs in the biblical materials as a designation for the council (Ps 89:8; Jer 23:18; 23:22; Job 15:8). Neither *qāhāl* nor *sôd* is attested in Ugaritic as a term designating the assembly of the gods.

B. Members of the Assembly

More significant for an understanding of the role and function of the divine assembly in the literature and religion of the ANE is the variety of terms used to designate the members of the assembly.

1. Mesopotamia. The membership of the heavenly council is most clearly discernible in the Mesopotamian literature. There the membership of the council is composed of all the major gods and goddesses of the land. Most important among these gods are two special groups, the fifty *ilū rabiūtu*, "the great/senior gods," and the seven gods called *ilū šīmāti*, "the gods of the fates," or the *muššimmū šīmāti*, "the determiners of the fates." The depictions of the council proceedings in Mesopotamian materials, most especially in the *Enūma Eliš*, reveal that the council met under the presidency of the high god Anu and that after a banquet and discussion of the issues, the fates were determined and pronounced. The executor of the will of the council was the storm god Enlil.

In the Canaanite and Hebrew literatures depicting the assembly of the gods, the individual natures of the constituent members of the assembly are not nearly so clear as they are in the Mesopotamian accounts. In both the Canaanite and Hebrew assemblies, the identities of the gods, apart from the high god, remain somewhat obscure.

2. Ugarit. In the assembly of the gods, as depicted in the Ugaritic materials, the members of the assembly are noted as *ʾilm*, "gods," a fact that is conveyed by the designation of the assembly as *ṗḫr (bn) ʾilm, mpḫrt bn ʾil*, and *dr bn ʾil*. There are, however, some more specific indications of the membership in the Canaanite assembly. In the Keret epic (*UT* 126.V.1–28 [*KTU* 1.16]), El sits at the head of the assembly and four times addresses the gods, called either *ʾilm*, "gods," or *bny*, "my sons," asking who will heal the ailing Keret. *UT* 128.II.2–7 (*KTU* 1.15) presents El, Baal, Yarih (Moon), Kothar-wa-Hasis, Raḥmayyu (ʾAṯirat[?]), Reshep, and the *ᶜdt ʾilm*, "the assembly of the gods," as gathering to consider Keret's request for progeny. Though broken, the text seems to give the names of some of the major deities and the leading members of the assembly, and then lists the assembly itself, as though the latter had been hypostatized and could represent a grouping of minor deities. This hypostatization of the council is confirmed by the appearance of the council in the pantheon lists and sacrificial tariffs from Ugarit. The Ugaritic pantheon list (*UT* 17.7 [*KTU* 1.47.29]) includes the *ṗḫr ʾilm* among the deities of Ugarit; the corresponding Akkadian list (*Ug* V.18.28 [RS 20.24]) reads ^{d}*pu-ḫur ilāni*^{M}, "the council of the gods." In addition to this grouping of deities occurs the notice of *ṗḫr bᶜl*, the "assembly of Baal," that might be equivalent to the "helper gods of Baal" (*ʾil tᶜdr bᶜl/ilānu*^{M} *til-la-at* ^{d}*adad* [UT 17.4 (*KTU* 1.47.26)/*Ug* V. 18.25 (RS 20.24)]). The connection of the two assemblages in the texts (*dr ʾil wṗḫr bᶜl; UT* 1.7 [*KTU* 1.39]; *UT* 3.16 [*KTU* 1.41]; RS 18.56.17–18 [*KTU* 1.87]) suggests that these might be interpreted as collective "summary" statements for those deities not designated specifically in the lists. The dedication of sacrifices to this hypostatized council (*dr bn ʾil//mpḫrt bn ʾil, UT* 2.17, 33–34 [*KTU* 1.40 (see also lines 7–8, 42)] or *ṗḫr ʾilm, Ug* V.9.9 [RS 24.643; *KTU* 1.148]) indicates that it was regarded as an object of veneration, a view that is confirmed by the Phoenician references to the council that show that as late as the 6th century B.C.E., the divine assembly was still invoked as an active part of the Canaanite pantheon (*KAI* 4.3–5; 9.B.5–6; 26.III.18–19; 27:11–12). The Ugaritic materials reveal a concept of the council that may be summarized as follows: the major and minor deities of the pantheon met in assembly under the leadership of El to make those decisions concerning the cosmos that fell within the purview of the gods. Most specifically, the issues of kingship, temple, and progeny concern the council. Apart from the fact that the members of the assembly are noted as gods or sons of El and are often the recipients of sacrifices, there seems to be little or no development of the individual roles or functions as presented in the Ugaritic texts.

3. Israel. An analogous situation is encountered in the Hebrew materials. Though there are numerous references to the divine beings that constitute the members of the heavenly court, there is little or no development of individual figures or functions in the early Hebrew materials. In Pss 29:1, 89:7, the members of the Hebrew council are called *bĕnê ʾēlîm*, "sons of gods/gods" (or possibly "sons of El," reading *ʾēl-m;* cf. Ug *bn ʾilm*). Likewise, Deut 32:8 may contain the reading *bĕnê ʾĕlōhîm* (cf. LXX, 4QDt), a reference that would be analogous to the *bĕnê hāʾĕlōhîm*, "the sons of god," contained in Gen 6:2, 4; Job 1:6, 2:1. See also SONS OF GOD. In Ps 82:6, the deities of the assembly are called "sons of the Most High/Elyon" (*bĕnê ᶜelyôn*), while the inclusive nature of the membership in the assembly is reflected by the reference to *kōl ʾĕlōhîm*, "all the gods," in Ps 97:7. A more general designation of the members of Yahweh's court is *qĕdōšîm*, "holy ones" (Deut 33:2–3; Job 5:1, 15:15[Q]; Pss 16:3; 89:6, 8; Zech 14:5; Prov 9:10; 30:3), or the collective meaning of *qōdeš* (Exod 15:11; Pss 77:14; 93:5; cf. Ug *bn qdš*). Despite the tendency of interpreters to view the Hebrew materials from a monotheistic viewpoint, it is apparent that the biblical materials themselves envisioned Yahweh surrounded by his heavenly court, the lesser deities who made up the divine entourage.

Given the warrior character of Yahweh presented in the

early Hebrew materials, it is possible to ascertain one function of these divine beings who accompanied the high god. Though the precise meaning and etymology of the phrase remain debated, it is possible to interpret the *ṣĕbā'ôt,* "host, army," of the phrase *YHWH ṣĕbā'ôt* as a reference to the military retinue that fought alongside the high god. Whatever character is assigned to these divine beings, two matters are made clear from those texts that are concerned with the incomparability of Yahweh (cf. Deut 3:24; 10:17; 1 Kgs 8:23; Jer 10:6; Pss 86:8, 95:3; 96:4[=1 Chr 16:25]; 97:7; 135:5; 136:2; etc.): such comparisons presume the setting of the council (cf. Ps 89:6–9), and the members of that council are presumed to be clearly inferior to Yahweh. Despite this inferior status, these beings constituted the "host of heaven" (*ṣĕbā' haššāmayim,* cf. Isa 40:26; Ps 148:3), the worship of whom was forbidden in Hebrew tradition (Deut 4:19; 17:3; cf Jer 8:2, etc.). As illustrated by the parallelism of the *kôkĕbê bōqer* and *kōl bĕnê 'ĕlōhîm* ("the morning stars"//"all the sons of god"; Job 38:7), the heavenly bodies could be envisioned as part of the divine entourage who participated in the wars of Yahweh (cf. Josh 5:13–15; 10:12b–13a; Judg 5:20; Ps 148:2–3). In addition to the function of serving as part of the divine retinue, the beings served to praise and adore Yahweh in his court (Pss 29:1; 148:2–3).

C. The Messenger of the Council

Since the major function of the council of the gods was to make and enforce decrees concerning the operation of the cosmos, an important role played by certain members of the assembly was that of messenger of the council. In the Canaanite materials from Ugarit, the major gods are depicted as dispatching messengers (called *ml'k, t'dt, ġlm;* cf. Hebrew *mal'āk, tĕ'ûdâ, 'elem*) who deliver their addresses in a highly stylized, formulaic manner *(thm//hwt).* In the Hebrew Bible, the phrase *mal'ak YHWH,* "the messenger of Yahweh" (Exod 3:2; Num 22:31; Judg 13:13, 15, 16, 2 Sam 24:16–17; Zech 3:1; etc.; see also the *mal'āk ê 'ĕlōhîm* of Gen 32:2–3), is used to denote those divine beings who serve as envoys of Yahweh and who deliver his decrees. Often confirming their divine commission is the notice that they are "sent" *(šlḥ)* by Yahweh from his council (Gen 24:7, 40; Exod 23:20; Num 20:16; compare Judg 13:8).

This concept of messenger forms a major aspect of the conceptual background of Hebrew prophecy wherein the prophet is viewed as the messenger of Yahweh (cf. Hag 1:13; Mal 3:1). Such texts as Jer 23:18 (cf. v 22) and Amos 3:7 reveal the council background presumed by the concept of prophecy (see also Job 15:8). As the messengers of the Ugaritic council delivered their messages via set formulas, the pronouncements of the Hebrew prophets were also characterized by certain formulaic expressions, the most common of which was "thus says Yahweh" *(kōh 'āmar YHWH),* a phrase frequently paralleled by the formula "the word of Yahweh" *(dĕbar YHWH).* The prophetic reception of the divine message, i.e., the commissioning of the messenger, is conveyed at least in part via the common expression "the word of Yahweh was to PN" (*wayhî dĕbar YHWH 'el*-PN) and then delivered with the imperatives characteristic of prophetic addresses (cf. 1 Kgs 12:22–24; 13:20–22; 2 Sam 7:4–5; Jer 21:11–12; Ezek 28:1–2; etc.).

D. Hebrew Depictions of the Assembly

The role of the divine assembly as a conceptual part of the background of Hebrew prophecy is clearly displayed in two descriptions of prophetic involvement in the heavenly council. In 1 Kgs 22:19–23 (cf. 2 Chr 18:18–22), Micaiah ben Imiah oversees the heavenly decision regarding the fate of Ahab. Isaiah 6 depicts a situation in which the prophet himself takes on the role of the messenger of the assembly and the message of the prophet is thus commissioned by Yahweh. The mythological depiction here illustrates this important aspect of the conceptual background of prophetic authority.

Not all depictions of the assembly pertain to prophecy. Ps 82:1–8 presents a picture of judgment in the divine realm. Yahweh is presented as speaking in the *'ădat 'ēl,* "the assembly of El . . . in the midst of the gods" *(bĕqereb 'ĕlōhîm),* called also "sons of the Most High/Elyôn" *(bĕnê 'elyôn),* and condemns them to death because of their failure to dispense justice properly.

A further association between the concepts of the assembly and the divine decree is found in the epic traditions concerning the "Tent of Meeting" (*'ōhel mô'ēd*—cf. Exod 33:7–11; Num 11:16–29; 12:4–10, etc.). In Hebrew traditions the *'ōhel mô'ēd,* an earthly representation of the heavenly abode of the deity, served as an oracle tent where Yahweh appeared directly to his people (Exod 25:22; 29:42–43; 30:36; 40:34–38; Num 9:15–23). These traditions are consistent with the ANE concept of the council meeting at the shrine of the high god. In mythological terms, this shrine was located on the mountain dwelling of the deity. In the Canaanite materials, this was the cosmic abode of El, *ġr ll,* "Mount L-1" (*UT* 137.14,20 [*KTU* 1.2]]), called also *ḫršn* (*UT* 'nt pl. ix:III.22 [*KTU* 1.1]), located at the confluence of the rivers of the deep (*UT* 51.IV.20–24 [*KTU* 1.4]; *UT* 129.4–5 [*KTU* 1.2.III]; *UT* 'nt.V.13–16 [*KTU* 1.3.V.5–7]; *UT* 49.4–6 [*KTU* 1.6.I.32–34]; etc.). In the biblical materials, the assembly is depicted as meeting on the "mount of assembly" (*har mô'ēd,* Isa 14:13, cf. Ezek 28:14, 16). With the establishment of Jerusalem as the central cultic site, such traditions were applied to Mt. Zion, the dwelling place of Yahweh (Pss 48; 46; Isa 2:2–4; Mic 4:1–3), the place of the decree of Yahweh and the issuance of the Law (Isa 2:3; Mic 4:3), the site of life-giving waters (Isa 33:20–22; Ezek 47:1–12; Joel 4:18; Zech 14:8; *1 Enoch* 26:1–2).

The depictions of the council contained in Job 1:6–12 and 2:1–7 and Zech 3:1–7 reveal the beginnings of the development of a specialized figure, the *śāṭān*/Satan, "the adversary." In Job 1:6–12 and 2:1–7, the *śāṭān* is presented as one of the *bĕne hā'ĕlōhîm* who assembled before Yahweh on the appointed day *(hayyôm).* In the story, he serves to test Job's faithfulness, but remains throughout under the direct control of Yahweh. In Zech 3:1–7, this figure stands to accuse the high priest Joshua but is rebuked by Yahweh; this figure, though developing a specialized function and role in the conceptions of the assembly, remained, at least until the time of Zechariah, a member of the assembly under the control of Yahweh.

E. Development of Specialized Functions

Despite the general tendency for the members of the council to remain in the background, the development of

some specialized functions and figures, such as those of the Satan, are apparent, especially toward the intertestamental period. The collection of divine beings constituting the assembly provided a basis for the development of an elaborate angelology wherein there were specific ranks and hierarchies of divine beings (Dan 8:16; 9:21; 10:13, 21; 12:1; Tob 12:15; *1 Enoch* 81:5; 87:2–3; 88:1; 90:21–22; 2 Esdr 5:20; etc.). The figure of the Satan begins to appear as a distinct figure (*Jub.* 49:2; CD 4:13; 5:18; 8:2; 1QS 1.18, 23–24; etc.), and the concept of "hostile" angels also becomes evident (*1 Enoch* 40:7; 53:3; 61:1; 69:4, 6, etc.). A partial background for this development may be found in those biblical texts that reflect stories regarding human and/or divine rebelliousness in varying forms (Gen 6:1–4; Isa 14:12–15; Ezek 28:1–19; Job 4:17–18).

At the same time, heavenly figures are seen as intercessors on behalf of humans (Dan 6:23; 10:13, 21; *1 Enoch* 15:2; Tob 12:15; etc.), a role that is assigned to a member of the heavenly court in Job (9:33–35; 16:19–21; 19:25; 33:23–24). In the Ugaritic epics, the role of intercessor is played by the god Baal, who intercedes before the high god El on behalf of the earthly king (*UT* 128.II.11–16 [*KTU* 1.15]; *UT* 2 Aqht I.16–27 [*KTU* 1.17]). Additionally, these figures serve as protectors of the righteous (Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1; 2 Macc 11:6; *1 Enoch* 20:5; *Jub.* 35:17; 1QH 5:21–22; etc.) and as the heavenly army of the end time (Zech 14:3–5; 1QH 3.35–36; 10.34–35; 1QM 15.14). The NT materials add nothing new to the picture already developed. Such passages as Luke 1:11–20 and 2:8–14 show that the messenger function remained a primary aspect of these divine beings, though throughout they remain subjugated to the power and will of God. See also ANGELS; SATAN.

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E. THEODORE MULLEN, JR.

DIVINE MAN. See ARETALOGY.

DIVINE NAMES (OT). See NAMES OF GOD.

DIVINE WARRIOR. See WARRIOR, DIVINE.

DIVINERS' OAK (PLACE) [Heb *ʾēlôn mᵉʿônᵉnîm*]. A sacred tree (a terebinth or perhaps an oak) near Shechem, according to Judg 9:37. Since Gaal, looking out from the gate of Shechem, described the approach of the enemy as from the direction of the Diviners' Oak, the tree must have been outside Shechem.

Since several other biblical texts refer to a conspicuous tree in association with an altar or a sanctuary at Shechem (Gen 12:6–7, cf. Deut 11:30; Gen 35:4, cf. 33:19–20; Josh 24:25–26; and Judg 9:6), the question arises whether they all refer to the same tree and holy place at Shechem. Though this may indeed be the case, such a simple identification is hindered because the trees bear different names (*ʾēlôn, ʾēlâ, ʾallâ,* and *ʾēlôn,* respectively). It may be, however, that the names are used imprecisely or interchangeably (Gottwald 1979: 776, n. 500). Also, the texts offer scant information regarding the locations of these trees with reference to Shechem, and the trees are described differently.

The description given to the tree in Judg 9:37 connects it with divining or receiving oracles. A similar association may be sought in Judg 4:4–5, which states that the prophetess Deborah used to sit under "the palm tree of Deborah," and in 2 Sam 5:24–25, where David awaits a sign from the trees. Messages were also sought from trees at Ugarit (CTA 3.C.19–20). The tree in Gen 12:6 is qualified by the term *môreh* (*Hipʿil* masc. part. from *yrh*). Based on the evidence of Hab 2:18–19, which uses this same form and also a 3d masc. imperfect verb of the same stem to denote the giving of revelation, it is probable that the sacred tree of Moreh in Gen 12:6 is also one where revelation was received and that it should be identified with the Diviners' Oak. See also *YGC,* 165–66; Nielsen 1955: 216–22.

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WESLEY I. TOEWS

DIVORCE. The biblical teaching on divorce is much debated for two reasons. First, while the relevant texts are not numerous, they provoke exegetical issues which are complex and difficult. Second, since the church and synagogue look to Scripture for moral guidance and since divorce continues to be a pressing moral problem, the pastoral issues these texts envisage are important and urgent.

A. In the OT

The great halakic debate over divorce among the rabbis of Second Temple Judaism focused on two OT texts: Gen 2:22–24 (with 1:27) and Deut. 24:1–4. According to rabbinic haggadoth, Gen 2:22–24 teaches that God created males and females (Gen 1:27) in order to re-create them into an inviolable union (*CD* 4:19–5:3). Marriage thereby establishes a new physical relationship ("one *flesh*") comparable to other familial relationships, held together by a natural (i.e., hereditary) and therefore indissoluble covenant. In fact, the deuteronomic text (cf. Jer 3:1–5) which forbids remarriage of a divorced wife to her first husband is but the logical extension of the levitical prohibition (Leviticus 18) against marrying close relatives; a divorce

(or subsequent remarriage) cannot annul the kinship relation God established through marriage (Heth and Wenham 1985).

However, since the prohibition of remarriage (Deut 24:4a) is the apodosis of the deuteronomic *crux interpretum,* the assumption is that divorce was a known practice regulated by now unknown customs or rules. Indeed, the practical issue in the debate between rabbis was to explain the grounds for divorce, centering on the meaning of the vague phrase (Deut 24:1) *ʿerwat dābār,* "an indecent thing," which when found in a woman brought her into disfavor with her husband and gave him reason to issue her *sēper kerîtut,* "a bill of divorcement." While it is not possible to reconstruct the exact pre-deuteronomic or deuteronomic meaning of the phrase *ʿerwat dābār,* two schools of rabbinic interpretation establish the range of possible meanings (*Git.* 9:10; *b. Git.* 90a). The school of Shammai contended that the phrase referred to unlawful sexual behaviors, even though the Deuteronomist surely would have excluded adultery, a behavior punishable by death (Deut 22:22–24) rather than divorce. The school of Hillel contended for a much broader definition which included childlessness, cultic offenses, and even failure to complete household tasks.

B. In the NT

Jesus' teaching on divorce (Matt 5:31–32; 19:3–9; Mark 10:2–12; Luke 16:18) can be understood against the backdrop of this rabbinic discussion of the deuteronomic text as well as the "one flesh" ideal of the creation narrative. The Lukan version (Q; cf. Matt 5:32) is the most authentic. Cast from the male perspective of Palestinian Judaism (*contra* Mark 11:12), the logion of Luke's Jesus contends that the man who initiates a divorce, who marries a divorced woman, or who then remarries another woman commits adultery. Although his teaching was similar to that of the Qumran Essenes (Fitzmyer 1976), it was dissimilar to current, mainstream rabbinic halakoth in three ways: (1) it prohibited remarriage, even to the woman with a bill of divorcement; (2) it broadened adulterous behavior to include a man's infidelity (cf. Mark 10:11) and a woman's remarriage; and (3) it ruled out serial monogamy.

Although similar to Luke, the divorce logion of Mark's Jesus is found within a pericope less concerned with halakoth than with a haggadic commentary for disciples (Mark 10:10) on the biblical ideal of "one flesh" (Mark 10:2–9). Thus, if God made male and female into one flesh, then neither the male (Mark 10:11) nor the female (Mark 10:12) should divorce and remarry; to do so is adultery.

Matthew's Jesus, on the other hand, is a scribal Messiah very interested in the rabbinic debates. However, by adding the exception clause to the divorce logion found in 5:32 *(parektos logou porneias)* and 19:9 *(mē epi porneia),* the first evangelist clearly moves Jesus' concern beyond those which typified the scribes and Pharisees. While everything about these exceptive clauses is contested (Witherington 1985), at the heart of the matter is the meaning of *porneia.* We would agree that *porneia* refers here to incestuous marriages; however, Matthew intends an *ironical* meaning for both outsider and insider.

According to Matt 19:3–9, the divorce logion, with its concession, makes the decisive point which ends his debate with the Pharisees (*contra* Mark). To this point, Jesus' appeal to the Genesis texts (19:4–6) could have been construed by his opponents as supporting their interpretation: to leave one's father is to forsake unnatural (i.e., incestuous) marriages with sister or mother (*b. Sanh.* 58a). The tendency among Pharisees was to define the "one flesh" principle negatively and narrowly in order to broaden their own grounds for divorce and polygamy. The effect of the climactic 19:9 is to challenge divorce as a practice approved by God and to reassert monogamy as God's ideal. In this reconstruction, then, the exception clause makes a rhetorical point against the outsider: while apparently acknowledging the typical rabbinic interpretation of the Genesis texts as prohibiting *porneia* (incestuous marriage), Matthew's Jesus subordinates this interpretation (i.e., the exception clause) to his own, thus using these same biblical texts to authorize monogamous relationships rather than polygamous ones as God's ideal.

For the disciple, who seeks to live a life "more righteous than the scribes and Pharisees" (5:20), neither the hardness of heart (cf. 5:28) which made the deuteronomic legislation necessary (19:8a) nor the *porneia* which makes divorce possible can be permitted. Thus, while Matthew apparently allows divorce if *porneia* is found, such a possibility is moot for the righteous disciple. For the insider, Matthew's exception clause becomes an ironical reminder that one's character is formed by a God whose will is for indissoluble monogamy (19:6). Clearly, the sum of the synoptic tradition argues that Jesus' teaching intended to create among his disciples an intolerance for divorce even though Jewish law tolerated it.

While Paul reformulated Jesus' prohibition of divorce and remarriage in 1 Cor 7:10–11, the particular contingencies of the Gentile mission forced him to adapt the dominical tradition in new ways. Some Corinthian believers understood Paul's ascetical preference (7:1, 6–9), rooted in his missiological values (7:32–35) and apocalyptical convictions (7:29–31) as absolutizing ascetical marriages even though not everyone had the gift of celibacy (7:7b, 17–24). Other believers desired (cf. 7:9b) their conjugal rights (7:2–5). The result was marital conflict between believers with divorce a real possibility.

The exegetical problem with Paul's response concerns the apparent contradiction between the dominical prohibition of divorce in 7:10–11 and the apostolic permission granted in 7:15. Murphy-O'Connor rightly observes that the parenthesis, *ouk egō alla ho kyrios* (7:10b), qualifies Jesus' prohibition as an "afterthought because of its pastoral utility" (1981: 606) rather than as a normative principle. (This Paul gives in 7:17: believers should be content to remain in the marital state they had entered before being summoned into the church by the converting call of God.) Thus, Paul adapted the dominical to his own solution as a halakic commentary on a particular kind of marriage in the Corinthian church: that is, in the case of ascetical marriage, there was no grounds for divorce (and so for remarriage) when the people involved did not have the gift of celibacy.

His permission to divorce granted in 7:15 applied to a different kind of marriage (7:12, *tois de loitois legō egō, ouk ho kyrios; contra* Moiser 1983), when believers were abandoned by nonbelievers. In this case the grounds for divorce were more convincing: there was not a mutual commit-

ment to the believer's divine calling (*keklēken;* cf. 7:17a), and the unbeliever divorces (*chorizō;* cf. 7:10) the believer. Evidently, Paul did not consider Jesus' prohibition of divorce binding in this case, and later even considered the possibility of remarriage under certain circumstances (7:27b–28).

C. Conclusion

Scriptural teaching on divorce underscores two convictions which form a pastoral dialectic. Following Jesus, there must be a readiness to resist divorce as an evil; divorce is opposed to God's reign, even though the believing community may tolerate it. However, following Paul, there must be a willingness to resist facile solutions which fail to accommodate concrete and difficult cases presented by our own situations. See also *ISBE* 1: 976–78.

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ROBERT W. WALL

DIZAHAB (PLACE) [Heb *dî zāhāb*]. Referred to as the location of Moses' "repetition of the law" (Deut 1:1). The name is a mixture of official Aramaic (*dî* "the one of") and Hebrew (*zāhāb* "gold"); orthographically (*dy* instead of *zy*) the name cannot predate the 6th century B.C. The place remains unidentified, but three suggestions deserve mention.

1. According to the first half of Deut 1:1, Dizahab, Suph, Tophel, Laban, and Hazeroth may have been situated in Transjordan NE of the Dead Sea. A. Musil (1907: 196, 211–12) identified Dizahab with aḏ-Ḏuhaybah, 22 km E-NE of Mâdabâ. Musil's identifications of Dizahab, Laban, and Suph do not, however, lead to a geographically consistent reading of Deut 1:1 (Mittmann 1975: 9–11).

2. According to Deut 1:2, the four places could have been situated between Mount Sinai/Horeb and Kadesh-barnea. This view contradicts the plain meaning of Deut 1:1 but finds support in Pharan Deut 1:1 (Wâdî Fêrân on the Sinai peninsula; Knauf 1989: 23–24). Furthermore, both Laban and Hazeroth may occur under the names of Libnah and Hazeroth in the wilderness itinerary (Num 33:17; 20). Therefore, Burckhardt (1822: 523) suggested Mînâʾ eḏ-Ḏahab "Gold-Harbor" on the Sinaitic coast of the Gulf of Aqabah as a location for Dizahab.

3. Meyer (1906: 375) identified Dizahab with MEZAHAB, Gen 36:39; 1 Chr 1:50, which may have been a place in Edom.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

DODANIM [Heb *dōḏānîm*]. Fourth "offspring" of Javan (Gen 10:4). The Sam. Pent. and the LXX, along with some Hebrew manuscripts, follow the parallel passage in 1 Chr 1:7 and read an initial *reš* in place of the MT's *dalet.* This assumes scribal confusion which may reflect the similarity in the orthography of the two letters. On the basis of the plural suffix marker *-îm,* this figure seems to be the name of an ethnic group. Many commentators have followed the alternative reading and found in the Rodanim the inhabitants of Rhodes. If so, is this error repeated by the MT in the "people of Dedan" mentioned in Ezek 27: 15 (so LXX; cf. Simons, *GTTOT,* 80)?

An alternative explanation which preserves the MT's vocalization identifies the Dodanim with the Danuna. The Danuna appear as a region in Syria, mentioned in a 14th century B.C. Amarna letter from Tyre *(da-nu-na),* in a Neo-Assyrian inscription of Ashurnasirpal I *(dan-nu-na),* and in the Egyptian inscriptions *(d3-in-nw-n3* et al.) (*RA* 2: 120). However, the dissimilarity in the consonants of Dodanim and the Danuna renders this interpretation unlikely (Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 219).

A more recent proposal has been set forth identifying the Dodanim with the inhabitants of Dodona, the site of an ancient Greek oracle in the region of Epirus (Neiman 1973: 121; Berger 1982: 60).

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RICHARD S. HESS

DODAVAHU (PERSON) [Heb *dōḏāwāhû*]. Father of Eliezer, a prophet from Mareshah, a town in the Shephelah district of Judah (2 Chr 20:37). The LXX's *ōd(e)ia* and *dōdia* probably reflect Heb* *dōḏîyāh.* Dodavahu's son upbraided Jehosaphat, king of Judah, for aligning himself with Ahaziah, king of Israel, in order to build ships for the purpose of trade. The fleet was destroyed by Yahweh in an act of judgment against this alliance (2 Chr 20:35–37). Since the prophet is not mentioned in the parallel account (1 Kgs 22:49–50), scholars have argued that Eliezer, son of Dodavahu is a literary fiction created by the Chronicler to explain the failure of Jehosaphat's maritime venture. Ward (*IDB* 1: 861) suggests that the Chronicler

based the name on the Davidic hero Eleazar, the son of Dodo (2 Sam 23:9). The evidence, however, for such theories remains inconclusive. Although a definite theological perspective governs the Chronicler's historical writing, he may have employed different sources here. He also may have had a different *Vorlage* than that reflected in the MT of Kings (see Williamson, *1–2 Chronicles* NCBC, 302–3). Since 4QSam^a is closer to Chronicles than the MT of Samuel, the exact form of the *Vorlage* of Chronicles remains uncertain.

STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

DODO (PERSON) [Heb *dôdô; dōdô*]. Var. DODAI. The name of three men in the Hebrew Bible, two of whom were warriors associated with the royal court. Like the name "Dodavahu," this name is derived from the common Heb root *dwd,* which means "beloved," "favorite," or "friend." The term can also refer to one's uncle (cf. Lev 10:4; 20:20; etc.). This root forms the basis of the name David as well as Solomon's other name, Jedidiah ("beloved of Yahweh"). Isaiah 5:1, which begins with references to *yĕdîdî* and *dôdî,* is probably a play on the names of David and Solomon. Related forms *(dôdî, dôdek, dôdâ)* are especially prominent in the Song of Songs (1:13–14; 2:3, 8, 10, etc.). The names *Dodāhū* and *Dudū* are attested in cuneiform texts.

1. The grandfather of Tola, one of Israel's minor judges from the tribe of Issachar (Judg 10:1).

2. The father of Eleazar, the second of "the three" most renowned warriors of David (2 Sam 23:9 = 1 Chr 11:12). Dodo's own lineage is described as *ben-ʾăḥôhî,* "the son of Ahohi," or more likely, "the son of an Ahohite." Dodai the Ahohite is named as one of David's officers over the monthly levies (1 Chr 27:4), and he may be this same father of Eleazar (Heb *ʾelʿāzār*). The related name *Dodavahu* (cf. Akk *dōdāhū*) is attributed to the father of Eliezer (Heb *ʾĕlîʿezer*), the prophet in 2 Chr 20:37.

3. The father of Elhanan of Bethlehem, who immediately follows Asahel, brother of Joab, in the list of David's warriors (2 Sam 23:24 = 1 Chr 11:26).

D. G. SCHLEY

DOE. See ZOOLOGY.

DOEG (PERSON) [Heb *dōʾēg; dôʾeg*]. An Edomite in the service of King Saul (1 Sam 21:8; 22:9, 18; Ps 52:2). The etymology of the name is unknown—perhaps it is a shortened form of a theophoric name with confessional and/or trusting character "(God NN) cares about/has cared about." Doeg accidently spied David when David fled to the sanctuary of Nob and received holy bread and Goliath's sword after consulting the oracle there. Doeg reported this to Saul after an assembly in Gibeah (1 Sam 22:9–10; Ps 52:2); thereupon Saul condemned to death Ahimelech son of Ahitub and the rest of the priests of Nob because they had assisted David (1 Sam 22:16–17). When Saul's Benjaminite "footmen" (*rāṣîm,* 1 Sam 22:17) refused to execute the sentence, Doeg himself killed all the priests of Nob (1 Sam 22:18) and then executed many of the people who lived in the city of Nob. One of Ahimelech's sons, Abiathar, was able to escape the massacre and fled to David, who took him in (1 Sam 22:20–23). David reacted to Abiathar's report with self-condemnation because he had foreseen Doeg's and Saul's action (1 Sam 22:22).

ULRICH HÜBNER

DOG. See ZOOLOGY.

DOK (PLACE) [Gk *Dōk*]. A small fort near Jericho constructed by Ptolemy, the son-in-law of Simon Maccabeus. Following a banquet at this location, Simon, the last surviving son of Mattathias, and two of his sons were treacherously murdered by Ptolemy in 135 B.C. (1 Macc 16:11–15). Josephus in his account called the fort Dagon and located it N of Jericho (*Ant* 13.8.1 §230; *JW* 1.2.3 §56). The Copper Scroll (3Q15) of Qumran also makes reference to the site. The site of the fort is thought to have been located on Jebel Qarantal (M.R. 190142), two miles NW of Jericho. At the base of that hill is the spring "Ain Duq," which is thought to retain the ancient name of the fort.

ROBERT W. SMITH

DOLMEN. A megalithic structure, a stone chamber created by the erection of two or more massive vertical "wall" stones roofed by one or more equally massive "roof" stones. Similar structures in W Europe are known as *cromlechs.* The typical dolmen in biblical lands is rectangular, and the narrower chamber-closing wall stones are known as "end" slabs or stones. Dolmens are sometimes held to be intimately and culturally associated with other megalithic phenomena in Bible lands such as the twelve standing stones at Gilgal (Joshua 4) or Jacob's pillar (Gen 28:22), but the association is unproved. Consensus is that dolmens are tombs, but unassailable proof of this is yet to be produced.

A "classic" dolmen is a stone box: floor, four walls, and roof, each consisting of one or more great slabs. Modifications occur. Some structures have more than one roof slab. Some have more than one slab forming each wall. Some have more than one floor slab. Some have no floor slabs, their floors being earth or bedrock. Some dolmens were made not of slabs but of boulders forming walls and roofs or boulders for walls and slabs for roofs. In many instances "door" or "window" holes, simple or drafted, were carved into one of the end slabs. Two-decker dolmens exist, one chamber above another. There are dolmens with more than one chamber on the same level, each divided from the other by a vertical slab. Some of these slabs have carved holes. There are some dolmens with "trailers" attached to them, dolmens smaller than the main dolmens and in line with them.

Some researchers hold that stone cist graves such as those of Chalcolithic times found at 'el-Adeimeh are degenerate forms of dolmens, examples of which are found nearby, but this theory is not universally accepted.

It is not known if the variations in design and construction indicate changing traditions within one population, or are evidence of movements of groups in and out of the territories in which the variations occur.

Despite the great size of many of the components of dolmens, there is no reason to doubt that application of human and animal muscle, levers, rollers, and perhaps ramps, combined with sliding, tumbling, rolling, and lifting sufficed to move dolmen components into position. No sophisticated methods were required.

Old World dolmens occur in a band stretching from the British Isles and the Scandinavian countries, Germany, France, Portugal, and Spain E across Italy and N Africa into the Near East and the Caucasus, India, and on to Korea and Japan. Since our interest is the core Biblical lands, it is to be noted they are found from the Jordanian and Syrian deserts W to the Mediterranean foothills of the central mountain ridge of Palestine, and from Syria and Lebanon S to about the latitude of Kerak. That dolmens practically disappear S of the region of Kerak is provocative, but no satisfactory explanation of the fact has been advanced.

There are dozens of dolmen sites in the core area, and they contain thousands of dolmens. Huge fields exist in Syria, smaller ones in Lebanon. At the Tawahin es-Sukkar site in the Jordan valley there are more than two hundred dolmens. Less than twenty miles to the SE, at Tell Umm el-Quttein there are only six. This variation in numbers is a common pattern: large groups occur at Meron, Khorazin, and especially Shamir in Israel and Irbid, Kefr Yuba, and El Maslubiyeh in Jordan; but dolmens appear singly at Abu Dis and Beit Jibrin. Perhaps these are but remnants of former more extensive fields, their original companions having been swept away by farming, road building, military construction, or other such activities ancient and modern, but there is no reason to assume that single dolmens were not erected upon occasion.

We do not know when the dolmens were built, nor do we know who built them. Estimates of age range from 7000 to 3000 B.C. for the most part, although some dates more recent than 3000 B.C. have been suggested. While builders have been held to be people of Neolithic, Chalcolithic, or the Early Bronze Age, no artifacts have been discovered in acceptable associations with dolmens to permit assignment of the structures to a particular culture and thus a time. Until we have such datable artifact association with dolmens or have found some other method of equating dolmens with established time and culture niches, we simply do not know when they were built nor who built them.

The classic and exhaustive treatment of these phenomena to date in biblical lands is that of Paul Karge in his *Rephaim*, Paderborn (1925).

JAMES L. SWAUGER

DOMESTICATION OF ANIMALS. See ZOOLOGY.

DOMITIAN (EMPEROR). Titus Flavius Domitianus, second son of Vespasian and brother of Titus, was born in Rome on 24 Oct. A.D. 51 and became emperor on 14 Sept. 81. His early years coincided with a decline in the Flavians' relationship with the imperial family, which had been quite close under Claudius when Titus lived at court and was educated with the royal children. No such favor came to Domitian. Twelve years younger than Titus, he was still not of an age to acquire military experience when his father rebelled in 69 A.D. He was in Rome when Vitellius perished and found himself in charge until Vespasian reached Rome some ten months later (Oct. 70). However, his first taste of real power was brief and he was soon relegated to a position of comparative inferiority. Although granted substantial honors (he held all the priesthoods and seven consulships) during the reigns of his father (69–79) and brother (79–81), he received no military training and was appointed to no positions of authority; and as Titus was only forty when Vespasian died, there was no prospect of and little apparent reason for a change in this policy.

On Titus' sudden death Domitian became emperor. Unlike his father and brother, he was either unable or unwilling to disguise his autocracy: in particular, he could not maintain a good relationship with the senate, and as most historians were senators, this has done little to enhance his reputation. For a time, though, he made the effort and even awarded consulships to potential opponents—Helvidius Priscus (whose father was executed by Vespasian), Arulenus Rusticus (long recognized as a member of the "philosophic opposition"), and Salvidienus Orfitus (whose father was executed by Nero). Possibly he hoped to compromise them in the eyes of their senatorial supporters, but whatever his motives, the attempt was a failure and all three were executed (Dio Cass. 67.13.3; Suet *Dom.* 10.2–4). Other senators shared their fate, including two imperial cousins, T. Flavius Sabinus and T. Flavius Clemens. But the ancient evidence does not fully support modern claims that he instituted a reign of terror. Fewer than twenty victims are named in our sources, and the timing of the beginning of the "terror" varies—for Suetonius (*Dom.* 10.5), Domitian became more cruel after Saturninus' revolt (89), but for Tacitus (*Ag.* 44) the worst came four years later, after the death of Agricola. On the other hand, his was an overt autocracy: he styled himself "perpetual censor" and even "Lord and God," though the latter title has not been found on any coin, inscription, or manuscript. Far more significant in the long term was the increased role in government assigned to the equestrian order at the expense, inevitably, of the senate: this did violence to tradition and harm to his reputation. In 87/88, for instance, he executed the (senatorial) proconsul of Asia and replaced him with the equestrian C. Minicius Italus, an event particularly offensive to senators since the Asian post was the most highly regarded external appointment open to them. Equally unprecedented was the appointment of the equestrian Cornelius Fuscus to the command of the Dacian war, a traditional senatorial post. It is not surprising that Domitian's relationship with the senate deteriorated.

To describe Domitian simply as an autocrat would be to ignore his achievements as an administrator. Like all the Flavians, he kept close control of the finances of state. Despite considerable expenses at home and abroad, he at the very least managed to balance his budget, for his successor Nerva could afford immediately to pay a generous donative and *congiarium* (distribution of money to the people), as did Trajan two years later, while his predecessor

Titus had had enormous expenses. His building program was extensive and included the completion of the Flavian Amphitheatre (the Colosseum) and the erection of his fine palace on the Palatine. He was also concerned with the administration of justice. Suetonius refers to his scrupulous and conscientious nature and stresses the integrity of his city officials and provincial governors—"at no other period were they more honest or just" (*Dom.* 8.2). Famine was a severe problem during the reign, especially in Asia Minor (possibly reflected in 6:5–6), where one of his provincial governors issued an edict (*Année Epigraphique* 1925: 126) forbidding hoarding and setting a maximum price on the grain to be released by his orders, apparently the earliest example of imperial regulation of prices in the provinces. But his concern was more positive: to promote grain production he allowed no more vines to be planted in Italy and ordered half the acreage assigned in the provinces to vineyards to be turned over to grain production (Suet. *Dom.* 7.2; 14.2).

Domitian was a successful commander and almost always popular with his troops, no doubt because he increased their salary by twenty-five percent, the first rise of any kind in a hundred years. His military activities were considerable: he favored consolidation in the west together with expansion in the east. In 82 or 83 he moved against the Chatti (a German tribe living near the upper Weser), thereby strengthening the Middle Rhine; the result was peace in Germany for over a century. In Britain, Tacitus' father-in-law Agricola advanced far into Scotland but the conquest of the north was not completed. The abandonment of the legionary fortress at Inchtuthil near Perth (about a million Roman nails were found in one pit alone) provides dramatic evidence of the new direction in imperial policy, for in 85, Domitian turned to the Danube, where the Dacian leader Decebalus had invaded Moesia and killed the imperial legate Oppius Sabinus. Cornelius Fuscus' subsequent expedition also met with disaster: he himself was killed, and it was not until 88 that the Romans were successful. Then, in 92, the Marcomanni and Quadi invaded Pannomia and destroyed an entire legion; before long they were subdued and peace was finally established. Thus by 96 the best legions in the empire were stationed not on the Rhine but on the Danube.

Domitian resorted to legislation in an effort to improve public and private morality. Again the hand of the autocrat was obvious. He forbade castration and checked theatrical license; at the same time, three Vestal Virgins were executed for immorality; one, the chief Vestal Cornelia, was buried alive. Consistent with this was his determination to restore the official religion of Rome to its former purity. Again, transgressors were severely punished, even if they were imperial relatives: Flavius Clemens and his wife Flavia Domitilla were executed in 95 for atheism, "a charge on which many others who drifted into Jewish ways were condemned" (Dio Cass. 67.14.2). Similar charges were laid against Christians, still regarded by some as members of a Jewish sect. Perhaps Suetonius had Christians in mind when he said that Domitian exacted the special Jewish tax on "those who lived as Jews without publicly acknowledging their faith" (*Dom.* 12.2). But both Pagan and Christian writers attest to Domitian's hostility to Christianity: Pliny (*Ep.* 10.96.1) knew of the "examination" of Christians at this time, as did the Christian writer Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.18.4), whose sources referred to the banishment of Flavia Domitilla (niece rather than wife of Flavius Clemens) because of her "testimony to Christ," and some support is provided by the fact that a woman of that name gave a cemetery to the Christians. The persecution, limited though it probably was, reached its height in the latter part of the reign and is reflected in the book of Revelation: for Pliny, worshipping the living emperor's image distinguished Christian and non-Christian, it was a useful administrative device. But for the author of Revelation it was a request to worship "the beast and his image" (Rev 6:9, 7:14, 12:11 and 20:4).

Domitian's unpopularity in various quarters led to conspiracies against him. On 22 Sept. 87, sacrifice was offered "on account of the detected crimes of wicked men" (*CIL* VI 2065), who presumably were guilty of plotting against the emperor; however, both their identity and their motivation are unknown. In Jan. 89 occurred the rebellion of L. Antonius Saturninus, governor of Upper Germany, which was quickly suppressed by his counterpart in Lower Germany, A. Bucius Lappius Maximus (*Année Epigraphique* 1961: 319): the consensus of opinion is that this was a military rather than a senatorial plot. But the execution of his cousin Flavius Clemens provoked a third and successful conspiracy involving his wife Domitia Longina, one or both of the praetorian prefects, and a number of his personal staff of freedmen. They stabbed him to death on 18 Sept. 96, a few weeks before his forty-fifth birthday, an act greeted with delight by the senate, indifference by the people, and anger by the army (Suet. *Dom.* 23.1).

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BRIAN W. JONES

DOPHKAH (PLACE) [Heb *dopqâ*]. The first encampment site of the Israelites after leaving the wilderness of Sin, but before reaching Alush, as listed in Num 33:12–13. The meaning of the name is unknown, but many (Abel, *GP* 213; Aharoni, *LBHG*, map 48; Simons, *GTTOT*, 252; *WHAB*, pl. V) have associated it with *mfkt*, the Egyptian word for turquoise, and connected it with the Egyptian mining center at Serabit el-Khadim (M.R. 999829), though

it is not universally accepted (Robinson 1856: 73). Though the Egyptians continued to mine there into the 20th Dyn., their expeditions were periodic, and Israelites moving through the area would have faced no opposition from them.

The discussion of the location of any of the places associated with the journey of the Israelites from Egypt through Sinai is problematic. Identifications depend on whether a northern or southern route for the Exodus is assumed, and are based on the similarity between the sound and/or meaning of the Hebrew name and Arabic names found in the area by explorers. Some authorities doubt if any confidence can be placed in the historicity of the list in Num 33:1–9, where most of these stations are mentioned. Also, no material culture that can be definitely associated with the Israelites has been found in the Sinai. Therefore all suggested locations must be treated as extremely tentative.

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

DOR (PLACE) [Heb *dôr*]. A city that joined the coalition led by Jabin, king of Hazor, against Joshua and the Israelites (Josh 12:23; cf. also NAPHOTH-DOR). The Canaanite city of Dor, located in the territory of the tribe of Manasseh (Judg 1:27; 1 Chr 7:29), apparently was not conquered until the time of David.

A. History

Dor is first mentioned in an inscription of Rameses II (13th century B.C.). This inscription contains a list of the settlements along the *Via Maris*, including its W branch from the Sharon to the Acco Plain. It is likely that Dor (like other cities on the coast such as Tell Abu Hawam) was founded during the LB II period shortly before the reign of Rameses II, when commercial relations between the Mediterranean eastern coast and the Aegean islands were thriving.

The port of Dor and its ruler, Beder, king of the Tjeker (one of the groups of Sea Peoples who invaded the E Mediterranean area in the LB/early Iron transition), is mentioned in the account of Wen-Amon's journey to Byblos (ca. 1100 B.C.; *ANET,* 26). In the reign of Solomon, Dor became the center of his fourth administrative district and was governed by Abinadab, the king's son-in-law (1 Kgs 4:11). In 732 B.C. Tiglath-pileser III conquered the city along with that section of the Coastal Plain which belonged to the kingdom of Israel. He made it the capital of the Assyrian province of Duru, extending from the Carmel to Jaffa.

The Eshmunezer inscription (*ANET,* 662) suggests that during the Persian period Dor was ruled by the Sidonians. This probably accounts for the error of the Greek writers who attributed the founding of the city to the Sidonians. There was apparently a Greek colony at Dor in Persian times, and it might even have been a member of the Attic Sea League (in its Carian division). During the Hellenistic period, the city became an important fortress. In 219 B.C. it withstood the attack of Antiochus III and the Seleucid army. Eighty years later the pretender Tryphon entrenched himself there during his war against Antiochus VII Sidetes (1 Macc 15:10–14). At the end of the 2d century B.C. the tyrant Zoilus ruled both Dor and Straton's Tower (later Caesarea) until Alexander Jannaeus took both cities from him. Pompey ended Hasmonean rule in Dor and awarded the city autonomy and the right to mint coins. Its coins indicate that Zeus, Dorus (a son of Hercules, Dor's mythical founder), and Astarte-Aphrodite were worshipped at Dor.

A Jewish community and synagogue are known to have existed in Dor at the time of Agrippa I (A.D. 41–44). Hieronymus relates that the city was entirely in ruins in his time (end of the 4th century A.D.), but it is known that bishops resided there until the 7th century. Afterward the site was abandoned until the construction of the Crusader fortress of Merle (Dahl 1915; Albright 1925; Luciana 1964).

B. Identification and Exploration

According to Greek and Latin sources, Dor was located between the Carmel Range and Straton's Tower. The *Tabula Pentingeriana* map places Dor 8 mi. N of Caesarea; Eusebius states that the distance is 9 mi. (*Onomast.* 78:9; 136:16). On the basis of these sources it is possible to locate Dor at Khirbet el-Burj (M.R. 142224) on the coast S of Kibbutz Nahsholim and N of Tantura. NW of the mound are the remains of the port, and to the S are the ruins of the Crusader fortress.

In 1923 and 1924 two seasons of excavations were carried out at Dor under the sponsorship of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. The excavations were begun under J. Garstang and were expanded a year later (Fitzgerald 1925; Garstang 1924). In 1950 and 1952 J. Leibowitz conducted excavations N of the mound (Leibowitz 1951; 1957). From 1980 to 1983, the Byzantine Church located E of the mound was excavated (Dauphin 1984). The most recent excavations on the tel have extended over six seasons (1980–1985). Three areas (A–C) were opened in 1980 on the E edge of the mound, a fourth (area D) above the S bay in 1984, and a fifth (area E) on the W side in 1985 (Stern 1985a). At the same time an underwater survey was carried out (Raban 1983; Raban and Galili 1985; Wachsmann and Raveh 1980).

C. Area C—The Residential Quarter

Area C has yielded almost nothing of the Byzantine period and very little from the Roman. Enough, however, is preserved from the Roman period to infer two phases of development in what appear to be elaborate houses with fine masonry walls and cement and mosaic floors.

The Hellenistic strata had several phases and included a residential quarter erected in strict compliance with the Hippodamic system. From the beginning of the 3d to the 1st centuries B.C., a long row of stores and workshops (one room having a thick layer of crushed murex shells on the floor) stood along the entire inner face of the city wall. At least two streets have been found which parallel the N-S city wall. These in turn are flanked by blocks (insulae) of subdivided buildings (ca. 20 m wide) with doors opening

onto their respective streets. These may have been multiple-storied and traces of what appear to be basements have been found. See Fig. DOR. 01.

This quarter of the city seems to have survived with occasional rebuilding at least until the days of Alexander Jannaeus. With each reconstruction the floor was raised, resulting in as many as three Hellenistic floor levels, some made of crushed chalk, others of pressed clay. The outer walls of the buildings were constructed mostly of well-hewn sandstone ashlars laid in "headers"—a sort of small-scale version of the city wall. The inner walls and divisions, however, were built in the typical Phoenician style of ashlar piers with a fill of rubble. It appears that the general plan of this building was Greek while the structural details were Phoenician.

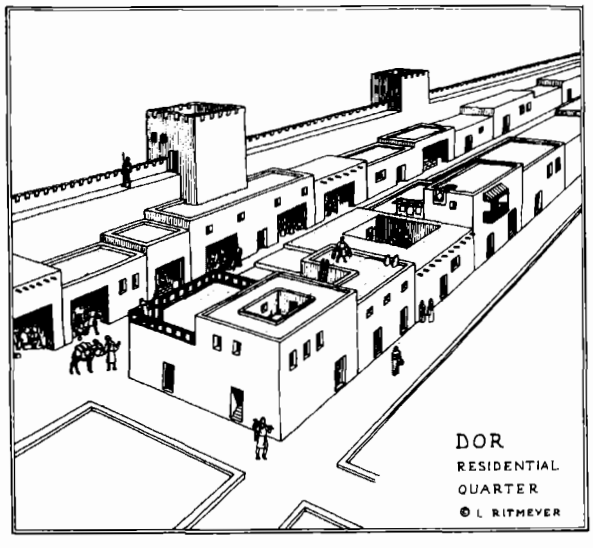
On the W side of area C the Hellenistic levels were penetrated to the Persian levels. During 1983 and 1984 excavations were conducted below the street separating the two insulae and below the western insula. These excavations demonstrated that the plan of the residential quarter, including the division into adjacent insulae, had started early in the Persian period, perhaps as early as the 6th century B.C., and continued to the early Roman period. During this long occupation the plan of the quarter remained essentially the same.

D. Area A—The Trial Trench

Area A, located at the center of the E slope of the tel, presents a picture of the site very similar to that revealed in area C. The upper stratum, dating from the late Roman period, has two sections of plastered stone aqueducts. The first crosses the center of the E slope of the mound; the second appears to branch off from the first and carried water inward to the city.

Beneath this stratum stood a magnificent wall of the Hellenistic period which continued into the early Roman period. It is perhaps the most impressive fortification of this period discovered in Israel. The wall is of local sandstone ashlar blocks and is preserved to a height of more than 2 m. A square tower extends 15 m from the wall and is also constructed of large *kurkar* ashlars laid in "header" fashion. Inside the tower is a central square pier made of large stones, which apparently served as a foundation for a wooden staircase giving access to the roof. This feature is quite common in the later Roman and Byzantine architecture of Palestine.

The discovery of a coin of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.) in the stratum below the fortifications implies that the complex was built in the latter part of his reign or shortly afterward. However, it was apparently built before 219 B.C. because Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.) beseiged the fortified city (Polyb. 5.66).



DOR.01 Isometric reconstruction of Hellenistic fortifications and residential quarters at Tel Dor—Areas A and C. *(Reconstruction by Leen Ritmeyer)*

E. Area B—The Gate Area

The Gate Area is S of areas A and C and yielded many remains of the late Roman period (stratum I), mainly stone-slab–covered water channels. Additional late Roman structures include a system of plastered cisterns built one above the other. The remains of some poorly preserved buildings were found, but they were badly eroded and would not permit a coherent plan for reconstruction. One of the buildings, however, had some especially fine masonry.

Stratum II (the Roman period) had several phases. The main road which led into town from the E city gate consisted of a monumental causeway and a wide court. The pavement stones had been embedded in a thick layer of hard lime cement. A system of small drainage channels led from the S into the main drainage channel built of ashlar stones, which in turn led W through the city gate. Sections of black granite pillars were found in the court which evidently stood along both its sides. Almost nothing remains of the Roman city gate, and the area had actually been razed to the level of the road pavement. At the site of the gate itself, the structures were found destroyed to below the surface of that period.

Elsewhere in area B parts of large buildings from the Roman period have been uncovered, all similarly constructed from a mix of cement and stones. One room had parts of limestone tables of the type now familiar from the excavations in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem, as well as a complete bronze bowl standing on three decorated feet, along with many vessels and sherds of both local and imported wares from the Roman period. One of the rooms near the city wall and gate apparently served as an arsenal, as inferred from a large accumulation of well-worked ballista stones. These were of different sizes and two were inscribed with Greek letters apparently denoting their weight.

Strata III and IV are of the Hellenistic period and consist of a number of phases. The dominant structures from stratum III are the city wall and the poorly preserved remains of a defensive tower projecting eastward from the wall. A street parallels the inside of the city wall and apparently is a continuation of the one found in area C. Here, too, sections of buildings probably continue those observed from area C. A relatively narrow street leading

from the gate into the town transects the N-S street and then continues further W, toward the probable locations of the Agora, the temple, and the harbor.

In the final phase of the Persian period only a narrow postern gate existed from which a narrow street led into the city. However, below this were two superimposed city gates. The uppermost was a two-chambered gate from the Persian period to which a stone-paved square led from the E. One smooth basalt socket of the outer door was found *in situ* as well as a socket in the center of the entrance where a vertical bolt would have been placed to lock the door. Only Persian period material was found in this gate, and it appears that it was already in use at the beginning of that period. It is, however, logical to assume that it was actually constructed earlier in the Assyrian period, and that only material of its last (Persian) phase is represented, hence its construction would have been in Iron Age IIC.

Remains of a four-chambered gate with a tower flanking each side of its facade stood below the two-chambered gate. The gate was only partially excavated, but its plan closely resembles that of the four-chambered gate of Megiddo. The gate at Dor, however, is much more massive. The width of one of the inner piers was 2.5 m and was built of two huge limestone boulders brought probably from the Carmel range. The W side of the pier, which faced the city, was covered with well-dressed orthostats. Since a 10th century B.C. layer was uncovered beneath part of this gate complex, we may assume that the four-chambered gate was in use during the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. and was destroyed by the Assyrians at the end of the 8th century. One of the more unique finds in this area was an oval stamp seal made of an animal's horn, depicting two stags standing on mountaintops. Only some pits and installations of the 7th–6th centuries B.C. phases were preserved.

The 11th–10th century town of Dor was uncovered in the 1984 excavations. It seems that the general layout in this phase was similar to the one of the 9th–8th centuries. The houses of both strata were generally built with stone foundations and mud brick superstructures.

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EPHRAIM STERN

DORCAS (PERSON) [Gk *Dorkas*]. A female disciple who was raised from the dead by Peter in Joppa (Acts 9:36–43). She is the only woman called a *mathetria*, a Greek word meaning "female disciple." Possibly Luke thought she best exemplified what a female disciple of Jesus should be like, for we are told that she was literally "full of good works" (v 36). Dorcas was noted for her aid to the poor, in particular poor widows for whom she sowed garments and did other good deeds (Witherington 1988: 149–51).

That Dorcas' ministry was specifically to widows has fueled the conjectures that (1) there was an order of widows in the Christian Church from a very early date, and (2) that Dorcas may have been in charge of such an order (Viteau 1926: 513–27). Against this view is the fact that both here and in the Pastoral Epistles widows are mentioned as those who receive, not perform, ministry (1 Tim 5:3–16). It may be implied that Dorcas is a single person who ministered to widows on an ongoing basis, but we are not told that she is a widow. In fact, the description of her activities is reminiscent of Luke 8:3, which may suggest she had a function similar to the Seven mentioned in Acts 6:1–7. In the text the word "deaconness" is never mentioned, though Luke may be depicting Dorcas as one who functions as a prototype of a deaconness. Regardless, she is presented as a model disciple, for she is one who builds up the community of faith by various sorts of practical service. That an urgent plea was sent to Peter for help, even after Dorcas had died and was laid out for public mourning, shows how indispensable she was to the Christian community in Joppa (Witherington 1988: 149–51).

Dorcas was not originally a proper Greek name, but rather a nickname which means "gazelle," as does the Aramaic name Tabitha. This may suggest that Dorcas was or had been a slave, since slaves bear nicknames of this sort in the extant literature of the period much more often than is true of the general population. Alternatively, the name could be a reference to some personal characteristic the woman had (Foakes Jackson and Lake 1933: 110). It may be that Dorcas had become a proper name by NT times, and thus one should perhaps not read too much into the name itself. It is notable that she is given more attention than Aeneas, and that Luke pairs a story about how the Gospel helps a man with one about a woman.

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

DORYMENES (PERSON) [Gk *Dorymenēs*]. Father of Ptolemy, who was the governor of Coele-Syria (1 Macc 3:38; 2 Macc 4:45; cf. 2 Macc 8:8). He might have been the Aetolian commander under Ptolemy IV, the king of Egypt, as mentioned by Polybius (5. 61. 9).

URIEL RAPPAPORT

DOSITHEUS (PERSON) [Gk *Dositheos*]. Greek theophoric name that became popular among Jews in the Hellenistic period. It replaced the Hebrew parallel name Mattathiah (="present/gift of God"), or similar names (Mattaniah, Nethaniahu). It is recognizable in Hebrew/Aramaic form as *Dosthai*.

1. Commander under Judas Maccabeus in the war waged against Thimotheus in Transjordan. Sosipatros served with him as a commander. These two took Thimotheus prisoner, but he convinced them to release him (2 Macc 12:19–25).

2. Cavalryman in Judas Maccabeus' forces, fighting against Gorgias, in the border region of Judea and Idumea (2 Macc 12:35). He almost captured Gorgias, but a cavalryman of Gorgias troop wounded him in his arm and enabled Gorgias to escape. He was one of the soldiers of the Tobiad garrison in Transjordan, according to an improved reading of the text of 2 Macc 12:35 (Abel 1949; Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB).

Some argue that 1 and 2 are the same person, who took part in Judas Maccabeus' campaigns against the neighbors of Judea and showed prominence in battle (note that the first Dositheus took Timotheus prisoner, the second almost took Gorgias prisoner). Yet it should be noticed that the second Dositheus is introduced in the discourse as ". . . one of . . ." (*dositheos de tis*), which shows him to be a person not mentioned earlier in the story. Also, the first Dositheus, though fighting in the Tobianic territory, is not described as belonging in any way to this region.

3. Egyptian Jew, who served as general under Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.E.). He is mentioned in Josephus' *Contra Apionem* 2.49 with Onias, who may be identified with Onias IV.

4. Dositheus, son of Drimylos, a renegade Jew who served under Ptolemy IV Philopator (222–205 B.C.E.). He saved the king's life (*3 Macc.* 1:3) and is known also from papyrological evidence (*CPJ* I, Nos 127a, 127e, pp. 230–236, Fuks 1953–54; Mørkholm 1961).

5. Man who brought to Egypt the Greek translation of the book of Esther (Add Esth 9:1). He was a priest (Kohen) and Levite, and it happened in 114 B.C.E., or 77 B.C.E. or, more doubtfully, 48 B.C.E.

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URIEL RAPPAPORT

DOTHAN (PLACE) [Heb *dōtān*]. A town in Ephraimite territory mentioned in the story of Joseph's seizure by his brothers (Gen 37:15–36), in the Elisha story (2 Kgs 6:13), and in Judith (3:9; 4:6; 7:3–18), but not in any other extant written sources.

Dothan has been identified since the mid-19th century with Tell Dotha (M.R. 173202), an imposing mound of some 25 acres 14 miles N of Shechem. The mound presents a classic *tell*-formation, rising steeply nearly 200 feet above the surrounding terrain. It is situated along the E reaches of the broad fertile Dothan Valley, on the main route N from Samaria to En-gannim (modern Jenin) and the pass leading into the Jezreel Valley.

Excavations were carried out from 1953 through 1960 by Joseph Free of Wheaton College, who purchased the entire mound. Brief and somewhat preliminary reports of seven seasons have appeared, but Free is deceased and has left such inadequate records that the site's stratigraphy is confused and may never be satisfactorily published. Therefore the following outline is very tentative (based partly on the few published reports, as well as personal examination of the material; there are few stratum numbers published, and none can be supplied).

Excavation was carried out in areas P and K, deep soundings on the W and S slopes, and in areas A, T, L on the summit. Dothan seems to have been first settled in the Late Chalcolithic period (ca. 3800–3200 B.C.), to judge from basal sherds. During the EB I–III periods (ca. 3200–2400 B.C.) the site developed into a major city-state, with at least seven levels of occupation distinguished. A stone-built defense wall some 11 feet wide and preserved at least 16 feet high was found, with a flight of steps leading up the slope to a presumed city gate. An auxiliary city wall and another gate are reported from area K, but this cannot be checked. The site appears to have been abandoned thereafter, like many others, throughout EB IV–MB I (ca. 2400–1800 B.C.).

The MB II–III period (ca. 1800–1500 B.C.) is poorly known, but in area K there are massive city walls that belong to this period, and the steep slopes of the mound give the appearance of having been created by a typical MB Age *glacis*. In area D, two levels of domestic occupation were partially cleared, with house remains and some burials. Sporadic occupation seems to have continued into the LB Age (ca 1500–1200 B.C.), but it is not known whether the site suffered the usual Egyptian destruction between the two periods. A large rock-cut tomb (Tomb 1) on the W slopes, with faint traces of a corbel-like construction, produced some 100 burials and one thousand whole vessels. The range of the pottery appears to extend from the 13th century into the 12th or early 11th century B.C. (i.e., LB IIB–early Iron I). Many vessels (unpublished) suggest cultic functions, and several are unique. Particularly striking are a number of chalices, stands, and multi-handled kraters.

The Iron I period is poorly known (or at least poorly represented in the excavated material). A number of ashy

layers on the W end of the mound may, however, be dated to Iron I (12th–11th centuries) on the basis of parallels at Gezer, Aphek, Tell esh-Sharia, and elsewhere; these may be threshing floors or industrial deposits of some sort, rather than "destruction layers."

Iron II is a major period, with material reported from nearly all areas. Area A produced several complete private dwellings along a street. A destruction may be dated to the 9th century B.C., on the basis of a carbon-14 determination of 804 B.C. (± 80 yrs). Area L reveals in levels 4–1 a series of Iron II occupations. A level 4 building (ca. 10th–9th centuries), with thick walls, many rooms, and dozens of storage bins and vessels, may have been an administrative building, finally destroyed in the Aramaean invasions of ca. 810 B.C. Level 1 is post-Assyrian, with Assyrian Palace Ware.

Dothan was then deserted until the Hellenistic period, when a small settlement, with well-preserved houses, was constructed on the summit on the E end of the mound. Roman and Mameluke remains complete the picture, the latter with a multiroomed building and several courtyards in area T.

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WILLIAM G. DEVER

DOUAY VERSION. The Rheims New Testament, translated from the Vulgate by Gregory Martin and supervised by both William Allen and Richard Bristow beginning in October 1478, was finished in March 1582. The translators were Roman Catholic refugees from the persecutions of Elizabethan England whose Catholic College had been temporarily (1578–93) moved from Douay to Rheims in Flanders. Martin, formerly a scholar at St. John's College, Oxford, and at the time Lecturer in Hebrew and Holy Scripture at the Catholic College, is described by biographers as an excellent linguist. Martin died of consumption only about seven months after his translation work. The controversial matter which accompanied the translation is attributed to Bristow.

The translation (Herbert 1968: No. 177), made from Latin, shows a dependence on existing English translations, particularly Coverdale's. There are correspondences with Taverner which passed on into the KJV. The Rheims translation also shows a careful comparison with the Greek. Published by John Fogney, it employs a style disfigured by Latinisms. Martin expresses agreement with Jerome that in translating Scripture one must keep the very words lest one miss the sense. The preface gives an apology for translating from the Vulgate and criticizes certain renderings of the English Bible, giving their dates. The text is in paragraphs with verse numbers on the inner side of the page. Discussions of contents precede each chapter, and summaries of contents called "Arguments" precede most books. A glossary at the end of the volume explains fifty-eight words.

Though not authorized by English church authorities, the translation circulated in England without legal hindrance. The notes, as might be expected from the English atmosphere at the time, were quite polemical. Its producers represented a persecuted English minority, and its critics also could not be expected to be objective. Thomas Fuller called it "a translation which needs translating," and another Britisher, on reading the title, "Translated out of Latin into English," said, "It is a lie! It is not English."

Sir Francis Walsingham requested Thomas Cartwright to write a refutation of the Rheims notes, but later Archbishop Whitgift opposed Cartwright's work and turned the task to William Fulke. Fulke in his *a Defence of the sincere and true Translations of the holie Scriptures into the English tong* issued a refutation. He then also issued a second work, *The Text of the New Testament*, in 1589, with the Bishops' NT and the Rheims printed in parallel columns. Fulke's work was reprinted in 1601, 1616, and 1633 and was the means by which the Rheims version became widely known. In 1618 Thomas Cartwright's *A Confutation of the Rhemists Translation, Glosses and Annotations on the New Testament* was issued posthumously. The full text of the Rheims is given only to the end of Matthew, and after that only the verses to which the controversial notes refer.

The Rheims version did not experience the circulation of its rivals—the Bishops', the Geneva, and the King James. It went through only four editions (1582, 1600, 1621, and 1633) from its origin until 1700. It was then printed again in its original form in 1738, 1788, 1789, and 1834. It was included in the *English Hexapla* (1841) and *The New Testament Octapla* (1962).

Some of the Latinisms of the Rheims (acquisition, advent, caluminate, character, evangelize, resuscitate, victims, and neophyte) later became accepted English words, but "Pasche" and "azymes" remain strange. Carleton in 1902 showed the indebtedness of the KJV to the Rheims, a debt which Butterworth (1941:231) estimated to be five percent of the language of the King James.

The English Catholics found themselves unable for financial reasons to publish the OT until twenty-seven years later, in 1609–10 (Herbert 1968: No. 300). Published at Douay by Laurence Kellam, the text, though earlier done by Martin, had been further compared with the Latin text of Clement VIII published in 1592. The annotations, which are less copious than those of the NT (as well as less polemic) are attributed to Thomas Worthington. The preface criticizes the previous English Bibles of 1552, 1577, 1579, and 1603.

The apocryphal books follow the order of the Vulgate rather than forming a collection between the OT and NT as in Protestant Bibles of the period. Third and Fourth Ezra, however, are printed at the end of the Prayer of Manasseh. The Douay OT appeared too late to be influential on the King James.

A second edition (Herbert 1968: No. 499) in two volumes was published by John Cousturier of Rouen in 1635, after which there were no further editions for 115 years until Dr. Challoner issued a revision in 1749–50. Challoner is

the first to issue the Douay-Rheims NT and OT together. The printing of 1635 carries an extract from a royal license, dated 3 August 1634, granted Cousturier to print these Bibles in English. The Douay text of Genesis was included in L. A. Weigle's *The Genesis Octapla,* 1965.

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JACK P. LEWIS

DOUBLE NAMES. See NAMES, DOUBLE.

DOVE. See ZOOLOGY.

DOWRY. See MARRIAGE.

DRACHMA [Gk *Drachmē*]. See COINAGE.

DRAGON AND SEA, GOD'S CONFLICT WITH.

In the OT there are a number of references to Yahweh's conflict with the dragon and the sea, the dragon sometimes being named as Leviathan or Rahab. The theme is also seen in the NT in the book of Revelation. The imagery is sometimes associated with the creation of the world. Sometimes it is historicized, so that the dragon symbolizes a foreign nation such as Egypt, and sometimes the divine conflict is projected into the future as the final, eschatological battle. It is also sometimes claimed that Leviathan and Behemoth may denote existing, natural creatures, but this is probably incorrect. The background of this mythological imagery was previously believed to be Babylonian, but since the discovery of the Ugaritic texts it has become apparent that the more immediate source of the biblical allusions is Canaanite mythology.

A. Creation

A number of poetic OT passages describe a conflict at the creation of the world which pit Yahweh against the dragon and the sea. The clearest instances are in Ps 65:7–8 (—Eng 6–7); 74:12–17; 89:10–15 (—Eng 9–14); 104:1–9; Job 9:5–14; 26:5–14; and 38:8–11. This conflict also seems to form the background of Ps 93:3–4; Job 7:12; 40:15–41:26 (—Eng 34), while Job 3:8 seems to allude to the reversal of the process of creation.

At the end of the 19th century, H. Gunkel (1895) argued that these OT allusions constituted an Israelite appropriation of the Babylonian myth of Marduk's defeat of the sea monster Tiamat recounted in Enuma Elish, the so-called Babylonian creation epic. This view has continued to find support in the 20th century, but the discovery of the Ugaritic mythological texts has shed new light on the question. In addition to a detailed account of Baal's defeat of the sea-god Yam (*KTU* 1.2 = *CTA* 2), there are allusions to another conflict between Baal or Anat and the sea monster Leviathan (also known as the twisting serpent, the crooked serpent, and the dragon, in addition to other monsters; *KTU* 1.3.III.39.IV.3, 1.5.I.1–3, 1.82.1–3, 1.83.3–10 = *CTA* 3.IIID.36.IV.47, 5.I.1–3, *UT* 1101.1–3, 1003.3–10). These indicate a Canaanite background for the allusions to Leviathan (Ps 74:14; Job 3:8; 40:25–41:26 —Eng 41:1–34; Isa 27:1) and the twisting or crooked serpent (Isa 27:1; cf. Job 26:13). Since Rahab seems to be another name for Leviathan, this too was presumably a Canaanite dragon name, though it has not yet appeared in any extra-biblical text. The form of the word *tĕhôm* (cf. Ugaritic *thm*) suggests that it is not simply a borrowing from Akkadian Tiamat, though the word is philologically cognate with it.

If one grants a Canaanite background, the question is raised whether the underlying myth is a creation myth. The Baal-Yam myth certainly makes no reference to creation, and although certain parts are missing, it seems unlikely that sufficient is missing at the end for a creation account comparable to Enuma Elish. However, the Canaanites may have envisaged a primeval creation context for the conflict with Leviathan. This cannot be proved, but it would explain why the dragon conflict is associated with creation in the OT and why the defeat of the dragon is anticipated at the very end of the Baal epic (*KTU* 1.6.IV.51–53 = *CTA* 6.VA.50–52), which probably corresponds to the time just before the New Year.

It seems likely that the theme of Yahweh's conflict with the dragon and the sea was a motif in the celebration of Yahweh's kingship at the autumn festival (feast of Tabernacles) in the Jerusalem cult. Just as the kingship of Marduk was associated with his defeat of the sea monster Tiamat in Babylon, and Baal's kingship was connected with his defeat of the sea-god Yam at Ugarit, so perhaps Yahweh's kingship was associated with his victory over the sea. This is explicitly the case in Ps 29 and 93, as well as the exilic Ps 74. In Babylon the imagery was associated with the Akitu festival, the Babylonian spring New Year festival, and it appears that in Israel this imagery had its setting at the turn of the year—at the feast of Tabernacles (presumably also among the Canaanites). Such a setting is in keeping with the creation context of the theme—the obvious connection between creation and the New Year. Moreover, Ps 65, which has the chaos conflict theme, not only has the creation context (vv 7–8—Eng 6–7), but is also a harvest hymn (vv 10–14—Eng 9–13), and the feast of Tabernacles was a harvest festival. There is strong evidence that Yahweh's kingship, which was associated with the conflict with the chaos waters, was an important theme at the feast of Tabernacles (cf., Zech 14:16–17; later Jewish tradition associating Yahweh's kingship and the New Year; the LXX heading associating Ps 29 with Tabernacles; etc.).

There are several allusions to Yahweh's conflict with the dragon and the sea in the book of Job (3:8; 7:12; 9:8, 13; 26:12–13; 38:8–11; and 40:15–41:26—Eng 34). There are also references to Rahab (including the helpers of Rahab), Leviathan, Behemoth, the twisting serpent, the dragon, and the sea. In some of the passages the creation

context is clear (cf., Job 9:8, 13; 26:12–13; 38:8–11) and, in the absence of more plausible settings, the creation context is reasonably assumed in the others. In Job 3:8, when Job laments the day of his birth, he cries, "Let those curse it who curse the day, who are skilled in rousing up Leviathan." This appears to involve the reversal of the process of creation. Two reasons may be suggested to explain why this imagery is so frequent in Job. First, Wisdom theology is preeminently creation theology, and the dragon/sea conflict passages in Job have a creation context. Secondly, the conflict between the dragon and God provides an appropriate parallel to the theme of Job's conflict with God (Job 7:12; 9:13–14; 40:15–41:26—Eng 34; see below for more on the second divine speech in Job).

A number of passages in the OT speak of Yahweh controlling the waters at the creation of the world rather than in conflict with them (most importantly Gen 1:2, 6–10; but also Ps 33:7–8; Prov 8:24, 27–29; Jer 5:22 and 31:35). Perhaps these are a demythologization of the conflict myth. It has often been thought that Genesis 1 depends on, or polemicizes against, the so-called Babylonian creation epic Enuma Elish. The Hebrew word translated "deep" *(tĕhôm)* in Gen 1:2 is a cognate with Akkadian Tiamat, the name of the chaos monster overcome by Marduk in connection with the creation in Enuma Elish. However, though cognate, there is no reason to believe that the word *tĕhôm* is actually derived from Akkadian Tiamat. Also, although there are some points in common in the order of creation in Genesis 1 and Enuma Elish, these are not compelling enough to demand the dependence of one upon the other. Instead, it appears that the same chaos conflict myth ultimately lies behind the account in Genesis 1 as well as the poetic passages elsewhere in the OT discussed in this article—i.e., that the myth is ultimately Canaanite, not Babylonian. More immediately, it seems likely that Ps 104 is one of the sources behind Genesis 1. The order of creation in Genesis 1 corresponds very closely with the order cited in Ps 104; the psalm even has the word *tĕhôm* in the context of Yahweh's battle with the sea (v 6), as well as other parallels.

Finally, it should be noted that Ps 29:3, 10 and Nah 1:4 seem to speak of Yahweh's victory over the sea as part of his present lordship over the world of nature.

B. Alleged Naturalization

In the second divine speech in the book of Job (Job 40–41) Yahweh asks Job if he is able to capture the beasts Behemoth and Leviathan. The most common view, going back to S. Bochart's *Hierozoicon* in 1663, is that Behemoth and Leviathan denote respectively the hippopotamus and the crocodile. However, they are probably instead chaos monsters. The description of neither Behemoth nor Leviathan corresponds to any known creature, and certainly not the hippopotamus and crocodile. It seems fundamental to the argument in Job 40–41 that the beasts in question can be captured by God alone, otherwise Job might have replied that he could have captured them, and then God would lose the argument! The hippopotamus and crocodile were, however, captured in the ancient Near East. Leviathan, moreover, is said to breathe out fire and smoke (Job 40:10–13—Eng 18–21), strongly suggesting a mythological creature, and Leviathan is elsewhere a mythological sea serpent or dragon in both the Ugaritic texts and the OT, including the book of Job (3:8). Apparently Yahweh's subduing of Leviathan and Behemoth at creation forms the presupposition of the second divine speech. Job is, in effect, asked if he can play the role of God. Thus God asks Job (40:29—Eng 41:5), "Will you play with him as with a bird . . . ?", which must reflect Ps 104:26, which may be read, "There go the ships, and Leviathan whom you (i.e., Yahweh) formed to play with," or alternatively, "There go the ships, and Leviathan whom you formed to play in it (i.e., the sea)." Leviathan in Ps 104:26 has often been thought to be some creature such as the whale, but it may be a mythical monster.

Similarly, Behemoth is no hippopotamus, for its tail is high and lifted up (Job 40:17), not short and curly, and Behemoth clearly cannot be captured by man (Job 40:24). It is most likely another chaos monster, oxlike in view of its name (lit. "great ox"), and also capable of living in the water (Job 40:23). Twice in the Ugaritic Baal myth (*KTU* 1.3.III.43–44, 1.6.VI.51 = *CTA* 3.IIId.40–41, 6.VI.50) there is a mythological beast Arš or *ʿgl ʾil ʿtk*, "El's calf *ʿtk*," answering to this description, and on both occasions it is mentioned alongside Leviathan (dragon). This is likely to be the prototype of Behemoth.

The point of the second divine speech about Behemoth and Leviathan seems to be that since Job cannot overcome the chaos monsters whom Yahweh has overcome, how much less can he hope to overcome Yahweh in argument. It is therefore appropriate that following this speech Job humbles himself before God.

C. Historicization

The dragon imagery in the OT is also used metaphorically to denote earthly powers hostile to Yahweh. In particular, it is applied to Egypt (so Rahab, Isa 30:7; and quite possibly 51:9, cf. v 10; Ps 87:4) or Pharaoh (Ezek 29:3–5; 32:2–8; reading *tannîn* "dragon" for MT *tannîm* "jackals"). Isa 30:7 should probably read *rahab hammošbāt* "the silenced Rahab" for the meaningless MT *rahab hēm šābet*. Since Egypt oppressed the Hebrews prior to the Exodus, and the heart of the Exodus was the deliverance at the Reed Sea, it is understandable how Egypt would be singled out for special designation as this mythical sea monster. The imagery seems to apply to Egypt in connection with the Exodus deliverance in Isa 51:9 (cf. v 10), and Ps 77:17–21 (—Eng 16–20) likewise uses *Chaoskampf* imagery with respect to the Exodus, but with no reference to the dragon. The *Chaoskampf* imagery is also employed in the so-called Song of Moses in Exod 15:1–18 in a transformed sense, namely that the battle is no longer *with* the sea but *at* the sea, as F. M. Cross has emphasized. Although some scholars have argued that this passage is extremely early, it is more likely that its *terminus a quo* is the 10th century B.C., since Exod 15:17 appears to presuppose Solomon's temple (cf 1 Kgs 8:13), which is here spoken of as deriving from Baal's dwelling on Mt. Zaphon.

The imagery of the chaos waters is also applied to the Assyrians (Isa 17:12–14; cf. 8:5–8), and the waters and the dragon are both used to denote the oppressive Babylonians (Hab 3; Jer 51:34, 44). The supposition that the swallowing of Jonah by the great fish is an allegory of the

Babylonian exile, dependent on Jer 51:34, 44, is certainly to be rejected. Perhaps the mythology of the chaos monster ultimately lies behind Jonah 2: the association of mythological monster imagery with Joppa, where Jonah set out before being swallowed up, is illustrated by the strong tradition which locates Perseus' deliverance of Andromeda from the sea monster at Joppa, a tradition already attested in Pseudo-Skylax in the 4th century B.C., the probable date of the book of Jonah.

In Ps 44:20 (—Eng 19) the MT *tannîm* "jackals" should probably be emended to *tannîn* "dragon," though it is unclear which political entity is meant. Some suggest that in Ps 68:23 (—Eng 22) an allusion to the dragon should be found in the reference to Bashan (Heb *bāšān*, cf. Ugaritic *bṯn* "serpent"). However, Bashan is clearly a geographical name only a few verses earlier (Ps 68:16—Eng 15), and this is likely to be the meaning of the reference here too.

It is also unlikely that Ps 68:30 (—Eng 29) refers to a chaos monster in its allusion to "the beast of the reeds, the herd of bulls with the calves of the peoples." It more probably uses animal names to denote leaders and warriors (e.g. 1 Sam 21:8; Job 24:22; 34:20; Lam 1:15).

Sometimes the chaos waters denote the hostile nations as a whole (e.g., Ps 46). It seems probable that the motif of nations coming to attack Zion who are then miraculously defeated by Yahweh constitutes a development of the divine conflict with the dragon and the sea (cf. Ps 46; 48; and 76; Isaiah; and eschatologized in later proto-apocalyptic passages: Joel 4—Eng 3; Zechariah 12 and 14). It has widely been held that this motif in Psalms 46, 48, and 76 was simply an allusion to Sennacherib's abortive attempt to capture Jerusalem in 701 B.C. (cf. 2 Kgs 18–19). However, it is now generally accepted that the description does not adequately fit this or any other known event. G. Wanke (see 1966) claims that the belief in Zion's inviolability is postexilic, but various indications argue against this, especially the fact that this belief would be more natural before Jerusalem's destruction in 586 B.C. than afterward. Nor convincing are R. E. Clements' and J. J. M. Roberts' (see 1976) attempts to see these psalms as warnings to the vassal kingdoms of the Davidic empire not to revolt.

Reference to the waters in Ps 46:4 (—Eng 3) suggests that the divine conflict with the chaos waters may underlie the *Völkerkampf* motif. In support of this, Ps 48:3 (—Eng 2) refers to Zion under the name of *ṣāpôn*, which seems to reflect the name of Baal's dwelling place. Mythological traditions have clearly been adopted, and they were possibly mediated to the Israelites through the Jebusites, the pre-Israelite, Canaanite inhabitants of Jerusalem (cf. Ps 110:4, where the Jebusite priest-king Melchizedek is mentioned in the context of the *Völkerkampf*).

D. Eschatologization

In accordance with the principle *Urzeit wird Endzeit* (the Primeval time becomes the End time), the conflict with chaos is associated not only with the creation of the world but also with the *eschaton*. The so-called Isaiah apocalypse reads: "In that day the Lord with his hard and great and strong sword will punish Leviathan the twisting serpent, Leviathan the crooked serpent, and he will slay the dragon that is in the sea" (Isa 27:1). This passage depicts Leviathan in terms similar to the Ugaritic Baal myth almost a thousand years earlier (cf. *KTU* 1.5.I.1–2, = *CTA* 5.I.1–2: "Because you smote Leviathan the twisting serpent [and] made an end of the crooked serpent . . ."). The Ugaritic passage makes it clear that Isa 27:1 is speaking only of one dragon, something which had previously been questioned. There is no consensus with regard to the political identification of Leviathan in Isa 27:1. Part of the problem is the scholarly disagreement about the date of the "Isaiah apocalypse," but even if this could be ascertained, the problem persists whether Leviathan actually denotes the major world power of the time; if it does not, Egypt may be intended.

One of the most interesting instances of the influence of the myth of the divine conflict with the dragon and the sea appears in Daniel 7, the chapter about the "one like a son of man." Not everything in this chapter can be explained from the Canaanite myth, but as was first pointed out by J. A. Emerton (see 1958), only the Canaanite myth can adequately explain the combination of the following three factors: (1) in Dan 7:9, God is called "the Ancient of Days" and he has white hair, which is reminiscent of the Canaanite supreme god El, whose stock epithet was "Father of Years" *(ʾab šnm)* and whose position as an aged deity is also indicated by his gray beard; (2) the "one like the son of man," who comes with the clouds of heaven and is exalted to kingship by the Ancient of Days (Dan 7:13–14), may be compared with the Canaanite god Baal, who is often called "Rider of the clouds" *(rkb ʾrpt)*, and whose rule ultimately depended on El's authority; and (3) the "one like the son of man's" rule follows that of the beasts of the sea, which may be compared with Baal, whose kingship resulted from his victory over Yam, the god of the sea.

The chaos monster imagery is unique in Daniel 7 in that it reflects the underlying Canaanite myth, in which a distinction is still made between the supreme God and the one who is exalted over the sea. The question naturally arises how this ancient Canaanite imagery came to influence the late, apocalyptic book of Daniel. It seems likely, as Emerton conjectures, that the imagery was passed down in syncretistic circles in the preexilic Jerusalem cult at the autumn festival, in which Yahweh-Baal was subordinate to El. The author of the book of Daniel probably had access to earlier Israelite written sources.

In the present form of the text the "one like a son of man" may denote the angel Michael (cf. Dan 12:1). One may compare Revelation 12, where Michael defeats the seven-headed dragon (= Satan). It is striking that Michael, not Christ, defeats the dragon; this may reflect an underlying Jewish tradition equating the "one like a son of man" with Michael. Interestingly, the next chapter of Revelation (i.e., chap. 13; cf. 17:3) presents another creature derived from Leviathan, the seven-headed beast, symbolizing Rome (Rev 13:1–10) as well as another beast, symbolizing the false prophet, who appears to derive from Behemoth (Rev 13:11–18).

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JOHN DAY

DREAMS IN THE NT AND GRECO-ROMAN LITERATURE. Belief in the reality and significance of dreams and visions was widespread in ancient times. The people of the Greco-Roman world believed that dreams and visions were ways of receiving divine messages, prophecy, and healing. Dreams and visions in which a message was delivered in a direct and imperative fashion were valued more than symbolic dreams and visions, which required interpretation. But there was also great interest in the interpretation of dreams. Handbooks on dream symbolism were popular and part of the almost universally accepted belief that all dreams were significant in some way.

This belief in the revelatory significance of dreams and visions is also found in the OT; significant dreams and visions come from Yahweh who uses them as one means of communicating with human beings. The prophets are also called "seers," perhaps because the word of God so often comes through dreams and visions. But the emphasis in the OT is always on the revealed word of God, not the mode of that revelation. For this reason God also gives the interpretation of dreams and this interpretation is as important as the dream itself. The OT is also concerned with distinguishing true dreams and visions, which are genuine revelations of God, from those which are false. Only those dreams and visions which lead the people into a more faithful relationship with God are regarded as genuine revelations.

The NT, in common with both the OT and the Greco-Roman world, regards dreams and visions as one of the significant ways in which God chooses to reveal himself. But the NT understanding of dreams and visions is also unique in several ways. In the NT the meaning of a dream is always stated directly; interpretation of symbolic content is not required. Even when the symbolic content of a vision is given, the emphasis falls on the revelatory meaning of the vision. In keeping with this confidence that God's revelation is meant to be understood, the NT expresses little concern with the problem of false dreams and visions. Only once, in Jude 8, are dreams spoken of in a disparaging manner; even here, the real problem is the character of those who have the dreams, not the dreams themselves. The central message of the NT is that God has uniquely revealed himself in Christ. In the NT, dreams and visions are always seen as secondary to this central revelation and are significant only in relationship to God's revelation in Christ.

In the NT, dreams and visions are not always clearly distinguished from one another or from other more ordinary ways of seeing. The common word for dream (Gk *onar*) is found only in Matthew. The words used for vision (Gk *horama, optasia, horasis*) are found mainly in Luke-Acts. It is not always clear from the contexts in which these words are used whether they refer to dreams, visionary experiences, or some other form of revelation. Visionary experiences are not always referred to as visions either. Even the great vision written down in the book of Revelation is only referred to as a vision once, in Rev 9:17. The NT always emphasizes the revelatory nature of dreams and visions, not the dreams and visions themselves.

The gospel of Matthew sees dreams as one of the ways that God communicates with humans and reveals his will to them. The fact that the message is delivered in a dream is stated, but the meaning of the dream is what is highlighted. In the infancy narrative, God uses dreams to direct and warn both Joseph and the wisemen. Matthew is also the only gospel to refer to a dream or vision during the public ministry of Jesus. In Matt 17:9, Jesus refers to the transfiguration as a vision. Here the word vision is probably best understood as referring to what was seen; this is the way Mark 9:9 (= Luke 9:36) understands it. In Matt 27:19, Pilate's wife has a dream which warns Pilate that he ought not to crucify a righteous man. This dream, like those of the infancy narratives, reveals God's continuing intervention on Jesus' behalf.

Luke's gospel opens with Zechariah's vision of an angel who prophesies concerning the birth of John. Luke 24:23 mentions a vision of angels who tell the women who come to Jesus' tomb that he is alive. In both cases the vision is used to announce an unexpected action of God. No dreams or visions are mentioned during Jesus' lifetime in Luke, Mark, or John. All four gospels see Jesus as a unique and full revelation of God. The revelation of God in Jesus is a complete revelation. Dreams and visions are not necessary when God chooses to reveal himself in such a direct and unequivocal way.

In Acts the preaching of the gospel and the fellowship of the early Christians both point to this revelation of God in Christ. Dreams and visions are a sign of God's continuing presence in the church through the Holy Spirit. Acts 2:17 declares that the coming of the Holy Spirit is marked by dreams, visions, and prophecy. God reveals his will to the church through the Spirit; and one of the means the Spirit uses is visionary experience. Visions mark the advance of the gospel into the gentile world. Paul's vision on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:1–9 = Acts 26:9–20) and his vision of the man of Macedonia (Acts 16:9–10) both initiate crucial events in the missionary activity of the church. Peter's vision in Acts 10 is especially important in this regard. This is the only vision in Acts in which the symbolic elements of the vision are mentioned in detail and the only one for which the interpretation is not immediately given. It is only when Peter sees the Holy Spirit fall upon Cornelius that he understands the meaning of the vision. As he reports in Acts 11:1–18, he then interprets the vision as an indication that the gentiles are to be included in the church as gentiles. God's revelation through visions directs the decisions of the early church, especially the crucial decision to accept gentiles as members of the community of Christ.

In 2 Cor 12:1–10 Paul writes about an ecstatic visionary experience. As is typical of the NT accounts of visions, almost no details about the vision itself are given. In fact, Paul declares that he does not know enough about the

mode of the vision to give details and cannot speak about the content of the vision. The point of his story about the vision is not the vision itself but the revelation he received as a result of the vision. This revelation leads him to a greater understanding of what it means to suffer as an apostle of Christ.

In the NT, dreams and visions are understood as one of the ways that God communicates his will to human beings. When a dream or vision is mentioned, the emphasis is always on the message which is revealed and the revelatory character of the experience. The revelations received in dreams and visions are understood in relationship to the unique revelation of God in Jesus Christ. All true revelations of God are part of this great revelation in Christ.

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JANET MEYER EVERTS

DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

Dress provides important social and cultural information concerning status, power, group identity, manufacture, and trade. The significant role played by clothing in ancient society is apparent in the biblical writers who use dress metaphorically to make ethical exhortations or take theological positions, and to show the status and character of significant figures.

Any description of dress and its importance in the biblical tradition is complicated by the long period involved (ca. 2000 B.C.E.–125 C.E.), the diversity of peoples and nations depicted, the distinctive dress worn by various classes and groups, the extensive geographic area with which the texts deal, the paucity of sculptural or physical evidence in Palestine, and the fluid meaning of terms used for dress in literary texts. Nevertheless, significant evidence for clothing and ornamentation worn by biblical people comes from physical remains, artistic renderings, and textual evidence.

Archaeological excavations in and around Palestine have periodically uncovered remains of clothing and textiles and of ornamentation such as rings, buttons, toggle pins, and earrings for most relevant periods. Sculpture, ivory carvings, and paintings provide rare though often stylized glimpses of clothing of persons from the kingdoms of Judea and Israel. In addition, some groups or individuals during the preexilic and postexilic periods no doubt wore the garb of the dominant political and cultural power of the time. For these reasons sculpture, pictorial panels, and steles in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia provide important though not unambiguous clues to ancient dress.

Likewise, Greek and Roman society and culture influenced what persons wore in Palestine during the Greco-Roman period. Further, the NT depicts people and events throughout the Roman empire. Description of dress and ornamentation in the NT period, therefore, must consider material evidence obtained from sculpture, numismatics, funerary dedications, mosaics, and paintings both in and outside of Palestine proper. In addition, textual sources give important evidence for the role of dress in ancient societies as well as its symbolic importance. When combined, archaeology, artistic representation, and literary evidence elucidate what people wore, how people wanted to look, and the symbolic power of dress and ornamentation (Bonfante and Jaunzems 1988: 1385–86).

A. Hebrew Scriptures
1. Men
a. Outer garments
b. Undergarments
c. Headgear and hair
d. Footwear
e. Ornamentation
2. Women
a. Outer garments
b. Undergarments
c. Headgear and hair
d. Footwear
e. Ornamentation
3. Manufacture and Trade
B. Intertestamental and New Testament Period
1. Men
a. Outer garments
b. Undergarments
c. Headgear and hair
d. Footwear
e. Ornamentation
2. Women
a. Outer garments
b. Undergarments
c. Headgear and hair
d. Footwear
e. Ornamentation
3. Manufacture and Trade

A. Hebrew Scriptures

The frequent reference to dress or ornamentation indicates the social and symbolic importance of clothing for ancient Israelite society. The most common Hebrew term for clothing, *beged,* occurs over 200 times and is used indiscriminately for men's (Gen 39:12) and women's (Gen 38:14) clothing, the torn garments of a leper (Lev 13:45), the robes of the high priest (Lev 8:30), the covering of the poor and the garb of the wealthy (Ezek 26:16; 27:20). Less frequent general terms for dress include *śalmâ* (Josh 9:5; 1 Kgs 10:25; Mic 2:8); *mad* (Lev 6:3; 1 Sam 18:4); *kĕsût* (Job 31:19; Isa 50:3); *malbuš* (1 Kgs 10:5; 2 Chr 9:4); *śimlâ* (Gen 9:23; Deut 22:5; Isa 9:5); *ʾadderet* (Gen 25:25; Josh 7:21); *tilbošet* (Isa 59:17); and *lĕbûš* (Gen 49:11; Job 30:18; Mal 2:16). Even fabric, generally wool or linen (Lev 14:47), could have symbolic importance; only priests, for example, were to mix the two (Lev 19:19; Deut 22:11).

1. Men. a. Outer garments. The outer garment in the Hebrew scriptures is given a number of names which makes clear distinctions difficult. Outer wear in antiquity was generally draped around the body and pinned, belted, buttoned, or fastened (Bonfante and Jaunzems, 1988: 1386). The outer garment primarily served a functional role. Men or women could carry kneading bowls on the shoulders wrapped in a *śimlâ,* a large mantle (Exod 12:34). Mantles, *madweh,* down to the ankles are implied (2 Sam 10:4 = 1 Chr 19:4) which provided protection from the elements. The outer garment, *kĕsût,* covered one while sleeping and was the final most essential part of one's

wardrobe (Exod 22:27; Job 24:7; 31:19). A portion of the outer garment, *ʾadderet,* could be pulled up to cover one's head (1 Kgs 19:13).

Rare visual evidence for a male's outerwear in Syro-Palestine comes from the "Black Obelisk" of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.E.), which shows Jehu, the Israelite king, wearing a fringed outer garment with tassels on a section thrown over the shoulder; a girdle with tassels on the end is tied around his middle (*ANEP,* 120–22, 290–91; Mazar et al. 1959, 3: 212–13; cf. 2 Sam 20:8). Each of his attendants has a fringed mantle or *śimlâ* draped over the left shoulder (Matthews 1988: 119). Tassels, *gĕdilîm,* or fringes which could be placed on the four corners of one's cloak, *kĕsût* (Deut 22:12) served as extensions of the hem and were to contain a blue thread as a reminder of the covenant between God and the Israelites (Num 15:37–41). The tassels, according to ancient Near East parallels, were threads of the embroidery and could be decorated with a flower head or bell. The more ornate the hem, the greater the social status and wealth of a person (Milgrom 1983: 61–65).

Some traditions portray the outer garment of special persons as conveying power (or its loss). Saul, for example, grabs and rips the hem of Samuel's cloak, symbolizing the loss of Saul's kingdom to David (1 Sam 15:27; cf. 1 Sam 24:4–20; cf. Stephens 1931: 68–69). Elijah, on the other hand, throws his mantle (*ʾadderet*) over Elisha to indicate his successor (1 Kgs 19:19); Elisha uses the same mantle to part the waters of the Jordan (2 Kgs 2:8, 14). Garments also served as an expensive prize of war (Josh 7:21; cf. Gen 25:25; Judg 14:12; 1 Sam 27:9, *ANET,* 175, 177, 311), gifts (1 Kgs 10:25), payment (2 Kgs 5:23; Prov 20:16), or disguise (1 Sam 28:8). Some prophets wore a hairy mantle (Zech 13:4), perhaps of camel hair (Mark 1:6). Prisoners in certain periods had to wear special clothing (2 Kgs 25:29; Jer 52:33) as did widows and those in mourning (Gen 38:14). A red garment symbolized the destruction by God of his enemies (Isa 63:1–4).

In general, the tearing or removal of one's garments publicly displayed despair (Gen 37:29), mourning (2 Sam 1:11–12), or loss of status (Num 20:26). A type of cloak, *meʿîl,* which was wrapped around the body and the undergarments (1 Sam 15:27; Ps 109:29) was commonly torn when one was in grief (Job 2:12; Ezra 9:3). The prophet Ahijah tore his new *śimla* to symbolize the division of Solomon's nation into the northern and southern kingdoms (1 Kgs 11:30). Shame, humiliation, powerlessness, or outrage result when one is stripped of one's dress (cf. Bonfante 1989:546). The king of the Ammonites exerts his power, displays his contempt, and shames David's emissaries when he cuts their clothing, *madwêhem* (lit. "their garments") in half to the hips and shaves off half their beards (2 Sam 10:4–5; cf. Isa 7:20). The stele of Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.E.) depicts naked male prisoners from Lachish impaled on stakes as the battle rages; after the fall of the city, naked prisoners are staked out on the ground. The pictures graphically portray for the Assyrian audience and their client states (including Judah) the impotence of those who challenge Assyrian rule (Mazar et al. 1959, 2: 286–87; cf. Mic 2:8). Prohibitions against taking a poor man's coat existed (Exod 22:25–26); a 7th century B.C.E. ostracon records a peasant's plea to the governor to return a coat that had been confiscated (*WHJP* 4: 249).

In the priestly tradition, special outerwear depicted power, prestige, and identity. The apparel of the high priest expressed the priest's intercessory role for Israel (Exod 28:29, 38). Three outer garments apparently distinguished his garb. The ephod cloth was composed of a mixture of fine linen and gold leaf, blue, purple, and scarlet threads (probably woolen); the garment itself had shoulder straps. Each strap had an onyx stone engraved with six names of the tribes of Israel (Exod 28:6–12; 39:2–7). The same materials were used to fashion the breastplate, which was worn over the ephod and had twelve precious stones, each inscribed with the name of a tribe, in four rows. The Urim and Thummim were also attached to the ephod (Exod 28:15–30; 39:8–21). Under the ephod was worn a blue robe made of wool with pomegranates of linen, and blue, purple, and scarlet wool threads alternating with golden bells on the fringe (Exod 28:31–35); Josephus attaches cosmic implications to the colors (*Ant* 3.184–87). The Levites wore outerwear of fine linen; the Chronicler depicts the priestly character of David by describing him as one who wears a robe, *meʿîl,* of fine linen (1 Chr 15:27).

Special clothing must be worn by the priests entering the holy place (tent of meeting and altar) or they may die (Exod 28:42). Apparently priests wore other garb when not performing temple duties (Ezek 42:14; 44:19) further emphasizing the sacred and special character of the priestly garb (Bergemeier 1963: 268–71). The clothing served as a protective cover for them while they were in the presence of God.

b. Undergarments. Most males wore the *ʾezor,* probably the type of kilt represented by the soldiers of Lachish in the stele of Sennacherib, that wrapped around the waist. Generally made of flax, the *ʾezor* often had a leather or cloth belt from which a knife, seal, stone weight, or other valuables could be hung. Excavators have found leather and bronze belts in Iron Age tombs at Tel 'Aitan (WHJP 4: 247–48). The *kĕtonet* was probably the forerunner of the Greek *chitōn* and Roman tunic, and was worn next to the skin (Brown, 1980: 8–11) or over the *ʾezor*; it often had sleeves (Gen 37:3; Lev 16:4; Cant 5:3). The "Black Obelisk" of Shalmaneser mentions the *kĕtonet,* a garment generally made of wool (Matthews 1988: 117–19). Antecedents reach back at least to the 19th century B.C.E. as the Egyptian tomb at Beni-Hasan that depicts Semites contemporary with the patriarchs indicates. The men have pointed beards and no mustaches and wear decorated one-shoulder tunics that reach to just below the knees. Some men are bare from the waist up; from the waist down they wear a skirtlike garment with fringe at the bottom (Davies and Gardiner 1936, pl. 10–11; *ANEP,* 3).

Jehu, who prostrates before Shalmaneser III, appears to wear a short-sleeved tunic extending to the ankles that is belted around the middle and has fringes or a large border along the bottom (*ANEP,* 120, panel II; cf. Isa 22:21). Jehu's attendants also wear tunics that extend to the ankles under their cloaks (Mazar et al. 1959, 3: 212–18.) In like fashion, the stele of Sennacherib shows several Judaean leaders or defenders of Lachish wearing an unbelted tunic with sleeves as they plead for their lives before the king

(*ANEP,* 129, 293–94). Styles of undergarments apparently varied according to one's wealth or allegiance. Excavations at Ramat-Rahel and En-Gedi, for example, have found 7th century B.C.E. sherds with figures of men whose dress imitates the style of Assyrian wall paintings (*WHJP* 4: 248).

Priests had special undergarments. The high priest's tunic was a "checkerwork of fine linen" (Exod 28:39); according to Josephus, this tunic extended to the ankles and had long sleeves (*Ant* 3.153). Around the tunic was a finely spun linen girdle that contained blue, purple, and scarlet wool and elaborate embroidery (Exod 28:30; 39:29). Under their tunics priests wore linen breeches, *miknĕsê,* that covered their loins (Exod 28:42; 39:28; Ezek 44:18). In addition, a type of girdle, *ʿabnĕt,* was worn as a belt around the waist (Exod 29:9; Lev 8:7).

c. Headgear and hair. A turban or cloth miter could cover the head (Exod 29:6; Zech 3:5). Some *(hăbālîm)* were wound around the head (1 Kgs 20:31; cf. the term *sānîp* [Job 29:14; Isa 3:23]). Helmets in war are depicted on the Sennacherib stele (cf. 1 Sam 17:5; 2 Chr 26:14). The soldiers on the walls have two types of headgear. Most of the archers have conical helmets with earflaps; other defenders' headgear, rounded on top, may be a length of cloth wrapped around the head (Mazar et al. 1959, 4:283; *WHJP* 4: 248). In contrast, on the Shalmaneser stele Jehu's ambassadors have socklike headcoverings similar to Syrian headdress of the day (Mazar et al. 1959, 3:212–13; *ANEP,* 120–22, 290–91).

Priests wore a turban of fine linen (Exod 28:39). In addition, the high priest wore a crown or miter, *nēzer.* A gold plate hung by a blue thread in front of the miter or headdress that had the world "Holy to the Lord" engraved on it (Exod 28:36–38; 39:30–31; cf. however, Jos. *Ant* 3.178; *JW,* 5.235, who states that it had only the tetragrammaton; Feldman 1971: vii–clxix).

The obelisk of Shalmaneser shows the Israelite king, Jehu, and his attendants with pointed beards (Mazar et al. 1959, 3: 212–13; *ANEP,* 120–22, 290–91) similar to the Semites in the Beni-Hasan painting (*ANEP,* 3). In contrast, the Sennacherib stele has some defenders of Lachish wearing hair and beards that are tightly curled (*ANEP,* 129, 293–94), reflecting a change in hairstyle because of either a different time period or region.

Hairstyle had important symbolic implications and often depicted one's relation to the rest of the community. According to priestly tradition, the tattered clothing and long, unkempt hair of the leper signified his uncleanness with respect to the community (Lev 13:45–46). Carefully defined procedures in the priestly tradition determined whether a person with yellowed or thinning hair in the beard or on the head, perhaps a type of ringworm, was viewed as unclean (Lev 13:29–37). A male healed of leprosy, however, displayed his new status in the community by washing his clothes and shaving his hair, including his beard and eyebrows (Lev 14:8–9). Mold or mildew on garments was also viewed as a form of leprosy; such unclean garments were destroyed (Lev 13:47–59).

Hair carried symbolic as well as religious social or political overtones. Kings and priests were anointed with oil poured over their head. Spit running down one's beard could depict insanity (1 Sam 21:13). Joab took Amasa by his beard, perhaps as an outward sign of greeting, while he killed him with a hidden weapon (2 Sam 20:9). As a sign of his total allegiance to God the Nazirite did not cut his hair (Num 6:5) until his time of separation with God was completed; then he shaved his head and burned the hair (Num 6:18; cf. Judg 16:22). Levitical priests were to trim their hair and not let their locks grown long nor shave their heads (Ezek 44:20). Some traditions, however, discouraged persons from rounding the hair, *śĕʿār,* near the temples; nor were persons to cut or tear the edges of their beard when mourning (Lev 19:27; 21:5; Deut 14:1), a custom in the ancient Near East (Isa 15:2; Jer 48:37). Other traditions, however, especially in the prophetic tradition suggest that shaving heads or beards as a sign of mourning or judgment was practiced (Amos 8:10; Isa 22:12; Jer 41:5; Mic 1:16; Ezek 5:1; cf. Job 1:20). Indeed, tearing out one's hair or beard could indicate shame and anger (Ezra 9:3).

d. Footwear. A sandal, *naʿal,* was generally made of leather and fastened with a strap or laces, *śĕrôk* (Gen 14:23; Isa 5:27). The male Semites in the Beni-Hasan tomb painting wear sandals with straps (*ANEP,* 2–3). The attendants of the Israelite king Jehu, however, wear shoes with upturned toes that cover the entire foot (Mazar et al. 1959, 3:212–13; *ANEP,* 120–22, 190–291).

To go barefoot indicated poverty (Deut 25:19), mourning (2 Sam 15:30; Ezek 24:17, 23), or contact with holy ground (Exod 3:5; Josh 5:15). Isaiah's symbolic act of taking off his sandals portrays the eventual destruction of Egypt and Ethiopia by the Assyrians who lead the captives away naked and barefoot (Isa 20;2–5; cf. the barefoot petitioners from Lachish who appear before Sennacherib; *ANEP,* 129, 293–94).

The sandal could symbolize breakdown in the fabric of society or the family. The prophet Amos depicts social disparity and societal disintegration in the northern kingdom by condemning the wealthy who sell the poor for a pair of shoes (Amos 2:6; 8:6). Another tradition states that when a man does not marry his brother's widow, even on the advice of the elders, the widow may pull off one of his sandals and spit in his face (Exod 25:9–10). In still a different tradition the removal of one's sandal verifies a business transaction, which could include marriage (Ruth 4:7–10). The Deuteronomist symbolized God's presence and guidance of Israel by the lack of wear on the sandals of those who wandered 40 years in the wilderness (Deut 29:5). In contrast, in the same tradition the Gibeonites used worn-out, patched sandals and clothing to trick the Israelites (Josh 9:5, 13).

e. Ornamentation. Typically, the greater the ornamentation on outer garments, especially the hem, the greater the importance of the individual in society (Milgrom 1983:61). Thus the high priest wore elaborately decorated outerwear. The king wore purple robes and garments of fine linen. A man could wear a signet, or an arm band, or a cylinder that had his name or some identifying mark on it around his neck, or on his hand or arm (Gen 38:18, 25; Jer 22:24; 2 Sam 1:10). Finger rings indicated rank (Gen 41:42; Esth 3:10; Hestrin and Dayagi-Mendels 1979; *IDB* 1: 871). Molds for casting bronze ornaments have been found at several sites in Israel (*WHJP* 4: 253).

2. Women. Specific information on the dress of women is sparse, especially since general terms for dress are

similar to those mentioned for men's clothing (*lĕbûš, malbuš, beged*). Some characteristics distinguished the two, however, as indicated by the warning that men were not to wear women's garments, *śimlâ* (Deut 22:5). 8th century B.C.E. attire of wealthy women in Judah could include ankle jewelry, headbands, pendants, bracelets, scarves, headdresses, jewelry for the arms, sashes, signet rings, nose rings, festival robes, mantles, garments of gauze, linen garments, turbans, and veils. In addition they used perfume, had belts around their clothing, and maintained well-groomed hair (Isa 3:18–24; cf. Ezek 16:10–13).

a. Outer garments. Women who lived at the time of Abraham may have worn brightly colored garments with designs as indicated in the Beni-Hasan tomb. There, each of three women appears to wear a square piece of colored material wrapped around her with the end tossed over her left shoulder, leaving her right shoulder bare; a fourth wears a garment rounded at the neck (Horn 1968: 2). The Sennacherib stele depicts women and girls dressed in a cloaklike garb that extends to just above the ankles and could be pulled over the head like a hood (Mazar et al. 1959, 2: 283). Women wore special outerwear when they were widowed (Gen 38:14). Some wealthy women perfumed their clothing with myrrh, aloes, and cassia (Ps 45:8; cf. Cant 4:11) and had garments with ornaments of gold (2 Sam 1:24). From the 10th century B.C.E. on, bronze toggle pins (safety pins) and buttons found in many excavations may have been used to pin or button the garment (*WHJP* 4: 249).

b. Undergarments. The *kĕtonet* was a long undergarment, similar to the males; according to tradition, virgin daughters of kings such as Tamar wore a long robe with sleeves (2 Sam 13:18; Cant 5:3). The same term describes Joseph's garment (Gen 39:) incorrectly translated by the LXX as the *chitōn* of many colors (Brown 1980: 8). In addition, women probably wore some sort of girdle or belt (Isa 3:24).

c. Headgear and hair. The veil appears to be used on special occasions to identify the status or character of women. Women used veils, *ṣāʿîp*, or part of their outer garment to cover their faces on wedding days (Gen 24:65) or if they were prostitutes (Gen 38:14,15,19); cf. *rĕʿālôt* (Isa 3:19). Certain veils allowed the face to be seen (Cant 4:1, 3). In Sennacherib's stele, the women leaving the city of Lachish are wearing a type of mantle that is pulled over the head, probably signifying their act of mourning (Mazar et al. 1959, 2: 283).

In the priestly tradition, when a woman was accused of adultery by her husband, the priest unbound or uncovered her hair as part of a lengthy ritual proving her guilt or innocence (Num 5:11–28; cf. Susanna 32). If an Israelite wished to marry a beautiful woman who is captured in war, her head must be shaved, her nails cut, and her captive's garb removed (Deut 21:12–13).

d. Footwear. Footwear for women seems little different than men's. The women and children in the Beni-Hasan tomb painting wear shoes that cover the entire foot (*ANEP*, 2–3). Women's footwear is rarely mentioned in the biblical accounts, but the Song of Songs 7:1 depicts women's feet as graceful in sandals. The women and girls on the Sennacherib stele are barefoot (Mazar et al. 1959, 2: 283).

e. Ornamentation. Women wore pierced rings in their ears and nose (Gen 24:47; Ezek 16:12). Other JEWELRY included bracelets, arm and leg bands, nose rings, earrings, and beads (probably for necklaces) made of gold and silver (Exod 32:2; Prov 25:12). Some women wore rings and jewelry associated with worship of foreign cults (Hos 2:13).

3. Manufacture and Trade. Except for luxury goods, most clothing and ornaments were made and circulated locally. Bracelets, earrings, rings, and beads made of iron, bronze, copper, silver, and gold have been found in excavations throughout Israel (*WHJP* 4: 253). Perfumes, widely used in Israel, had great popularity as indicated by numerous stone bands, juglets, and bottles that probably held cosmetics (1 Sam 8:13). Indeed, perfumery as a craft was practiced in large measure by women (*WHJP* 4: 262). Local farmers and herdsmen provided the raw flax for linen and wool for woolen goods. Women probably cleaned the wool and spun it into thread (Prov 31:13, 19); garments were probably made on horizontal looms (*ANEP*, 142–43; Horn 1968: 24–28). Evidence exists for silk, cotton, hemp, and jute as well (Horn 1968: 5–14). Local guilds or particular cities or villages may have manufactured some clothing (Mendelsohn 1940: 17–18; cf. Prov 21:10–29; 31:24). Numerous loom weights found throughout Palestine and weavers' workshops at Lachish and Tel Amal substantiate this (*WHJP* 4: 244–45).

Color was often a sign of status, as was the quality of the garment; thus dyeing was an important industry, as evidenced by the large numbers of dyeing establishments found throughout ancient Israel (Horn 1968: 18–21; Albright 1943: 55–62; WHJP 4: 245–47). Especially significant was the purple dye industry, as indicated by the large quantity of purple dye producing murex shells that have been found along the coast of present-day Israel and Lebanon (see PURPLE: Milgrom 1983: 61–65; Spanier 1987; Reinhold 1970; Ziderman 1987: 25–33). The weaving industry was probably associated with this industry (Horn 1968: 23–24).

In summary, archaeological and ancient Near Eastern iconography provide important clues as to the garb of men and women in Palestine in the pre- and postexilic periods. Dress and ornamentation tell much about ancient Israelites' social status, trade and commerce, and interaction with surrounding cultures, information not readily available in written records. In turn, the biblical tradition illustrates the symbolic power that dress played in social, political, and religious arenas of the day.

B. Intertestamental and New Testament Period

Like the Hebrew scriptures, Greek terms used to describe dress are often general in character. The garb of Jews both in and outside Palestine reflected the regional and international dress worn from the Persian through the Roman periods. Roman citizens were especially status conscious, and this was reflected in the quality, color, and design of their clothing. In certain cases, color and designs in the Near East identified male from female, rich from poor. Special occasions often necessitated special dress as, for example, at weddings (although the exact nature is not clear [Matt 22:11]). White garments could signify purity (Rev 3:4–5).

1. Men. a. Outer garments. Roman citizens in Palestine

were allowed to wear the toga, a large, semicircular garment draped around the body; often, however, only the wealthy could afford the expensive fabric (Wilson 1938). Acts, for example, portrays Paul, who as a Roman citizen does not wear the toga (Acts 16:35–39). The Gk *himation,* on the other hand, served as the most common outer garment for men and women including Roman citizens (Bonfante 1973: 586). Rectangular and of various sizes, it was draped around the body. The crowds that meet Jesus in Jerusalem throw their *himatia* on the ground (Mark 11:7–8); Bartimaeus, the blind beggar, takes off his *himation* and comes to Jesus (Mark 10:50); workers in the field generally took off their *himatia* to work (Mark 13:16 = Matt 24:18). As in the Hebrew Scriptures, power can be associated with the mantle, as the healing of the woman who touches Jesus' *himation* indicates (Mark 5:28–30). The Gk *stole,* a general term for the outer garment or long robe in the NT, is associated with wealth (Luke 15:22; 20:46) or salvation (Rev 6:11; 7:9).

In Palestine, color and designs in the fabric distinguished male and female outer garments. Male *himatia* found at the Cave of Letters near the Dead Sea (*ca.* 90–135 C.E.) were made of white or yellow wool with reddish-brown or blackish-blue notched bands woven into the fabric (Yadin 1963: 169–203). Similar *himatia* with notched bands have been found at Dura Europas, Egypt, Palmyra, and in the At-Tar Caves west of ancient Babylon (Yadin 1963: 227–32; Fujii 1987: 225–26). Some male *himatia* in the Cave of Letters had stripes the same color as the notched bands. The stripes, of different widths, ran around the portion of the *himation* draped around the neck (Yadin 1963: 223). Yadin argues that the stripe framed the face when the *himation* was pulled over the head for prayer or sacrifice. The stripe may be the *kraspedon* (RSV "edge") of Jesus' *himation,* which the woman with the flow of blood touched (Matt 9:20 = Luke 8:44). This may explain, as well, the passage that states the Pharisees made their *phylactēria* broad and their *kraspeda* long (stripes rather than fringes) (Matt 23:5). Similar designs have been found on clothing discovered at En-Gedi and on some of the clothing piled and burned by the last defenders of Masada (Yadin 1965: 81; Yadin 1966: 154).

An outer cloak, Gk *chlamys,* was fastened at the neck and worn like a cape. A sign of authority, a purple *chlamys* was part of the Roman officer's garb. Only the Gospel of Matthew has taunting soldiers place a purple *chlamys* on Jesus (27:28). Some Judea Capta coins show a Jewish soldier with a *chlamys* around his neck, suggesting that the cloak was not limited to Roman soldiers and officers (Madden 1903: 208–14; 219–25; cf. Jos. *JW* 7§29).

b. Undergarments. The principal garb for men and women was the Gk *chitōn* or Lat *tunica.* It came in a variety of shapes, sizes, and colors, and one could wear more than one tunic (Matt 10:9–10; cf. Mark 6:9; Luke 9:3). Tunics have been found by Yadin at the Cave of Letters, one of them almost completely intact. The intact tunic consists of two equal sized pieces of cloth sewn at the top and sides, leaving openings for the head and the arms (Yadin 1963: pl. 66; cf. Jos. *Ant* 3§161). The seamless tunic in John 19:23 was distinctive. Josephus mentions that such a seamless garb was worn by the high priest (*Ant* 3§161–62); however, the actual technique for making such a tunic remains problematic (Horn 1968: 30–32).

Like the *himation,* the quality of the fabric of a *chitōn* could signify social status or wealth; in addition, Roman citizens and often those of some means had narrow bands running from the top to bottom of the tunic. Initially, wide purple *clavi* were reserved for Roman senators, smaller purple bands for equestrians. By the time of the empire, however, the wearing of tunics with purple bands was widespread (Bonfante and Jaunzens 1988: 1402–1403). Tunics found in the Cave of Letters have purple bands although not of true purple (Yadin 1963: 207–209; pl. 66). Frescoes at Pompeii show children with thin purple bands on their *tunica* (Mazar et al. 1959, 5:120).

A child's tunic found in the Cave of Letters had the four corners tied into bundles that held various items (Yadin 1963: pls. 65, 89), perhaps to ward off evil. NT tradition suggests that some tunics were long, belted, and made with gold (presumably gold thread; Rev 1:13). In the Johannine tradition Peter wears a tunic *(ependytēs)* common to the peasants of the day (John 21:7). For possible parallels see the depiction of a 1st century B.C.E. peasant (Hadas 1965: 148) who wears the tunic over one shoulder with the other bare, the garb of a swineherd as depicted in a 1st-century funeral stele from Italy, and a Hellenistic portrayal of a fisherman from Alexandria (Mazar et al. 1959, 5:37, 155; cf. Laubscher 1982).

At Masada hundreds of silver-plated scales of armor have been found near the remains of one of the defenders; the scales were probably laced onto a leather undergarment (Yadin 1966: 54–55) such as Roman soldiers, especially the legionaries and centurions, wore (Sander 1963: 144–66; Mazar et al. 1959, 5:154, 191, 241). Another undergarment was a type of linen cloth, Gk *sindōn,* wrapped around the loins (Mark 14:51–52). The same term can refer to a linen shroud (Matt 27:59). Imprints of woven material on bones and a skull found in a tomb indicate that wrapping the deceased in a shroud was probably common (Hachlili 1988: 95).

c. Headgear and hair. During the reign of Antiochus IV, the high priest Jason forced the nobles in Jerusalem to wear the broad-brimmed hat of the Greeks (2 Macc 3:12). The hat may have had its origin in Persia and was imported to Greece by Alexander the Great (Bonfante and Jaunzens 1988: 1398–99). In addition, the high priest and other priests wore special headgear (Jos. *Ant* 3 §172). The head itself plays an important symbolic role in the NT tradition. A woman anoints Jesus' head with expensive oil, probably perfumed (see esp. John 12:3; cf. Matt 26:7–8 = Mark 14:3 = Luke 7:38) an allusion to burial and kingship. Perfumed ointment was used across the Roman empire at this time (cf. picture of woman pouring ointment in picture from Pompeii [*Views,* 5:99]).

On the Judea Capta coins, some Jewish soldiers wear beards and longish hair. No doubt, other 1st-century Jews shaved their faces and had short hair in the Roman style (cf. 1 Cor 11:14; Ps-Phoc 212). The Acts tradition has Paul cut his hair to fulfill a vow he had made, perhaps an allusion to the Nazirite tradition (18:18; cf. 21:24; Num 6:1–21). Paul states in his correspondence to the Corinthians that the head of a man is to remain uncovered (1 Cor 11:3) probably to discourage any connection with the

Roman practice of pulling the toga over one's head while offering sacrifices to the gods (Thompson 1988: 104). Paul also admonishes the Corinthian men to wear their hair short, perhaps in accordance with Roman custom or simply to highlight the differences men and women should maintain in the community (Thompson 1988: 104). As in the Hebrew scriptures, dust could be thrown on the head and hair as a sign of mourning (Rev 18:19).

d. Footwear. Roman society developed varied footwear for different occasions. Outdoor shoes (Lat *calceii; hypodēma*) were strapped or laced, like the sandal *(hypodēma)* that John the Baptist did not feel worthy to untie (Mark 1:7). For Romans, *sandalia* were generally an indoor shoe, in function the ancient equivalent of slippers (Bonfante 1973: 593–94). Sandals and sandal fragments have been found at Masada (Yadin 1966: 54, 57). Some tombs in Palestine contained leather sandals that were placed in a coffin near the dead person's head (Hachlili 1988: 95).

e. Ornamentation. Signet rings found at Masada indicate that the defenders had a degree of wealth; some rings functioned to make an imprint on wax that sealed legal documents or letters (Yadin 1966: 150). Such signet rings may be the same type as the *sphragis* mentioned in the NT (Rom 4:11; 1 Cor 9:2; 2 Tim 2:19; Rev 5:1; 6:1; 7:2; 8:1; 9:4). They served as a sign of identity and authority. In addition, men wore phylacteries (Matt 23:5; Matthews 1988: 234), examples of which have been found at Qumran (*WHJP* 8: figs. 12–15).

2. Women. a. Outer garments. Women's outerwear, though similar in style to men's, often had darker and more varied colors, greater length, and unique ornamentation. In particular, a gamma-shaped design on the mantle appears to distinguish a woman's garb from a man's. At Masada and the Cave of Letters, Yadin found fragments of mantles with a gamma-like shape sewn into the fabric which identifies them as women's garb (1965: 81; 1966: 223–29). As with men, outer garments of wealthy women could be made of linen with gold woven into the fabric (*T. Job* 25:7; *Jos. Asen.* 5:5). The outer garment and tunics could be girded with a cord or sash; one text gives the cord cosmic significance (*Test. Job* 48:1; 50:3). In certain periods and regions virgins could have two girdles or sashes that indicated virginity, one around the waist, the other probably just under the breast (*Jos. Asen.* 15:15–17).

b. Undergarments. As a sign of mourning a woman might wear a black tunic and a sackcloth, the latter presumably of burlap (*Jos. Asen.* 15:16). Torn clothing could symbolize the loss of status (*T. Job* 39:1–5; Judith 10:3–4). The NT does not specifically mention or discuss the undergarments of women during this period; no doubt women, like men, wore a type of tunic or *chitōn*.

c. Headgear and hair. The Judea Capta corpus (which includes coins, sculpture, and a breastplate) generally depict a despondent and veiled woman. The woman's veil is part of the *himation*, which was pulled over her head especially during periods of worship. This is standard practice for both men and women elsewhere in the Roman empire (cf. 1 Cor 11:2–16). No clear evidence, however, exists for 1st century Jewish or Christian women wearing a separate veil. It was acceptable for women to go unveiled in public (Thompson 1988: 112; MacMullen 1980: 208–18). Evidence does exist for women in Palmyra, Tarsus, and Syria wearing veils that covered at least part of the face (Thompson 1988: 133; de Vaux 1935: 397–412). The head could be covered by a hairnet such as those found at Masada and the Cave of Letters which were similar to those in Roman society, as indicated by the famous portrait from Pompeii of a woman wearing a golden hairnet.

Hair found at Masada confirms that some 1st-century women in Palestine wore their hair long. In this case, the hair was in a single braid down the back (Yadin 1966: 54, 56; cf. 1 Tim 2:9). The popular fashions of aristocratic Roman society likely influenced certain Jewish fashions. Cutting a woman's hair, especially in public was a sign of disgrace (*T. Job* 23:6–25; cf. 1 Cor 11:6; Thompson 1988: 133).

d. Footwear. As yet no clear distinctions between the footwear of men and women are apparent. Sandals found at Masada are much like those of the present day.

e. Ornamentation. Cosmetic equipment found in the casement walls of dwellings at Masada included palettes for mixing eyeshadow, bronze eyeshadow sticks, clay perfume vials, a bronze mirror case, and a wooden comb, fibula, and ring keys (Yadin 1966: 146, 148, 150; cf. *1 En.* 8:1–2; Jdt 10:2–4). Ring keys such as those found at Masada were often worn by women on their fingers or around their necks; one was found still attached to its chain (Yadin 1965: 81). The rings locked chests that held important items (*Jos. Asen.* 2:3–4).

Wealthy women who could afford gold, pearls, and the latest hair and clothing fashions were among the early Christians (1 Tim 2:9; 1 Pet 3:30; cf. Jdt 10:4). Some women wore phylacteries, which in certain cases were believed to have a therapeutic role or the capacity to ward off evil (*T. Job* 47:11).

3. Manufacture and Trade. In the 1st century, the Roman empire traded extensively with the east (China, India, Parthia); indeed, Jewish traders settled in the Indus River as early as the 1st century (Warmington 1928: 131–32). An important trade item was cloth and clothing (including fine linen, silk, and various qualities of wool; (see Casson 1989: 39–40; Sidebotham 1986: 196; cf. Rev. 18:11–12). 2d- and 3d-century evidence suggests that Galilee was noted for its linen and Judea for its wool industries (Jones 1974: 350–64; Horn 1968: 5; Paus. 5.5.2) and thus may have participated in this trade.

Clothing was part of local and regional economies. Wool and clothing markets existed in Jerusalem prior to its destruction (Jos. *War* 5§331). Fullers cleaned dirty clothing acting as the ancient equivalent of dry cleaners. The type of fullers, *gnapheus*, depicted in Mark who could never bleach clothes as intensely white as those Jesus wore (Mark 9:3; cf. Matt 17:2, Luke 9:29) may have dressed in the same type of simple tunics as the fullers depicted in a mural found at Pompeii (Tanzer 1939: 10, 12).

Clothing was a significant industry in the Greco-Roman world. According to Acts, certain members of the early Christian communities were involved in some manner with the clothing industry (Jones 1974: 350–64). Simon, who lived at Joppa, (Acts 10:32) was involved in the tanning industry, which was unpopular because of the smell. Lydia dealt in the lucrative purple dye industry (Acts 16:14). Dyes such as indigo were imported from as far away as India (Casson 1989: 16, 43, 194). Representative samples

of most colors in antiquity have been found in the Cave of Letters and at Masada (Yadin 1966; Horn 1968: 18–20).

Clothing and ornamentation played a significant role in the economic, social, political, and religious fabric of ancient society. It depicted one's social standing, ethnic origin, sex, and political position. Clothing functioned as more than covering against the elements. What you wore conveyed who you were and the nature of your relationship to those around you. The biblical writers adeptly tapped the symbolic power of ancient dress to convey social, theological, or political messages.

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DOUGLAS R. EDWARDS

DRINKING. See EATING AND DRINKING.

DROMEDARY. See ZOOLOGY.

DROWNING. See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

DRUM. See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

DRUSILLA (PERSON) [Gk *Drousillē*]. The Jewish wife of Felix, the Roman procurator who heard Paul's defense in Caesarea (Acts 24:24). Most of what we know about Drusilla comes from the Jewish historian Josephus, who reports that she was born in A.D. 37/8, the youngest daughter of Agrippa I and Cypros (*Ant* 18.132; *War* 2.220; cf. *Ant* 19.354: she was six at the time of her father's death in A.D. 44). She had inherited Roman citizenship and her full name, Julia Drusilla, indicated as much. The name Drusilla was itself a Roman name and probably was bestowed by Agrippa in honor of another Drusilla, the sister of his friend Emperor Gaius (alias Caligula); she had died in A.D. 38 (Braund 1984: 111). Drusilla's father betrothed her to Epiphanes, son of Antiochus IV, the king of wealthy Commagene, which lay to the north on the Euphrates around Samosata (*Ant* 19.355). Epiphanes had initially agreed to convert to Judaism, but subsequently, after Agrippa's death, he demurred and thus declined the marriage. Instead, Drusilla married Azizus, king of Syrian Emesa, in A.D. 53, after he had been circumcised (*Ant* 20.139).

Drusilla is said to have been very beautiful. For that reason she was the victim of the jealous behavior of her

equally beautiful sister, BERNICE. Her beauty also brought her to the attention of Antonius FELIX, Roman procurator of Judea. Josephus reports how Felix sent her one of his associates, a Cyprian Jew named Atomus, who claimed magic powers in order to persuade her to leave Azizus and marry Felix instead. Felix's promises of future happiness and her weariness given the mistreatment at her sister's hands persuaded her to violate Jewish law and do as he asked. She and Felix had a son, Agrippa, who later died in the volcanic eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in A.D. 79, and it is possible that she died with him (*Ant* 20.141–44). To this extent the biography of Drusilla is clear enough, however some confusion exists elsewhere in sources where another Drusilla is mentioned. This individual was also a royal personage who married Felix (Tac. *Hist.*5.9; Braund 1984: 179).

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DAVID C. BRAUND

DUMAH (PERSON) [Heb *dûmâ*]. A son of Ishmael (Gen 25:14; 1 Chr 1:30). In all probability, this "Dumah" refers to the district and oasis town in N central Saudi Arabia near the S end of the Wadi Sirhan. An oracle against this town and its relation to the Kedarite tribal confederacy is perhaps contained in Isa 21:11; but the reference in Joshua 15:52 apparently belongs to another location; see DUMAH (PLACE). The modern name, al-Jauf, has been in use since at least the 19th century A.D. and means "depression, basin, or hollow." The ancient name of the site, Dumah, is perhaps derived from the Aramaic and may mean Edom or, according to the Bible and various Arab scholars, may have been one of the sons of Ishmael (Gen 25:14; Musil 1927: 531–32; Mandaville 1965: 492; Vaglieri 1965: 624). The earliest reference to the town occurs in the inscriptions of Sennacherib (691–689 B.C.; *LAR* 2.358). The town was first identified as the locale mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian documents by Glaser in 1890. Most modern scholars accept this identification (Eph'al 1982: 121, n. 414).

Dumah (29°48.5′ N., 39°52.1′ E) is the largest oasis in the long, extremely arid, Wadi Sirhan and often has been referred to as "the gateway to Arabia." The springs of the area allow very productive agriculture. Because it lies astride the major trade routes leading from central and S Arabia to Amman and Damascus, it has enjoyed commercial prosperity, which has made it the object of political struggles by both sedentary states and nomadic tribal groups.

There has been continuous historical documentation of Dumah since the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions. Niebuhr was the first Westerner to describe the town in 1772 (Musil 1927: 553), but actual archaeological reconnaissance did not begin until the 1960's (Winnett and Reed 1970). The first comprehensive survey of the area and town was conducted in 1976 (Adams et al. 1977) and a second campaign in 1977 clarified the archaeological-historical record for the S Wadi Sirhan basin, including Dumah (Parr et al. 1978). More recently, ongoing excavation and survey in the town environs promises to shed new light on Dumah in its historical context.

The S Wadi Sirhan basin has seen human occupation as early as the Paleolithic period, but large-scale pastoral nomadic groups did not occupy the region until the Chalcolithic/EB Age. Our knowledge of the 2d millennium B.C. both archaeologically and historically remains elusive, but a period of renewed growth and vitality characterized the 1st millennium B.C. By the time of the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions, Dumah had become well established both as an agricultural town and trade entrepot. Sennacherib and Esarhaddon both waged campaigns against Kedarite Arab leaders at Dumah and Esarhaddon describes Dumah as a fortified town (Eph'al 1982: 5, n. 7). Sennacherib removed the principal deities from the town and sent Te'elhunu and Hazael, the Arab leaders, into exile. The tribute levied against the town included objects obtained from long-distance trade such as spices and precious stones (cf. Musil 1927: 480–85). No corroborating archaeological evidence has been found to support the Assyrian inscriptional evidence that Dumah was located in the Wadi Sirhan. Iron Age II sites, however, have been located in the N end of the Wadi Sirhan at Kaf and Ithra (Adams et al. 1977: 36).

From the Classical period, both Pliny (*HN* 6.157) and Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.19.7) mention Dumatha/Domatha (cf. Musil 1927: 531–32), and considerable Nabatean remains have been found which include painted wares, coins, and inscriptions (Winnett and Reed 1970: 7, 15, 144; Bowersock 1983: 57–58, nn. 48–49). From the 2d century A.D. is a memorial stone of a centurion of the III Cyrenaican Legion (Bowersock 1983: 98–99, n. 26). A brief sounding at the base of the massive fort, Qasr Marid, which turned up Nabatean and Roman wares, confirms that the lower courses belong to this period. In addition to the principal site there was a large-scale gardening system (Adams et al. 1977: 36).

The satellite site of al-Tuwayr just S of Jauf with extensive Hellenistic remains has been recently examined and may be identified with Ptolemy's Obraka or Pharatha (Parr et al. 1978; Gilmore, Ibrahim, and Mursi 1984). Byzantine references to Dumah and the involvement of the Beni Kalb continue into the early Islamic period (see Musil 1927: 532; Vaglieri 1965: 625). Islamic tradition essentially confirms the earlier role that Dumah played as an agricultural center for tribal confederations and a key locale in the Arabian spice trade. When the shift of political capitals from Damascus to Baghdad occurred in the 8th century A.D. Dumah declined in importance and today is of little consequence.

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JURIS ZARINS

DUMAH (PLACE) [Heb *dûmâ*]. The Hebrew word appears twice in Psalms (94:17; 115:17) as a designation for the netherworld. Some infer that the word in this context means the "silence of the grave"—a metaphor for Sheol. Dahood (*Psalms II* AB, 349–50), however, prefers to identify Dumah with the Akk-Ug *dmt* meaning "fortress," which suggests a different metaphor of the netherworld.

1. One of the nine towns assigned to the Hebron administrative district of the hill country of Judah (Josh 15:52). Most scholars agree that these districts were established during the Judean Monarchy. In the Ginsburgh Hebrew manuscript, the name appears as "Rumah." It also appears as "Rumah" in the LXX and Vg. Since it is easy to mistake a Heb *dalet* for a *reš* and vice versa, it is possible that "Rumah" in 2 Kgs 23:36 should read "Dumah," particularly since a Rumah is mentioned nowhere else in the Bible. Eusebius identified a village of Dumah in his *Onomasticon*, and Robinson noted a village of ed-Daumeh. Modern cartography lists this village as Duma (M.R. 148093; Ar Khirbet Doma ed-Deir), which lies just W of the main road from Hebron to Beer-sheba, about 15 km SW of Hebron.

2. A place mentioned in connection with the region of Seir (Isa 21:11), a mountainous country inhabited chiefly by Edom. It is possible that the text originally read Edom instead of Dumah, and that the *ʾalep* at the beginning of the word was dropped by scribal error. But the scribe would then also have had to add a *he* to fully transform Edom into Dumah. LXX renders the word as "Edom" or "Idumea." Others suggest that the Hebrew word means "silence" and refers to the enigmatic nature of the question which follows: "Watchman, what of the night?" (This location may be the same as #3 below.)

3. An oasis in N central Saudia Arabia, located midway along an ancient desert route from Babylon to Tema, which is mentioned in various Neo-Assyrian documents. See DUMAH (PERSON).

HAROLD BRODSKY

DUNG GATE (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar hāʾašpōt*]. This gate of Jerusalem is referred to four times in Nehemiah (2:13; 3:13, 14; and 12:31). The Heb word *ʾašpōt* used here can mean "ash-heap (Lam 4:5, NIV), refuse-heap, dung hill," referring to human and animal excrement and other refuse connected with the sacrificial system; the gate to it would be in an area of any access and would be expected to be on the side of the city less offensive, where the wind would blow the odors away. The most likely location for the Dung Gate is at the Hinnom Valley toward the S, and this would fit Nehemiah's description of going (counterclockwise) from the Valley Gate (Neh 3:13) on the west side of David's City, south to the Dung Gate (Neh 3:13, 14) at the Hinnom Valley, and back northward to the Fountain Gate and the wall of the Pool of Siloam (Neh 3: 15). Some have identified the Potsherd Gate at "the valley of Ben Hinnom" (Jer 19: 2) with the Dung Gate. In another view (Mazar 1975: 194–95) holds that the Ashpot Gate is to be taken as the Gate of Tophet (based on a root *špt* meaning "hearth," from an archaic *tpt*) in the Hinnom Valley where in the reign of Manasseh infant sacrifice was performed (2 Kgs 21: 6; 2 Chr 33: 6).

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W. HAROLD MARE

DUR-KURIGALZU (PLACE). The ancient city which occupied the site of the present city of Aqar Quf, near Baghdad. Although not mentioned in the Bible, the site is famous because of its impressive ziggurat. From the Middle Ages to the present times, certain travelers have even believed this monument to be the Tower of Babel referred to in the book of Genesis. Nevertheless, it was not until 1942 that any archaeological interest was shown in the site. The General Department of Antiquities of Iraq undertook an expedition under the direction of Taha Baqir and assisted by Seton Lloyd which worked there from 1942 to 1945. They focused on the ziggurat and the temples associated with it, as well as the large palace which occupied the neighboring tell of El-Abyad. Since that time important restoration work has been carried out by the Department of Antiquities: the temples have been restored and the entire foundation of the ziggurat has been reconstructed to its original likeness with baked bricks.

The ancient name of the city, Dur Kurigalzu, known from the epigraphic findings, shows that it dated to the Kassite era and undoubtedly was founded by one of the two kings named Kurigalzu, either the first one at the end of the 15th century B.C. or the second one (1332–1308 B.C.). Our knowledge of the history of the site stops at that point.

In terms of archaeology, the whole of the Enlil quarter formed by the ziggurat and the temples is only partially known. The ziggurat itself, one of the largest in Mesopotamia and in any case the best preserved, is supported on a foundation that measures 67.6 meters by 69 meters. The core which still exists shows that clamping was done every eight or nine rows of baked bricks by a layer of reeds which are still in a good state of preservation. It is probably their presence which retarded the destruction of the heart of the ziggurat. At its base, the solid mass was surrounded by a wall of baked bricks and three stairways which were located on the southeast side. The stairways were constructed by using the same materials and led to the top of the first story located about 33 meters above the ground. The total height of the ziggurat remains unknown.

Opposite the perpendicular stairway of the ziggurat was a construction considered to be the sanctuary of Enlil. It is composed of at least six courtyards surrounded by rows of nondescript rooms. The courtyard opposite the stairway of the ziggurat differs from the others due to a large terrace which allows only a small passageway between it and the walls. Most probably the temple itself or the altar

stood there. This layout seems to have been unique in Mesopotamia.

The palace of Dur-Kurigalzu is also of prime interest since certain of its characteristics differentiate it from other palaces at other sites. The presently known part extends more than 300 meters in all directions, and although it is not absolutely certain, it seems to be one and the same building. But of this building, only one large complex is known, referred to as "complex A." It is 100 meters by 140 meters, centered around a courtyard of 64 meters on the side against which the units "C," "D," "F," "G," and "H" are laid side by side, all of which are only partially excavated. More or less detached from this group are other parts of buildings ("E," "AA," "C") which have been recognized only by the markings of the walls above the ground. Even if the whole complex was not built at the same time, as is probably the case, the strength of the construction is even more impressive if one adds another floor to it, as the different architectural characteristics tempt one to do. Elsewhere, the use of the archway for a series of alveoles form the base of an architectural unit which has no known parallel. This unit seems to show the utility of techniques which were still little known in the Near East in the middle of the 2d millennium B.C. No other palace in Mesopotamia, even among those constructed during the great splendor of the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires of the first millennium B.C. resemble the one of Dur Kurigalzu. One can almost speak of it as an architectural enigma, for it is not fixed in any known tradition, it has no successors, and it stands as a unique case in a period which was not the most brilliant in Mesopotamia.

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JEAN-CL. MARGUERON
Trans. Paul Sager

DURA (PLACE) [Aram *dûrâ*']. A Mesopotamian site mentioned in Daniel. Dan 3:1 says that King Nebuchadnezzar made a golden image and "set it up on the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon." Because of their refusal to bow down to this image, Daniel and his friends Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego were thrown into the fiery furnace. The location of Dura is uncertain. The name probably derives from Akk *dūru*, which means "city wall, fortification, fortress." Thus the LXX translation *peribolos* "walled area," is technically correct (Theodotian gives *Deira*).

The name "Dura" could signify the outer fortifications of Babylon. Pinches (*ISBE* [1939] 2: 883) proposed a general interpretation of "the plain of the Wall," a part of the outer defenses as "the rampart designated *dur Suanna*, "the rampart [of the city] Lofty-defense," a name of Babylon. The "plain" or "valley" of Dura could simply be a section of the city. However, Jeffery (*IB* 6: 395) translates Aram *biqʿâ* (Dan 3:1) as "a low plain between two ranges of mountains" rather than an open space in the city. And one might expect the text to refer to the "city" rather than the "province" of Babylon if the setting was within the walls of the city.

"Dura" is a common name in the area and forms an element in a number of names, such as the famous Dura-Europos, 270 miles NW of Babylon, on the upper Euphrates in what is now Syria. Within the province or administrative district of Babylon, Oppert (1862: 238–40) and others noted the River Dura is a tributary which flows into the Euphrates about 5 or 6 miles below Hilla, the site of ancient Babylon. Nearby is a series of mounds or low hills called Tulul Dura (pl.) or (sing.) Tell Dēr, 27 km (or 16 miles) SW of Baghdad, in the neighborhood of ancient Erech. At the end of the row are two larger mounds, the smaller of which is called el Mokattat. There Oppert noted a massive brick structure 14 m square and 6 m high. He thought this was the platform for Nebuchadnezzar's gold image, and that this was the Dura of Dan 3:1. Whether this is correct or not the context of the story in Daniel does suggest proximity to city of Babylon. This precludes not only Dura-Europos, but other earlier identifications such as the sites north of Babylon and east of the Tigris.

Polybius (5.48) and Ammianus Marcellinus (23.5.8; 24.1.5) mention a Dura at the mouth of the river Chaboras where it enters the Euphrates near Carchemish (see PW 5: 1847). Another Dura is beyond the Tigris near Apollonia (Polyb. 5.52 and Amm. Marc. 25.6, 9). The former was certainly outside the province of Babylon. The second was in the district of Sittakene, which in Parthian times was included in the province of Babylon (according to Strabo). But it is still far from the capital.

Montgomery (*Daniel* ICC, 199) cites Ptolemy's *Geography* (6.3) for the Susian *Deera*. Pinches says it was also called *Dūr-ili*, "god's rampart." Duru is listed with Tutul and Gudua (Cutha) in an intervention between Deru or Dur-ili and Tindir (Babylon). A Talmudic tradition (*b. Sanh.* 92b) makes the plain or valley of Dura the scene of Ezekiel's vision in 37:1–14 of a valley full of dry bones which are brought back to life. It has also been identified with the valley or plain of the vision in Ezekiel 3:23. Rabbi Johanan said "The plain of Dura extends from the river Eshel to Rabbah." The dead were young Israelite men who attracted the attention of Chaldean women. Jealous husbands had the men killed. When Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah were thrown into the fiery furnace, God told Ezekiel to "Go and resurrect the dead in the plain of Dura." The Dura-Europos synagogue (3d century C.E.) frescoes included a painting of this event in Ezekiel 37. The painting would thus be a picture of Dura and may represent an early identification with the site and the story in Dan 3:1.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

DURA-EUROPOS (PLACE). An ancient city, marked by the village of Slihiyeh in Syria, on the right (W) bank of

the Euphrates River about halfway between Aleppo and Baghdad, 60 miles S of Deir ez-Zor, where the Ḥabūr River enters the Euphrates. This was the old Roman frontier post of Circesium. The place is referred to by the Greek geographer Isidore of Charax writing in the 1st century C.E. (Hopkins 1979: 4). Dura is E of Palmyra, NE of Damascus. Its antiquity was accidentally discovered by a British officer, M. C. Murphy, in the course of digging trenches in 1921 during operations against the Arabs (Rostovtzeff 1938: 1). The trenches revealed wall paintings in what was later found to be the temple of the Palmyrene gods. In a scene dating to about 239 C.E., the Roman commander Julius Terentius is shown sacrificing to the gods. Another tradition ascribes the discovery to French soldiers doing amateur archeology around their campsite (Gates 1984: 168). A survey was conducted by James H. Breasted (1924: 52–61) with the help of British East Indian troops who uncovered part of the temple. A painting brought to light included a Greek inscription, "The Good Fortune (Gk *tychē*) of Dura," giving Breasted the name of the site.

Systematic excavation was begun by the Belgian scholar Franz Cumont in 1922–23, and continued from 1928 until 1937 by a Yale University expedition, both in conjunction with the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Cumont continued with the expedition as the Académie's representative. About a third of the area was uncovered by the excavators. It was determined that the site was a Roman military outpost destroyed in 256 C.E. Among the finds were pagan temples, a Jewish synagogue, and a Christian church. A parchment sheet from Tatian's *Diatessaron* in Greek offered evidence of Greek-speaking Christians there in the first half of the 3d century. The *Diatessaron* fragment went far to demolish arguments favoring a late date for John's gospel. (The history of excavations of the site has been compiled by Hopkins [1979] and more recently reviewed by Velud [1988].)

After a long hiatus, excavation of Dura-Europos resumed in 1986 under the auspices of the Mission Franco-Syrienne d'Étude Archéologique et de Rehabilitation du Site de Doura-Europos. Results of the 1986 and 1987 campaigns are presented in preliminary reports (Leriche 1986, 1988).

The compound name "Dura-Europos" is a modern construction (Matheson 1982: 3). The name "Europos" was attached to the new foundation in commemoration of the birthplace of its Seleucid patron, and was the name used locally until at least 180 C.E. After 200 the city was more often called in Greek *Doura,* preserving a Semitic name meaning "fortress." The city was Greek in character although influenced by oriental traditions.

Dura-Europos was founded (apparently *ex nihilo;* see Will 1988: 316) during the reign of Seleucus I (311–281 B.C.E.) by his relative Nicanor, probably one of the Seleucid governors' generals (Rostovtzeff 1938: 10). For the brief period 280–268 B.C.E., Europos minted its own coins (Bellinger 1949). In 113 B.C.E. the city was occupied by the PARTHIANS. They made Europos into a caravan city and it prospered for nearly a century. Conflict with Rome ensued, but in 20 B.C.E. Augustus concluded a peace with the Parthian king Phraates IV, ensuring peaceful trade. During the Partho-Roman peace, agriculture expanded up and down the Euphrates, yielding economic growth (Rostovtzeff 1938: 20–22, 139). But war with Rome returned when the Emperor Trajan (98–117 C.E.) reversed the peaceful policies of his predecessors and conquered Europos. He built a triumphal arch on the desert road W of the city. Later the city was evacuated by Hadrian (117–38), who restored peace and gave the city another 40 years of prosperity (Rostovtzeff 1938: 23). But with its reconquest by Lucius Verus in 165 C.E., the city became a military garrison in the *limes* of Rome. Septimus Severus (193–211) and Caracalla (211–17) stationed new detachments and built the monumental praetorium. Under Caracalla the city became a Roman colony. The archives—some 200 documents—of the XXth Palmyrene cohort have been excavated. Monumental baths and a new amphitheater were built in 216.

Despite efforts by Alexander Severus (222–35) to reinforce the city, it nearly fell to the Sassanids in 238. Rome retained possession of Dura for another 18 years, until its destruction in 256 under the Sassanid ruler Shapur I (241–72 C.E.). Dura-Europos was never rebuilt.

Dura-Europos is perhaps most renowned for the artwork preserved there. The most striking are paintings, especially frescoes, of religious themes. The Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, the Mithra temple in the Roman camp, the Jewish synagogue (dating from 246 C.E.), and the Christian church are all decorated with paintings.

The synagogue (discovered in 1932–33) originated as a private house that was remodeled as a public building at the end of the 1st century C.E. From dated inscriptions it is known that in 244/5 the synagogue was refurbished and expanded by the synagogue leader Samuel, and that the paintings were added in 249/50 (Gates 1984: 172). These paintings have been called "the most exciting and revolutionary discovery of early Jewish art" (*IDBSup,* 68). The religious diversity implicit in their motifs has called into question the widely held notion of a "normative" rabbinic Judaism in this early period.

All four walls of the synagogue were covered with paintings in 5 horizontal bands. The top and bottom bands are decorative; the 3 middle bands consist of at least 28 panels portraying 58 biblical scenes. The bands converge on the Torah shrine in the W wall. Bilingual inscriptions indicate that the Jews at Dura spoke Greek; the style of representation is likewise a result of a confluence of ANE and Hellenistic elements. The clothing of figures in the biblical scenes, for example, ranges from Syrian workers' attire to formal Greek wear, all anachronistic in a biblical context. Among the biblical figures portrayed are Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Samuel, Elijah, Ezekiel, David, and Solomon. The art of the Dura synagogue seems to be closer in spirit to later cabbalistic conceptions than to Talmudic (Gates 1984: 174; Matheson 1982: 116; Goodenough 1988: 259–60).

The Christian church was created in 232/3 C.E. by remodeling a private home built earlier in the 3d century (Kraeling [1967: 37–39] argued that the house was not converted into a church until later, about 240). Two rooms combined to form the worship area. A platform is at one end. Another room may have been a school. A small room in the NW corner was made into a baptistery. This is the only decorated room in the church. Over the vaulted

baptismal font was a painting of Jesus as the Good Shepherd. A scene incorporating Adam and Eve was added later in the lower left corner. Other pictures show Jesus healing a paralytic, walking on water, and helping Peter. These and other paintings in the baptistery are less influenced by Mesopotamian artistic canons and more strongly Greco-Roman in style (Matheson 1982: 130–33). The paintings are the work of at least two artists whose techniques contrast visibly. There are several inscriptions, among which are the phrases "Christ Jesus is yours: remember Proclus" and "Christ Jesus remember the humble Siseos" (Hopkins 1979: 115).

The Mithraum was built new in 168 C.E. specifically as a temple by two commanders of the Palmyrene mounted police stationed in Dura. It is unusual in that it was built above ground (the typical temple of Mithra is subterranean, in keeping with the divinity's birth in a cave; Matheson 1982: 19); in 211 it was rebuilt by the *vexillationes* of two Roman legions (Matheson 1982: 24–25). In the center of the shrine were two bas-reliefs, one above the other, of Mithras slaying a bull. Two magnificent wall paintings flanking the bas-reliefs date from a third rebuilding about 240; they are more than five feet in height (Gates 1984: 166–67; 176–77). Each shows Mithras mounted on horseback with a bow and arrow in a hunting scene. Two seated figures, each with an ebony staff, are also portrayed (Hopkins 1979: 202). They may be the Mithraic prophets Zoroaster and Osthanes (Matheson 1982: 202). It is interesting to find a Mithraum in a city with a church; Mithraism was a chief rival of Christianity for several centuries.

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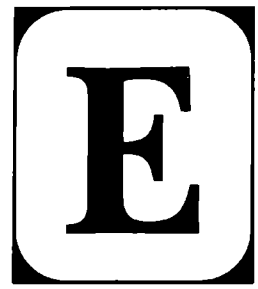
HENRY O. THOMPSON

DWARF. See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

DYE. See ZOOLOGY.

DYSENTERY. See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

DYSPHEMISM. The use of grossly disparaging terms (e.g., when referring to enemies or despised activities) rather than normal or neutral designations. This phenomenon is common in the Bible. See BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.



E. The abbreviation used by scholars to designate the Elohist source in Pentateuchal source criticism. See ELOHIST.

EAGLE. See ZOOLOGY.

EARRINGS. See JEWELRY.

EARTH. The habitation of human beings, viewed physically as land, soil, or ground, geographically as a region, politically as a state, territory, or country, cosmically as the opposite of heaven, and symbolically as the entirety of material existence.

A. Earth in the OT
   1. Terminology
   2. Cosmology
   3. Theology
B. Earth in the NT
   1. Terminology
   2. Cosmology
   3. Theology

A. Earth in the OT

1. Terminology. "Earth" is generally (approximately 660x in RSV) a translation of Heb *ʾereṣ,* a word that derives from a base common to the Semitic languages (Akk *erṣ-*; Ar *ʾarḍ-*). Hebrew *ʾereṣ* has a broad range of meaning, and is most frequently (about 1620x in RSV) rendered "country" or "land" (see further *TDOT* 1: 388–405). Less often, "earth" translated Heb *ʾădāmâ* (also translated "country," "ground," "land," and "soil" in RSV; see *TDOT* 1: 88–98). Once in Genesis (26:15) and six times in Job (7:21; 8:19; 19:25; 28:2; 30:6; 41:33) the English word "earth" represents Heb *ʿāpār,* elsewhere translated "ash," "dust," "ground," "rubbish," and "soil" in RSV.

In the Aramaic portions of the OT, "earth" renders Aram *ʾărāʿ* (Jer 10:11 and seventeen times in Daniel), and, uniquely, *ʾăraq* (Jer 10:11a). The sole occurrence of Aram *yabešet* (Dan 2:10) is also translated "earth."

The extremely wide range of meaning embraced by Heb *ʾereṣ* has been explained in two ways. Possibly the word originally designated the Semitic speaker's home region or country, from which it was extended to the territories of neighboring peoples, eventually including the whole expanse of human habitation, i.e., the "earth" below, as contrasted to heaven above (Rost 1965: 85; *IDB* 4: 874). However, the early and firm association of "earth" with "heaven" in the formula "heaven and earth" in several Semitic languages from earliest times on may suggest that its primary meaning embraced the inhabited surface of the cosmos, each subsection of it, or "country," constituting a microcosm (Stadelmann 1970: 127). While neither option can be advanced with full confidence, the vast predominance of the singular in Hebrew as compared to a few late instances of the plural (e.g., Ezra 9:1; 2 Chr 32:13) makes it abundantly clear that the OT perceives as continuous what English distinguishes with the words "earth" and "land, country." In a number of passages the choice between the translation "earth" or "land" is a difficult one.

2. Cosmology. On the whole, Israel shared the world view of the ancient Near East. The earth was perceived as a flat expanse, seen either in the image of a disk or circle upon the primeval waters (Isa 40:22; Job 26:10; Prov 8:27; cf. "circle of the heavens," Job 22:14) or of an outstreched garment spanning the void (Job 26:7; 38:13). According to H. H. Schmidt (*THAT* 1: 230–31), these two images, present also in Mesopotamia, derive from different but compatible conceptions of the cosmos which are intertwined without tension in the OT. References to the earth's (four) corners/rims/hems ([*ʾarbaʿ kanĕpôt hāʾāreṣ;* Isa 11:12; Job 37:3; 38:13; cf. Isa 24:16), its end(s), border(s), edge(s) (*qĕṣê/qĕṣôt;* Job 28:24; Ps 135:7; Isa 5:26; 40:28; 41:5, 9; Jer 10:13; 51:16), combinations of these images (Jer 49:36; also Ps 48:11—Eng 48:10; 65:6—Eng 65:5), its ends (where it ceases: *ʾapsê [hā]ʾāreṣ;* Deut 33:17; 1 Sam 2:10, etc.) its boundaries (Ps 74:17), or its remotest parts (Jer 6:22; 25:32; 31:8; 50:41) depict the vast expanse of the earth and its outer limits, rather than a firm conception of its shape. T. Boman (1960: 157–59) has pointed out that naming the outer limits of any area includes the whole area, so that the above terms function almost as synonyms for "earth," "world." The modern concept of an infinite or open-ended universe was not known in the OT; on the contrary, heaven and earth were thought to be sealed together at the rim of the horizon to prevent the influx of the cosmic waters (Stadelmann 1970: 43).

In contrast to this preoccupation with the earth's outer limits, a center or navel of the earth (Heb *tabbûr*) is mentioned only once (Ezek 38:12; cf. Judg 9:37; *Jub.* 8:19). L. Stadelmann (1970: 147–54) suggests that Jerusalem (cf. Ezek 5:5), and possibly Bethel at an earlier time (cf. Gen 28: 10–12, 17–18), were considered in this light, in keep-

ing with the views of many ANE and other peoples that their central sanctuary or capital city represented such a center. However this theme is not prominent in the Old Testament; that Jerusalem, as the center of worship of the universal God, held a position of central prominence (Isa 2:2–3 = Mic 4:1–2) is a theological rather than a cosmological observation.

Over the earth and its surrounding sea(s) arches the firm vault (or firmament, Heb *raqîaʿ* [Gen 1:6]) of (the) heaven(s). Together, heaven and earth make up what we would call world, universe, cosmos (Gen 1:1; 2:1, 4; Exod 31:17; Ps 102:26—Eng 102:25; Isa 48:13; 51:13, 16 and often). Occasionally, earth alone seems to enhance the whole cosmos (e.g., Isa 6:3; 54:5; Zeph 1:2–3, 18[?]). The vault of heaven rests on the earth (Amos 9:6; cf. 2 Sam 22:8: "the foundations of the heavens" = the earth) which in turn is firmly set on pillars (1 Sam 2:8) or foundations (Isa 24:18; 40:21; Jer 31:37; Mic 6:2, etc.). The foundations are associated with the "heavens" (2 Sam 22:8) or the "world" (Heb *tēbēl;* 2 Sam 22:16 = Ps 18:16—Eng 18:15), and with "mountains" (Deut 32:22; Ps 18:8—Eng 18:7). The verb *yāsad* "to found" is used with reference to God's founding of the earth (Job 38:4; Ps 24:2; 102:26—Eng 102:25, etc.).

Somewhat ambivalent in this structure is the place of the sea(s) or water(s), the deep, and the underworld. The seas can be spoken of as familiar reality, in which the fish and other water creatures swarm (Gen 1:20, 22, 26, etc.) and on which humans move in ships (Ps 104:25–26; 107:23; Prov 30:19; Ezek 27:9). As such, the sea forms part of the earth, i.e., the flat surface below juxtaposed to the heavens above. A transitional position between earth and the surrounding sea is occupied by the islands or coastlands (Heb *ʾiyyîm;* Isa 24:14–16; 41:5; 42:4, 10). Elsewhere in the OT the sea(s) or water(s) take on the character of a third cosmic realm in addition to heaven and earth, the extension of the cosmic chaos waters surrounding everything (see EASTERN SEA; SEA; WESTERN SEA).

The underworld is often spoken of as part of the earth, a lower cavern, grave, pit, (called in Heb Sheol) where the dead lead a shadowy existence; it can even be referred to simply as "earth" (1 Sam 28:13; Ps 71:20; 106:17; Isa 29:4). In other texts, Sheol is treated as a separate cosmic realm besides heaven and earth (Job 26:5; Ps 139:8; Amos 9:2). The OT conception of the world, then, is basically bipartite (heaven and earth), variously extended to a tripartite cosmos (heaven-earth-sea, or heaven-earth-underworld). Although certain later books and sections (Job, Proverbs 8, several postexilic Psalms, Isaiah 24–27; 40–55) are more explicit in their cosmological descriptions than the earlier documents, the general view of the cosmos does not show any significant change or development throughout the OT period.

3. Theology. Even though *ʾereṣ* is generally a feminine noun, the writings of the OT nowhere acknowledge a divine "Mother Earth" or earth goddess related as female consort to a sky god or other male deity, a widespread Near Eastern conception (*RGG*³ 2: 548–50), though not universal. (Egyptian mythology had a female sky goddess and a male earth god [*TDOT* 1: 390].) Where heaven and earth conjoin to produce fertility, they are never more than mere created instruments of God (Hos 2:23–24—Eng 2:21–22). At the same time, Israel was well aware of the fertility practices of its neighbors and their divinizing of the earth and its features. Literary remnants of that divinizing are employed occasionally as metaphors. For example, heaven and earth are called as witnesses in God's lawsuit (Deut 4:26; 30:19; 31:28; Ps 50:4, etc.) and exhorted to "shout for joy" (Isa 44:23; Jer 51:48). Actual divinizing of the earthly realm, however, was firmly rejected (implicitly in Exod 20:4–5 = Deut 5:8–9). Schmidt (*THAT* 1: 233) considers possible allusions to the Mother Earth motif in Job 1:21; Eccl 5:14—Eng 5:14; Ps 139:15 (cf. also Gen 3:19; Sir 40:1), while Eliade (*RGG*³ 2: 550) allows only Job 1:21; Ps 139:15.

Israel also knew of the localization of deities in certain parts of the earth/land by its neighbors (e.g., 2 Kgs 17:24–41), but the God of Israel is rarely so localized (1 Sam 26:19 may be such a case). He is the *ʾādōn kol-hāʾāreṣ* "Lord/Master of the whole earth," a firmly coined epithet (Josh 3:11, 13; Ps 97:5; Mic 4:13; Zech 4:14). That his rule proceeds from Zion (Pss 48, 76, 84, 87, 122; Isa 2:2–4), a foundational assumption of the royalist Jerusalem theology, constitutes no limiting localization; it belongs to the theme of election of instruments (including places) towards the accomplishment of his universal ends (cf. Deut 10:14–15; 1 Kgs 8:27–30).

God is the creator, owner, ruler, and sustainer of "heaven and earth, the sea and all that is in it" (Ps 146:6). He created them a cosmos in contrast to chaos (Gen 1:1–2:4a; Job 38:4–6; Ps 121:2; 124:8; 134:3; 146:6; Prov 8:24–29; Isa 45:18–19; 48:13), keeping chaos at bay (Job 38:8–13; Ps 33:7, etc.) yet not in a struggle or contest among near-equals (as in ANE mythology) but by his wisdom (Prov 3:19–20; 8:30–31) and his sovereign, commanding word (Gen 1:1–2:4a; Job 26:12–13; Ps 33:6, 9; 104:7; Isa 51:9–10; Jer 32:17 [? power, outstretched arm]). This is true even though the language of combat has been preserved now and then (Job 38:8; Ps 74:12–17; Isa 27:1; Heb 3:8–11). In his sovereignty he may, however, employ the chaos powers as instruments of judgment, as is evidenced particularly, but not only, in the great Flood and as it is threatened for the eschaton (Gen 6:5–8:22; Isa 24:17–23; Jer 4:23–28; Ezek 26:19–20; Amos 9:13).

In the present eon, however, God willed the earth's stability and permanence as a sign of his grace towards his creatures (Gen 8:22; Ps 74:12–17; 104:5–6). That the earth is "founded" on "pillars" or "foundations" gains theological relevance here. He set the earth's bounds against chaos and sea (Ps 33:6–7; 104:7–9; Isa 40:12), making "earth" synonymous with the realm of the living; note the phrase *ʾereṣ ḥayyîm* "land of the living" (Job 28:13; Ps 27:14—Eng 27:13, etc.). God the Creator is therefore not to be contrasted with God the Savior, for his work of creation in itself constitutes salvation from the rule of the chaos powers (Ps 74:12–17; 89:9–15—Eng 89:8–14; 104:5–9; Isa 40:28–31; 51:9–11). The frequent expression "the ends of the earth" marks the all-inclusiveness of his rule, both for judgment and salvation, a rule that is not limited, however, to the earth, but includes the heavens and the netherworld (1 Sam 2:10; 2 Chr 16:9; Job 28:24; Ps 46:10—Eng 46:9; 98:3; 139:7–12; Isa 41:5, 9; 45:22; 49:6; 52:10; Amos 9:2–3; Mic 5:3—Eng 5:4; Zech 9:10).

God himself is consistently associated with the heavens,

his dwelling place, which are "above," juxtaposed to the earth "beneath," a characterization expressive not only of ancient perceptions of world structure, but also of rank. In remarkable contrast to Mesopotamian beliefs, however, as well as to the NT (see B.3 below), heaven in the OT does not become a prototype for life on earth. In Mesopotamia, life on earth was seen as a participation in, and reflection of, a model in heaven (Jacobsen 1946: 185–201). In the OT, the notion of heaven is devoid of such content, and life on earth, supremely under God's lordship, is called to imitate God only in his works on the earthly plane (as in his care for oppressed Israel in Egypt), and never in his heavenly existence (Harrelson 1970: 237–52). Nor is the petition "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven" (Matt 6:10) imaginable in the OT context. Even when God is presented in the metaphorical setting of the Heavenly Council (e.g., 1 Kgs 22:19–22; Job 1:6–12; 2:1–6; Isaiah 6; 40:1–11), we hear only of deliberations concerning events on earth; we learn nothing about a heavenly world. And further, even the heavens, as God's creation, are subject to his verdict of destruction (Ps 102:26–27—Eng 102:25–26; Isa 13:5; 14:26; 24:18; 51:6; Jer 4:23–28; Zeph 1:2–3, 18), so that God transcends both heaven and earth (Isa 65:17; 66:22).

B. Earth in the NT

1. Terminology. In the NT "earth" renders Greek *gē*. In the LXX *gē* translates both Heb *ʾereṣ* and *ʾădāmâ*. The Greek word can also mean "land, country, region" and "soil, ground." As *ʾereṣ* in the OT, *gē* can mean both a particular country or region and the whole inhabited earth.

2. Cosmology. In most respects the NT shares the cosmology of the OT without devoting extensive discussion to it. While certain passages allude to a tripartite universe (heaven, earth, "under the earth," Rev 5:3, 13 [cf. Phil 2:10]), the bipartite designation (heaven, earth) is dominant throughout. Hades, the LXX's name for Sheol, was undoubtedly conceived of as a subterranean abode of the dead, but its place as a tier in the tripartite universe (heaven, earth, Hades) can be discerned only in Matt 16:18–19, and there uncertainly. Matt 1:23 (= Luke 10:15) uses heaven and Hades as the extremes of exaltation and humiliation, possibly implying that earth is the middle tier (cf. also Rev 5:3).

As in the OT, the earth itself can be regarded as the realm of the dead; thus the Son of man will spend three days and nights "in the heart of the earth" (*en tę̂ kardią̣ tês gês;* Matt 12:40) or descend "into the lower parts of the earth" (*eis ta katōtera merē tês gês;* Eph 4:9). On the other hand, hell or Gehenna (*geenna;* Matt 5:22, etc.), though the destiny of the condemned dead and therefore a third state of human beings (as contrasted with life on earth, and redeemed existence in heaven), is apparently not visualized very concretely as a tier in the cosmic structure, though it is certainly associated with neither regions rather than higher realms.

We conclude, then, that the NT generally understands the universe as comprehended in the duality of (the) heaven(s) and (the) earth, an expression that is often coextensive with "world" (Gk *kosmos*), although the latter can also be used for the arena of human life, and thus as a synonym for "earth" alone, as well as for "world" (Gk *oikoumenē;* see *TDNT* 3: 884, 888).

Only occasionally do we find reminiscences of the OT's vivid structural details of the cosmos, such as the earth's "four corners" (Rev 7:1; 20:8), its "end" or "uttermost parts" (Acts 1:8; 13:47, cf. Isa 49:6), its "(four) ends" (Matt 12:42 = Luke 11:31) or its "face" (Acts 17:26). Mark 13:27 and Rev 7:1 mention the "four winds."

3. Theology. Presupposing the OT throughout, the NT views earth as the creation and possession of God, ultimately subject to his sovereign rule (Matt 5:35; 11:25 = Luke 10:21; Acts 2:19; 4:24; 7:49; 14:15; 17:24; Rom 9:17; 1 Cor 8:5–6; 10:26; Eph 3:15; Rev 11:4; 14:7), yet a rule challenged by the power of Satan. Due to this challenge, the earth, as to its theological status, "lags behind" heaven, where God reigns unimpeded.

As the battlefield between God and Satan, the earth becomes the arena of human probation, the scene of either obedience or disobedience. The pervasiveness of the latter, in turn makes the earth the target of God's judgment and salvation, especially through the agency of Jesus, the Christ/Messiah. The adjective "earthly" (Gk *epigeios*), often designating anything located on the earthly plane of the universe (Phil 2:10), can consequently also refer to that which is the opposite of what is heavenly (1 Cor 15:40; 2 Cor 5:1; Phil 3:19; *TDNT* 1: 680–81).

Christ's mission originates in heaven and is marked by his bringing what is qualitatively of heaven (in harmony with the rule of God) onto the earthly scene (Mark 2:10–11 = Luke 5:24; Luke 12:49; 18:8[?]; John 3:31–36; 17:4; Rom 10:18 [Ps 19:4]; 1 Cor 15:47; Eph 4:9–13, 24). Here he establishes signs of the incipient rule of God, destined to become visible to the ends of the earth. Ultimately, however, it is not the complete transformation of earth that constitutes the end *(telos)* of Christ's mission, but a redeemed state that transcends heaven and earth, both of which are divinely ordained to pass away (Matt 5:18; 24:35 = Mark 13:31 = Luke 21:33; Luke 16:17[?]; Heb 12:26 [will be shaken]; 2 Pet 3:7, 10), or to be transformed into a new heaven and earth (2 Pet 3:13; Rev 21:1). In the book of Revelation more than elsewhere the earth moves increasingly toward becoming the realm of the evil posers, and thereby the target of God's judging wrath (Rev 3:10; 6:10; 7:2; 11:6; 14:15–20; 16:1; 19:2). The faithful are preserved through God's grace (Rev 7:3; 9:4) and ultimately saved from the earth (Rev 14:3; cf. Heb 11:13).

Short of this apocalyptic drama, however, the realms of heaven and earth are frequently characterized as standing in sort of cosmic correspondence, heaven constituting divine perfection to be emulated on earth (Matt 6:10; 23:9; Luke 2:14; 11:2; 18:8[?]; John 3:31; 1 Cor 15:47; Col 3:2, 5; Heb 12:25). Yet at times the initiative can be taken on earth, evoking its validation by the heavenly world (Matt 16:19; 18:18, 19; Mark 2:10 = Luke 5:24). Clearly, heaven and earth do not function only as cosmological realms here, but as theological horizons. Jesus Christ is the prime agent to effect the permeation of earth by heaven, and his church takes up this task. Christ's mission can be described, from one perspective, as removing the discrepancy and uniting (theologically speaking) the realms of heaven and earth (Matt 28:18; 1 Cor 8:5–6; Eph 1:9–10; Col 1:16, 20).

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W. JANZEN

EARTH, NEW. See NEW EARTH, NEW HEAVEN.

EARTHWORM. See ZOOLOGY.

EAST. The primary direction for orientation for most of the ANE world. East was the direction of the rising sun, which served as one of the ways of describing the direction in biblical Hebrew. Likewise in Akkadian, the same phrase was often used to indicate east.

In biblical Hebrew the word root *qdm* is the most common word-group meaning east. Literally, *qdm* referred to what was before or in front of one. Thus east was the direction a person faced in order to get his/her orientation. Ugaritic used the same root *qdm* to indicate east or the east wind. The Hebrew words *qedem, qēdmâ, qidmat, qadmōni* and *qādîm* can have the meaning "east, eastward, eastern." The other common word for east is *mizrāḥ* or *mizrāḥ (haš)šemeš,* the rising of the sun. A third word group *ʿal pĕnê,* at times translated as east by RSV and other versions, probably should be understood not as a specific direction, but more as a general location, "in the vicinity of."

East in biblical texts was the location of Eden; and when Cain was banished, it was to an area east of Eden. It was from the east that men migrated to the plain of Shinar to build Babel. The Hebrews designated many peoples who lived east of them as "people of the east". When Jacob fled to Paddan-Aram, the people there are called "people of the east." Similarly, the people living across the Jordan river from Israel could be called "people of the east." People of the east were often respected for their wisdom. In the NT, men from the east came following the star and seeking the messiah-king, and in the vision of Revelation, the Euphrates River is dried up so that kings from the east might destroy Babylon. In a few passages, the Dead Sea, usually called the Salt Sea, is referred to as the Eastern Sea paralleling the similar common terminology for the Mediterranean Sea as the Western Sea.

The east wind was the wind coming from the desert regions of Syria and Arabia. This east wind is today called a *khamsin* (literally, "fifty," for it often lasts about fifty days) or sirocco. It comes in a season marked by low humidity, high winds, and extremely hot weather. Because the winds come from the desert regions and are strong, they often carry a great deal of dust and sand. Such winds were extremely sultry, causing plants to wither, even stripping fruit from plants and scattering everything in its path. This east wind can be called "the wind of Yahweh," for he controls it. He uses the east wind as an instrument of his judgment. It was a strong east wind that drove back the waters of the Red Sea and permitted the Hebrews to cross on dry ground.

JOEL F. DRINKARD, JR.

EAST COUNTRY (PLACE) [Heb *ʾereṣ qedem*]. Area to which Abraham sent the sons of his concubines (Gen 25:6). The phrase *ʾereṣ qedem* may be translated as either "the land of the east" or "the land of Kedem." Elsewhere in the Bible *qedem* is used to refer to various regions within a wide expanse of territory from the Middle Euphrates to N Arabia (see Gen 29:1; Num 23:7; Judg 6:3, 33; 7:15). Most scholars feel, therefore, that *ʾereṣ qedem* represents a broad, nonspecific region to the E, or SE, of Palestine. Sarna (1989: 173), however, suggests that *ʾereṣ qedem* implies a specific territorial entity: "the land of Kedem." He cites as support the Egyptian Story of Sinuhe (20th century B.C.E.) in which a traveler visits Kedem, near Byblos in ancient Phoenicia (see *ANET,* 19).

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DAVID SALTER WILLIAMS

EAST GATE (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar hammizrāḥ*]. The name East Gate has been variously applied in biblical literature to the eastern gate (*šaʿar hammizrāḥ;* Neh 3:29) of the inner court of the Temple in Jerusalem and to the eastern gates (*šaʿar haqqadmônî;* Ezek 10:19; 11:1; 40:6–11; 43:1–5; 44:1–3; 46:1) of the inner and outer courts of Ezekiel's visionary temple. In the KJV it is erroneously used to translate "Potsherd Gate" in Jer 19:2.

The East Gate of which Shemaiah was the keeper (Neh 3:29) was a gate in the enclosure of the sacred Temple precincts. Surrounding the sacred Temple enclosure and the royal compounds was yet another enclosure that apparently had two gates (the Water Gate, Neh 3:26; and the Mifqad or Muster Gate, Neh 3:31) on the east facing the outer defensive wall of the city. The street(s) and/or open place where Hezekiah gathered the priests and Levites (2 Chr 29:4–5) and where Ezra assembled the men of Benjamin and Judah (Ezra 10:9) is most likely located between this East Gate of the sacred Temple enclosure and the Muster Gate of the royal enclosure. The eastern gate of the outer defensive perimeter was the Horse Gate.

In extrabiblical literature, the name has alluded to the Gate of Nicanor of the Temple court (*JW* 5.5.3 §201, *m. Middot* 1:4; 2:3) and to the Shushan Gate of the Temple Mount (*m. Middot* 1:3; see also *m. Para* 3:6 and *m. Šeqalim* 4:2). The uniqueness of the Herodian Gate of Nicanor distinguishes it from all the other gates of that period. It was the only gate not made of gold (*m. Middot* 2:3), and Josephus refers to this gate as the gate of Corinthian bronze. It was here that priests came to trumpet (*m. Sukka*

5:4) and where adulterous women were brought for judgment (*m. Soṭa* 1:5; 2:1). The doors of this gate were nearly lost at sea but were miraculously recovered (*m. Yoma* 3:10). Any association of the Nicanor Gate with the Beautiful Gate (Acts 3:2, 10) is unfortunate and the distinction between the two should be kept in mind with the Gate of Nicanor on the east side of the Court of Israel and the Beautiful Gate on the east side of the Court of Women.

Biblical references to an East Gate should not be confused with the east gates of the Temple Mount of later periods (e.g., the Shushan Gate [*m. Middot* 1:3; *m. Para* 3:6 and *m. Šeqalim* 4:2], the Gate of the Temple Treasury [Gk *gazophylakion*] of John 8:20).

The Shushan Gate ("the Eastern Gate whereon the Castle of Shushan was sculptured" [*m. Middot* 1:3]) exited from the Temple Mount (Court of Gentiles) to the Kidron Valley. It was not a public entrance or exit but was for the ceremonial leading away of the scapegoat to the wilderness and the red heifer to the Mount of Olives via one or possibly two causeways built for that purpose (*m. Para* 3:6; *m. Šeqalim* 4:2).

After the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., the esplanade was desolate and an eastern gate (Shushan Gate) that may figure in the Medaba Map (Avi-Yonah 1954: 53, 59) may already have been closed. It was this east gate that later became the Golden Gate (a name that resulted from Latin speaking pilgrims misinterpreting the Beautiful Gate [Gk *hōraia*] and the Golden Gate [Lat *aurea*] [Mackowski 1980: 134–35]).

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DALE C. LIID

EAST, PEOPLE OF THE [Heb *bĕnê qedem*]. "People of the East" is a literal and succinct translation of Heb *bĕnê qedem*. The expression occurs ten times in the OT. According to the place and time of the speaker, "people of the east" comprises various tribes and people. The geographical derivation of a generic ethnonym is not peculiar to Hebrew. In the story of Sinuhe (20th century B.C.), *qdm* is the region E of the Phoenician coastal cities. In the late 19th century A.D., the peasants of central Transjordan referred to the bedouin as *ahâlî aš-šarq* "people of the east" or *šarqîyah* "easterners" (Musil 1908: 22). The latter expression still provides the most probable etymology for the Gk/Lat term *sarakēnoi/saraceni* (cf. O'Connor 1986 for a different view).

The most generic use of "people of the east" is found in 1 Kgs 5:10. According to this verse, Solomon's wisdom surpassed that of both Egypt and "the people of the east." If this verse was written in the Persian period, "people of the east" refers to the Asian part of the Persian empire, including Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. They and the Egyptians constituted what was understood as, more or less, the world. If one prefers a more restricted circumference of the expression, the eastern wisdom may allude to Arabian adages (cf. Prov 30:1; 31:1, and see MASSA), and to the Edomites metallurgical skill (Jer 49:7; Obad 8; cf. Knauf and Lenzen 1987: 87).

The "land of the people of the east," where Jacob seeks refuge from his brother's wrath (Gen 29:1), was originally the area E of the mountains of Gilead, populated by Aramean shepherds in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age (Otto 1984: 76–78). Within the context of Genesis' final redaction, it refers to N Syria, the vicinity of Harran.

In Judg 6:3, 33; 7:12; 8:10; Isa 11:14; Jer 9:28; Ezek 25:4, 10, *bĕnê qedem* signifies the predatory bedouin as experienced by Israel and her neighbors from the 6th century B.C. onward (cf. Knauf 1988: 31–38; 160–61 for the perception of the "Midianites" in the book of Judges). Given the locale of the book of Job (see UZ), Job 1:3 also refers to Arabia.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

EASTER. See PASSION NARRATIVES.

EASTERN SEA (PLACE) [Heb *hayyām haqqadmônî*]. A body of water or a sea to the E of the land of Israel. The term is employed three times in the Prophets: Joel 2:20; Zech 14:8; Ezek 47:18, the former two as part of an idiomatic expression designating one of two opposite points of the compass and the latter as part of the future border of Israel envisioned by the prophet.

The Hebrew expression is composed of the word *hayyām* "the sea" and the term *haqqadmônî,* a denominative noun derived from *qdm* and suffixed with termation *ôn* (*ōn* in Joel 2:20) and the adjectival ending *î*. Akkadian *qudmu (qadmu)* connotes "early time," "olden days" and (in prepositional use) "front" (CAD 13: 295–96), while in Ugaritic texts *qdm* is in the sense of "east wind" and "in front of" (*UT* 19.2208). Biblical Hebrew employs the aforementioned meanings and extends it to a variety of expressions mostly designating a period of time or a location eastward (KB, 823–24).

Hayyām haqqadomônî, perceived as connoting an eastern orientation, is therefore a designated location, a body of water in "the front" (of a person facing eastward). Geographically, scholars favor its identification with the Dead Sea because of the latter's place to the E of Israel, thus formulating the equation *hayyām haqqadmônî* = Dead Sea,

translated into English as the Eastern Sea (GesB 302; see also Mitchell ICC, *Haggai, Zechariah* 347; Joel 112; Eichrodt *Ezekiel* OTL, 589–90). It should not go unnoticed, however, that Eusebius (Onomasticon #503) does not record *hayyām haqqadmônî* as cognate to the Dead Sea. Neither the LXX, nor the Aramaic translations are familiar with the equation. To Rabbinic literature it is unknown, and the Vulgate translates it verbatim, *mare oriental.*

Remarkable, however, is Rashi's explanation. In Ezek 47:18 he considers the sea as a geographical place on the future E border of the land of Israel, which he identifies as the Sea of Salt, mentioned elsewhere as located in the east. Nevertheless, in the other places where *hayyām haqqadmônî* is in apposition to another body of water, Rashi does not consider it cognate to the Sea of Salt. In the prophecy of Zechariah it meant for him a cosmic sea located "eastward to the world." Kimḥi (Ezek 47:18) contends that if the sea is an actual body of water, then the possibility of identifying it with seas to the east of Israel is either with the Sea of Salt or with the Sea of Chinnereth.

Ancient commentaries provide an additional dimension of the term *qdm*. Commenting on *miqqedem* (Gen 2:8), Jerome advances that it be understood as *ab exordio*, and indicates that Symmachus and Theodotion are of the opinion that the word there is *non orientem sed principium* ("not 'eastern' but 'first' ") (Origen *Hexapla* Gen 2:8 [Field 1875]). Further, the Sages support the understanding that the term *qdm* (*b. Pesaḥ.* 54a) has the specific meaning of a beginning related to the creation epoch, an assumption manifested also by Targum Onkelos, which renders it in Aram *mlqdmyn* "before the beginning." It is echoed by Albright (1968: 97) who remarks that *(miq)qedem* connotes primordial time and not "from the east."

Unique to *qdm* is the Akkadian *Qu-du-mu* a name for a god, which appears in a Northwest Semitic tongue in the denominative form of *qdmn*. For the Ugaritians it is a personal name (UT 68:40; 328:3) and for the Sages (*Midr. Gen. Rab.* 38:7) it is also a name, but only as an epithet for God, the one who antedated creation. Rabbinic literature employed the term *qdmny* in order to qualify the condition of creatures existing immediately after the Creation. *Nḥš hqdmny* and *ʾdm hqdmny* were placed among those existing during the period of creation but, after being punished by God, vanished and went into oblivion.

The biblical expression *hayyām haqqadmônî* undoubtedly predates the Rabbinic expressions and serves as a model for them. Jerome discerned the antiquity of the sea while explaining it as *mare primum* "primal sea" (*PL* 1527), thus permitting the understanding of the phrase in mythical context. The term is incorporated only in prophecies envisioning enormous cosmic changes (*b. Menaḥ.* 54a; Cook *Ezekiel* ICC, 425; also Kaufmann 1955–56: 524–25; 563–66) and in metaphors which intermingle the historical and the legendary; hence it makes a geographical identification less attractive and contributes to the protohistorical nature of *hayyām haqqadmônî.*

The merger of two senses of the term "belonging to the creation epoch" and the "eastern direction" form a new dimension for the Eastern Sea as the "legendary orient." This sea is complemented by *hayyam hāʾāḥārôn*, the "legendary occident" (see WESTERN SEA). The expression constitutes a word pair of two opposite points of the world, the uttermost east and the extreme west. The use of legendary entities as designations of the ultimate points is not alien to East Mediterranean people. It is anticipated by the couplet *šḥr* and *šlm* "Dawn and Sunset" (UT text 52:52–53), the mythological Gk Cadmus (from *qdm* "east") and Gk Erebus (from *ʿrb* "west") all of which are metaphorical expressions of the same idea, the furthest limits in the legendary cosmos. Neither is it uncommon for the poet to mix and match separate units to forge the antithesis (Ps 139:9; Job 18:20), nor is it unconventional to form word pairs (Isa 43:18, Qoh 1:11) which describe both antiquity and extremity (Ben Yehuda Vol 12:5766). Hence, *hayyām haqqadmônî* and *hayyam hāʾāḥārôn* symbolize the extreme frontiers of east and west in the unique phraseology of the biblical heritage.

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MEIR LUBETSKI

EATING AND DRINKING IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

In the Old Testament, "eating" and "drinking" denote the ingesting of food and liquid for two primary purposes: (a) the preservation and strengthening of the life force; and (b) the establishment and strengthening of communal bonds between persons who eat and drink together. There are, in addition, a number of passages in which "eat" or "drink" are metaphors for other kinds of consumption or relationship.

A. The Hebrew Terms for "Eat" and "Drink"
B. Primary Functions of Eating and Drinking
1. Relation to the Life Force
2. Relation to Communal Bonding

A. The Hebrew Terms for "Eat" and "Drink"

The Hebrew *ʾkl*, "to eat," a root common to several Semitic languages, occurs 910 times in MT. Most of these occurrences represent the verb itself, though there are a few related words such as *ʾōkel*, "food," and *maʾăkelet*, "knife." The cognate verb *akālu* occurs frequently in Akkadian; the main derivative in that language is *akalu*, "bread" or "food," while Hebrew employs *leḥem* for "bread." Ugaritic uses as verbs both *ʾakl* and *lḥm* for the meaning "eat," though *lḥm* appears more frequently.

The root *šth*, "to drink," appears 216 times in the Hebrew Bible, again primarily as the verb itself, though there are derivatives such as *mišteh*, which means either a "feast" or a "drink." The verb *šātâ* does not occur in the *Hipʿil* or causative form; its causative is supplied by the *Hipʿil* of *šqh*, "to give drink," appearing 64 times. Again, the cognate words are used in much the same way in Akkadian: *šatû*, "to drink" and *šaqû*, "to give drink." Ugaritic uses both *šty* and *šqy* to mean "drink," and also employs the causative š-form with *šqy* to produce the meaning, "to give drink."

In 35 OT texts the two words are used together in a fixed expression, "he/they ate and drank." This same fixed expression occurs in Ugaritic and Akkadian texts as well. The effect of the two verbs together is intensification of whatever connotations are supplied by the context. Thus if the plain fact of consumption is the point, the phrase "ate and drank" implies a full meal, satiation (e.g., Gen 25:34). If the hospitality owed to visiting strangers is involved, "they ate and drank" emphasizes that full-services were extended to the visitors (e.g., Judg 19:4, 6, 21).

B. Primary Functions of Eating and Drinking

One very important range of meanings stems from the fact that eating and drinking sustain the human life force. This fact leads, in turn, to the celebration of Israel's God as the one who provides food and drink through his work in creation and history. It leads at the same time in another direction—toward the use of eating and drinking as metaphors for any kind of activity where elemental human needs are met.

1. Relation to the Life Force. a. Sustenance. A human both "has" a *nepeš* ("soul," "life," "life force") and "is" a *nepeš* ("person," "appetite," even "throat"; Wolff 1974: 10). Food sustains this hungry being in life—so much so that "to eat" can mean "to live" (Gen 47:22).

If eating and living can be identified, it stands to reason that the strength or quality of the life force is directly dependent on the intake of food (1 Sam 28:20; Judg 15:18–19). A strong life force is shown by the brightness of the eyes, while sickness, depression, or anxiety cause the eyes to dim (Ps 6:8; 38:11; 2 Sam 14:29; Deut 28:65; Lam 4:16). Eating and drinking strengthen or "improve" the heart (Ruth 3:7); wine makes the heart "glad" (Ps 104:15). Stress and illness make a sufferer forget to eat bread, so that the heart is "smitten like grass" and "withered" (Ps 102:4).

The need for food is so intense and so endlessly a part of experience that it can even spill over into dreams, "as when a hungry man dreams that he is eating and awakes with his hunger not satisfied" (Isa 29:8). Akkadian texts, too, show dream interpreters dealing with the meaning of food in dreams (*CAD* 1/1: 249).

Such intense need leaves society at the mercy of those who would exploit its limitations, because the person who controls the food supply has great power. This fact lies behind Jacob's purchase of Esau's birthright in exchange for food (Gen 25:29–34). Later, Jacob exploits his father's hunger and obtains Isaac's blessing after serving him a savory stew (Genesis 27). It is ironic that the blessing itself concerns food and power (Gen 28:28–29).

The power to control food lies in the hands of the wealthy, who flaunt this power in ostentatious banqueting (Amos 6:4–6; Isa 6:22; 22:13). Meanwhile, the poor are chronically hungry. "All my life I have never had enough to eat," says an Old Akkadian text from Mesopotamia (*CAD* 1/1: 241, 9′); many poor people in Israel must have known the same endless hunger. Only Israel, however, had a body of sacred legal or *torâ* traditions which were designed to ensure food for the poor.

Prominent among Israelite laws designed to provide food for the poor are: permission to pick and eat handfuls of grain and grapes from a neighbor's field (Deut 23:24–25); the command to leave some grain and fruit unpicked at harvest time so that the poor may glean a little food (Deut 24:19–22; Ruth 2); the prohibition against taking a grinding stone as collateral on a loan (Deut 24:6); and the command to pay day laborers at the close of each working day, out of consideration for the hand-to-mouth existence of poor folk (Deut 24:14–15).

Even worse than the chronic hunger of the poor, however, was the frequently mentioned experience of starvation, whether as a recorded fact or as a recurrent symbol for God's punishment of people. Perhaps the most graphic description of starvation is found in Deut 28:47–57, where the famished survivors within a besieged city resort to cannibalism, even eating their own children's bodies. That such things happened in wartime throughout the ancient Near East is confirmed by the occurrence of very similar passages in the "curse" or threat sections of Assyrian treaties—treaties imposed by the very nation whose tactics starved opponents into cannibalism (*CAD* 1/1: 250b; *ANET,* 533). The threat to inflict such starvation is probably the ultimate use of "food power" as a weapon of control. Such brutal manipulation of human hunger stands in sharp contrast to God's kindly provision of food to all living beings.

b. Symbolic Aspects. Where does food come from? The Old Testament unequivocally ascribes the provision of food to God, the very God who "breathed into the man and he became a *nepeš*" (Gen 2:7). From the beginning, humans are given the vegetation of the earth to eat (Gen 1:29, P; 2:16, J). Later, after the Flood, the Noahites are permitted to eat animal flesh, but not the blood (Gen 9:3). Still later, detailed and extensive sets of regulations are given concerning the foods that may or may not be eaten (e.g., Leviticus 11; Deuteronomy 14). Whether these well-known food laws are motivated by a desire to avoid Canaanite cult practices (*IDB* 1: 641) or by a kind of logic about "natural" and "unnatural" animals (Douglas 1966; Soler 1979), the theological implications are clear: God is the Power who provides food for human life.

Certain foods are not intended for use. Traces of food taboos are found elsewhere in the ancient Near East, especially in Egypt. For example, a text which first appears on coffins in the Middle Kingdom tells "how the pig became an abomination to the Gods, as well as their followers, for Horus' sake" (*ANET,* 10).

God's beneficence in providing food is not limited to humans alone. Psalm 104, for example, powerfully celebrates God's gift of food and drink to all living creatures, whether herbivores such as cattle (v 14), or carnivorous predators such as lions (vv 20–23). As in Egyptian and other literatures, this divine provision of food is made through the regular orders of nature (see the famous Egyptian "Hymn to the Aton," *ANET,* 369–71). Only Israel, however, celebrates God's supply of food through history as well as through the operations of nature. Indeed, Yahweh's provision of food to Israel appears as a major theme in two segments of the basic sacred-historical recital, namely the Wilderness Wandering and the Conquest.

Far from romanticizing the wilderness of the Sinai peninsula and the south and east borders of Canaan, the ancient Hebrew hated and feared this barren, empty land

(Jer 2:6; Davies 1974: 75–90; *IDBSup*, 946–49). This only serves to underscore the fact that Yahweh, through pure miracle, sustained Israel's life in a place bereft of any normal supplies of food and water. Yahweh effected this miraculous sustenance of his people in the face of their frequent rebellion and grumbling, through the provision of manna and quails from the sky and water from the rock (Exodus 16; Ps 105:40–41; Neh 9:15). Deuteronomy finds in the mysterious manna a lesson on divine sovereignty and mankind's humble dependence: "man does not live on bread alone, . . . man lives on everything that proceeds out of the mouth of the Lord" (Deut 8:3).

The Conquest traditions shift to a sterner depiction of Yahweh as a warrior for his people, but with the same goal—the provision of food. The Promised Land into which Joshua leads the tribes of Israel is described again and again in terms of its fertile potential for food production (e.g., Deut 8:7–10). Other texts develop the theme of food supply in different directions. "I destroyed his fruit above and his roots beneath" (Amos 2:9, referring to the Amorites). Psalm 80 speaks of Israel as a "vine out of Egypt," planted by God after he "cleared the ground for it." Isaiah develops this vineyard metaphor even further (chap. 5), while Jeremiah represents Yahweh himself as the people's inexhaustible source of water—a source rejected by the people, who hew out broken cisterns "that can hold no water" (Jer 2:13).

The result of apostasy, Deuteronomy and the prophets threaten, will be the loss of land and food alike, so that Israel itself will be "consumed off the land" (Deut 28:21). Nature will turn against an erring people: "the heavens over your head be brass, and the earth under you shall be iron" (Deut 28:23). Finally, starvation will set in and Israel will be deprived of its beautiful land by enemy conquest (Jer 28:53–57).

With the hold on food and on life itself so dependent on a relationship to God, it is understandable that the rabbis of later Judaism prescribed a blessing thanking God for every kind of food. "A person should not taste anything," they taught, "until he says a blessing. For it is said, 'The earth is the Lord's and all that it holds.' One who benefits from this world without a blessing performs a sacrilege" (*t. Ber.* 4:1; Bokser 1981).

c. Metaphorical Eating and Drinking. Humans share the earth with a multitude of other creatures and forces which unremittingly pursue their own appetites, often at human expense (*TDOT* 1:236–46). Fire eats houses, cities, and fortresses (Num 21:28; Amos 1:4, 7, 10, 12). Cold and heat eat people (Gen 21:40). Invading armies eat up territory (Isa 1:7). In war, the sword eats first one soldier and then another (2 Sam 11:25). Death is hungry too, and its hunger is never satisfied, nor is the hunger of the barren womb, earth, and fire (Prov 21:15–16). Even famine is said to "eat," as if it were a force that gets to the food before people do (Ezek 7:15).

No Bible translation can succeed in conveying the prevalence of "eating" and "drinking" in the Hebrew. After all, the semantic range of the words is much broader in Hebrew than in English. As a result, translators must constantly employ milder or more oblique words such as "use," "burn," "consume," and "devour." The same happens in translations of Akkadian texts, which use the Akkadian cognate *akālu* to describe all kinds of destructive and consumptive activities, especially those of fire and warfare. Here as in the biblical translations, however, some of the nuance of the original text is lost.

With *šth* and *šqh*, "drink" and "give drink," we find much the same range of metaphorical meanings in the Bible and much the same problem for translators. Just as the sword eats, it also drinks blood until it is sated (Jer 46:10). The thirsty earth drinks water provided by God (Deut 11:11; Gen 2:6). Trees drink water from the earth (Ezek 31:14). A person not only drinks wine and water, but also "drinks" iniquity, derision, and violence (Job 15:16; 34:7; Prov 4:17).

In all these various metaphorical usages there are certain threads of continuity. In addition to their literal meanings of ingesting solids and liquids, "eat" and "drink" mean "to assimilate," "to internalize," "to make a part of oneself." This is what is meant when Jeremiah says he "ate" the word of Yahweh when it came to him (Jer 15:16; cf. Ezek 31:1–3). Similarly, a wicked person can internalize evil, making it habitual (Job 15:16; Prov 4:17), while a psalmist can express people's daily diet of pain and grief as being given "tears to drink" and "the bread of tears" to eat (Ps 80:5).

Secondly, "eat" can mean "use," "enjoy the use of," and even "enjoy" (Gen 3:17; Eccl 5:10). Thirdly, since "use" can imply "use up," *'kl* can also mean "to destroy," "lay waste," as by fire, pestilence, famine, and especially warfare. All of these meanings are paralleled in Akkadian and Ugaritic.

What still strikes the modern reader as odd is that no distinction is made between animate and inanimate forces. Not only do people and animals eat and drink, but so do things and abstractions. This suggests that there may be some truth to Johannes Pedersen's observation that the Hebrews did not firmly distinguish between living creatures and "lifeless" nature. Everything which has its own special peculiarities and faculties is thought of as "living," whether a stone or the earth itself (*PI* 1: 155). And all of these other creatures compete with humans in consuming.

2. Relation to Communal Bonding. The act of eating together implies a relationship of closeness and trust (Ps 41:9). Conversely, people who do not wish to be intimately related do not eat together (Gen 43:32). The social bonding function of eating together, which is widespread if not universal in human cultures, probably originates in the shared meals of families, or even more elementally in the experience of being suckled by one's mother. After infancy, the image of the father as food provider complements the mother-child imagery (cf. Ps 128:2–3).

a. Establishment of Human Community. The Bible depicts families and extended kin groups eating and drinking together on both humble and festive occasions (Ps 128:2–3; Job 1:4–5, 13, 18). Other groups also eat together, thus binding themselves into a quasi-family. This is the practice of the prophets encountered by Elisha (2 Kings 4) and, for that matter, it is also the practice of the despised "prophets of Baal," who "eat at Jezebel's table" (1 Kgs 18:19). To absent oneself from a family meal is to communicate feelings of alienation and anger (1 Sam 20:34).

The strong image of trust and solidarity which is pro-

jected by the family meal is subject, like hunger itself, to exploitation. This warping of family unity is part of the irony of Jacob's provision of food to his famished brother and his aged father. Even more strongly do Joseph's brothers make a mockery of family solidarity by callously eating together after throwing Joseph into a nearby pit (Gen 38:23–25). The re-created unity of the family is symbolized by the brothers' eating and drinking with Joseph in Egypt (Gen 53:32–34).

The festal eating and drinking at the banquet that accompanied a wedding was a major extension of the family meal. The bride and her attendants went in a procession to meet a similar procession of the groom and his friends, both accompanied by music (1 Macc 9:39; Jer 7:34). From there the joint procession moved to a house, usually the groom's, where a banquet was held with much merriment, to the accompaniment of more music. One marriage feast is described as lasting for seven days (Judg 14:12), but Tobias's feast lasted for fourteen (Tob 8:20; *IDB* 3: 278–87).

At the other end of the emotional spectrum, normal eating patterns were disrupted by a death in the family. Family members often fasted for a day or more after a death (2 Sam 1:12; 12:20–21; 1 Sam 1:13). Food was not prepared in the deceased person's house for about a week, during which time friends and neighbors brought "the bread of mourning" and "the cup of consolation" (Jer 16:7; Ezek 24:17, 22; *AncIsr,* 59–60). It was no small part of Jeremiah's lonely suffering as a prophet that he was allowed to share neither in the joys of marriage and family life, nor even in the meals prepared for mourners (Jer 16:1, 5).

Even after death and burial, the provision and sharing of food with family members was continued by means of funerary offerings. Archaeological excavations show that the Israelites for a time continued the Canaanite custom of placing food in the tomb at burial, and even as late a writing as Tobit includes the counsel to lavish bread and wine on the tomb of the righteous (Tob 4:17; *AncIsr,* 60).

In Akkadian, the expression for "host" is "one who gives salt and bread" (*CAD* 1/1: 245). Biblical texts place a similar emphasis on eating together as basic to the guest-host relationship; righteous Israelites even extend the solidarity of family meal to outsiders. The inclusion of strangers in a family meal is idyllically depicted in the narrative of Genesis 18, where Abraham and Sarah entertain the angels of Yahweh, and in Genesis 24, where Isaac's servant is treated with utmost kindness by Rebekah's family. Even the unfortunate Lot extends the prescribed hospitality to his visitors (Gen 19:1–2; Alexander 1985). The brutal assaults on travelers in the parallel narratives of Genesis 18–19 and Judges 19 show that such provision of hospitality was badly needed by people who traveled outside the territory of their clans or tribes; the sharing of food embraced these strangers in the solidarity and mutual protectiveness of the family circle.

Eating could also be used deliberately and ritualistically to seal a treaty or COVENANT. Some scholars even propose that the Hebrew *bĕrît,* "covenant," derives from the rare verb *bārâ,* "to eat" (*TDOT* 2: 253–54). The Hebrew Bible uses the word *bĕrît* to describe solemn mutual oaths or contracts between human individuals or groups, and also in reference to the covenants between God and his people. Four major texts describe covenants between people in which meals are eaten together as part of the ritual which sealed their relationship: Gen 26:28–31 (Isaac and Abimelech); 31:51–54 (Jacob and Laban); Exod 18:12 (Moses and Jethro); and Josh 9:3–27 (Israel and the men of Gibeon). The implication seems to be that the covenant partners will now regard each other as "family" (McCarthy 1972: 30). At the same time a sacred dimension is added by the swearing of solemn oaths (Gen 26:31; 31:53; Josh 9:20), and even by the offering of sacrifice (Exod 18:12; Gen 31:54). Exodus 24:1–22 describes a similar series of events in the ceremony which ratifies the Sinai covenant between God and Israel. Here the solemn, awe-filled joy of a meal shared in the very presence of God seems to open up a new avenue of communion between God and man (Childs *Exodus* OTL, 507).

b. Celebration and Renewal of Communion with God. Closely related to the family and covenant meals were the meals which were eaten in connection with fixed religious observances. Major examples of such cultic meals are the yearly Passover supper and the meals associated with sacrifices, especially the *šĕlāmîm* or "communion sacrifices." Only a narrow line divides these cultic meals from the festal family meals, for Israel is, after all, Yahweh's *mišpāḥâ,* his "family" (Amos 3:1).

As with other ancient peoples, practically all ritual offerings and sacrifices of ancient Israel were foodstuffs (the only exception was the incense offering, Exod 31:1–10). Did these offerings of food and drink represent meals given for Yahweh's sustenance? Here Israel decisively parted company with the neighboring cultures of Canaan and Mesopotamia, where the mythological texts are full of descriptions of gods banqueting on priestly offerings (*ANET,* 69; Pope 1972). In Israel's scriptures Yahweh himself is never depicted as eating or drinking (*AncIsr,* 449–50); he is not fed from the sacrificial offerings (Ps 50:12–13; Schmidt 1983: 127–32). On the contrary, it is Yahweh who feeds his family at his table in the wilderness (Ps 78:19) and in the Temple (Ps 23:5).

The joyful banqueting of ordinary Israelites on occasions of sacrifice is depicted in 1 Samuel 2, where Elkanah distributes portions of meat to his family at Shiloh. On such occasions, families drank enough wine that it seemed reasonable for Eli to suspect that Hannah was drunk (1 Sam 2:14–15). In a narrative from the stories of Saul and Samuel, the prophet Samuel presides over a festal meal following a sacrifice (1 Sam 9:12–13). Saul is welcomed by Samuel and, in accordance with the rules of hospitality, is offered an especially fine piece of meat and later given lodging for the night (1 Sam 9:22–26).

One type of sacrifice, the *šelem,* was a "peace offering" (RSV) or a "communion sacrifice" (JB). Although scholars are no longer inclined to emphasize the etymological association of *šelem* with words implying "covenant," "peace," or "communion," there is little doubt that the *šelem,* even more than other sacrifices, emphasized feelings of brotherhood through commensality as the participants solemnly ate and drank "before Yahweh" (Deut 27:7; *IDB* 4:147–59). The *šĕlāmîm* are prescribed on occasions of thanksgiving and fulfillment of a vow, and as freewill offerings

(Lev 8:11–16). The thematic link between all of these occasions for offering sacrifice is rejoicing (Deut 27:7; *IDBSup,* 763–71; see SACRIFICE AND SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS).

Most deeply and permanently ingrained in Hebrew and Jewish custom throughout the ages, though, has been the annual *sēder* or Passover meal. In this meal many of the meanings of eating and drinking in ancient Israel come together in one complex experience. The Passover meal is at the same time an offering or sacrifice of food to God (Exod 12:2–7); a celebration of God's deliverance of his people from Egyptian bondage (Exod 12:27, 40–42); a harvest festival celebrating the first fruits of the grain harvest (Lev 23:1–4), and indeed a celebration of the whole gift of the land of Canaan to Israel (Deut 16:9–10; Exod 13:3–10); the meal also served to confirm familial and community solidarity not only with contemporaries, but with every future generation (Exod 12:43–49; 13:8–10). Participation in the meal was tantamount to participation in the great Exodus event of redemption, for the Passover supper takes on a nearly sacramental significance (in addition to the Old Testament texts, see *m. Pesaḥ* 10:5; *IDB* 3: 663–68).

c. Symbolic of End-time Redemption. The joy of the redeemed in the end-time experience of redemption is often symbolized, especially in intertestamental and New Testament literature, as a great banquet (Jeremias 1958: 59–65; Smith 1987). Even in the earlier biblical literature, however, the end time is presented as an era of miraculously high agricultural production (Amos 9:11; Hos 2:21–23; Ezek 47:12; Joel 4:18—Eng 3:18). All of these passages build on the general importance of food as a symbol of security and health, and specifically on the important role of food in Israel's Wilderness and Conquest traditions.

These same motifs undergo baroque elaborations in postexilic depictions of the eschatological feasting of the redeemed at Yahweh's banquet table. The only canonical text describing this banquet is found in the Isaianic Apocalypse, Isaiah 24–27 (Isa 25:6–8). A number of pseudepigraphic texts elaborate upon this description (e.g. *1 En.* 62:14; *4 Ezra* 6:49–52). The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch pictures the redeemed community feasting on the bodies of Behemoth and Leviathan and on the fruit of vines and trees which "shall yield ten thousandfold." This same apocalyptic tradition provides three different diets for the members of the Messianic kingdom: flesh, fruit, and manna. The flesh suggests the food of Israel's settled life after the conquest; the manna comes from the wilderness traditions; and the fruit is the diet of Adam and Eve in paradise. Thus the major epochs in the sacred history are made present, each through its characteristic food.

When the eschatological banquet takes the shape of the Messianic banquet in these late traditions, the emphasis shifts away from the prodigious quantities and qualities of the food. In place of the food, the texts mention either the protocol of the banquet, as in the Qumran scrolls (1 QS 6:4–6; 1 QSa 2:11–22; Cross 1961: 61–67) the simple fact of fellowship with the Messiah, or the honor and status accorded those who share in the consumption.

These scenes of eschatological dining complete the symbolic journeys whose trajectories began in Israel's most ancient scriptures. In the end time, in a perfect way never quite experienced in this world, food and drink represent fellowship with other men and women, communion with God through covenant and cult, and the gifts of God to Israel and to all mankind through history and through nature. In the time of God's final victory, the texts affirm, the life force itself will be eternally nourished as the plenty and joy of Eden are restored. The way to the Tree of Life, lost through a primal meal in the Garden, will no longer be barred to a hungering human race.

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ALAN W. JENKS

EBAL (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēbāl*]. A clan name which appears in the genealogical clan list of Seir the Horite in Gen 36:23 and in the matching genealogy in 1 Chr 1:40. This person is described as the third of five sons of the clan chief SHOBAL, and is thus a grandson of Seir. These elaborate genealogical lists may simply reflect the tribal alliances or territories in the region of Edom rather than actual blood kinship.

VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

EBAL, MOUNT (PLACE) [Heb *har ʿêbāl*]. A large mountain located just N of Shechem in the central Samaria mountains, often paired in the Bible with Mt. Gerizim immediately S of Shechem. One of the highest peaks in the area, Mt. Ebal descends to the E in four large steps, which continue to be cultivated today. In the days of Joshua, Mt. Ebal was the location of a major Israelite ceremony associated with the stone inscription of the Mosaic law, the building of an altar of unhewn stones, sacrifices, and a special liturgy of blessing and cursing (Josh 8:30–35; cf. Deut 11:26–32; 27:1–26).

Although the biblical passages attesting to the Mt. Ebal ceremony are clearly Deuteronomistic (and therefore late), their reference to an important ceremony outside Jerusalem and in the heart of N territory is in sharp contrast with the so-called "main theme" of the Deuteronomistic historian: namely, the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem. Thus, many scholars assume that the historical witness of these texts is generally authentic (see Soggin *Joshua* OTL, 241). This assumption has been reinforced by the April 1980 discovery of an early Iron Age site, apparently cultic, on the S part of one of the steps of the mountain.

This previously unknown site, known as el-Burnat, was discovered during a survey of the hill country of Manasseh begun in 1978. Actual excavations began in 1982, and six seasons of excavations were conducted.

A. Stratigraphy and Chronology
B. Excavation Results
1. The Enclosures
2. Area A: The Architectural Complex
3. Area B: The Domestic Building and Courtyard
4. Analysis of the Finds
C. Interpretation of the Site
1. Archaeological Features
2. Historical and Sociological Issues
3. The Biblical Tradition

A. Stratigraphy and Chronology

The two strata recognized at Mt. Ebal (2 and 1, with subdivision for 1A and 1B) belong to the earliest part of Iron Age I in the central hill country of Canaan (B. Mazar 1981; A. Mazar 1981: 31–36; Finkelstein 1986; Stager 1981; 1985; Zertal 1986; and contra Ahlstrom 1984: 171–73).

Both strata were short-lived, with no discernible evidence of destruction or violent action. Based upon two Egyptianized scarabs, a seal, and the pottery that had been discovered, stratum 2 apparently was founded in the middle of the 13th century B.C.E. It is suggested that stratum 2 can be dated ca. 1240–1200 B.C.E., while stratum 1 can be dated ca. 1200–1130 B.C.E.

B. Excavation Results

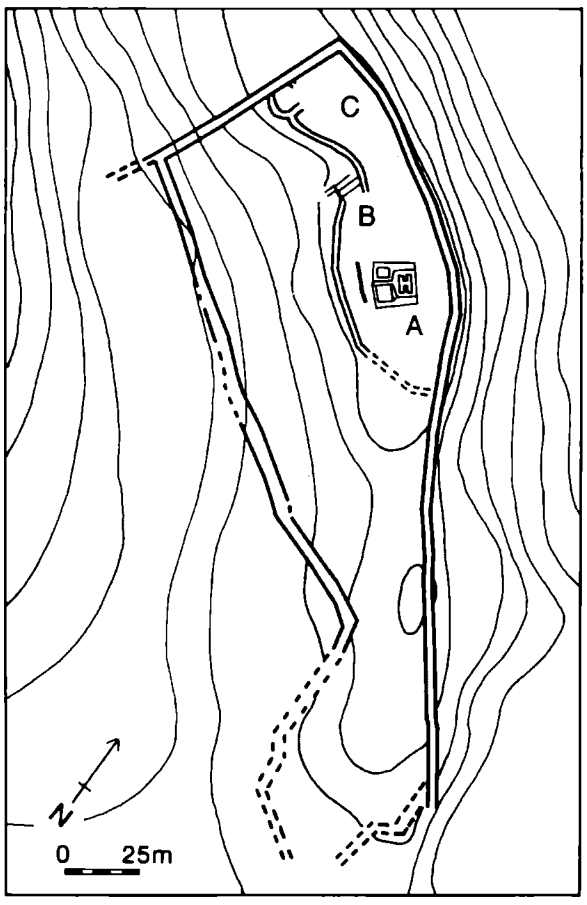
1. The Enclosures. The site consists of a large, double enclosure, defined by a stone wall. See Fig. EBA.01. The outer enclosure (ca. 250 m × 52 m), which is devoid of any architectural remains, constitutes an elongated kite with its tip to the S, where the entrance probably was located. The surrounding temenos wall was built in a single phase (str. 1B) and is of an unequal thickness, probably due to subsequent stone piling when nearby fields were cleared.

The inner enclosure (ca. 110 m × 35 m) is located at the higher, N part of the outer one. It consists of two parts—the N part (area C) and the S part (areas A and B). The S part contains the only architectural feature at the site. The W and S borders of the inner enclosure are founded upon a low rocky ledge, in the middle of which is an entrance which connects the two enclosures.

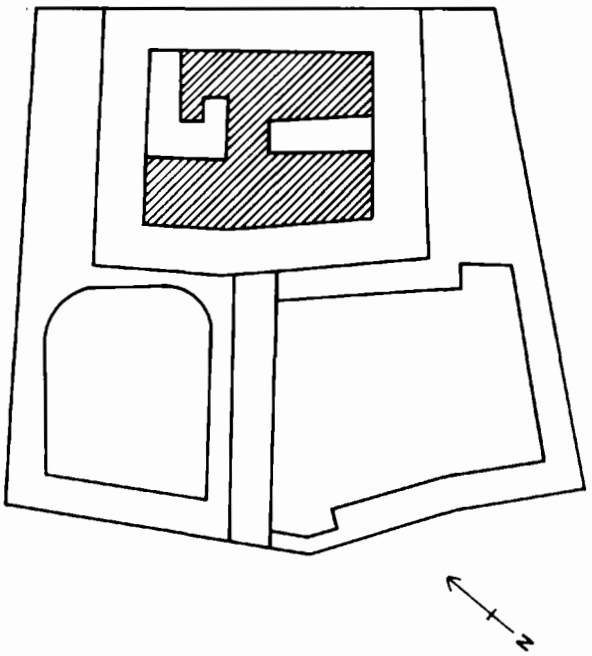
The enclosure wall was investigated in area C and was found to be approx. 0.9 m high. It was perhaps built as a barrier to prevent unauthorized passage while still allowing observation of the activities inside.

2. Area A: The Architectural Complex. This complex belongs to stratum 1B and consists of five elements.

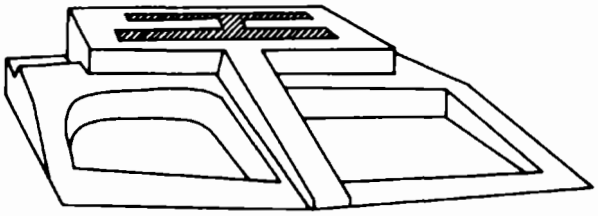
The main building is a large, rectangular structure (ca. 9 m × 7 m) built of unhewn stones standing 3.27 m above bedrock. See Fig EBA.02. Its corners are oriented toward the four cardinal points within an accuracy of 1 degree. The structure's walls are 1.4 m thick. The inner space is subdivided by two inner walls: a straight wall and an L-



EBA.01. Site plan of Mt. Ebal, showing Areas A–C. *(Redrawn from A. Zertal)*



EBA.02. Plan of central structure in Area A at Mt. Ebal—Stratum IB.



EBA.03. Isometric reconstruction of central structure in Area A at Mt. Ebal—Stratum IB.

shaped wall, with an opening between them. The inner walls rest upon the earlier remains of stratum 2.

The remaining space was deliberately filled with four distinct layers of fill (layers A–D), consisting of earth, stones, ashes, animal bones, potsherds, or combinations of each. Layers A and C were pure ash with 962 animal bones which were burned and scorched. Layers B and D were of stones and earth, while the upper one (D) was probably meant to seal the fill and provide an upper floor for the structure. The fill seems to be the result of a single activity, as inferred from the well-stratified layers and the homogeneity of the pottery. The fact that the pottery collected from the fill was unrestorable implies that the fill was collected elsewhere and brought to the structure, rather than resulting from a second-floor collapse into a hypothetical cellar.

The main structure contains neither a floor nor an entrance, but was built as a high platform containing a special fill. Its construction was part of the new architectural scheme of the site in stratum 1B. It seems that it was filled with the remains of the cult of the preceding stage (str. 2).

The "surround" is a low stone wall abutting the outside of the main building. See Fig. EBA.03. Its stratigraphic position proves that it was built in stratum 1B as a single unit. The NW and the SE surrounds are 2 m wide, while the SW surround measures 0.6 m. A surround does not appear on the NE side.

The "ramps" (a main ramp and a secondary ramp) slope upwards from the SW to the main structure and bisect the courtyard. The main ramp leads to the center of the main structure and is 1.2 m wide, with an ascent slope of 22 degrees. The secondary ramp is 0.6 wide and parallels the main ramp abutting it on its N side, but ascends only to the level of the NW surround.

The courtyards are open, square, stone-paved architectural units attached to the main structure. They differ slightly from each other in their plan and inside them were found eleven stone-built installations containing either ash and animal bones, or clay vessels *in situ*.

A total of 70–80 installations of various shapes and dimensions were discovered around the main building. Roughly half of them contained either whole or partial ceramic vessels; some were votive vessels, two forms of which are unique to Mt. Ebal (a sharp-based juglet and a tiny carinated bowl). The installations were arranged in two layers, probably corresponding to the strata of the site. These installations also yielded an Egyptian scarab and a golden earring.

The custom of bringing pottery vessels and placing them as offerings around a ritual structure has deep roots in Near Eastern traditions. Collections of such vessels have been found at the MB-LB cult-place at Nahariya (Dothan 1956: 19), at the "long temple" of Hazor (Ottoson 1980: 60), at the "Obelisk temple" and the "champ des offrandes" at Byblos (Dunand 1950: pl. XCI:2; XCII:14122–23), at Athienou in Cyprus (Dothan 1984: 91–92), and at other sites.

Beneath the main complex of stratum 1B, were the remains of stratum 2: mainly a hard-packed dirt surface with a round, 2 m-in-diameter, stone-built structure (L94). This structure was filled with black ash and animal bones. The floor and structure were presumably part of an earlier complex which undoubtedly bore a cultic character. The builders of the later large structure apparently considered the earlier round structure important, since they made it the exact geometrical center of the new building.

A stratigraphic section in the S courtyard unearthed a wide layer of ash and animal bones under the stone paving of the later courtyard. It seems that before the erection of the stratum 1B structure, cultic activities were conducted during stratum 2, and remains of these were likely used to fill the new structure.

The final phase, stratum 1A, appears to have been a deliberate burial of the site with stones. Evidence of this activity was found all over the site. The protection of sacred places by burying them is a well-known phenomenon in the Near East, including Israel (Ussishkin 1970).

3. Area B: The Domestic Building and Courtyard. NW of the main building the slope consists of wide rocky steps. A wall of big boulders was erected along the edge of the upper step when the site was founded in the second half of the 13th century B.C.E. (str. 2). This wall became a retaining wall for several elongated rooms where perhaps the custodians of the site lived.

In the transition into stratum 1, this building was filled to the top of the rockstep, creating a wide, paved courtyard. On the new courtyard were some installations, together with bones and pottery. Otherwise no other architecture existed apart from the main structure in area A.

A wide entrance gave access from the outer to the inner enclosure. It was located at the only natural opening in the rocky ledge W of the inner enclosure. Because of its width (7.5 m), the stone-paved three-stepped entrance may be inferred to have been a ceremonial, processional entrance. This contrasts with the gates at other Iron Age sites, which always had restricted access to help in defending the site.

4. Analysis of the Finds. The pottery represents a well-dated inventory of the early Israelite settlement. Three percent of the pottery in stratum 2 was of the LB tradition, containing carinated bowls, decorated juglets, etc. This stage apparently represents the interrelationship between Israelites and Canaanites during the 13th century B.C.E. The rest of the pottery was typical "Israelite," resembling the inventory of Giloh, ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah, Raddanah, Shiloh, Israelite ʿAi, Taʿanach, etc. It differs only slightly from these by the appearance of some special types, typifying the N hill country. These are a thick-rimmed bowl ("Manassite" bowl), trihandled jugs and jars, etc. To this must be added the two forms of votive vessels, unique to Ebal. The collared-rim jar represents nearly one third of the finds, while cooking-pots are less than the average from other sites (15–20 percent in domestic sites like Giloh and ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah as opposed to 5 percent at Mt. Ebal).

A special phenomenon is the decoration of the handles with designs of small indentations and incisions (Zertal 1986–87). It is the only kind of decoration known for the period, and it appears in many of the earlier sites of Iron Age I in Manasseh. This decoration appears to be geographically typical of Manasseh and limited to the early part of the settlement (13–12th centuries B.C.E.), and perhaps can be used to indicate the movement of the Israelites into Manasseh.

The nearly 3,000 bones analyzed thus far provide one of the largest samples ever studied in Israel. Apart from some small animals (hedgehogs, rats, wild rabbit, porcupine, etc.), which presumably died on the spot after the abandonment of the site, the remains of four species of large mammals were unearthed: sheep, goats, domesticated cattle, and fallow deer *(Dama dama mesopotamica)*. Most of the bones were concentrated in the main building. Some were scorched and burned, probably indicating sacrifice (see analysis in Horowitz 1986–87).

The faunal data differ in many points from the typical finds at other Iron Age sites. The range of animals represented at Mt. Ebal is very narrow, while at other sites one usually finds the donkey and the dog, which were necessary animals for the Iron Age economy. The pig, which shares the same surroundings as the fallow deer and which is found at some of the other sites, is lacking here. The Mt. Ebal inventory represents only edible animals. The percentage of scorched and burned material is higher than is normally found, and this was concentrated in and around the main building. These points indicate that Ebal was a cultic site where animals were sacrificed and eaten.

Two Egyptian (or Egyptianized) scarabs were found in the site; both are rare and well dated (Brandl 1986–87) and belong to stratum 2. They have been dated by parallels from Egypt, Cyprus, and Israel to the second half of the 13th century B.C.E. or the last part of the reign of Rameses II. Since they show the same date, it is suggested that they can be used as dating material, rather than as a *terminus post quem* only. If so, we can fix for the first time an objective chronology for the Israelite settlement.

The stone seal found in the fill has a geometrical design and yields the same date of the second half of the 13th century B.C.E.

C. Interpretation of the Site

1. Archaeological Features. A comparison of Mt. Ebal with other contemporary sites indicates that it was a cultic site. Domestic and food-producing sites are often defined by four characteristics: a wide range of domesticated animals, the presence of sickle blades for harvest, the existence of bins to store grains, and the presence of food-processing installations. Apart from the food-producing installations, none of the above have been found at Mt. Ebal. However, the combined presence of the bone finds, the fill, the general absence of domestic architecture, the special location, the installations, the entrance, and the temenos walls indicate a site for ritual ceremonies. Nevertheless, some have still compared the main building to storehouses, towers, or dwelling-houses (cf. Kempenski 1986; Coogan 1987; Shanks 1988).

Our only parallels are from literary sources. Special attention must be paid to the nonfunctional architectural features—the surround and the double ramp—to explain the site's special character.

Four Jewish sources from the Second Temple period (early Roman period) provide descriptions of a large burnt-offerings altar. This structure stood in the courtyard of the Temple at Jerusalem. Its description is given in the Mishnah (*Mid.* 3:1), twice by Josephus (*JW* 5.222; *AgAp* 198.1), and in the *Temple Scroll*, recently published by Yadin (1983: 239–41). These sources describe a large, square building, reached by a ramp. The altar is surrounded by a surround on three sides, with access via a secondary ramp joined to the main one. A striking similarity exists between these descriptions and the find at Mt. Ebal; the nonfunctional parts at the Mt. Ebal site are well explained by those sources. Albright (1920), analyzing the descriptions of the future altar in Ezekiel 43, suggested that it was built according to a Mesopotamian model—the ziggurat, which consists of a stepped building with a ramp, resembling the Mt. Ebal remains.

It is suggested, therefore, that the structure on Mt. Ebal is a large burnt-offerings altar, built in the beginning of stratum 1B, ca. 1200 B.C.E. This model, probably taken from Mesopotamian origin, was brought by the Israelites to Canaan. No other such structures have been found in the Canaanite religious world.

2. Historical and Sociological Issues. The discovery at

Mt. Ebal represents one of the earliest stages of the Israelite settlement in the hill country. The existence of a cultic center implies social organization. The size of the enclosure and the main building, together with the quantity of the pottery and bones, may indicate a tribal or multitribal society. Since the site was where food and water were consumed and not produced, these were probably brought there, gathered, and distributed. Such organization requires some leadership—probably a priesthood.

The transition from stratum 2 to stratum 1 is a turning point from a modest cultic site (A. Mazar 1982) to a large central one, probably serving a large population. This transition could have been the result of some kind of social reorganization and centralized leadership.

Mt. Ebal appears to represent a different social element than the autochthonic one, bearing a basically imported culture. The architecture, the location of the site vis à vis Shechem, and to an extent the pottery are all foreign to the existing Canaanite civilization.

3. The Biblical Tradition. The presence of a ritual place on Mt. Ebal is mentioned in two biblical sources (Deut 27; Josh 8:30–35). These describe a ceremony requiring the presence of all the people of Israel. The ceremony includes inscribing the Mosaic law on stones, erecting an altar of unhewn stones, sacrifices, and special pronouncements of blessing and cursing.

In spite of the Deuteronomistic nature of the texts many scholars accept the basic authenticity of the event, especially such a significant event which is described outside Jerusalem and in the heart of the House of Joseph. On this basis, the tradition of Mt. Ebal is considered ancient and historical by Steuernagel (1900: 96), Alt (1966: 125–26), Noth (1966: 141–42), Mazar (B. Mazar 1974: 149), etc.

If there is a historical basis for the biblical tradition, an ensuing question is if there is a connection between the biblical tradition and the site at Ebal. The site is the only one from the Early Iron 1 period on the mountain; it agrees with the biblical traditions by its date, its location, and the general character of the remains. Furthermore, it appears to connect with a new social identity—the settling Israelites. It therefore appears that the site on Mt. Ebal is connected to the biblical tradition and that a central ceremony was performed on Mt. Ebal. It is also suggested that the site was the first multitribal cultic center, preceding Shiloh. The possible correlation between the abandonment of Ebal and the foundation of Shiloh (mid-12th century B.C.E.) may be interpreted as the movement of the national and religious focus of the Israelites from the north to the south, or from Manasseh to Ephraim.

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ADAM ZERTAL

EBED (PERSON) [Heb *ʿebed*]. The name of two individuals in the Hebrew Bible.

1. The ancestor of GAAL (Judg 9:26, 28, 30, 31, 35). Gaal led the men of Shechem in an unsuccessful revolt against Abimelech. The MT renders the name Gaal ben-Ebed, although some Hebrew mss contain the variant spelling Eber. It has been suggested that "ben-Ebed" (lit. "son of a slave") is a perversion of ben-Obed on the supposition that Ebed is not a usual proper name (Boling *Judges* AB, 176; Burney 1970: 278); but at least one other OT character was named Ebed (see no. 2 below). The LXX calls him *Abed* (var. *Abel, Sabet, Iobel*). The latter variant, found in Codex Vaticanus, has prompted discussion over whether Ebed was Canaanite or Israelite. If it is assumed that Vaticanus preserves the original reading, then Gaal's ancestor seems to have had the old Canaanite name Jobel or, less likely, an Israelite name which means "Yahweh is Baal (lord)." Gaal's nationality must be born out by the context of Judges 9, as demonstrated by Moore (*Judges* ICC, 254–56). Another possibility is that Ebed and Jobel are two names from the genealogy of Gaal ben Ebed ben Jobel (Boling *Judges* AB, 176).

2. A descendant of Adin and son of Jonathan (LXX *Obeth*, var. *Obe, Oben*) who was the family head of some returnees from exile under Ezra (Ezra 8:6; 1 Esdr 8:32 AV, NEB Obeth). Codex Vaticanus (1 Esdr 8:32) reads simply Ben-Jonathan. Fifty men accompanied Ebed, although according to 1 Esdr 8:32 the number was 250. Other descendants of Adin had returned earlier from exile under Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:15).

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GARY S. SHOGREN

EBED-MELECH (PERSON) [Heb *ʿebed melek*]. An Ethiopian eunuch prominent in the service of the palace of Zedekiah and who provided timely aid to the prophet Jeremiah during his incarceration (Jer 38:7–13; 39:15–18).

Four components inhere with the personal life of this remarkable individual. First, he was an Ethiopian (Heb *kûšî*). Whether he was purchased as a slave or born in a Judean servile family or naturalized as a resident alien in Judah is not provided. It was not an uncommon practice to engage foreigners for royal service, particularly for the domestic chores. Secondly, the name Ebed-melech was clearly not his original name since it is Hebrew. It appears likely that it was bestowed upon him when he entered or rose to royal recognition in the kingly service. The name is neutral: "servant of [the] king"; the personal name is missing. Thirdly, he is described as a eunuch (Heb *sārîs*), a term which may be taken literally—antiquity did not attach so much stigmatization to such individuals as is common in modern parlance—or, it may mean a "court official." The usage of the term provides some foundation for either interpretation. And, finally, his responsibility that he exercised at court was extremely important. He was well informed of the inner workings of the palace, the political status of the foreign policy, the intrigues of the powerful nobles, and the injustices perpetrated against Jeremiah and minor groups by a regnant aristocracy. Amid the confusion of the bewildering times that tormented Zedekiah, he found in this loyal servant a refreshing confidence.

Some relationship to Jeremiah is presupposed by the text. When Ebed-melech discovered that Jeremiah had been consigned to the dungeon or cistern of Malchiah by the order of Zedekiah, who reluctantly acceded to the four powerful warlords of his court, he braved personal danger and appealed to the king as he sat in the Gate of Benjamin, no doubt administering the high court (Jer 38:1–6). Pleading the fatal consequences of such imprisonment to Jeremiah, he secured from the king a rescission of his former order and a new decree to transfer Jeremiah to confinement in the more livable court of the guard. One can only imagine the wrath he aroused from the prosecutors of Jeremiah, but one must applaud his selfless dedication to effect that amelioratory deed: to raise the prophet from the muddy cistern of Malchiah and to transport him to his new quarters.

This glaring invasion of a servant in the highest politics of the day and the glaring loss of face by the supreme war counselors earned for him the fear of stern reprisals. He seems to have become a marked man whose liquidation the anti-Babylonian aristocrats at court hotly pursued. Yet in all his fears there came to Jeremiah a divine oracle assuring Ebed-melech that he would never fall prey to his enemies, but would survive the coming disaster. Such was the kind gift of Yahweh in whom he had placed his trust. The didactic affirmation of the oracle indicates that faith in Yahweh is salvific though it involves a fight for the right, a concern for the oppressed, and a courage to dare (Jer 39:15–18).

EDWARD R. DALGLISH

EBENEZER (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeben hāʿēzer*]. The site of a battle with the Philistines in which the Ark was captured (1 Sam 4:1; 5:1). Ebenezer also figures in the story of a battle in which Israel defeated the Philistines under the leadership of Samuel. After this victory, Samuel erected a monument which he named "Ebenezer" (meaning literally "stone of help") commemorating the help which YHWH provided (1 Sam 7:12).

Many scholars feel that there are two Ebenezers, corresponding to the two battle narratives. Since Samuel erects the monument stone in 1 Sam 7:12 and names it Ebenezer after the battle of Ebenezer (1 Samuel 4) has already taken place, they reason that these must be two distinct places (see Cohen *IDB* 2: 5). In addition, the two battles are given different geographical locations: the battle in 1 Samuel 4 is near Aphek on the road leading from the coast towards Shiloh, and the one in 1 Samuel 7 is near Mizpah in the hill country N of Jerusalem (Driver *Samuel* ICC, 45).

Recently, however, excavations directed by M. Kochavi and supervised by I. Finkelstein were carried out at ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah (M.R. 146167) after its discovery in 1973 during survey work associated with excavations at Aphek (M.R. 143168; later called Antipatris, modern Ras el-Ein). Kochavi (1977) identifies this small settlement, 3 km E of Aphek, as the possible site of Ebenezer. Kochavi and Demsky (1978: 21) note, "As the nearest Israelite settlement on the fringe of the hill country facing Philistine Aphek in the Sharon plain, it is the best candidate for the Israelite staging area for the decisive battle with the Philistines." (For further discussion of this site see ʿIZBET ṢARṬA.)

Others who are less confident that the location of Ebenezer can be found point to the narrative and theological symmetry between the two battles (Garsiel 1985: 41–44) as evidence that these two scenes are meant to mirror each other as examples of Israel's fate being tied to its fidelity with YHWH. The repetition of the name Ebenezer, in this view, is part of this symmetrical arrangement. The use of Ebenezer in 1 Samuel 4 and 5 before the erection of the monument stone is an anachronism with many parallels in the OT; for instance, the mention of Bethel in Gen 12:8 before it is named by Jacob in Gen 28:19 (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 146). Hertzberg (*1 and 2 Samuel* OTL, 68–69) underlines this point with respect to the geography of Ebenezer when he observes that the problems posed in locating an "Ebenezer" based on these conflicting references were of little moment to the narrator, whose concerns were theological rather than historical.

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JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON
JOHN F. KUTSKO

EBER (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēber*]. **1.** A son of Shelah (Gen 11:14), and the father of Peleg (Gen 11:16), and Joktan (Gen 10:24–25). Eber lived a total of 464 years. Gen 10:21 designates Shem as the father (i.e., ancestor) of all the sons of Eber. The association of the name Eber with the name of Ebrium *(eb-rî-um),* a king of the 3d millennium B.C. Syrian city of Ebla (Matthiae 1976: 109; Pettinato 1976: 47), remains an unproven possibility (Archi 1979: 565; Loretz 1984: 190–92). The root of Eber, *ʿbr,* may appear as a verb in West Semitic ("to cross over") and Akkadian ("to cross over water"). The intention of the note in Gen 10:21 seems to be to relate Eber to the Hebrews, with which it shares the same root (Wenham *Genesis* WBC, 228). It is disputed whether this implies that the author of Genesis 10 considered both Eber's sons as well as all their descendants to be "sons of Eber" (Haran WHJP 2: 288 n. 35). The use of "Hebrew" in Genesis and throughout the rest of the Bible is a separate matter for consideration. Its relationship to Eber depends on how the name is intended in the context of Gen 10:21–29; as referring to a geographic region (cf. the Akkadian *eber nāri,* "beyond the river"; Gunkel *Genesis* HKAT 3/1, 80; Cazelles *POTT:* 22; Thompson 1974: 305–6, although he recognizes a possible exception for Eber), as referring to an ethnic group (Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 218–20; Malamat 1968: 166–67; Koch 1969: 39–40, 71–78; Loretz 1984: 183–90; on the *ʿapîru* and their relationship to Eber, cf. also Bottéro 1954 and Greenberg 1955), as referring only to a personal name in a genealogical list (Westermann *Genesis* BKAT, 700–1), or as referring to a sociopolitical group (Oded 1986: 19–22).

2. The seventh of seven kinsmen (or clans) dwelling in the territory of Gad in the area of Bashan and Gilead (1 Chr 5:13). Some Hebrew manuscripts read *ʿbd,* "servant," followed by LXX A, and other LXX manuscripts read *ōbēd,* LXX B, which reads *iōbēd.*

3. The first of three sons of Elpaal, a Benjaminite (1 Chr 8:12). Some Hebrew manuscripts and the LXX read *ʿbd,* "servant."

4. The second of eleven sons of Shashak, a Benjaminite (1 Chr 8:22). The LXX reads *ōbēd.*

5. At the time of Joiakim, the head of the priestly clan of Amok, who returned to Jerusalem from exile in Babylonia (Neh 12:20). A few Hebrew manuscripts and the LXX *(ōbēd)* read *ʿbd.*

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RICHARD S. HESS

EBER (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēber*]. Mentioned along with Asshur in the final prophecy of Balaam as a place afflicted by ships from Kittim (Num 24:24). The LXX, Syr, and Vg see here a reference to the "Hebrews," rather than to a specific place. Targum Onkelos reads *lʿbr prt,* "to Eber Perat," the area of N Mesopotamia. The oracle seems to refer to the Sea Peoples' invasion of the Levantine coast, ca. 1200 B.C. (Albright 1944: 226–31), although later sources find applications of the oracle in the invasions of Alexander the Great (1 Macc 1:1), of the Seleucids (*Ant* 13.6.7; Noth 1968: 194), and of the Romans (Dan 11:30 LXX). Eber in Num 24:24 may therefore be understood either as a general reference to the Israelites (through their eponymous ancestor mentioned in Gen 10:21–24; 11:14–17; Koch 1969: 75–78; de Vaulx, *Numbers* SoBi, 296–97; Wenham, *Numbers* TOTC, 182; Budd, *Numbers* WBC, 271) or, less likely, as a reference to N Syria as the region "beyond *(ʿbr)* the river (Euphrates)" (Gray, *Numbers* ICC, 379).

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RICHARD S. HESS

EBEZ (PLACE) [Heb *ʾebeṣ*]. A town listed in the tribal territory of Issachar (Josh 19:20). The RSV and AV render the name Abez, transliterating the pausal form of the name. The name seems to be a cognate of the PN Ibzan (Heb *ʾibṣān;* Judg 12:8–10), and Boling (*Judges* AB, 215) associates the Heb root with the meaning "swift." The LXX^{B} reads *rebes* here, suggesting a Heb vorläge *rēbeṣ,* "resting place." The location of Ebez is unknown, although it has been suggested that it be identified with ʿAin el-Ḥbuṣ (or el-ʿAbuṣ), between Aulam and Sirin (*WDB,* 145).

EBIONITES. An early Christian sect known for its observance of some form of the Jewish law. Its members were regarded as heretical by the Church Fathers. The earliest undisputed use of the term Ebionites (usually

Ebiōnaioi in Gk, *Ebionaei* or *Ebionitae* in Lat) appeared in the 2d century in the *Contra Haereses* of Irenaeus of Lyon, who recorded it as the name of a Christian group he considered heretical because they lived according to Jewish law. However, the term has an earlier history, having evolved into a sectarian name from the generic biblical Hebrew word *ʾebyônîm*, meaning "the poor." The significance of this earlier evolution has long been a subject of dispute.

The beginning of publication of the Qumran scrolls renewed an old debate on the question whether various NT references to "the poor" *(ptōchoi)* could help in retracing the history of the Ebionite heresy. The Qumran manuscripts include references to "the poor" which can be seen as semitechnical terms, midway between the generic biblical Hebrew use (e.g., in Psalms) and the use by Irenaeus. For example, in a commentary on Psalm 37, the Qumran writer describes his group as *ʿādat hā-ʾebyônîm*, "the congregation of the poor" (4QpPs37 III.10). Such references were noted by Teicher (1951), who proposed that the Qumran texts were written by Christian Ebionites; his proposal is emphatically rejected by most scholars, who find no evidence at all of Christianity at Qumran. At the other end of the spectrum, Keck (1965, 1966) essentially denies that Qumran, NT, and patristic references to "the poor" can help illuminate one another. The question as to whether the data from Qumran and the NT are useful for understanding Ebionite origins and history depends on what varieties of Jewish sectarianism and of early Christianity influenced the group.

Paul referred to certain early Christians in Jerusalem as "the poor" (Rom 15:26; Gal 2:10; Fitzmyer 1955). There is insufficient evidence to determine whether some of the Jewish law-observant Christians around James in Jerusalem designated themselves "the poor," though Jas 2:1–7, referring to the poor man in the synagogue, suggests such a term would not have been offensive. What can be asserted on the basis of patristic literature is that the Ebionites associated themselves with early Christians who observed Jewish law. They rejected Paul's view of Jewish law (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1 26.2) and possibly encouraged the view that they were represented among the Jerusalem Christians who supposedly fled Jerusalem before 70 C.E. for Pella (as suggested by Epiphanius' account in *Haer.* 30.2).

All patristic accounts agree that Ebionites observed some version of Jewish law (including, e.g., circumcision). In addition, according to Irenaeus, Ebionites used only the Gospel of Matthew, venerated Jerusalem, and regarded Jesus' birth as natural (the patristic references are conveniently gathered in Kiljn and Reinink 1973). Tertullian repeats the complaints that Ebionites observed Jewish law and denied the Virgin Birth, regarding Jesus as merely a prophet, but adds that their founder was a person named Ebion *(Hebion)*, presumably on the false assumption that all heresies can be traced to an eponymous founder. According to Hippolytus, Ebionites claimed that Jesus became Christ as a result of observing the law. Origen dismisses Ebionites as "poor in understanding" for insisting that Jesus was sent only to the Jews. By the 4th century, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Jerome repeated familiar criticisms, but added some uncertainty as to which apocryphal gospels were used by Ebionites and other Jewish-Christian groups (see EBIONITES, GOSPEL OF THE); also, they allowed that some Ebionites may have accepted the Virgin Birth.

Epiphanius' long account of Ebionites (*Haer.* 30; see Koch 1976) assigns some portions of the pseudo-Clementine literature to them; this literature, which has a complex composition history (see CLEMENTINES, PSEUDO-), includes strongly dualistic theology, speaks of a reincarnated true prophet, and has Peter speak against Paul's view of law. Other innovations include vegetarianism and the rejection of portions of Hebrew scripture. Additionally, Epiphanius asserts that Ebionites had come under the influence of the revelation of Elchasai. See ELCHASAITES.

The Bible translator SYMMACHUS is occasionally mentioned as an Ebionite. His translation of Zech 9:9, for example, renders the characterization of the humble (Heb *ʿonî*) donkey-riding Messiah as *ptōchos*, poor. However, little is known of Symmachus, so this possible identification adds little to our knowledge of Ebionites.

Among possible allusions to Ebionites in Rabbinic literature, one of the more likely appears in *b. Šabb.* 116a, wherein rabbis debate whether to save books of the *minim* (heretics) in the case of fire. If one allows for a slight self-censoring spelling of the names, the rabbis consider books found in the house of Ebionites *(by'bydn)* relatively more worth saving than books in the house of Nazarenes (see NAZARENES). In favor of this reading, it may be noted that the rabbis were more inclined to condemn Nazarenes, whereas Church writers were more inclined to condemn Ebionites.

Many questions remain concerning the evolution of the Ebionites and their relation to other Jewish-Christian groups. After the accounts in Epiphanius and Jerome, Ebionites fade from history.

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STEPHEN GORANSON

EBIONITES, GOSPEL OF THE. The name given by scholars to a presumed Judaic-Christian gospel, now lost. The matter of these Judaic-Christian gospels, namely, the *Gospel of the Ebionites*, the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, and the *Gospel of the Nazoraeans* has been called the most irritating problem in the NT Apocrypha.

Confusion stems from the fact that the title "Gospel of

the Ebionites" is never used by the Fathers. Rather, it is the creation of modern scholarship to reference a specific source cited by Epiphanius. He quotes from "The gospel which is called with them (viz. the Ebionites) according to Matthew which is not complete but falsified and distorted, they call it the Hebrew Gospel . . ." (*Haer.* 30.13.1). He further states that the Ebionites "also accept the gospel according to Matthew. For they too use only this like the followers of Cerinthus and Merinthus. They call it 'according to the Hebrews' which name is correct since Matthew is the only one in the NT who issued the gospel and the proclamation in Hebrew and with Hebrew letters" (30.3.7). Yet elsewhere, in the *Anacephalaiosis* (t. 2.30.2), a précis of the *Haer.* which may or may not be Epiphanian, it is said that the Ebionites "use the gospels *(euaggeliois).*"

We have other early reports concerning the Ebionites' choice of texts; these only further confuse the picture. Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.26.2; cf. 3.11.7) states that "they use the Gospel according to Matthew only." Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.27.4) says that they used "only the so-called Gospel according to the Hebrews and made small account of the rest." How these contradictory statements are to be resolved is unclear.

The Ebionites are described by the Fathers as law-abiding Jews, who rejected Paul. They apparently rejected the Virgin Birth, arguing that Jesus was the natural son of Mary and Joseph, and was adopted by God. Even after Christ descended on Jesus in the form of a dove at his baptism, Jesus remained simply a man. The Ebionites appear to have had an abhorrence of sacrifice; they may have used water in the Eucharist (on Ebionite beliefs, see Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30.2; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.27.1–6; Schoeps 1953; Klijn and Reinink 1973; EBIONITES).

The name Ebionite is correctly derived from the Hebrew *'bywnym*, which means "poor men" (Or. *princ.* 4.3.80). Tertullian is the first to derive it (incorrectly) from the purported founder of the sect, a certain man named "Ebion." The Fathers make word plays on the name "Ebionite," saying that it is an appropriate name, reflecting the "poverty" of the Ebionites' understanding of the "true" (from the Fathers' point of view) meaning of the Scriptures.

Epiphanius quotes the gospel used by the Ebionites a total of seven times. Most of his citations are of reasonable length, permitting us some insight into the nature of the document. It appears to have been harmonized, woven from traditions found in the Synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke). Johannine parallels are not found. Because of these characteristics, which distinguish it from the other Judaic-Christian gospels quoted by the Fathers, scholarship appears justified in positing a distinct document and designating it the "Gospel of the Ebionites."

In connection with his remarks about the Ebionites' rejection of the Virgin Birth, Epiphanius quotes what he says is the beginning of their gospel; and indeed, it appears to omit the genealogies and Virgin Birth account, commencing, rather, with John the Baptist's mission. The opening story is similar to that in Mark, although harmonized from all three Synoptic Gospels.

It is difficult to determine which if any of the canonical gospels provides the framework for the *Gospel of the Ebionites.* Similarly, one is hard pressed to state the original language. Despite the statements of Epiphanius (*Haer.* 30.3.7), scholars have usually argued for Greek. This is because of a substitution in Frag. 2 (Vielhauer's numbering in *NTApocr* 1: 117–39, 153–58), which seems to have been elicited by the similarity of the words in Greek (so Dibelius): *egkris* (oil-baked cake) is substituted for the canonical *akris* (locust). A dissenting position, however, is that of Boismard, who detects two traditions in Epiphanius' quotations from the gospel used by the Ebionites. One is a later, more developed tradition, which is probably a Greek language original; the second is a much more primitive tradition and has a strong imprint of a Semitic language. It is this latter tradition which Boismard equates with the Hebrew (i.e., pre-Greek) recension of Matthew—the document described by Epiphanius.

The harmonized form of the *Gospel of the Ebionites* is noteworthy. Jerome reports that Theophilus of Antioch created a harmony of the Gospels (*Ep. ad Algasiam* [121] 6), and Eusebius *(Ep. Carp.)* tells of a synopsis of the gospels, created by Ammonius of Alexandria. Investigations into the gospel text of Justin show that he used a harmony which incorporated the Synoptics, but not John (Bellinzoni 1967: 140). The date of Justin's gospel text, its harmonized form, and its failure to incorporate John are all reminiscent of the Ebionite gospel. The relationship between Justin's gospel and the Ebionite gospel, if any, is unclear at present. It is plain, however, that the genre was known, and Bertrand has argued that the harmonized *Gospel of the Ebionites* antedates the DIATESSARON of Tatian, which was composed about 170 C.E.

Frag. 1 (Vielhauer's numbering), which speaks of "Jesus . . . who invited *us*," led Lagrange (1922) and Waitz (1937) to equate the *Gospel of the Ebionites* with the *Gospel of the Twelve*, mentioned by Origen and Jerome. This seems both unnecessary and unlikely, as Klijn and Reinink (1973) have pointed out, for the same Fragment also speaks of "you, Matthew," which would infer that Matthew is the putative author.

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WILLIAM L. PETERSEN

EBLA TEXTS. The texts discovered at Ebla (Tell Mardikh in NW Syria), which constitute the largest single find of 3d millennium B.C. cuneiform texts so far recovered anywhere in the Near East. Estimates of the number of texts have varied widely and have not always taken into account the distinctions made by the excavators in describing the tablets. Alfonso Archi, epigrapher of the Missione Archeologica Italiana in Syria, has counted 1,757 tablets (defined as complete or nearly complete texts), 4,875 fragments (that is, incomplete pieces which may have up to ten columns of writing), and many thousands of chips (that is, small pieces having only a few lines or parts of lines) (Archi 1986c: 78). A single room in the palace, L. 2769, yielded more than 14,000 inventory numbers (Matthiae 1986: 56).

A. Introduction
B. Chronological Considerations
C. Language of the Ebla Texts
D. Problem of "Reading" the Eblaite Language
E. Ebla and the Bible
F. Administrative Texts
G. Lexical Texts
H. Literary Texts
I. Letters and Diplomatic Texts
J. Colophons
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A. Introduction

Although not mentioned in the Bible, Ebla has long been known from Mesopotamian cuneiform texts, especially those of the Dynasty of Akkad (*RG* 1: 37–38) and the Ur III period (Owen and Veenker 1987: 263–91) as a major Syrian city of the 3d millennium B.C. Since many important cities of that time in both Syria and Mesopotamia continued to be occupied for many centuries, Tell Mardikh presents a rare instance where substantial 3d millennium remains lie near the present surface of the mound (Biggs 1981: 132). This fact combines with the special circumstance of the destruction of the Ebla palace by a violent fire that may have helped to preserve some of the tablets by baking them. While accidental baking of the tablets is certainly possible, it is also likely that the large summary account tablets, the tablets of a distinctly diplomatic archival nature, and the large lexical tablets were baked intentionally and that the small daily account tablets—that would normally have been destroyed or recycled when their contents had been entered in the summary tablets—were unbaked at the time of the fire. The tablets were originally arranged on shelves (Matthiae 1981 unnumbered figs. following p. 80, etc.), which collapsed presumably at the time of the fire. There have been differences of opinion on the physical arrangement of the tablets on the shelves (Pettinato 1981a: 50, challenged by Matthiae 1986: 64), but Matthiae's opinion is upheld by Archi (1988e: 67–69), who has provided detailed drawings of the reconstructed shelves.

The other principal finds of comparable 3d millennium cuneiform texts were likewise made at sites that were largely unoccupied beyond the end of the 3d millennium B.C. Previous major finds were in Iraq at Fara (ancient Šuruppak) in 1902–3 and at Abu Salabikh in 1963 and 1965. The Fara literary and lexical texts and the Abu Salabikh texts are described in detail by Biggs (1974: 35–42). A few additional tablets have been found in subsequent excavations at Abu Salabikh (Biggs and Postgate 1978: 101–17). Recently, administrative documents similar to some of those found at Ebla have been discovered at the Syrian site of Mari as long ago as the 1930s, but have only recently been published (Charpin 1987: 65–127).

A considerable amount has been written concerning the relations between Ebla and Mari. The most extensive survey is found in Gelb (fc.), where he discusses such questions as the writing system and the language of Mari and Ebla and its relation to certain features of the Akkadian used in texts found at Kish, use of the decimal system at Ebla, Mari, and Abu Salabikh, systems of measures, the month names, and year dates. (See also Archi 1985b: 47–51; 1985c: 53–58; 1985d: 63–83; 1985f: 25–34; 1988c: nos. 1–17; Pettinato 1977: 20–28; 1980b: 231–45; Edzard 1981b: 89–97; Kienast 1980: 247–61; Pomponio 1983a: 191–203; Pinnock 1985: 85–92).

In the early stages of the study of the Ebla tablets, it was believed that the geographical names found in them indicated that Ebla was the capital of a major Near Eastern empire in the 3d millennium B.C. which included Akkad, Assyria, Byblos, and parts of Anatolia (Pettinato 1976a: 45–46), a fact that is reflected in the titles of books about Ebla (Matthiae 1977, revised English translation 1981; Pettinato 1979b and English translation 1981a). The identification of the Mesopotamian city of "Agade" turned out to be a mistaken reading (Matthiae 1978: 540–43), and the reading of the signs A-BAR-SAL$_4$ as Assur (Pettinato 1976a: 48) is considered by many scholars to be dubious as well (Sollberger 1980: 130–55; Biggs 1982: 17; Lambert 1987: 353–64), although it is still maintained by Pettinato (1986: 286–87). Byblos (the Gk designation of the city whose name is normally written in cuneiform as *Gub-la*) was thought (Pettinato 1981a: 209; 1983a: 107–18) to be found in the writing DU-*lu* in the Ebla texts, but because *gub* has not yet been identified with certainty as a reading of the sign DU in Ebla texts (Krebernik 1982: 185), this identification is generally abandoned (Archi 1987e: 15–16; Fronzaroli 1984–86: 141; Michalowski 1988: 100–1). There were certainly diplomatic and cultural ties between Ebla and Kish in northern Mesopotamia (Gelb 1981: 9–73; Biggs 1981: 131–33; Archi 1987a: 125–40; 1987c: 37–52), but Nippur and the cities of central Sumer are not yet found in the Ebla tablets. This seems all the more reason to doubt that Dilmun (Pettinato 1983b: 75–82; Stieglitz 1987: 43–46) is correctly identified in the Ebla texts (Michalowski 1988: 100–1).

Much has been made of the supposed occurrences of Canaan in the Ebla texts (Pettinato 1981a: 341 index s.v.), but it is not certain that the writings *Ga-na-na* and *Ga-na-*NE can be interpreted that way (Edzard 1981b: 95).

Whatever may have been the extent of the commercial relations of Ebla, the idea of an empire in a political sense is explicitly denied by Archi (1985a: 145) who points out that there were local rulers even at Hama only 90 km to the S and that the Eblaite territory to the W stopped at the mountains which delimit the Syrian coastal region. He believes that the kingdom of Ebla included the plain of Antioch, but that its N border was probably the foothills which now define the border between Syria and Turkey.

There is no mention of Egypt in the Ebla texts, but inscribed vases of the Egyptian pharaohs Cephren and Pepi I were found in Royal Palace G (Scandone Matthiae 1979: 33–43) as well as uninscribed Egyptian vases (Scandone Matthiae 1981: 99–127).

B. Chronological Considerations

The date of the Ebla archives has been discussed at great length, but without dwelling on the particulars here, it can be said that the excavator, Paolo Matthiae, now dates the Royal Palace, Area A, to the early Proto-Syrian period, ca. 2400–2250 B.C. (Matthiae 1985: 134–37). Alfonso Archi, the epigrapher of the expedition, dates the archives to approximately the middle of the 24th century B.C. (Archi 1985a: 140); that is, in Mesopotamian terminology, late Pre-Sargonic and the early part of the reign of Sargon of Akkad.

Since there are so far no 3d millennium B.C. royal inscriptions from Ebla, all chronological and genealogical information comes from the administrative documents, where it is only incidental to the purpose of the particular documents. The section "relative chronology" in Archi (1988a: 205–21) should especially be consulted in this regard. The best current estimate is that the Ebla archives cover thirty to forty years (Archi 1985a: 140; 1988a: 218).

The kings of Ebla are designated by the Sumerian title EN, corresponding to *malikum* in Eblaite (Pettinato 1981a: 74; Archi 1987c: 17–43). Pettinato (1981a: 69) gives the following as kings of Ebla: Igriš-Halam, Irkab-Damu, Ar-Ennum, Ibrium, and Ibbi-Sipiš. Two of these names now require different readings: Ar-Ennum is to be read Arru-LUM (Archi 1988a: 208), and Ibbi-Sipiš is to be read Ibbi-zikir, as many scholars recognized early (Gelb 1977: 21; see now Archi 1988a: 208). Archi has demonstrated that the evidence that suggested that Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir were kings was misinterpreted and that in fact they were only high officials in the kingdom (Archi 1988a: 209–12, 219). The texts concerning offerings to dead kings (Archi 1986a: 213–17; 1988a: 212) provide a list of previous kings of the dynasty (that is, excluding the king who was ruling when the document was drawn up), while the title "king of Ebla" in the Ebla archives is attested for only two individuals: Igriš-Halam and Irkab-Damu (Archi 1988a: 215).

C. Language of the Ebla Texts

Although written in the cuneiform writing system of Sumer, the ancient language of Ebla is beyond doubt Semitic, but its position within the Semitic family of languages remains in dispute. Pettinato (*RLA* 5: 12 and elsewhere) considers it Old Canaanite, but based partly on mistaken assumptions such as the supposed occurrences of *ik-túb*, "he wrote" (Pettinato 1981a: 56). The signs in question are now to be interpreted as GÁL-TAK$_x$, a Sumerogram for an accounting term (Alberti 1984: 65–74).

Gelb (1977: 28) concluded that Eblaite (or Eblaic or Eblaitic as others prefer to designate the language) is most closely related to Old Akkadian and Amorite. On the other hand, Sollberger (1986: 1) goes further than Gelb in insisting that it *is* Akkadian (his italics), while another scholar identifies it as a dialect of Akkadian (Dombrowski 1988: 211–35). It should be borne in mind that different scholars attribute differing importance to such matters as vocabulary, verbal system, pronominal system, phonology, and syntax. It should also be remembered that most of the analysis of the Eblaite language is not based on connected texts but rather on interpretation of the personal names (Krebernik 1988a; Archi 1988a: 205–306). The highly formalized administrative documents yield little information that would be of real significance in analyzing the language of the Ebla texts. On the other hand, most of the so-called historical texts with their syllabically written passages remain unpublished. A plausible reason for this is that texts written syllabically in the Eblaite language are extraordinarily difficult to interpret given the ambiguities of the script and the inadequate fashion in which the Sumerian writing system was adapted for writing a Semitic language (Krecher 1987: 177–97; Michalowski 1988: 100; for a nontechnical discussion, see Biggs 1982: 14–15, 22). Nevertheless, it is hoped that the "historical" texts will eventually provide the best examples of connected passages in the Eblaite language. The few literary texts found at Ebla are unlikely to be of much help.

D. Problem of "Reading" the Eblaite Language

It is now generally agreed that most of the Ebla texts were intended to be *read* in Eblaite. The fact that they are written with an overwhelming number of Sumerograms (including entire verbal forms in Sumerian, all surely to be pronounced using their Eblaite equivalents) has sometimes led to the mistaken opinion that the texts were largely in Sumerian. In many instances the only evidence for the underlying Eblaite language is an occasional preposition or conjunction.

The handwriting of the Ebla cuneiform texts demonstrates a distinctive regional style immediately recognizable as different from any cuneiform writing known from Mesopotamia (for the question of regional cuneiform handwriting styles in general, see Biggs 1973: 39–46). Yet most signs are sufficiently similar to their Mesopotamian equivalents that scholars who can read the 3d millennium B.C. Mesopotamian signs rarely misidentify Ebla signs. Nevertheless, there are some notable divergences (Krecher 1987: 177–97).

A more serious problem than the identification of signs has been establishing the correct syllabic readings of signs. It is well known that many Sumerian cuneiform signs have two or more possible readings. Normally one would, at least at a preliminary stage, assume a reading in an Ebla text corresponding to the most common Mesopotamian values. Yet, a number of common signs have readings that are not immediately obvious. A prime example is the sign EN. As a logogram, EN stands for the Eblaite word for "king." It has a syllabic value *en* (as in the personal name En-na-il), but it is used more commonly with the reading *ru*$_{12}$ (Krebernik 1982: 186; Civil 1984a: 78). An example is the reading of the "royal" name *Arennum, which has now been revised to *Ar-ru*$_{12}$-LUM (where even the last syllable is of uncertain reading—*lum*, *núm*, *gúm*, and *hum* are theoretically possible) (Archi 1988a: 208).

The possible readings of the sign NI have been the subject of a great deal of controversy, principally because some scholars have believed in a reading *ya* and held open a possibility that the syllable was an abbreviation of Yahweh

(with obvious religious-historical implications) in such names as En-na-NI, Iš-má-NI, and MI-kà-NI (Müller 1981: 70–92 and references cited there). A reading *i* (standard in Mesopotamia) has never been in doubt, and a reading bu_x is also certain (Krebernik 1982: 198; Civil 1984a: 77–78). A reading of NI as *ni* is apparently rare (Krebernik 1982: 198–99; Krecher 1988: 175) in the Ebla texts. In the case of the supposed Ya as a divine name, the solution seems now to come not from any syllabic reading of the sign NI, but from the Ebla treatment of consonants in a closed syllable, here specifically the consonant *l* (Archi 1986b: 246; 1988a: 263; Müller 1988: 72–73). The evidence is overwhelming that *l* is often not expressed in the writing at the beginning or end of a syllable. Thus *i* can be simply a short writing for *il*. It seems likely that *i* for *il* in personal names (where Il is a very common element) is especially frequent, because the sign NI (i.e., *i*) is very simple (4 easy stylus strokes) whereas *il* is a complicated sign (usually made up of 15 or more wedges at various angles).

A number of further examples of syllabic values at Ebla that might be unexpected could be given, but only two additional examples will be provided to illustrate the extent of the ambiguities and the degree of caution that is needed. It appears that the common sign RI does not have a value *ri* in Ebla texts, but only *dal/tal/ṭal*, which is especially clear in words beginning with a *ta-* preformative (Krebernik 1982: 200) and in feminine personal names (Fronzaroli 1987b: 63–73). The sign BU represents not only the syllable *bu* (more often expressed by *bù*) but also gi_x (based on Sum gíd).

While this is not a place for detailed discussion of the Eblaite writing system or of phonology, an additional feature should be mentioned: the problem of *l* and *r*. It has long been recognized that *l* can occur (at the beginning of a word, the beginning of a syllable, or the end of a syllable) where *r* would be expected (Archi 1980: 85, 87; Krecher 1984: 150; Müller 1988: 72). The contrary (use of a syllable with *r* where *l* is expected) is apparently not attested (Müller 1988: 72).

Some specific examples of potential ambiguities have been given here, but it should be stressed again that the Sumerian writing system was not well adapted to write a Semitic language with consonants that do not occur in Sumerian. It appears that the script, as adapted for use at Ebla, made no distinction, or at least no clear distinction, between different kinds of stops and the various sibilants (Krecher 1988: 175).

E. Ebla and the Bible

Soon after the discovery of the Ebla tablets, speculation arose concerning possible relationships to the OT (Pettinato 1976a: 48–50; 1980c: 49–72; Freedman 1978: 143–64; 1982: 309–35). The principal advocate of the theory that the Ebla tablets were of direct relevance for the study of the OT was the late Mitchell Dahood (1982: 1–24; 1984: 439–70; for additional references, see Baldacci and Pomponio 1987: 455 index ad Dahood). A famous example of Dahood's work is a text of which he confidently "translated" what he believed to be a proverb written in Canaanite but which turned out to be a text listing Sumerian terms for cuts of meat. Most of his other attempts at elucidating texts from Ebla or texts in the Bible based on his interpretation of Ebla vocabulary cannot be as decisively rejected, but scholars who are knowledgeable about the cuneiform writing of the 3d millennium B.C. tend to be very dubious about his theories. The issue now seems to be principally one of historical interest when looking back upon the development of a new field of Near Eastern studies. Jonas Greenfield (1988: 94), referring to article of Dahood, neatly reflects the scholarly consensus when he writes, "Suffice it to say that Ebla has no bearing on the prophets, minor or major."

F. Administrative Texts

Approximately 80 percent of the 3d millennium B.C. tablets found at Ebla are administrative (Archi 1985a: 140). Many of these tablets may not be from archives in the technical sense of a collection or repository of records no longer in use, but rather are preserved for their historical value (Veenhof 1986: 7). However, it seems useful to follow the usual practice in Assyriology and to utilize the term "archive" to include texts stored or found together or which originated in the same administrative context (see detailed discussion in Veenhof 1986: 1–36). Although the term "library" has been used occasionally to refer to the tablets found at Ebla, the term "archives" has been used more generally.

The archives provide documentation for the activities of the various administrative sectors of the Ebla kingdom such as food supplies for the palace and its dependents (Archi 1982: 173–88; 1988b: 25–29; Milano 1987: 519–50), agricultural production and animal husbandry (Archi 1982: 175–76; 1984c: 45–81; Gelb 1986: 157–67; Milano 1984a; Renger 1987: 293–311), transactions in precious metals (Archi 1985f: 25–34; 1988c; Waetzoldt 1981: 363–78), and, with a vast documentation, the textile industry (Edzard 1981a; Biga and Milano 1984; Zaccagnini 1984: 189–204; Ribichini and Xella 1985; Sollberger 1986; Archi 1988c).

The tablets recording these administrative activities were stored in several different rooms of the palace (see Archi 1985a: 140–41 for a brief summary and 1986c: 72–86 for a detailed discussion of the particular archives).

Some of the tablets are dated, but the sequence within an archive can usually be determined best by internal evidence, principally by prosopography, since the order of the Ebla year names is not yet known (Archi 1986c: 72; see also Pomponio 1987a: 249–62 and Mander 1987: 395–407). Even prosopography is of limited use, however, because a number of persons bore similar names and patronymics are rarely given. No documents so far discovered bear seal impressions, though seals were in use for other purposes (Mazzoni 1984: 18–45).

G. Lexical Texts

Word lists (or lexical texts as they are usually called by Assyriologists) form the backbone of the Mesopotamian scribal tradition from near the beginning of writing in the early 3d millennium B.C. through the 2d and 1st millennia B.C. with bilingual vocabularies (usually Sumerian and Akkadian but, depending on the area, including Hittite and other languages), ending with Greek transcriptions of the Sumerian entries. The texts of interest to us here are

those of the 3d millennium B.C. (see especially Westenholz 1985: 294–98). Such lists of words are mostly thematic, and consist almost entirely of nouns. It is copies of such texts which make up the most important component of the lexical texts from Ebla (Pettinato 1981a: 46–47, 237–38; Biggs 1981: 129–32). Some of these texts are descended from the lexical traditions of early 3d millennium B.C. Uruk (Nissen 1981: 99–108). The best known of these is Early Dynastic (ED) Lu A (Civil 1969: 4–12; Arcari 1982), a list of occupations already ancient by the time of the Ebla tablets. Its archaic nature is indicated by the inclusion of cuneiform signs unknown except in copies of this list. Another list of occupations, ED Lu E, probably composed closer to the middle of the 3d millennium B.C., occurs at Abu Salabikh (Biggs 1974: nos. 54–60, edited in Civil 1969: 16–21, with corrections in Biggs 1974: 82), Kish, and Ebla (Pettinato 1976b: 169–78). An unrelated text of similar date, now known from Abu Salabikh and Ebla, was first published as a "Names and Professions List" (Biggs 1974 nos. 61–81 and edition pp. 62–71; Ebla version Archi 1981a: 177–204; 1984d: 171–74; cf. Biggs 1988: 91–96).

There is a list of geographical names first found at Abu Salabikh (Biggs 1974 nos. 91–111 and edition pp. 71–78), of which a version was also found at Ebla (Pettinato 1978a: 50–73; 1981b: 217–41; Pomponio 1983b: 285–88). A proposal to find Palestinian place names in this list (Shea 1983: 589–612) is generally rejected by scholars (Greenfield 1988: 94). See Steinkeller (1986: 31–40) for some specific identifications; he categorically rejects a proposal to see in the writing *U₉-ga-ra-ad* the name of the city of Ugarit, a conclusion also reached by Fronzaroli (1984–86: 145). The consensus now is that many of the place names are to be located generally in N Babylonia and the Trans-Tigris area and thus are not to be sought either in S Mesopotamia (not explicitly proposed by any scholar) or in the Syrian area (Pettinato 1976a: 52). Most scholars who have considered the question apparently agree with Biggs (1980: 84–85; 1981: 130–31) in rejecting a Syrian origin for the composition (Civil 1984c: 290; Steinkeller 1986: 31–32).

Other traditional Sumerian lexical texts found at Ebla include lists of birds (Pettinato 1978b: 165–78; 1981b: nos. 39–42 and pp. 105–23; Civil 1982: 17–22), fishes (Pettinato 1981b: 91–104), and practical repertories of words needed in writing everyday documents commonly known as "Practical Vocabularies" (Civil 1987a: 132–33).

Besides the numerous examples of Sumerian word lists directly related to those from Mesopotamia, Ebla has provided others so far unknown from elsewhere (Civil 1984a: 77). The most important of these texts is the Ebla Vocabulary published by Pettinato (1982: 115–343). It consists in most cases of a list of Sumerian words to which an Eblaite translation has been added. This list consists of nearly 1,500 lines and is known almost in its entirety from numerous exemplars (Archi 1980: 81–89); Fales 1984: 173–87). There is also the Ebla "Syllabary" (Pettinato 1981b: 51–52), which is more precisely a sign list with sign names (Civil 1984a: 77; Archi 1987d: 91–113).

There is another genre of lexical text that should be mentioned in this context, notable for its absence at Ebla: lists of deities (see also PANTHEONS, MESOPOTAMIAN). The lack of godlists among the lexical texts at Ebla may be accidental, of course. In the absence of such texts, however, the pantheon of Ebla has been reconstructed mainly on the basis of offering lists (Pettinato 1979d). The repertory of deities in the personal names is a somewhat less reliable criterion for establishing the Ebla pantheon since some of the divine names occur in the names of individuals from other areas (Archi 1984a: 225–56; 1985c: 53–58). Deities occurring in the literary texts, notably the incantations and Edzard (1984 no. 6), should be excluded from consideration in reconstructing the pantheon since the texts clearly did not originate at Ebla.

H. Literary Texts

Compared to Fara and Abu Salabikh, Ebla has yielded very few literary texts (Biggs 1981: 124–29), even fewer than initial descriptions indicated. The principal group of literary texts (in the widest sense) consists of incantations (Mander 1979: 335–39; Pettinato 1979a: 329–51; Krebernik 1984; Edzard 1984: 32). Of the other literary texts, a major example is Edzard's (1984 no. 6), which has been recognized as being a duplicate of a text from Abu Salabikh (Biggs 1974 no. 326, 342; Biga apud Edzard 1984: 30). The two versions studied together allow a better understanding of a number of passages than does either version alone. Both versions include a number of Sumerograms, but there are enough Semitic words (including pronominal suffixes) to indicate that the text is written in a Semitic language. Because the Abu Salabikh version is presumably earlier than that from Ebla, there is no reason to suggest that the language is the Semitic language of Ebla (Michalowski 1987: 171).

The supposed Creation of the World story found among the literary texts of Ebla (Pettinato 1979b: 278; 1980c: 59–67; 1980d: 46–47) has attracted a certain amount of interest. The composition, consisting of three exercise tablets, is also published by Edzard (1984 nos. 24–26 and pls. 40, 41, 53). The text is more convincingly intepreted by Civil (1984a: 80–81 and nos. 9–10) as a list of Sumerian personal names beginning with LUGAL, followed by two lines of literary quotations (Hruška 1985: 289–90).

One of the tablets originally identified as a proverb (Pettinato 1979c: 174 no. 1833; also published by Edzard 1984 no. 23) was "translated" by M. Dahood (1978: 93), who asserted that "The proverb appears to be pure Canaanite, containing not a word of Sumerian":

> Donate without measure,
> Donate without weighing;
> Make presents without measure,
> Make presents without weighing.

The text has subsequently been identified (Civil 1984b: 161–63) as an exercise tablet containing syllabic Sumerian words for cuts of meat, corresponding to the standard Sumerian of Ebla Word List D (Pettinato 1981b: 172, lines 50–53).

I. Letters and Diplomatic Texts

The letters and diplomatic records found among the Ebla archives are potentially among the most interesting and important, though formidable obstacles remain before they can be understood. These texts, with very few

exceptions, are unpublished. To judge from the published examples, these texts are more likely to be written syllabically, that is, with few Sumerograms that would give modern scholars major clues to their contents. However, these published examples are fraught with difficulties which provide the basis for differing interpretations. One example is the so-called treaty tablet (Pettinato 1986: 389–95; Sollberger 1980: 130–55; Lambert 1987: 353–64 and references cited there). Doubts about reading "Assur" in this text have already been mentioned. A further example of disagreements concerning interpretation is Pettinato's belief that a certain sequence of signs is to be interpreted as Tudia, the first king in the Assyrian King List (Pettinato 1986: 287–88). The same signs have been interpreted as a form of the Sum verb È, "to go out, to send out" (Biggs 1980: 81–82; Sollberger 1980: 131). Nothing more can be said concerning those texts until they are published.

J. Colophons

The literary and lexical texts from the 3d millennium B.C. are often accompanied by a colophon (see in general Biggs 1974: 33–35). Such colophons usually include the name of the scribe who copied the tablet (most often indicated by *dub mu-sar*, "wrote the tablet"). Some of the names could also be those of other scribes or scholars who were involved in the production of earlier copies or who participated in some other way in the preparation of the tablet or its text (Mander 1984: 345–57). A surprising feature of the Abu Salabikh colophons was that approximately half the names in the colophons were Semitic rather than Sumerian (Biggs 1967: 55–66; 1974: 33–35; 1988: 89–98). Some of the Ebla literary and lexical texts bear colophons similar to those found at Abu Salabikh (Pettinato 1981a: 231–32; Mander 1984: 357–61). It is even possible that one of the best attested scribes (Lugal-kisal-si) from Abu Salabikh is also attested in a colophon on a text from Ebla (Pettinato 1981b: xxvii, no. 88). If this is correct, it may indicate a direct manuscript connection between the scholars at Abu Salabikh and at Ebla.

K. Second Millennium Texts

While the finds in the 3d millennium B.C. Palace G at Ebla have attracted the most attention, substantial finds of 2d millennium B.C. materials have been made, including part of an inscribed statue that first suggested that the site of Tell Mardikh was ancient Ebla (Pettinato 1970: 73–76; Lambert 1981: 95–96). A letter written in Babylonian, probably from a private archive but found out of context, was discovered some years ago (Kupper 1980: 49–51); publication of further OB documents by Kupper is expected. Among the finds from a grave was a silver vessel with a cuneiform inscription. Excavations of Mardikh IIIB (ca. 1800–1600 B.C.) are continuing (Matthiae 1985: 138; 1988: 34–43), so perhaps more 2d millennium textual material will eventually be found.

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ROBERT D. BIGGS

EBRON (PLACE) [Heb *ʿebrôn*]. A town in the territory of Asher (Josh 19:28). Assuming confusion between the Hebrew letters *bet* and *reš,* the MT form here is likely a misspelling of the place name ABDON.

ECBATANA (PLACE) [Aram *ʾaḥmětāʾ*]. Place located in the Zagros mountains of NW Iran between Tehran and Baghdad which was the capital of the Median Empire (Ezra 6:2). The name derives from an Old Persian expression (*hagmatāna;* Gk *ekbatana*) meaning "gathering place." At the foot of Mt. Orontes, this city provided a cool summer retreat for the later Persian kings, subsequent to its capture by Cyrus from Astyages in the 6th century. Herodotus (1.98)—although some would dispute the accuracy of his statement—attributes its foundation to Deioces (died ca. 656 B.C.) and provides a description of its seven concentric walls of fortification. Ecbatana may have been one of the "towns of the Medes" to which Israelites were exiled by the Assyrians (2 Kgs 17:6).

Ezra 6:2 contains the only mention of this city in the OT. When Darius was searching for a record which would confirm Cyrus' decree (de Vaux *BANE,* 63–96) about the restoration of Jerusalem and its Temple, he could find nothing in the Babylonian archives. However, when the search was extended to the citadel of Ecbatana, a scroll was discovered and the claim of the Judeans substantiated (cf. 1 Esdr 6:23). This detail indicates the importance of Ecbatana as a government center, particularly for the Persian Empire.

Ecbatana figures in three apocryphal books—Tobit, Judith, and 2 Maccabees. In the book of Tobit (3:7; 6:5, 9; 7:1; 14:12, 14) Ecbatana is the home of Raguel, Tobit's brother. Tobias, the son of Tobit, stops at this city while on his way to collect money from Gabael, who lives in Rages, Media. During his stay in Ecbatana Tobias marries Sarah, the daughter of Raguel. Apart from indicating that Jews had dispersed as far as Ecbatana, little additional information about the city is provided.

Ecbatana is mentioned in Judith 1:1, 2, 14 as the headquarters of King Arphaxad, "who reigned over the Medes in Ecbatana." Nebuchadnezzar destroys Arphaxad's army in battle and spoils Ecbatana before turning his attention to the region of Judea, which had refused to assist him in his fight with Arphaxad. The major preoccupation of the author of Judith is with the awesome fortifications of Ecbatana, which rival those of Babylon.

According to 2 Macc 9:3, Antiochus IV died in the vicinity of Ecbatana. After his unsuccessful attempt to loot the treasures of Persepolis (9:1–2) and subsequent ignominious retreat, Antiochus received news of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus and their respective armies at the hands of the Judean rebels. This occurred "near Ecbatana." No other source links Ecbatana with Antiochus IV's

death and this has caused some scholars, such as Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB) to question its accuracy.

The modern city of Hamadan occupies the site of Ecbatana. Tradition alleges that the tombs of Esther and Mordecai lie in the middle of the city. Major archaeological investigation remains to be done at Ecbatana.

L. PERKINS

ECCLESIASTES, BOOK OF. One of the Five Megilloth (Scrolls), this biblical book characterizes life as utter futility, like shepherding or chasing the wind.

A. The Meaning of the Name
B. Literary Integrity
C. The Structure of the Book
D. The Historical Setting
E. The Literary Expression
F. Qoheleth's Teachings
G. The Larger Environment
H. Canonization
I. The Text

A. The Meaning of the Name

The Hebrew title of the book is "Qoheleth." The word "Qoheleth," from which the name "Ecclesiastes" derives, has been variously explained as a personal name, a nom de plume, an acronym, and a function. The difficulty of comprehending the meaning of the word "Qoheleth" is compounded by the fact that it seems to be understood differently within the book itself, where "Qoheleth" has the article at least once (12:8, although the same verse occurs in 1:2 where Qoheleth lacks the article). In all likelihood, the article also appears in 7:27, where "Qoheleth" has a feminine verb form, although the word "Qoheleth" is otherwise always construed as a masculine. The LXX supports a redivision of the consonants in 7:27, yielding *ʾmr hqhlt* ("says the Qoheleth").

The name occurs seven times:

1. The words of Qoheleth son of David, King in Jerusalem (1:1).
2. The ultimate absurdity, says Qoheleth, the ultimate absurdity; everything is absurd (1:2).
3. I Qoheleth have been king over Israel in Jerusalem (1:12).
4. Look, I have discovered this—says Qoheleth—[adding] one to one in order to find the sum (7:27).
5. The ultimate absurdity, says the Qoheleth, everything is absurd (12:8).
6. In addition to the fact that Qoheleth was a sage, he also taught the people knowledge (12:9a–b).
7. Qoheleth sought to find pleasing words and accurately wrote down trustworthy sayings (12:10).

Although the word "Qoheleth" is understood as masculine, its form is *Qal*, feminine participle. Elsewhere the root *qhl* is always *Hipʿil* or *Nipʿal* (causative or reflexive/passive). It thus means "to convoke," "to assemble" *(Hipʿil)* or "to be gathered" *(Nipʿal)*. Precedent exists for a masculine personal name with a feminine ending (Alameth, I Chr 7:8). This interpretation as a personal name clearly underlies the identification of Qoheleth as son of David, which occurs in the superscription to the book (1:2), but the idea of royal authorship ultimately derives from the book itself (1:12).

Three things weaken the argument for viewing "Qoheleth" as a personal name, a substitute for "Solomon": (1) the use of the article; (2) the identification of Qoheleth as a wise man *(ḥākām)*, presumably a technical term in this instance (12:9); and (3) the point of view from which the book is written, except for the royal fiction in 1:12–2:26. Elsewhere the author writes from the perspective of a subject powerless to redress the injustices perpetrated by higher officials. Of course, an additional factor renders impossible the identification of Qoheleth with royalty: David did not have a son named Qoheleth who succeeded him, for Solomon occupied the throne after his father's health failed.

Then is "Qoheleth" a nickname for Solomon? The link between this unusual form and "Solomon" could easily have arisen from the language in 1 Kgs 8:1–12, which reports that the king assembled the representatives of the people to Jerusalem. But the initiative to look for such a suitable text must surely have sprung from the author's self-presentation in 1:12–2:26, for Solomon's vast wealth supplies the imagined context for the royal experiment described in these verses. As we shall see, the Egyptian royal testament offers a prototype for this section of the book, but Qoheleth was not content to restrict his sayings to this literary form. Conceivably, the allusion to one shepherd in 12:11 reverts to the royal fiction earlier abandoned by the author, inasmuch as the image of the pharaohs as shepherds circulated widely in Egypt. Nevertheless, Qoheleth usually speaks as a teacher, not a king; therefore, another explanation for the name must be sought.

Does the strange form conceal an otherwise unknown identity? Is "Qoheleth" an acronym? It has been argued (Skehan 1971: 42–43) that the name for Agur's father in Prov 30:1a, Jakeh, represents the first letters of a sentence *(Yqh = yahweh qādôš hûʾ)*. Following this analogy, *qhlt* constitutes the abbreviation of a four-word sentence. But what would those words have been? So far, no satisfactory explanation along these lines has come to light. Some have even thought that Qoheleth stood for personified wisdom, a walking assembly of wise sayings, but elsewhere Dame Wisdom is always called *ḥôkmâ*. The most compelling answer to the enigma of the name points to two instances of a feminine participle functioning as an office (Ezra 2:55, 57; Neh 7:59). Two different occupations lie behind the personal names in these verses (a scribe and a binder of gazelles). Accordingly, Qoheleth refers to an office that was related in some way to assembling people. The LXX renders the word in this way, associating the noun for "assembly" with the word for a public gathering *(ekklēsia)*. Jerome continued that line of reasoning in the Vulgate, but stressed the role of speaking in the presence of an assembly. Now if Qoheleth gathered people, did he summon them to a cultic assembly? This understanding led to the Reformers' use of *Prediger* ("Preacher") with reference to this book, but biblical evidence for such a meaning does not exist. Whatever else Qoheleth did, he did not preach, at least not in the modern sense of the word.

Did Qoheleth assemble people to a school? That kind of activity accords with the epilogist's description in 12:9. The difficulty remains that Qoheleth consistently opposes traditional wisdom. To be sure, school wisdom possibly possessed the capacity to criticize itself in the manner demonstrated by the book. One could even say that Qoheleth democratizes wisdom, turning away from professional students to ordinary citizens. The use of *hʿm*, "the people," in 12:9, where one would naturally expect a reference to students, favors this interpretation of the situation. Furthermore, if the form *qĕhillâ* in Neh 5:7 actually means "harangue," then the word "Qoheleth" might refer to an office of "arguer" or "haranguer." However, Qoheleth does not present his observations in a manner that would justify this particular interpretation of the word under consideration.

The verb *qhl* always occurs with reference to an assembly of people. If the sense of the word could extend to the gathering of objects, then "Qoheleth" might refer to "collecting proverbs," the task for which the epilogist remembers the teacher (12:9–11). Qoheleth kept an ear in readiness to hear something worthwhile; he searched high and low for appropriate insights; and he grouped the resulting sayings in an understandable way. This instance would not be the only one in which Qoheleth departed from ordinary usage, for he forged a language and syntax peculiar to this book. Furthermore, he saw no fundamental distinction between humans and animals with respect to death; one could therefore argue that Qoheleth assembled sayings (1:1) and that 7:27 contains a veiled allusion to this understanding of the title ("One to one to discover the sum"). In short, Qoheleth collected sayings and in doing so arrived at the complete picture that life amounts to a huge zero.

B. Literary Integrity

We have already had occasion to mention an epilogist who commented on the achievement of the teacher. Naturally, the presence of an epilogue of this sort introduces the question of literary integrity. Did Qoheleth write the complete book, or have several authors contributed to its present form? Answers to these questions vary, but four different responses have commended themselves to interpreters: (1) the author wrote the bulk of the book, but editorial glosses entered at a later time; (2) the author cites traditional wisdom and refutes it; (3) the author enters into dialogue with an interlocutor, real or imagined; and (4) the book reflects a single author's changing viewpoints over the years, as well as life's ambiguities.

By analogy with superscriptions throughout the canon, it can be safely argued that 1:1 does not derive from Qoheleth's hand. This superscription identifies the author with David's son who held the office of king in Jerusalem. The expression "words of Qoheleth" echoes a similar superscription in Prov 30:1a, but the form also occurs in prophetic collections (e.g., Amos 1:1a; Jer 1:1a). The book of Qoheleth really begins at 1:12 ("I Qoheleth have been king over Israel in Jerusalem"). Furthermore, a thematic statement in 1:2 and 12:8 functions as an inclusio, setting off the beginning and the end of Qoheleth's teaching. Only in these verses does the superlative form *hăbel hăbālîm* occur. The additional verses in 12:9–14 derive from one epilogist, or more probably two. To this point in analysis a virtual consensus exists in scholarly discussion.

Within the body of Qoheleth's teachings as delineated above (1:3–12:7), one searches in vain for a consistent argument. It appears that later editors have toned down the extreme views of the teacher. Theories of multiple redactors (Qoheleth, a Sadducean, a sage, a pious one, and another editor) have lost their attraction in the latest analyses, although most interpreters still reckon with at least one glossator who corrected Qoheleth's views about reward and retribution (2:26a; 3:17a; 8:12–13; 11:9b; perhaps 5:18 and 7:26b). Whether or not these glosses derive from the second epilogist, also responsible for 12:12–14, remains uncertain, but the hypothesis has plausibility.

The effort to attribute the entire book to Qoheleth lacks persuasiveness for at least two reasons. First, it overlooks the probability that the same sort of editorial activity that took place during the preservation of the other books of the Hebrew Bible would also have occurred in this one. Indeed, the radical character of Qoheleth's views invited editorial comments. Second, the claim that Qoheleth could easily have referred to himself in the third person, as he apparently did in 7:27, obscures the appreciable differences in attitude between the rest of the book and the final epilogue (12:12–14). These differences go beyond use of language such as *bĕnî*, "my son," to religious views like the admonition to "fear God and keep the commandments" and the warning that the deity will bring every hidden thing into the light of day, presumably at a final judgment. One has the impression that Qoheleth's epitaph appears in 12:9–11, and that a less appreciative assessment of the teacher's unusual views about life follows.

Throughout the book one encounters teachings that stand in considerable tension with each other. A strong case has been made for understanding these contrasting opinions as instances in which Qoheleth cites traditional wisdom. An adversarial stance toward established dogma is beyond dispute, for Qoheleth actually warns against an uncritical acceptance of claims about absolute truth (8:17). In one instance Qoheleth's language almost requires the addition of something like "he asks" ("There is an individual who has no heir, whether son or brother, but there is no end to all his work, and also his eyes are never content with his wealth—'for whom am I toiling and depriving myself of good things?' [he asks]; this also is absurd and grievous bother," 4:8).

Traditional sayings dot the observations of Qoheleth, as has been recognized for some time, for example, "the crooked cannot be straightened and what is missing cannot be counted" (1:15). One investigation (Whybray 1981b) has isolated eight quotations on the basis of affinities in form and content between the oldest collections in Proverbs and aphorisms in Qoheleth (2:14a; 4:5; 4:6; 7:5–6a; 9:17; 10:2; 10:12). Those scholars who believe they have found quotations in Qoheleth's observations emphasize the variety with which these traditional sayings are used. Some he quotes with full approval (7:5–6; 10:2, 12), but he gave them a radically new interpretation. Others serve to confirm the first stage in the characteristic two-part argument, the so-called broken sentence in which Qoheleth stated a truth only to qualify it by appealing to a fact of life that contradicted it. This phenomenon of quota-

tions, widespread in the ANE, has four main categories: (1) the verbalization of a speaker's or writer's unexpressed ideas or sentiments; (2) the sentiment of a subject other than the writer or speaker; (3) use in argument and debate; and (4) indirect quotations without a *verbum dicendi* (Gordis 1976).

Early Christian theologians perceived the apparent contradictions within Qoheleth's thought and attributed the different views to two persons, a speaker and an interlocutor, real or imagined. The dialogical character of the book thus came to expression, despite the strong tendency to neutralize Qoheleth's unorthodox sentiments. Thesis stands over against antithesis in such a way that all teachings are relativized. J. G. Herder endorsed this view of the book, and contemporary interpreters have sought to bolster the argument by appealing to the juxtaposition of a *bonum* and a *malum* and by an intricate analysis of polar structures in the book. Although some of the proposed 38 chiastic structures and 60 polar structures result from much too general criteria, for instance, desirable and undesirable, one can scarcely deny the force of the hypothesis as such. After all, Qoheleth did arrange his argument in a group of 14 polarities in at least one literary unit (3:1–8).

Of course, the application of modern standards of logical consistency may bestow too much weight on the Greek heritage. Qoheleth may never actually have reconciled the disparities between faith and experience, but such a view elevates the religious dimension to a degree that Qoheleth probably never permitted. Perhaps two additional factors strengthen this particular approach to the contradictions in Qoheleth's thought. The teachings in the book may represent the fruit of a lifetime's research, having been given literary expression over a long period. Furthermore, life's ambiguities themselves may have struck Qoheleth as worthy of noting, particularly as historical situations changed from time to time. There may indeed be some truth in the claim that the confrontation between Hebraism and Hellenism produced a compromise position, best exemplified by Qoheleth. However, the Jewish tradition alone had its share of ambiguities, and these disparities between religious conviction and actual reality found expression in Qoheleth's realism.

Signs of thematic unity and a single tone largely offset these indications of tension within Qoheleth's thought, or between his views and those of later editors. Nevertheless, some segments of the book have not been successfully integrated into its logical scheme, above all the collection of sayings in 10:1–4, 8–20, which discourages the view that Qoheleth wrote a unified treatise. Although neither characterization of the book, treatise or collection of sentences, explains the situation adequately, it may be instructive to think of a kaleidoscopic image whereby apparently incongruent features of the text come together in many different meaningful configurations. Even if one accepts this reading of the disparate material, the difficult task of ascertaining the powerful force that brings a semblance of order out of apparent disarray remains. In a word, what shape does the book take; what identifies its internal structure?

C. The Structure of the Book

One can easily recognize the outer frame of the book. Leaving aside the superscription in 1:1, there remain a thematic refrain (1:2) and a poem (1:3–11) at the beginning, and a poem (11:7–12:7) plus a thematic refrain (12:8) at the end. Together with the superscription, the two epilogues (12:9–11, 12–14) enclose the book in a kind of envelope. The first poem demonstrates the aptness of the thematic statement in the realm of nature, and the final poem shows the accuracy of the theme on the human scene. Nature's ceaseless repetition illustrates the utter futility of things, as does the eventual disintegration of the human body.

Within Qoheleth's teachings bracketed by a thematic statement and a poem, a few distinct units stand out, either because of content or because of introductory and concluding formulas. For example, a single thread holds together the royal experiment in 1:12–2:26, specifically the idea that a powerful monarch indulges himself in a vain search for something that will withstand time's ravages. A second example, this one smaller in scope, 4:9–12, discusses the advantages of teaming up with another person. So far, however, no satisfactory scheme has surfaced to explain all the units of Qoheleth's teachings. Often determining where one unit begins and another ends cannot be done. Therefore scholars vary widely in their calculations of the number of literary units within the book.

If the text lacks clear demarcations of the several units, how can one decide on the extent of each? Perhaps a clue exists in Egyptian Instructions, clearly divided into sections or chapters. Analogy with Papyrus Insinger, roughly contemporary with Qoheleth, may suggest that refrains mark off larger units in the Hebrew text. One refrain seems especially suggestive in this regard, the sevenfold exhortation to eat, drink, and enjoy one's portion of life's good things (2:24–26; 3:12–13; 3:22; 5:17–19; 8:15; 9:7–10; 11:7–10). But the first and last of these texts illustrate the difficulty of this approach, for the refrain in 3:24–26 certainly concludes a unit, and the formula in 11:7–10 just as certainly begins a new unit.

As a matter of fact, the book has a wealth of formulaic expressions, and these repeated phrases and sentences probably function to delineate units of thought. Wright has seized these data to arrive at an arrangement of the entire book. According to his view, a single refrain sets off the different units in the first half of the book, whereas two formulaic expressions indicate subsections in the second half. The first refrain, "All [this] is absurd and a chasing after wind" occurs six times in 1:12–6:9, yielding the following literary units (2:1–11; 2:12–17; 2:18–26; 3:1–4:6; 4:7–16; 4:17–6:9). In 6:10–11:6 the repeated phrases "not find out" and "who can find out?" indicate four subsections (7:1–14; 7:15–24; 7:25–29; 8:1–17) and "cannot know" also points to four sections (9:1–12; 9:13–10:15; 10:16–11:2; 11:3–6). This theory is then reinforced by an involved numerological analysis that takes its clue from the number of uses of the Heb word *hebel*, as well as the numerical value of its three consonants.

This elaborate hypothesis appears to press a valid intuition too far. In some instances, the formulaic expression occurs in the midst of a thought unit rather than at the end (for example, 11:2). Moreover, the repeated phrases sometimes do not enter into consideration (4:4, "striving after wind"), and other formulaic expressions are ignored altogether ("this is absurd," "under the sun," "I turned

and considered"). In addition, the units perceived in the analysis under discussion vary in length, forcing one to wonder about the utility of such an approach. Despite the claims for objectivity, the decision to ignore some formulaic expressions and to concentrate on just these three ("This is absurd and a chasing after wind," "not find out"/ "who can find out," and "cannot know") undercuts that claim, and the many assumptions necessitated by the numerological proof weaken the argument greatly.

Not all attempts to discover the book's structure have taken refrains as the starting point. Of course, many interpreters have searched for logically consistent units. Two recent theories illustrate this approach and demonstrate the sophisticated nature of such analyses of the book. Both interpretations apply the refined methods of literary criticism to the biblical text, although such literary analysis developed as a means of understanding quite different material. Loader's approach (1979) stresses the polar structures in the book and arrives at twelve fundamental units (1:2–11; 1:12–2:26; 3:1–4:16; 4:17–5:8; 6:10–8:1; 8:2–9; 8:10–9:10; 9:11–10:11; 10:12–20; 11:1–6; 11:7–12:8). Lohfink's approach emphasizes the Greek background of the book, which he understands as a philosophical treatise. In his view, Ecclesiastes has the form of a palindrome, a complete balancing of material so that the second half repeats the substance of the first half. Such a reading leads to the following structure:

1:2–3	Frame
1:4–11	Cosmology (poetic)
1:12–3:15	Anthropology
3:16–4:16	Social Criticism I
4:17–5:6	Criticism of Religion I (poetic)
5:7–6:10	Social Criticism II
6:11–9:6	Ideology Critique (Refutatio)
9:7–12:7	Ethics (poetic at the end)
12:8	Frame

Even if one conceded the far from obvious premise that the book uses Greek rhetoric, several questions remain. Why did the author allow the intruding critique of religion in 4:17–5:6 to mar the perfect palindrome? Has Lohfink chosen adequate rubrics? For example, is anthropology missing from the passage where Qoheleth offers a low opinion of men and an even lower estimate of women (7:25–29)? Can one rightly restrict ethics to 9:7–12:7 in light of persistent efforts to view the entire second half of the book as the practical, or ethical, implications of the worldview advanced in the first half of Ecclesiastes (1:2–6:9)?

Without committing oneself wholly to either clue, refrain or logical coherence, one can certainly discern a semblance of structure in the book. One of the most attractive interpretations (Schoors 1982b) divides the book as follows:

1:1	title
1:2	general theme of the book
1:3–2:26	Solomon's confession
3:1–22	human beings under the law of time
4:1–16	life in society
4:17–5:8	the advantage of silence over unreflected speech
5:9–6:9	on wealth
6:10–12	transitional unit
7:1–9:10	the experience of life and death
9:11–10:20	wisdom and folly
11:1–6	the necessity of taking risks
11:7–12:7	the necessity of enjoying life
12:8	inclusion: the general theme of the book
12:9–14	epilogue

Attractive as this analysis may be, it still does not answer all the questions that result from general rubrics such as "life in society" and "wisdom and folly." Because other sections also deal with social relations and knowledge or its opposite, it appears that every attempt to discover the book's structure serves as little more than a heuristic device.

So far this discussion has said nothing about another unifying principle, the tone of the book. The individual units combine to give a single impression. An honest and forthright teacher observes life's ambiguities and reflects on their meaning for human existence under the sun. Furthermore, a unity of themes and topoi reinforces this tonal unity, as a glance at the vocabulary of the book quickly confirms. Qoheleth uses certain words with such frequency that they almost induce a hypnotic state in the listener or reader. By their frequency of occurrence these words send a distant echo through the corridors of the mind erected by this skillful teacher: do/work, good, wise, time, know, toil, see, under the sun, fool, profit, portion.

D. The Historical Setting

If all attempts to discern the book's structure remain inconclusive, the same verdict characterizes efforts to locate it in a particular place and time. For a brief period, scholars endeavored to demonstrate that the original language was Aramaic, but this trend has virtually disappeared. The discovery at Qumran of Hebrew fragments from the book to which a date in the mid-2d century B.C.E. seemed appropriate has hastened the demise of the theory of an Aramaic original. Such an early dating of a Hebrew version of Ecclesiastes left little time between its composition and the Qumran fragments. However, the decisive refutation of the Aramaic origin lay in the inability of its proponents to show how the present form of the book required a theory of translation to explain its peculiar style and syntax.

The fact remains that the book is writen in an Aramaizing Hebrew, a language with strong Mishnaic tendencies. The vocabulary contains a high percentage of Aramaisms, and in this regard it belongs alongside certain other late canonical books. Occasional Persian loan words also appear, for example *pardēs*, "park" and *mĕdînâ*, "province." Greek influence, once believed to lie behind the phrases "under the sun" and "to see the good," no longer seems likely; the ancient Semitic world attests to the former expression and the latter phrase is authentic Hebrew.

On the basis of certain commercial terms and usages, as well as orthography, a setting for the book in Phoenicia has been proposed (Dahood 1952). This theory of the book's origin has made little impact on the scholarly community. The suggestion of Egyptian provenance, based

largely on the allusion to natural phenomena in 1:5–7, has been less convincing. The references to reservoirs (2:6), leaky roofs (10:18), wells (12:6), farmers' attention to the wind (11:4), and the Temple (4:17; 8:10) are perfectly appropriate for a literary composition in Palestine (Hertzberg *Prediger* KAT). Nevertheless, the evidence is inconclusive, for ancient authors openly received material from various sources. The so-called historical references in 4:13–16; 8:2–4; 9:13–15; and 10:16–17 function typically. Therefore, they offer no real assistance in dating the book or in locating its cultural setting.

Many factors point to a relatively late date for the composition of Ecclesiastes. The vocabulary itself shows signs of being very late, for example *sôp*, "end"; *pēšer*, "interpretation"; *māšāl*, "rule"; *šālat*, "rule"; *pitgām*, "decision"; *zĕmān*, "time"; *ʿinyān*, "worry"; the relative pronoun *šĕ*, "that, which," attached to another word; and the personal pronoun *ʾănî*, "I," used alongside *ʾanōkî*, "I," with almost equal frequency. Moreover, the *waw* consecutive occurs only twice, although the literary types in the book do not lend themselves to frequent use of this verbal form. A Hellenistic coloring may rest behind the vocabulary for rulers, perhaps also the observations about individuals whose responsibilities brought them in regular contact with the royal court. At least one of the rhetorical questions, a literary device that the author uses nearly 30 times, occurs only in arguably postexilic texts. This rhetorical question, *mî yôdēaʿ*, "who knows?", functions as a strong assertion equivalent to "no one knows." Another stylistic peculiarity of the book, the use of participles with personal pronouns, forms a late feature of the language.

The meager political data that scholars have detected in the book point to a period prior to the Maccabean revolt in 164 B.C.E., for the attitude toward foreign rulers fits best in the Ptolemaic period. The Zenon archives reflect a political situation of economic prosperity for the upper echelons of Jewish society about 250 B.C.E. It has been plausibly argued that Qoheleth belonged to the privileged class (Gordis 1968), although on the basis of highly inferential evidence. More probably his students came from privileged families, hence could act on their teacher's advice about wearing fine clothes and anointing themselves with expensive oils. The severe policies of Antiochus IV restricted such freedom to follow one's inclinations, whether personal or religious. Furthermore, Ben Sira probably knew and used the book about 190 B.C.E., although Whitley has attempted to show that Qoheleth actually used Ecclesiasticus. The bases for this late dating of Qoheleth lack cogency: that the language of Daniel is earlier, that the Mishnaic tongue was widely used, that Qoheleth wrote before 140 but after Jonathan's appointment in 152 B.C.E. and its accompanying political changes. A date for Qoheleth between 225 and 250 therefore still seems the most likely one.

E. The Literary Expression

What literary type best characterizes the book? Although several different types come to expression, the dominant one is reflection arising from personal observation. Qoheleth's language calls attention to both aspects, the observing and subsequent reflection ("I said in my heart" [1:16; 2:1, 15; 3:17]; "I gave my heart" [1:13, 17; 8:9, 16]; "I saw" [1:14; 2:24; 3:10, 16; 4:1, 4, 15; 5:17; 6:1; 7:15; 8:9, 10; 9:11, 13; 10:5, 7]; "I know" [1:17; 2:14; 3:12, 14; 8:12]; "there is" [2:21; 6:1, 12; 8:14; 10:5]). Naturally, the reflection varies from time to time, prompting some interpreters to distinguish between unified critical and broken critical reflections or meditative reflection and simple meditation. Not every critic thinks that such language adequately describes Qoheleth's dominant literary type; three alternatives have received some attention: *māšāl* (a similitude or comparison), diatribe, and royal testament. The latter of these, royal testament, occurs only in the "fiction" in 1:12–2:16 (perhaps also the conclusion resulting from the royal experiment, 2:17–26). From Qoheleth's language, "monologue" more accurately describes the material than "diatribe," for he emphasizes the debate within his own mind. The term *māšāl* has too broad, or too specific, a scope to be useful in describing the book's literary type.

Qoheleth also uses such literary types as autobiographical narrative, example story, anecdote, parable (often called an allegorical poem), antithesis, and proverb. The last of these occurs in many of its forms: truth statements (or sentences), "better" sayings, numerical sayings, instructions, traditional sayings, malediction and benediction. Qoheleth had particular fondness for "better" sayings, for they enabled him to pretend to endorse conventional wisdom but actually to challenge its veracity by introducing a wholly different consideration (4:3, 6, 9, 13; 5:4 [—Eng 5]; 6:3, 9; 7:1, 2, 3, 5, 8; 9:4, 16, 18). He also used the emphatic form, "nothing is better" (2:24; 3:12, 22; 8:15).

F. Qoheleth's Teachings

What did Qoheleth communicate by means of these diverse literary types? According to the thematic statement in 1:2 and 12:8, he sought to demonstrate the claim that life lacked profit and therefore was totally absurd. In support of this thesis, Qoheleth argued: (1) that wisdom could not achieve its goal; (2) that a remote God ruled over a crooked world; and (3) death did not take virtue or vice into consideration. Hence (4), he advocated enjoyment as the wisest course of action during youth before the cares of advancing years made that response impossible.

(1) *Wisdom could not achieve its goal.* The purpose of being wise, according to Qoheleth, was to discover the good for men and women. In other words, sages searched for ways to ensure success, specifically of living long, prosperous lives surrounded by children and admired by friends and neighbors. For many generations this quest for success had occupied the thoughts of Qoheleth's predecessors, whose conclusions the book of Proverbs preserves. In general, they considered it possible to achieve the goal of wisdom, although reckoning with incalculable divine actions now and again. Consequently, these early sages exuded optimism about the chances of living well. They based their hope on the conviction that a moral order existed, having been established by the creator who continued to guarantee it. These sages went about their work with confidence that the wise would prosper and fools would experience ruin.

But something happened that dashed such comforting thoughts, which had hardened into dogma. Mounting evidence that injustice often prevailed produced a religious

and intellectual crisis. The books of Job and Ecclesiastes surfaced from this turmoil and offered a different perspective on the universe. The wisest man in the East underwent horrendous suffering that defied explanation, and wisdom possessed only limited value. It appeared that the moral order had collapsed, and this event had serious religious implications, making it no longer clear whether or not the deity turned toward humans benevolently.

Qoheleth recognized the futility of striving for success, because he saw such efforts being frustrated on every hand. The fastest runner did not always win the race, nor did the strong warrior necessarily achieve victory. The intelligent person did not always receive food, and the skillful were sometimes overlooked. Chance became the supreme factor in human experience, and none could exercise control over it. Qoheleth examined all those things thought to offer happiness—sensual pleasure, achievement, fame, fortune—but dismissed them as utterly absurd.

Whereas earlier sages had believed they could achieve wisdom, Qoheleth thought it impenetrable. Human resolve to possess her only enabled them to discover Wisdom's remoteness and profundity. Of course, limited bits of insight were accessible, enabling their possessors to walk in light rather than darkness. Nevertheless, no one could really discover wisdom's hiding place, however much he or she claimed to have done so. Consequently, the future remained hidden and mysterious, even for the wise, who could not discern the right moment for any given action. Although Qoheleth characterized the natural universe and the human scene by monotonous repetition, he noted that none could profit from this element of predictability. In this respect, Qoheleth refused to yield a toehold to practitioners of the science of predicting the future, a technique of wisdom, popular in Mesopotamia, that used omens to discover what lay in the immediate future.

(2) *God was remote and the world crooked.* A devout Job directed his complaint to God in heated dialogue, but Qoheleth refused to address the deity at all. He warned those who approached the holy place that since God dwelt in heaven and they resided on earth, their words should be few. Qoheleth noticed that religious vows were a source of danger, inasmuch as some people forgot their promises once the occasion for the original vows had passed. He thus advised caution with respect to religious obligation. Qoheleth had the same attitude toward deeds of morality that he did toward acts of piety. He suggested that individuals adopt a moderate lifestyle, being neither excessively devout nor extremely virtuous. The suffering of Job indicated what could happen when a person became too good. Although Qoheleth did not refer to Job by name, he did counsel against striving with a stronger person, which some interpreters have plausibly taken as an allusion to Job's fruitless struggle with God.

Although Qoheleth freely referred to God's activity, he seemed unclear about the nature of the divine work. It appears that he thought the deity tested human beings in order to demonstrate their kinship with animals. Hence God showed individuals that they would die just like animals, with the implication that decomposition awaited as the final event for all creatures. Although Qoheleth mentioned a judgment, it seems nothing more than another way of talking about death. Some references to judgment must imply a forensic setting, presumably after death, but they probably constitute glosses in the spirit of the second epilogue.

In any event, oppression had gained the upper hand on earth, and the hierarchy of authority ultimately reached the sovereign of the universe, also implicated by such tyranny. Utter mystery characterized God's actions, both in the enlivening of a fetus and in the granting of power to enjoy the fruits of one's labor. Although Qoheleth freely talked about divine gifts, he did not know what disposition characterized the deity, whether love or hatred. To be sure, God bestowed generous gifts on human beings, but no apparent rationale for these acts of kindness existed. Instead, God dispensed these gifts with complete disregard for character. Consequently, nobody could ever ensure that the deity would grant only good things as reward for faithfulness.

Earlier sages had also believed that the High God transcended the universe, which owed its origin to the deity. But they proclaimed nearness as well, for they believed that God sustained a moral order. Qoheleth agreed that God created the universe; the language, however, differs sharply from the Priestly account of creation that seems to provide the source for Qoheleth's observations. God made everything appropriate for its time. This declaration substitutes a nontheological expression and an aesthetic category for the language in Genesis 1. Nevertheless, the created universe cannot be faulted, for human beings have perverted the beautiful and appropriate creation.

Qoheleth recognized an order inherent to things, but he denied that anyone could discover the right time for action. The creator placed some unknown gift in the human mind but made it impossible to use the divine mystery profitably. A time to laugh and a time to cry existed, but how did one know when those different moments presented themselves? What if a person looked for peace when the occasion called for war? Perhaps this anomaly prompted Qoheleth to spy out and explore all knowledge, for only by embracing the many polarities of existence could one ever hope to know the proper time for anything. Nevertheless, Qoheleth conceded that nobody really knows the meaning of a thing.

It made little difference that the universe had integrity, so long as human beings had an innate disposition to do evil. God's achievements could not be changed; the crooked could not be straightened and the straight could not be made crooked. This popular proverb, which Qoheleth quoted with approval (1:15; 7:13), hardly accords with Qoheleth's statement that men and women have used their ingenuity in the service of evil—unless, that is, God bears indirect responsibility for human contrivance.

In this oppressive world Qoheleth recognized a need for companionship, although he judged others on the basis of the contribution they could make to his comfort. A friend would rescue him from a pit, fight off robbers and brigands, and keep him warm on a cold night. Although Wisdom Literature usually moves within the general area of self-interest, that feature of Qoheleth's thought comes to prominence in the royal fiction, with indulgence the operative word. Only once did a pained conscience speak out in behalf of oppressed citizens, and the repetition of

the cry "There was no comforter" reveals the impact of their suffering on Qoheleth.

(3) *Death did not take virtue or vice into consideration.* Qoheleth was not the first person to reflect on the finality of death, but he dwelt on it so much that it became central to his thought. Indeed, he once expressed hatred of life because he lacked the power to control his fate. Nevertheless, he stopped short of encouraging suicide, a natural consequence of his disdain for life. In this regard, Qoheleth differed from the unknown author of the *Dialogue between a Master and a Slave* (*ANET,* 437–38).

The thought that death cancels all human achievements prompted Qoheleth to consider life pointless. When one's accumulated wealth fell into the hands of a stranger or a fool, it seemed to mock personal ambition and frugality. Qoheleth imagined that memory of persons disappeared almost as quickly as their bodies decomposed. Furthermore, death's clutches caught some people even before they breathed that last breath, so that they could not gain any pleasure in life. Faced with such grim prospects, these unfortunate individuals would be better off dead, and better still if they had never been born. Qoheleth characterized the stillborn's condition as rest, whereas those who have entered this world undergo buffeting from all directions. Although he quoted a proverb that "a living dog is better than a dead lion," Qoheleth made it clear that the living have a dubious advantage. Knowing that one must die seems hardly worthwhile information; in this instance, as in most, knowledge brings suffering. Critics therefore generally assume that Qoheleth spoke ironically when citing the proverb.

Qoheleth's predecessors had also recognized death's inevitability, but they had assumed that a positive correlation existed between one's virtue and the manner and time of death. In addition, they had managed to deal with exceptions by appealing to the larger entity, the community. Neither source of solace remained for Qoheleth, who recognized death's arbitrary nature and who rarely transcended egocentrism. The same fate befell wise and fool, humankind and animals. Moreover, no one knew what happened after death, but the prospects did not look promising.

The concluding poem (11:7–12:7) depicts this common fate in unforgettable images. The decline of one's powers in old age resembles the collapse of a stately house, and the restrictions on activity contrast with nature's annual rejuvenation. The darkness of approaching death falls on humankind, but nature stands unmoved. Then comes the final silencing of men and women, depicted in two images. The first describes an expensive lamp that falls from the wall and experiences ruin; the second portrays a well at which the pulley breaks and the container for drawing water falls to the bottom and shatters. The language emphasizes the priceless commodities that come to ruin or cease to benefit anyone—silver, gold, light, water. The brief existence under the sun seems to constitute a single act of breathing on the part of the creator, who now takes back the vivifying breath. The death angel takes flight, bearing its reluctant burden into the realms of the night. Qoheleth may have despised life and envied the condition of the aborted birth, but he still did not welcome this destruction of personal identity.

(4) *The wisest course of action was to enjoy life during youth before the cares of advancing years made that response impossible.* Of course not everyone had the capacity to enjoy good food, women, expensive clothing, and perfumes. Qoheleth seems to have addressed young men who had adequate resources, enabling them to indulge in pleasure. Unless his advice was entirely divorced from reality, Qoheleth probably taught individuals from the privileged class. In any case, he implies that they had access to persons in important positions of authority and that they possessed sufficient resources for living comfortably.

Qoheleth did not encourage total abandon to sensual desire, for such behavior carried too many risks. Instead, he advised young people to enjoy the simple pleasures available to them without resorting to extremes of austerity or debauchery. Although the language about enjoying "the woman you love" is unusual, Qoheleth may not have meant someone other than the young man's wife. However, Qoheleth warns of a future judgment, and a moment's reflection on this sober prospect may explain why he praised those who visited the house of mourning rather than the ones who chose to frequent places of levity.

Such somber warnings detract from Qoheleth's positive counsel, for he seemed unwilling to believe that anything really softened the impact of this conclusion about life's utter futility. Therefore he encouraged enjoyment and reminded those practitioners of pleasure about life's ephemerality and absurdity. Presumably, the little joys available to humans merely made an otherwise intolerable situation bearable. On the other hand, Qoheleth's view that God has already approved one's actions has a remarkably emancipating effect. Life introduces enough risks without the additional factor of a scrupulous conscience. Qoheleth thus left no room for anxiety about religious duty, for life was complex enough without complicating things by becoming a religious zealot. The truth of Qoheleth's observations about human existence speaks for itself. One can hardly escape the wisdom in his advice to enjoy the simple pleasures of daily existence while the strength and financial means to do so endure.

To sum up, Qoheleth taught by means of various literary types that earlier optimistic claims about wisdom's power to secure one's existence have no validity. No discernible principle of order governs the universe, rewarding virtue and punishing evil. The creator, distant and uninvolved, acts as judge only (if at all) in extreme cases of flagrant affront (for example, reneging on religious vows). Death cancels all imagined gains, rendering life under the sun absurd. Therefore the best policy is to enjoy one's wife, together with good food and drink, during youth, for old age and death will soon put an end to this "relative" good. In short, Qoheleth examined all of life and discovered no absolute good that would survive death's effect. He then proceeded to report this discovery and to counsel young people on the best option in the light of stark reality. It follows that Qoheleth bears witness to an intellectual crisis in ancient Israel, at least in the circles among whom he taught.

G. The Larger Environment

An intellectual crisis struck other cultures also, but not at the same time. One expects, therefore, to find some

common themes throughout the ANE. This expectation has led to exaggerated claims of literary dependence on Qoheleth's part. Given the probable date of the book, Hellenistic influence has seemed most likely. Qoheleth's concept of chance *(miqrēh)* has been related to *tyche;* absurdity *(hebel)* to *typhos;* profit *(yitrôn)* to *ophelos;* portion *(ḥēleq)* to *hyph;* "under the sun" *(taḥat haššemeš)* to *hypo ton helion.* One recent critic (Lohfink 1980) has postulated competing places of learning in Jerusalem, private schools in which the Greek language was spoken and Temple schools using Hebrew. This author argues that Qoheleth struck a compromise with Hebrew wisdom as the background and Greek—especially Homer, Sophocles, Plato, Aristotle, and contemporary philosophers—the inspiration. Other interpreters plausibly suggest that Qoheleth's knowledge of Greek thought amounts to no more than what any Jew would have absorbed simply by living in Jerusalem during the late 3d century.

What about literary relationships with ancient Egypt? To be sure, Qoheleth issues a *carpe diem* similar to the advice contained in the Harper's Songs, but this determination to enjoy sensual pleasure seems universal. The preoccupation with death in Qoheleth recalls a similar emphasis in the *Dialogue of a Man with His Soul,* (*ANET,* 405–7) and the royal testament must surely correspond to this literary type in such instructions as those for Merikare (*ANET,* 414–18). Nevertheless, Qoheleth does not offer a legacy for a successor, and the royal fiction disappears after chapter 2. Verbal similarities do occur with late Egyptian texts, particularly *Papyrus Insinger* (*AEL* 3: 184–217) and the *Instruction of 'Ankhsheshonq* (*AEL* 3: 159–84). For example, the hiddenness of God and divine determination of fate characterize both Insinger and Qoheleth, whereas Ankhsheshonq and Qoheleth advise casting bread (or a good deed) on the water and promise a profitable return, and both use the phrase "house of eternity." However, the counsel about casting bread on water has a different sense, and the euphemism for the grave occurs widely.

Perhaps the most striking verbal similarity occurs in a Mesopotamian text, the Gilgamesh Epic (*ANET,* 72–99, 503–7). The alewife Siduri's advice to Gilgamesh that he enjoy his wife, fine clothes, and tasty food finds an echo in Qoheleth's positive advice. Qoheleth omits one significant thing, the allusion to the pleasure that Gilgamesh would receive from his child. The Gilgamesh Epic also deals with the themes of death, life's ephemerality, the importance of one's name, and memory of a person after death. According to *I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom* (*ANET,* 596–600), divine decrees are hidden from humans, a view that Qoheleth advocates in 3:11, 8:12–14, and 8:17. The *Babylonian Theodicy* (*ANET,* 601–4) has a fundamentally pessimistic mood, whereas Qoheleth shrinks from blaming all evil on God (cf. 7:29). The *Dialogue between a Master and His Slave* recognizes the threat posed by women and sets up polarities in a way that commends neither alternative. Qoheleth also voices a low opinion of women (7:26) and juxtaposes positive and negative activities (3:1–8).

H. Canonization

Qoheleth's radical views have branded his teachings an alien body within the Hebrew Bible. How, then, did the book find acceptance in the canon? The usual answer, that the attribution to Solomon paved the way for its approval as Scripture, does not take sufficiently into account the fact that a similar device failed to gain acceptance in the canon for Wisdom of Solomon or for the Odes of Solomon. Their use of Greek may have canceled the effect of the claim to Solomonic authorship. A better answer to the question, that the book received two epilogues, the last of which removed the sting from Qoheleth's skepticism and advocated traditional views concerning observance of Torah, presents itself. Evidence from the 2d century C.E. indicates that the book of Ecclesiastes was mentioned, along with Song of Songs, Esther, Ezekiel, and Proverbs, in a discussion about books that "defile the hands" because of their sacred character, but the attitude of Hillel prevailed over the Shammaite contingency. On the Jewish side, Akiba recognized Qoheleth's canonical authority just before the middle of the 2d century. The book appears in the list drawn up by the Christian Melito of Sardis about 190 C.E., but in the 5th century Theodore of Mopsuestia first raised objection to its sacred character.

Precisely how early Qoheleth became canonical cannot be determined. A few verbal similarities between the book and Sirach exist (for example, "everything is beautiful in its time" [3:11; 39:16], "God seeks" [3:15; 5:3], "wise of heart" and "change of face" [8:1; 13:24], "either for good or for evil" [12:14; 13:24]). In addition, verbal echoes also occur in "one in a thousand," and "the end of the matter," but these comprise stock expressions in Wisdom Literature. Although Sirach was probably familiar with the book of Ecclesiastes, the evidence remains inconclusive. A similar situation exists with regard to Wisdom of Solomon, often thought to attack Qoheleth's views about enjoying life's sensual pleasures. If the author of chap. 2 has Qoheleth in mind, it clearly implies a misreading of his teachings, for Qoheleth did not advocate robbery.

I. The Text

The Hebrew text of Qoheleth is in good condition. Fragments dating from the middle of the 2d century B.C.E., discovered at Qumran, include part of 5:13–17, substantial portions of 6:3–8, and five words from 7:7–9. The Greek version may be the work of some disciples of Aquila, whereas the Syriac translation in the Peshitta may rest on a Hebrew text very similar to the Masoretic one. The Vulgate strove for faithfulness to the Hebrew, although Jerome hastily completed the translation of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs ("in three days").

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JAMES L. CRENSHAW

ECCLESIASTICUS, BOOK OF. See WISDOM OF BEN-SIRA.

ECSTASY. Ecstasy may be defined as "an abnormal state of consciousness, in which the reaction of the mind to external stimuli is either inhibited or altered in character. In its more restricted sense, as used in mystical theology, it is almost equivalent to trance." The term has been used to explain certain phenomena in connection with biblical prophecy, but it seems that it is here rather a question of what has been recently termed "possessional trance," i.e., "a condition in which a person is believed to be inhabited by the spirit of another person or a supernatural being." During this possession, the person is in an altered state of consciousness and may speak and act like the inhabiting spirit, lapse into a coma-like state, and/or exhibit physical symptoms such as twisting, wild dancing, frothing at the mouth, and so on. This kind of trance may be an individual or group phenomenon. In many societies it is more or less institutionalized.

The biblical accounts of such phenomena are inadequate for a thorough psychological analysis, partly because they lack the necessary details, partly because they are not contemporary documents. Some examples, however, in the OT seem to fit into this pattern.

What the elders in the camp in the wilderness do when they "prophesy" (*hitnabbe'*; Num 11:16f., 24f.) is not described, but we learn that they receive something of the spirit that is upon Moses. Saul meets the "prophets" coming down from the high place at Gibeah, obviously in a state of ecstasy or trance induced by music (1 Sam 10:5f.), the spirit of Yahweh comes upon him, and he behaves like the prophets. He is also given "another heart." At another occasion (1 Sam 19:20–24) the men whom Saul had sent to kill David were confronted with a group of "prophets" in trance and began to *hitnabbe'* themselves: finally, Saul himself was seized by the spirit of God and behaved like the prophets: he stripped off his clothes and lay naked for a long time. In none of these cases is there any kind of prophetic proclamation.

The same expression is used of the prophets of Baal on Mt. Carmel (1 Kgs 18:26–29). They danced, cried aloud, and cut themselves with swords and lances, but no one answered. Here again, the word *hitnabbe'* is used, but no prophetic activity is involved; it should rather be translated "they raved." This kind of ecstatic behavior was obviously deemed typical of Canaanite religion.

Although the words *nabi'* "prophet" and *hitnabbe'* or *nibba'* are used of the scriptural prophets, there is no obvious sign of such possessional trance in them. The vision Isaiah had at his call (Isaiah 6) seems to have been induced by what he really saw in the Temple; Amos' fruit basket (Amos 1–3) and Jeremiah's almond twig and boiling pot (Jer 1:11–19) seem to be real perceptions given a symbolical meaning. There may be some literary connection between Isaiah 6 and the story of Micah ben Imlah in 1 Kings 22, where, however, we learn that a lying spirit enters the prophets (v 22). The great vision of Ezekiel (chaps. 1–3) may be partly inspired by Isaiah 6, but here it is also told that the prophet was seized by the spirit (2:2) and carried away (3:14). Here we may be close to an ecstatic experience. On the other hand Ezekiel's lying paralyzed for 390 days (Ezek 4:4–8) is rather a symbolic action. Isaiah's description of his panic and deaf-mute state after receiving a terrifying revelation (Isa 21:31) describes his reaction to what he has seen, not the process of receiving his message. The same probably applies to Ezekiel's being mute and paralyzed after his vision (Ezek 3:22–27); it is the prophet's reaction, not the process of inspiration, that is described.

Another indication for ecstasy in Israelite prophecy has been found in the use of *mĕšuggā'*, "mad" or "crazy," with reference to prophets (2 Kgs 9:11; Jer 29:26; Hos 9:7). However, this is not an objective description of a prophet's behavior—no details are given—but rather a derogatory statement from the side of enemies. Furthermore, the word *hiṭṭip* is sometimes used to denote prophetic speech; it may be derived from a root meaning "to drip" and has been taken to refer to an ecstatic way of speaking (cf. frothing above). However, the actual use of the word in context does not allude to any such phenomenon.

Nevertheless, the fact that both possession trance and prophecy are expressed with the same term seems to imply that there were points of similarity between the two. One such point may be that the spirit of God was supposed to be at work in both cases, another that the visionary experience of the prophets sometimes was reminiscent of the state of trance or ecstasy. There is, however, one fundamental difference: the one believed to be possessed by a spirit usually forgets all about the spirit on awakening, while the OT prophets were fully conscious of the message they had received.

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HELMER RINGGREN

ED-DALIYEH, WADI. See DALIYEH, WADI ED- (M.R. 189155).

EDDINUS (PERSON) [Gk *Eddinous*]. See JEDUTHUN (PERSON).

EDEN (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēden*]. Son of Joah, and a Levite of the Gershonnite family, participated in the cleansing of the Temple during the first year of Hezekiah, king of Judah, taking about nine days (2 Chr 29:12). A person with the same name also assisted in the distribution of Temple funds in various Levitical towns, caring for families whose male head was serving in Jerusalem (2 Chr 31:15), obtaining the Chronicler's approval for being "faithful," that is, distributing without favoritism (2 Chr 31:18). The fact that other names besides Eden occur in both contexts (Shimei, Jehiel, Mahath, and Shemaiah) argues for their identity as persons, although this evidence is not conclusive. The name "Eden" is etymologically related either to the name given the birthplace of man, the Garden of Eden, meaning "delight" or "finery" (i.e., jewelry) or, less likely, to the Akk *edinu*, meaning "open field" (*HALAT* 748–49).

KIRK E. LOWERY

EDEN, GARDEN OF (PLACE) [Heb *gan-ʿēden*]. The place where the first humans are placed by Yahweh and from which they are later expelled. In Genesis 2–3 it is described as a place of beauty and abundance. Elsewhere it is designated as Yahweh's own garden (e.g. Isa 51:3; see GARDEN OF GOD) and even in Genesis 2–3 it is probably meant to be understood primarily as a dwelling place of Yahweh rather than simply a place of human habitation. Scholarly debate over Eden has concerned the etymology of the name, the various biblical references, and the location of Eden. See also BETH-EDEN (PLACE).

A. Etymology

Two explanations have been proposed for the origin of the name *ʿēden*, "Eden": (a) that it derives from the Akkadian word *edinu*, "plain, steppe," which in turn is a loan word from Sumerian *eden;* (b) that it is connected with the West Semitic stem *ʿdn* occurring in several languages, having to do with "luxury, abundance, delight, or lushness."

Explanation (a) was first proposed after the discovery of parts of a cuneiform tablet from Nineveh containing a syllabary of Sumerian logograms and Akkadian equivalents. It has been adopted with varying degrees of caution by scholars such as H. Zimmern, H. Gunkel, J. Skinner, and S. R. Driver. The attractions of such a derivation are obvious. There is phonological similarity and the possible Eastern origins of the word coincide with the traditional placement of Eden "in the East." However, several objections have been raised. First, Genesis 2–3 refers to Eden in terms of a fertile garden or oasis. The transference to this meaning from a Sumerian word for "plain" or "steppe" is obscure. Secondly, while the word *eden* is common in Sumerian, the Akkadian equivalent *edinu* is attested only once on the syllabary referred to above. The usual Akkadian equivalent to Sumerian *eden* is *ṣēru*. Several synonyms also exist for *ṣēru*. From available evidence it seems that *edinu* was an extremely rare word in Akkadian and it is not a likely candidate for further borrowing into biblical Hebrew. The craft of a narrator or scribe in adopting such a word would be lost to nearly all hearers or readers. Thirdly, there is the problem that the Sumerian word begins with */e/*, while biblical Hebrew *ʿēden* begins with the guttural *ʿayin*. Some scholars would argue that the initial phoneme */e/* in Sumerian corresponds to Heb *ʾalep*. This is the basis for the proposed correspondence between Sum *id*, Akk *id*, "river," and biblical Hebrew *ʾēd* (Gen 2:6). However this argument is not conclusive. One should compare also Sum *idiglat*, "Tigris," with the Heb *ḥiddeqel*, where the initial */i/* in Sumerian corresponds to another Hebrew guttural, *ḥet*.

Explanation (b) has been the traditional etymology. The LXX translates *gan-ʿēden* by *ho paradeisos tēs truphēs*, "the garden of luxuries," in Gen 3:23, 24 and elsewhere. This is clearly based on the connection of the name of the garden with the biblical Hebrew, *ʿēden*, "luxury, delight." This connection would have been missed neither by those who narrated the story nor by those who read or heard it. After all, the garden contained every tree which was "delightful to look at and good for food" (Gen 2:9). The question remains, however, whether or not the garden's name arose in this connection.

The stem *ʿdn* is known in Syriac and Talmudic Aramaic, and the cognate *ġdn* occurs in Arabic. In languages contemporary with biblical Hebrew only two examples of possible cognates exist. The first is in Ugaritic. In the mythological text, *CTA* 12.2.53–54, the phrase *bʿdn ʿdnm* can be connected with a stem *ʿdn*, indicating "delight" or "abundance," although some scholars would disagree. In *CTA* 3.3.30; 4.2.17; 4.5.68–69 and elsewhere other meanings or explanations must be given to *ʿdn*.

The second example is in Old Aramaic, in an inscription on a statue of *Haddu-yiśʿi*, King of Guzan. The statue is from Tell Fekheriyeh in N Syria. The bilingual inscription contains the Aramaic phrase *mʿdn mt kln*, which is parallel to the Assyrian expression *muṭaḫḫidu kibrāti*, "the provider of the regions," also inscribed on the statue. It would seem that the Aramaic expression is to be translated "one who provides for all the land," but whether the participle *mʿdn* is meant to carry the implication of "abundance" and "great delight" as the Hebrew *ʿēden* might suggest, or whether it is meant to indicate provision in general as the Assyrian parallel *muṭaḫḫidu* suggests, is a matter for debate. Since, however, both expressions occur in a list of epithets of the deity Hadad (Adad) who is described as the giver of plenty to both heaven and earth, including pasture and watering places, the use of *mʿdn* cannot be separated from the notion of earthly abundance and delight.

The etymology of *ʿēden* is therefore still a matter for debate. The derivation from Akk *edinu* remains problem-

atic. The second derivation from West Semitic *ʿdn*, indicating "abundance" or "luxury," remains tenuous. Connection with this stem could just be secondary and late. The Ugaritic and especially the Old Aramaic evidence strengthens the case for this more traditional explanation.

B. Usage

The term *ʿēden* occurs thirteen times in the OT, although not always in the same context. Even within Genesis 2–3 it changes in meaning. In 2:8 and 10 (cf. also 4:16) *ʿēden* is used unqualified as a place name. In 2:15; 3:23 and 24 it occurs in the phrase *gan-ʿēden*, "Garden of Eden." Gen 3:23 and 24 seem to indicate that Eden refers just to the garden and not to some larger region in which the garden is located. Even the LXX reflects this change in sense. In 2:8, 10 and 4:16 it renders *Edem* for *ʿēden*. In 3:23 and 24 it translates *gan-ʿēden* as *ho paradeisos tēs truphēs*, while in 2:15 it renders it simply as *ho paradeisos*. The variation has been seen by some scholars as evidence for different sources within Gen 2:4b–3:24. Attempts to delineate these sources have not met with general acceptance and the unity of the present narrative is now widely stressed. Moreover, while inconsistencies or irregularities within the story can be attributed to a complicated history of tradition, they should not be seen solely as the result of development within the written form of the narrative. The story is an ancient one and the influence of oral narrative techniques (open to inconsistencies and parataxis) on its early written forms should not be ignored.

Outside the early chapters of Genesis, reference to *ʿēden* occurs most often in Ezekiel (28:13; 31:9, 16, 18; 36:35). Elsewhere it is mentioned in Isa 51:3 and Joel 2:3. In the case of Isa 51:3, Ezek 36:35, and Joel 2:3, *ʿēden* or the *gan-ʿēden* appears as a symbol of fertility. The first two references are set within oracles directed to Israelites in exile. In each, Yahweh's promise to restore his people involves the restoration of the land of Israel from a desolate waste to a fertile place. It will be like (the garden of) Eden. In Joel 2:3 the opposite is the case with the threat of judgment in which the land, now like the garden of Eden, will be stripped bare by locusts.

Isa 51:3 places *ʿēden* in parallelism with *gan-yhwh*. It would appear that at least by the time of the Exile Eden was associated wth the mythic concept of the garden of God (or Yahweh). This association possibly lies behind the reference to Eden in Ezekiel 36:35, although some scholars would regard vv 33–36 as a later addition. Direct equation of Eden with the garden of God *(gan-ʾĕlōhîm)* is found in Ezek 28:13. Here the king of Tyre is described residing in Eden, the garden of God, enjoying its privileges, and exhibiting a life commensurate with that until iniquity is found in him (v 15). He is then driven out to die without dignity on earth (vv 17–19). Equation of Eden with the garden of God is also found in Ezek 31:8–9 in an oracle describing the pharaoh of Egypt as a mighty and splendid tree with its top in the clouds and its roots watered by subterranean springs. It was luxuriant and provided shelter for animals and birds (vv 3–7). The trees of Eden which were "in the garden of God" were jealous of it (v 9). Further reference is made to the trees of Eden in the subsequent oracles speaking of the downfall of the pharaoh (vv 16–18).

The relation of the garden of Eden to the general theme of the garden of God must be seen in light of a full discussion of the latter. See GARDEN OF GOD. The issue has to do with the question of whether Eden was understood as a human paradise or a divine dwelling. It ultimately bears on the meaning of the narrative. The argument that the garden was created after the first human and therefore could not have been Yahweh's dwelling misses the subtlety of the situation. Many of the motifs of Eden are also those of the divine dwelling described in Mesopotamian and Canaanite myth. These include the unmediated presence of the deity, the council of the heavenly beings, the issuing of divine decrees, the source of subterranean life-giving waters which supply the whole earth, abundant fertility, and trees of supernatural qualities and great beauty.

The proliferation of such motifs in the ANE cannot be ignored. The description of Eden in Gen 2:46–3:24 draws heavily on the mythic garden-of-God theme but as is the case elsewhere in the Yahwistic narrative, there is a blend of mythic and historical elements. The mythic elements break through the narrative sufficiently to suggest that Eden was not simply a human paradise which had been lost through disobedience. Rather it portrays a divine dwelling within the human, historical context. It is certainly a place set apart from the world as humans have experienced it, but it nevertheless is meant to be understood as an historical entity. The garden of Eden serves as the setting for a drama which explores the relationship between the divine and human worlds, a relationship which in Israelite experience was played out in the context of history.

Some scholars have argued that the oracles of Ezekiel 28 and 31 show direct literary dependence on the Eden narrative of Genesis 2–3. Certainly some motifs are held in common (the magnificent trees, the rebellion against God and subsequent expulsion, wisdom, precious stones, cherubim, and fire) and the oracles reveal some knowledge of the Eden tradition, but the stories also show marked differences. It is easier to assume that the Ezekiel passages come from a fluid oral tradition, and while they have drawn on the same theme and used some of the same motifs, they nevertheless have been composed independently of Genesis 2–3.

In pseudepigraphal literature the garden of Eden is frequently mentioned. In *4 Ezra* 3:6 and *Jub.* 3:9–35 there is direct reference to the Genesis 2–3 account and the garden. In this context Eden is an earthly concept (of *Jub.* 423–25; and 8:18–19 where Eden is one of the abodes of God on earth). However, we can detect a shift in meaning, for in *4 Ezra* 3:6 we have the first reference to Eden as a garden planted before the earth appeared. In *Jub.* 4:23–25, Enoch is taken in honor from among sinful humans in the garden of Eden where he writes condemnation and judgment on the world.

In other works Eden is clearly associated with Paradise, a heavenly dwelling set aside for the righteous and faithful (e.g., *T. Dan* 5:12). Elsewhere we see certain elements of the garden in Genesis 2 associated with Paradise, for example the trees of Life and Wisdom in *1 Enoch* 24–25; 28–32 and *4 Ezra* 8:52. In *T. Levi* 18:1–14 we have a description of a new anointed priest bringing redemption

to God's saints. Verses 10–14 describe the opening of the gates of Paradise and the blessing of the saints as a reversal of the events of Eden in Genesis 3.

C. The Site of Eden

The location of the garden of Eden has intrigued biblical commentators from the time of Josephus (*Ant* 1.3.38–39). Interest has focused on the reference in Gen 2:10–14 where there is mention of the four headwaters which emerge from the river that flows out of Eden. Some commentators have questioned whether these verses are secondary. They interrupt the flow of the narrative and v 15 repeats the notice of v 8 that Yahweh put the human being he had created in the garden. This is not the only possible explanation. If the Eden story of Genesis 2–3 is a written version of a formerly oral traditional narrative and the description of Eden has been based on the theme of the garden of God, then it is possible that vv 10–14, with the description of the four rivers and reference to the jewels and produce of the lands through which they flow, could be the remnant of an embellishment of the theme at that point. The motifs of the rivers and precious jewels are elsewhere related to the garden of God (e.g., *Gilgamesh* [*ANET*, 89]; Ezek 28:12b–19). We should note that the description of the rivers decreases in length but the first three rivers show a part parallel structure. These features indicate the possibility of a longer, poetic basis for the verses.

The names of the rivers are important. The rivers *ḥiddeqel* and *pĕrat* are undoubtedly the Tigris and the Euphrates. The identities of the first two rivers, the *pîšôn* (usually taken to be formed from *pûš*, "to spring up") and the *gîḥôn* (from *gûaḥ* or *gîaḥ*, "to burst forth") are disputed. For the *pîšôn*, suggestions have included the Indus or the Ganges. The land of *ḥăwîlâ*, around which the *pîšôn* flows, is thus associated with India, although elsewhere it is connected with Arabia (cf. Gen 10:29; 25:18). The *gîḥôn* is frequently identified as the Nile through the connection with *kûš*, an ancient name for the south of Egypt. Others have connected the two rivers with canals in the Euphrates-Tigris plain or with the great oceans that encircled the known inhabited lands of Arabia and Africa. W. F. Albright argued in 1922 that Eden lay in the far west and that the *pîšôn* and *gîḥôn* were the Blue and White Niles.

Any firm identification of these rivers or the lands associated with them must remain tentative. There is probably little hope of moving beyond speculation. The possibility that *pîšôn* and *gîḥôn* were not river names in current use at the time of the composition of the Eden narrative ought not to be overlooked. They could even be a traditional rhyming pair of names without specific geographical reference.

The connection of *gîḥôn* with the name of the spring in Jerusalem cannot be neglected. The reference to the Tigris and Euphrates suggests a possible Mesopotamian origin for the Eden story. It therefore would seem unlikely that the Jerusalem spring is the origin for the *gîḥôn* of Gen 2:13, but the possibility of the identification of the two must be considered. The *gîḥôn* spring of Jerusalem is mentioned as the place of Solomon's anointing (1 Kgs 1:33, 38) and so was known at the time of the Yahwist. The name could even form a bridge between the motifs of the mountain dwelling and the life-giving springs associated with the theme of the garden of God. See GARDEN OF GOD. This would be particularly important when Jerusalem-Zion was being promoted as the dwelling place of Yahweh in David's time and especially Solomon's reign.

The site of the garden is referred to in Gen 2:8 as *miqqedem*, usually translated "in the East." This has been used to support the idea of a Mesopotamian location for the story. The phrase could also be translated "from of old" (cf. Pss 77:6, 12; 78:12; 143:5; Prov 8:22–23, etc.) and possibly in earlier forms of the narrative it had a temporal rather than a geographic reference. If the Yahwist understood the phrase to indicate "in the East" then the precise location still remains uncertain. In Genesis 2–11 the Yahwist depicts the movement of primeval humanity in an easterly direction from the garden (Gen 3:24; 4:16; 11:2). This movement is reversed in Gen 12:4 when Abraham begins his journey westward from Haran to Canaan. It is possible that the Yahwist does not place Eden in Mesopotamia but somewhere W of that land, allowing for an easterly migration after the expulsion. In such a case the rivers of Gen 2:10–14 need not form an interconnected system but could be simply independent, traditional, or famous waterways which in the writer's cosmology are fed from the source that rises in the dwelling place of God. See also Driver *Genesis* WC; and Skinner *Genesis* ICC.

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HOWARD N. WALLACE

EDER (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēder*]. The name of two men in the OT.

1. Listed among the Levites of David's time, a descendant of Merari (1 Chr 23:23; 24:30). David is credited with the organization of the Levites into divisions with "charge of the work in the house of the LORD" (1 Chr 23:4). However, as Williamson notes (*Chronicles* NCBC, 160), in that these Levite genealogies do not extend to David's time, it is "probable that the expression *the sons of* is to be understood loosely."

2. A descendant of Benjamin, listed in the longer Benjaminite genealogy of the Chronicler (1 Chr 8:15). The Greek (LXX^{B}) reads *ōrēr* and *ōdēd* instead of (MT) *ʿarād* and *ʿāder*, a transposition of the consonants *r* and *d* which evidences the confusion between the Hebrew letters *reš* and *dalet*. The Chronicler attaches special significance to

Eder as being among the "chief men" who "dwelt in Jerusalem." The Chronicler emphasizes this link of Benjamin with Jerusalem (1 Chr 8:28, 32), providing a clue as to why Benjamin is elaborated in 1 Chronicles 8. The Benjaminite line had been treated earlier in its proper place in the list of tribal genealogies (1 Chr 7:6–12). See also *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* TBC.

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

EDER (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēder*]. A settlement of the tribe of Judah. Eder is only mentioned once, in Josh 15:22, where it is listed among the settlements occupied by Judah in the aftermath of the Conquest. Though the present literary context of the Judean town list is set in the period of Joshua, its original setting was part of a post-Solomonic administrative division of the southern kingdom. The date for the establishment of this system is debated, with suggestions ranging from the early 9th to the late 7th centuries B.C.

A version of the LXX, however, takes this as Arad, which may well be correct (M.R. 162076). The beginning of the list states that these settlements were "toward Edom," i.e., the first sites listed are in the E part of the Negeb. In the early Hebrew orthography *reš* and *dalet* are very similar, and in copying could easily be miswritten. The excavators of Arad have suggested that the earliest Iron Age citadel in Stratum XI is Solomonic (Aharoni *EAEHL*, 83). Joshua 12:14 also claims that the Israelites vanquished the king of Arad. It would be strange for Arad not to be listed among the southernmost settlements of Judah. Most commentators prefer the LXX reading (*GP* 2: 309; *GTTOT*, 142; *LBHG*, 105). In 1 Chr 8:15 Eder and Arad are listed as descendants of Judah. The Chronicler, having one source which listed Eder, but knowing full well of the existence of Arad, simply used both.

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

EDER, TOWER OF (PLACE) [Heb *migdal-ʿēder*]. *Migdal-ʿēder* (M.R. 171123), meaning "tower of the flock," was a pastoral landmark in antiquity near Bethlehem (M.R. 169123) beyond which Jacob established a campsite after Rachel's death (Gen 35:19) and where Reuben violated Bilhah (Gen 35:21–22; *T. Reu.* 3:13). While the exact location is not known, it has been associated with Khirbet Siyar el-Ganam ca. 2.5 km (1.5 miles) E of Bethlehem on a ridge overlooking the modern village of Beit Sahur. Its name was most likely derived from the flocks that were kept in the area (1 Sam 16:4, 11; Luke 2:8). The suggestion that the tower received its name from the family of Ader (1 Chr 8:13–16) and is to be equated with the Migdal (city no. 58) of Shishak's cities list (Ahituv 1984: 141) is not probable since the clan of Beriah was from Aijalon near the coastal plains and Shishak's Migdal (no. 58) is to be found in the hill country of Ephraim between Tirzah and Adam, according to Aharoni and Mazar's reading of the list (*LBHG*, 324–25, 380 n. 9).

During the Second Temple period, it was prohibited to keep flocks in the land of Israel (*m. B. Qam.* 7:7; *b. B. Qam.* 79b) because of the negative effects on agriculture. The region around Jerusalem, as far out as Migdal-eder, was an exception in order to accommodate the need for sacrificial animals at the Temple. Sheep or goats within this area (of one year or more) were assumed to be for Temple service (*m. Šeqal.* 7:4). Possibly as early as the prophet Micah (4:8), Migdal-eder has been associated with messianic expectations; and the *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gen 35:21 states that Migdal-eder is the place from where the Messiah will make himself manifest (Winter 1955: 230–42). Jerome (a 4th century C.E. resident of Bethlehem) affirms the traditional identification and function of Migdal-eder (Lat *turrim Ader* or *turris Gader*) and locates it by a road ca. 1.5 km (1 mile) from Bethlehem (*Quaestiones* 43; *de Situ et Nominibus* 215, 222 [*PL* 2: 898, 900]; *Quaestionum in Genesim* 361 [*PL* 2: 992]).

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DALE C. LIID

EDESSA (37°08′N; 38°46′E). Modern Urfa in E Turkey, also known as Syr *ʾUrḥāy* (Orhay), Ar *al-Ruḥa*.

A. Topography and Political History
B. Pre-Christian Culture and Religion
C. Earliest Christianity in Edessa
D. Syriac Language and Literature

A. Topography and Political History

Protected on three sides by a limestone massif, overlooking the plain of Harran to the SW, and located at the convergence of two ancient routes—from Armenia to Syria and from the Mediterranean to Iran, India and China—Orhay is a natural fortress and commercial center. Jewish and Christian traditions which state that Nimrod was the city's founder derive from competition with nearby Harran and lack historical basis (Duval 1891–92: 106, 256; Segal 1970: 1, 3, 188). Although the town probably dates to the 2d millennium B.C., it is not mentioned in surviving texts or inscriptions until its refoundation by Seleucus Nicator ca. 303 B.C. (Appian *Syr.* 57). After this the city was known as Antioch by the Callirhoe as well as Edessa, both names alluding to the abundance of water provided by the *Skirtos* (Gk "leaping," = Syr *Dayṣan*) River as well as by the large spring-fed pools within the city (Pliny *HN* 5.21.1). Even in the Hellenistic period virtually nothing is known of the history of the city.

Syriac chronicles supplemented anecdotally by Greek and Roman historians and numismatic and inscriptional evidence provide a fuller view from ca. 132 B.C. to ca. A.D. 240. Then the city was ruled by a dynasty of Nabatean rulers, styled variously as toparchs, phylarchs, or kings, who carved a place for themselves at the eastern edge of the Roman domain. An 8th-century chronicler's list of the rulers, which begins with the eponymous *ʾUrḥāy bar Ḥewyâ*,

includes several who are known from other sources (Chabot 1953: 50.20–23). As the area was of strategic importance to Rome in the competition first against Parthia and then against Sassanid Persia, the Edessene policy of self-interested independence was sometimes perceived by the Roman historians as traitorous. So *ʾAbgar bar ʾAbgar* (68–53 B.C.) was wrongly accused of betraying Crassus (Plutarch *Crass.* 21–22; Cass. Dio 37.5, 40.20–23), but *ʾAbgar VII bar Izates*, grandson of the Jewish Helen of Adiabene, probably did betray Trajan in A.D. 116 (Cass. Dio 68.18, 21, 30). After a brief period of direct Roman rule (A.D. 116–18) relations between the Nabatean rulers and Rome were especially close under *Maʿnu VIII bar Maʿnu "Philorōmaios"* (A.D. 139–63) (Chabot 1953: 126.1). *ʾAbgar VIII bar Maʿnu* "the Great" (A.D. 177–212), once seen as especially friendly to Rome, may instead have been deemed traitorous due to his support for the wrong candidate in the struggle after the death of Commodus (Drijvers *ANRW* 2/8: 876–78). In any case, as a prelude to his Mesopotamian campaign, Caracalla summoned *ʾAbgar IX Severus* to Rome, arrested him, and in January 214 declared Edessa a Roman *colonia*. The surrounding area was designated the province of Osrhoene (originally Orrhoene, probably derived either from *ʾŪrhāy* or from the Persian name Khusro, Chosrhoes), and Edessa, now its capital, received a governor and a garrison. In A.D. 231 Alexander Severus elevated the city to the status of *metropolis*, but in 242 Gordian reduced it again to the status of *colonia*. The later 3d century brought Sassanian and Palmyrene domination, followed by renewed Roman control under Diocletian. When Diocletian's administrative reforms divided Osrhoene into two parts, Osrhoene and Mesopotamia, Edessa retained its status as capital of Osrhoene, though with a reduced jurisdiction. The city continued to be a commercial and administrative center throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods until it was captured by the Turks in the mid–12th century.

B. Pre-Christian Culture and Religion

Under the Nabatean kings, as under Roman rule, the city's population and consequently its culture and religion were a conglomerate of native Mesopotamian, Aramean, Greek, Jewish, and Roman elements. Although archaeological evidence is limited almost entirely to a few funerary monuments, several media are represented: sculpture, mosaics, and architectural remains. Semitic, Parthian, Palmyrene, and Greek influences are evident. Some inscriptions—most of them funerary—survive in Syriac, Greek, and Aramaic. Later Christian literary sources, principally the hymns of Ephrem Syrus (d. A.D. 373), the *Doctrine of Addai* (ca. A.D. 400), and the *Homily on the Fall of the Idols* by Jacob of Sarug (d. A.D. 521), attest several varieties of pagan worship. The ancient Mesopotamian deities, Bel (Marduk) and Nebo, are found in a Father-Son cult. The Aramaean *Taʿata* (Syr = Gk *Atargatis*) is worshiped, sometimes with her consort, *Baʿal Śamin*. At Edessa as at her principal cult center in neighboring *Hierapolis* (Syr *Mabbug*), she was associated with fertility rites and sacred fish ponds (cf. Lucian *Syr.D.* and *Itin. Eger.* 19.7 = CChr ser. latina 175, 1965, pp. 27–103). The Arabian river deities, Azizos and Monimos, are attested (Drijvers, *ANRW* 2/8: 892). Worship of sun, moon, planets, and stars is associated with astrological lore (Ephrem *HCH* 4, 5, 6 and Doc Add. = Howard 1981: 48). In addition, the city had a substantial and prosperous Jewish community associated with the silk trade and with their coreligionists in nearby Nisibis. It is, however, to the legends associated with the arrival of Christianity in Edessa that the city owes its greatest fame.

C. Earliest Christianity in Edessa

According to traditions associated with King *ʾAbgar* V (d. A.D. 50) the evangelization of Edessa took place in the apostolic period. (See ABGAR, EPISTLE OF CHRIST TO. The earliest literary accounts of the Abgar legend, in Eusebius' *Church History* (1.13; ca. A.D. 304) and in *The Doctrine of Addai*, claim that Addai, one of the seventy, was sent to the city by the apostle Thomas. Another tradition, which may have arisen independently, saw Thomas himself as the missionary to Edessa. Despite the fact that the *Acts of Thomas* recount the death of their protagonist in India (*Acts Thom.* 1–2, 159–70), both this work and the *Gospel of Thomas* (q.v.) may have originated in Edessa, and they may, therefore, attest an early association of the apostle with this city (Klijn 1965: 64–83, 106–38, but cf. Ehlers 1970). Ephrem Syrus alludes to a transferral of the bones of the apostle and to their veneration at Edessa (Ephrem *Car. Nis.* 27.62, 42.1.1–2.2, 49.9–40). Finally, Egeria came to the Syrian city (ca. A.D. 404–417) expressly to see the martyrium of Thomas, whom she believed to be the apostle sent to *ʾAbgar* by Jesus (*Itin. Eger.* 17.1).

Except for the fact that his rule coincided chronologically with Jesus' life (i.e., 4 B.C.–A.D. 7 and again A.D. 13–50), there is no evidence independent of Eusebius and the *Doctrine of Addai* to confirm any tie of *ʾAbgar* V to Christianity. Nevertheless, in an attempt to discern a kernel of historical truth in these legends, Gutschmidt (Burkitt 1904) argued that they actually referred obliquely to *ʾAbgar* the Great (ruled A.D. 179–214), since he is mentioned in the Bardaisanite *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (= *BLC*, cf. BARDAISAN OF EDESSA) as having forbidden emasculation in honor of Atargatis when he "came to the faith" (*BLC* 607). Burkitt (1904) accepted this view and argued further that the legends provided evidence for the Jewish-Christian character of early Syriac Christianity and for the evangelization of Edessa in the late 2d century. These proposals, once widely accepted, have been rejected or significantly modified (Bauer 1971; Drijvers 1970; Segal 1980; Murray 1975: 4–24).

Apart from the legends and the problematic *Chronicle of Arbel* (cf. Murray 1975: 9), the history of Christianity in Edessa begins with the *Chronicle of Edessa*. This 6th-century compilation records only a handful of events relevant to the history of Christianity prior to the time of Constantine: (1) the birth of Jesus, (2) Marcion's departure from the Catholic church, (3) the birth of Bardaisan, (4) the birth of Mani, and (5) a lengthy notice, prefatory to the other shorter notices, describing the destruction caused by a flood of the city in A.D. 201 (= *Sel.* 513/14), which mentions that the water "destroyed the nave of the Church of the Christians" or "destroyed the Church of the community of Christians" (Syr *wsrḥw ḥww twb bhaykl' dʿdt' dkrsṭyn'*; Guidi 1955: 2.4). The chronicle does not mention a Christian bishop until 313, when Bishop *Qônâ* is said to have undertaken the construction of a new cathedral church,

just coinciding with the new status of the Church under Constantine; the building was completed by his successor (Guidi 1955: 4.2–3). From this point forward a continuous succession of bishops and buildings is attested.

Dismissing the reference to the Christian church building as a later interpolation and rejecting any notion of a kernel of truth in the Abgar legend, Bauer argued in 1934 (= Bauer 1971) that the first Christians of Edessa were neither orthodox nor Jewish-Christian and that they had neither formal organization nor doctrinal norms. Various heretical groups—the followers of Marcion, Bardaisan, and Mani—were there by the late 3d century, but the orthodox Christians arrived only in the 4th century with a Bishop *Palût* consecrated by the bishop of Antioch. Thus Ephrem Syrus' objection to designation of the orthodox Christians as "Palutians" (Eph. Syr. *HCH* 22, esp. 22.1–10) is to be explained by the fact that the Marcionites had been the first Christians in the city and thus were designated simply as "Christians." Against these views of Bauer, Vööbus (1958: 3–108; followed by Quispel 1968 and Murray 1975: 4–24) adduced parallels from the Qumran literature to fragments of early baptismal preaching preserved by Aphrahat (d. A.D. 337) and Ephrem to argue again a Jewish-Christian origin and theological orientation of the earliest Church at Edessa. Bauer's view has been forcefully reiterated by Drijvers (1970), and has been generally accepted for the city of Edessa itself although not necessarily for all of Syriac Christianity (cf. Murray 1975: 4–24).

D. Syriac Language and Literature

During the 2d–3d centuries A.D. the Aramaic dialect of Edessa became the literary language known as Syriac and it became the common language of the Christians of Syro-Mesopotamia. Edessa is thus the most probable place of composition of the earliest Syriac literature, such as the *Odes of Solomon* and the *Testament of Adam* as well as the putative Syriac originals of such works as the *Gospel of Thomas*. Some early Syriac versions of the Bible may have taken shape there as well. The first known Syriac author, Bardaisan, (A.D. 154–222), certainly resided at Edessa, where he was associated with King ʾAbgar VIII. Three other early Syriac works may have originated here: an early 3d-century apology mistakenly attributed to Melito of Sardis was composed in Syriac by a writer well acquainted with the apologies of Justin and Aristides (Cureton 1855: Syr 22–35, 41–51; Ulbrich 1906). Also extant is an early Syriac version of a short 3d-century Greek apology wrongly attributed to Justin (Cureton 1855: Syr 38–42, 61–69). *The Letter of Mara bar Sarapion to His Son,* ostensibly an epistle of advice from a non-Christian Stoic to his son, is actually a Christian work, probably from the 4th century rather than the 3d as Schulthess thought (Cureton 1855: Syr 43–48, 70–76; McVey 1990). Accounts of the earliest Edessene martyrs, a former pagan priest, *Šarbîl,* and a bishop of Edessa, *Barsamyâ,* purporting to date from the reign of Trajan, are completely unreliable additions to the *Doctrine of Addai* (Cureton 1864: Syr 41–72, 41–72; Duval 1889; Burkitt 1904: 19–22). Although there is little of historical value in the surviving accounts of two early Diocletianic martyrs, poor village boys named *Šamônâ* and *Gûryâ,* or of the deacon *Ḥabîb,* executed under Licinius, the authenticity of their names is consistently attested in early liturgical materials (von Gebhardt 1911: xliv–lxiv).

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KATHLEEN E. MCVEY

EDNA (PERSON) [Gk *Edna*]. The wife of Raguel and mother of Sarah in the book of Tobit (Tob 7:7—Eng 7:8). Edna is mentioned seven times (7:2, 7:7—Eng 7:8, 7:14, 7:15—Eng 7:16, 8:12, 10:13—Eng 10:12, 11:1), each time as the object of address; she initiates no independent actions. The name comes from the Hebrew root *ʿdn*, the same root as the word for (the Garden of) Eden, and means "delight" or "daintiness." In view of the author's use of word plays in connection with other names in the book of Tobit (e.g., Azarias, "God helps"), one might suppose the author intended the reader to associate Edna with the delight of Eden.

PAUL L. REDDITT

EDOM (PLACE) [Heb *ʾedôm*]. EDOMITE. A territory that in OT times was generally located S and E of the Dead Sea. The word "Edom" is derived from a Semitic root meaning "red," "ruddy." The name was thus probably given to the area because of the reddish color of the sandstone there. This entry consists of two articles, one focusing on historical and biblical references to Edom, and the other focusing upon the archaeology of the Edomite territory.

EDOM IN HISTORY

Less is known of the history of Edom than of most neighbors of ancient Israel, because there are no extant historical records from ancient Edom, and Edom has always been relatively isolated. Edom's natural contacts were with Midian and Hejaz to the S, with Egypt via the Gulf of Aqaba and the Sinai peninsula to the W, and with Syria and Damascus to the N via the difficult road that led across the Wadi Môjîb toward the territory of the Ammonites. The early Israelites knew very little about Edom, and since their knowledge was colored by their perpetually hostile experience of Edom, modern historians of Edom work under considerable disadvantages. Some historical evidence comes from Egypt, and a number of references occur in the Assyrian and Babylonian records, and recent findings of archaeological surveys and excavations have proved valuable (see below), but the OT records remain centrally important.

A. Early History of Edom
1. Egyptian References
2. Early OT References
3. Edom and the United Israelite Monarchy
B. The Edomite Kingdom
1. Edom and the Divided Israelite Monarchy
2. Edom and the Assyrians
3. Edom and the Babylonians
4. Edom during the Persian and Hellenistic Periods

A. Early History of Edom

1. Egyptian References. The earliest reference to Edom comes from Egypt. Papyrus Anastasi (6.54–56; *ANET,* 259) preserves the report of a frontier official from the reign of Merneptah (ca. 1224–1214 B.C.), who noted:

> We have finished letting the Bedouin tribes of Edom pass the Fortress [of] Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat—life, prosperity, health!—which is (in) Tjeku, to the pools of Per-Atum . . . to keep them alive and to keep their cattle alive.

"Edom" is presented as a foreign, non-Egyptian name. This Semitic place name (which means "the red (land)," and almost certainly refers to the mountains of Nubian sandstone which extend N-S between the Wâdī ʿArabah and the Syro-Arabian desert) was in use by the late 13th century B.C., and perhaps as early as the 15th century if Edom is indicated by *ʾi-d-má* on a list of Thutmose III (1490–1436 B.C.; Helck 1971: 243–44). The name may be much older, but an earlier use cannot be traced.

The OT closely links Edom with the region called Seir (cf. Gen 36:8–9; Judg 5:4). This name first appears in a letter found in the Egyptian archives at Amarna from King Abdi-hiba of Jerusalem (first half of the 14th century B.C.), who wrote to Pharaoh Amenhotep III: "The land of the king is lost: there is war against us, as far as the lands of Seir ([*matat*] *Se-eri*^{ki}) (and) as far as Gath-Carmel!" (EA 288: 24–25; *ANET,* 488). Nearly a century later Rameses II (1290–1224 B.C.) claimed to have laid waste the land of the Shosu and plundered Mt. Seir (Montet 1933: 70–71; Albright 1944: 228; Giveon 1971: 100; for the connection of Seir with the *šsw sʿrr* and *šsw yhw* on Rameses II's inscription at ʿAmārah West, see Fairman 1939: 141; Grdseloff 1947: 79; Giveon 1971: 27, 75; Weippert 1981: 292), but this must be reckoned dubious in the light of Astour's demonstration (1979: 17–33) that the place names on this list belong to Syrian and Lebanon. Rameses III (1193–1162 B.C.) makes a similar claim:

> I have destroyed the people of Seir among the *Shosu* tribes. I have laid waste their tents, with their people, their belongings, and likewise their cattle without number.
>
> (Papyrus Harris I: 76: 9–11; see Giveon 1971: 134–37; Albright 1944: 229)

Thus 14th–12th-century-B.C. Egyptian sources mention both Edom and Seir, the latter more frequently (was it nearer and better known?); they do not identify the two places (Bartlett 1969: 1–2), but know their inhabitants as *shosu.*

Unfortunately the term *shosu* does not help to identify these early inhabitants of Edom with any precision. The word may derive from a NW Semitic root and mean "plunderers," or, perhaps more likely, from an Egyptian word meaning "wanderers" (Ward 1972: 56–59; cf. Gottwald 1979: 458–59). They appear in the regions of N Israel and Syria as well as in Seir and Edom (Giveon 1971: 22–261; Weippert 1974: 273), and possibly also in Nubia (Ward 1972: 37–40). But they are not presented as desert nomads; Ward sees them as a social class of freebooters

and mercenaries, like the Habiru, not as an ethnic group (1972: 550–56; see further Weippert 1974: 265–80, 427–33; Görg 1979: 199–202; Giveon *LÄ* 5: cols 533–34).

The later OT tradition thought of the early occupants of Edom as "Horites" (Gen 14:6; 36:20–30; Deut 2:12, 22). De Vaux (1967: 481–85) suggested that "Horite" derived from "Huru," the Egyptian 18th Dynasty name for Canaan, and was reapplied by the OT writers to one particular group of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Transjordan; if so, the Israelites' adoption of "Horite" may have been influenced by the similarity of the word to the Heb *hôr*, "cave," and by the known Edomite practice of cave dwelling (Obadiah 3). It is difficult, however, to extract hard evidence for the supposed pre-Edomite population from Genesis 36, because (1) the "Horite" clans of Gen 36:20–30 in many cases bear names found in 1 Chronicles 2 and 4 as names of Judahite clans (Meyer 1906: 328–54) and are linked with places W of the Wâdī ʿArabah, and (2) the phrase "the inhabitants of the land" (Gen 36:20) suggests that the Israelite historian has assumed from an analogy with the history of Israel that the Edomites entered from outside and took over an already inhabited land (a view explicitly stated in Deut 2:12). However, it is more likely that the Iron Age kingdom of Edom developed naturally from the LB Age population. Recent archaeology surveys in N Edom have found evidence of at least some occupation of the land in the LB Age, and also of continuity of occupation into Iron Age IA at most LB sites (MacDonald 1980: 169–83; 1982a; 1982b). Analysis of the archaeological evidence from the Transjordan as a whole has suggested that there was a strong LB Age presence, showing signs of Mycenaean and Cypriot influence from the Mediterranean, particularly in the more fertile N and central Transjordan and that this Mediterranean influence disappeared in the 12th century B.C. The LB tradition, however, lived on (for example, in several characteristic pottery shapes) into Iron Age IA. The decline of Mycenaean and Cypriot influence in Transjordan is not necessarily or simply to be explained by supposed new arrivals in Transjordan, and the other evidence may suggest the continuance, change, and development of the existing LB population under new economic circumstances. For Edom in particular, however, more evidence is needed.

2. Early OT References. The OT evidence for the early Edomite inhabitants of the land is limited and of uncertain value. Possibly some fragments of information can be gleaned from Genesis 36, but its current form derives from an Israelite editor of the 6th century B.C. who identified Edom with an ancestral figure, Esau of Seir, known in Israelite tradition as the brother of Israel's ancestor, Jacob. The process by which Jacob's brother Esau came to stand (in Israelite eyes) as the ancestor of Edom probably began when David conquered Edom in the early 10th century B.C., and the Edomites became better known in Israel and popularly linked with the uncouth Esau of the folktale, the older brother whom Jacob worsted (Bartlett 1977). Analysis of the family ascribed to Esau in Gen 36:10–14 shows that Esau is associated with people and places ranging from the S borders of Judah to Midian in NW Arabia. Thus Esau's son Eliphaz is linked with Teman, perhaps the S region of Edom (de Vaux 1969; cf. Eliphaz the Temanite, Job 2:11), but also with Kenaz, a tribe found in the Hebron region (Num 32:12; Josh 14:6, 14; 15:17; Judg 1:13; 3:9, 11). The name Reuel appears in Exod 2:18, Num 10:29 as that of a Midianite, but among his sons, Nahath appears as a Judahite (2 Chr 31:13), Zerah as a Judahite clan (Gen 38:30; cf. Num 26:13; 1 Chr 6:6, 26), and Shammah perhaps relates to the Jerahmeelite or Calebite clan Shammai (2 Chr 2:28, 32, 44–45). Oholibamah (Gen 36:14) links Esau with the clans of the sons of Seir (Gen 36:20–30). Other links appear with Timna (a place on the W edge of the Wâdī ʿArabah) and Amalek, whose tribal home was in the Negeb. There is little in these names to suggest that the compiler is drawing on genuine early Edomite material, and much to suggest that he is doing his best to associate Esau with appropriate names. Most of the names link Esau with S Judah and the Negeb, and some with the S regions of Teman and Midian. This probably reflects the situation of the 7th–6th centuries B.C. when both literary and archaeological evidence suggests an increasing Edomite presence in the Negeb S of Hebron, and when Edom's associations with Midian to the S are well known (cf. Ezek 25:13). Of the tribes and clans of the Edomite heartland in the early period, Gen 36:10–14 tells us nothing. The Song of Moses (Exod 15:1–18) refers to the "chiefs" (*ʾallûpê*) of Edom in parallel with the "rams" (*ʾêlê*) of Moab, and the word has been taken up by the compiler of Genesis 36, who has formed his lists by conferring chiefdoms on the descendants of Esau and Seir (Gen 36:15–19, 29–30) and on various places and names already mentioned in the chapter (vv 40–43). The surprising story of the defeat of Cushan-rishathaim, king of Aram (-Naharaim), by Othniel the son of Kenaz from Debir (Judg 3:7–11) in the Negeb has sometimes been understood to refer to 12th- or 11th-century-B.C. Edom by emending *Aram* to *Edom* (Gray, *Joshua, Judges and Ruth* NCBC, 214; for a different solution see Malamat 1954). However, the emendation is doubtful, and the story may have been composed to give an example of God's saving activity to introduce the edited collection of stories of Israel's deliverance from its enemies (Mayes 1977: 291–92). It is thus of no value for the early history of Edom.

This presentation of the archaeological and literary evidence for early Edom forces us to reconsider the Israelite traditions of Israel's encounter with Edom after the Exodus. The oldest version of this story (Num 20:14–21) pictures Edom united under a king, its borders reaching to Kadesh (= Kadesh-barnea = Tell el-Qudeirat, some 100 km W of the Wâdī ʿArabah), with fields and vineyards, the King's Highway, and armed forces. Edom is introduced as Israel's brother. The Edom presented here depicts the later monarchic period, and this version of the story was perhaps formulated no earlier than the 8th or 7th century B.C. when the Edomites were beginning to settle in the land W of Wâdī ʿArabah, when Assyrian administration had led to the old N-S route being called "the King's Highway," when Edom's prowess with the sword had been experienced (cf. 2 Kgs 8:20–22; Amos 1:11), and when the idea of Israel's brotherhood with Edom had developed. The Israelite account gives no precise details of persons or places, except for Moses and Kadesh; the king of Edom is a shadowy figure, and there is nothing to imply the preservation of an ancient tradition

of any value. It is a story of the confrontation of "all Israel" against "all Edom," revealing more of the monarchic period than of the Mosaic age (Bartlett 1977: 8–10). At the time of Moses, Edom was probably not a political unity or a nation; the evidence suggests that this did not occur for another three or four centuries.

The first hint of political development in Edom is given by the king list of Gen 36:31–39 (cf. 1 Chr 1:43–51). In its present form this list is an Israelite, not Edomite, document, looking back from a comparatively late period to "Kings who reigned in the land of Edom, before any king reigned over the Israelites," and presenting them as ruling in succession to one another. This, however, is an artificial construction put upon archival material which appears to derive from at least two different sources. One source simply listed the kings in the form "*X* from *Y*" (Jobab son of Zerah, Husham, Samlah, Shaul), while the second lists the kings with the added formula "and the name of his city was *Z*" (Bela the son of Beor, Hadad the son of Bedad, and Hadar); further information is supplied for Hadad and Hadar. One person, Baal-hanan the son of Achbor, is not connected with any particular place; possibly the name of his city was either then or subsequently lost. Apart from its incorporation in this list, the second group of names shows no connections with Edom, but instead with Moab (Bartlett 1965). Furthermore, a list of early kings, each with his city, fails to correspond with what we know of this early period of Edom's history either from archaeological or literary sources; Edom was evidently not a land of city-states at this stage. The first group of names and places is much easier to relate to Edom. Jobab comes from Bozrah (modern Buseira), which is known from excavations (Bennett 1973; 1974; 1975; 1977) and from references in the OT prophets (Amos 1:12; Isa 34:6; 63:1; Jer 49:13, 22) to have flourished during the 8th–6th centuries B.C.; evidence for earlier centuries is less certain. Husham came from the land of the Temanites, a region (not a city) notable for its wisdom (Jer 49:7; Bar 3:22–23; cf. Job's comforter, Eliphaz the Temanite), and named in poetic parallelism with Edom itself (Jer 49:20), Mount Esau (Obadiah 9), and Mt. Paran (Hab 3:7). The name Husham may recall the Wâdī Ḥismeh, a broad plain between the S end of the central Edomite range and the peaks of Jebel Ram (Clermont-Ganneau 1906: 467). Samlah came from Masrekah, otherwise unknown; Simons (1959: 390–91) suggests a connection with Jebel Mushrāq between Maʿān and Aqaba. Shaul came from Rehoboth on the Euphrates (RSV), but the Hebrew *hannahar* might refer to the Wâdī el-Ḥasā. Eusebius (*Onomost.* 142.13) says that Rehoboth "is now a military post in Gebalene" (i.e., N Edom); this is probably the Roman Robatha near Zoara, which Simons identifies with Khirbet Riḥāb just S of the Wâdī el-Ḥesā (Simons 1959: 391).

The core of this king list thus names four apparently unrelated kings and their places of origin, or, more probably, their areas of rule. One, Bozrah, lay in N-central Edom and was regarded in monarchic times as the capital of Edom. The land of the Temanites was perhaps the region to the immediate S of the mountain range which was the focus of Edom. The other two places are uncertain. These four kings may have been local rulers, comparable with various rulers mentioned in Joshua and Judges. The age of this core material is uncertain, but the prominence of Bozrah and Teman suggests that it was the monarchic period, from which all the other references to these places come. The Israelite editor has combined this with other (not necessarily Edomite) material to produce a quite misleading picture of a pre-Davidic period when Edom was united under a succession of rulers. The editor, and even his sources, had at best only a fragmentary knowledge of Edom, which until the Davidic conquest was barely known to Israel.

3. Edom and the United Israelite Monarchy. How Edom was ruled before the Davidic conquest must therefore be a matter for conjecture, but it is clear that the growing power of the tribes of Israel as they united under a monarchy helped develop Edom's national consciousness. According to 1 Sam 14:47 Saul successfully fought against Edom; Doeg the Edomite's presence at Saul's court (1 Sam 22:9, 18), whether as an ex–prisoner of war or a fortune-seeking immigrant, reveals contact between Edom and Israel at the end of the 11th century B.C. (if the record is accurate and does not simply betray the Israelite writer's readiness to credit a vicious deed to an hereditary enemy). David's campaign against Edom (2 Sam 8:13–14; 1 Kgs 11:15–16; Psalm 60 (title); 1 Chr 18:12) may probably be dated ca. 990 B.C., after his wars with the Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, Arameans, and Amalekites (Bartlett 1976: 218–20). David presumably wanted to secure the SE border of Judah and to control the trade possibilities of the Gulf of Aqaba. David's campaign was conducted by Joab, who ruthlessly exterminated the male population of Edom (thus ensuring Edom's future hatred for Judah; cf. Amos 1:11), and garrisoned Edom throughout. Joab's thoroughness is emphasized, and it was a century and a half before Edom gained independence from Judah.

Joab's massacre, however, was not quite total; 1 Kgs 11:14–22 tells how the Edomite Hadad, "of the seed of the king," escaped as a child with his father's servants to Egypt, where he married into the Egyptian royal house; after David's death he asked to return to Edom, but was refused by Pharaoh. Some may infer from this that in David's time Edom already had an hereditary monarchy, but though Hadad was a relative (not necessarily the son and heir; cf. 2 Kgs 25:25; Jer 41:1) of a king, we hear nothing of the king himself and nothing of his father, his father's position, or his place of rule. If Hadad fled ca. 990 B.C., his marriage in Egypt and the early youth of his son Genubath took place toward the end of David's reign, probably in the early years of Pharaoh Siamun (ca. 978–959 B.C.). Pharaoh might have seen this as a ripe moment for Egypt to regain, through Hadad, influence or even control in Edom, and hence the marriage. But with Solomon's accession Egyptian policy seems to have changed, perhaps recognizing that "the kingdom was established in the hand of Solomon" (1 Kgs 2:46), so Pharaoh soon gave Solomon his daughter in marriage, with the city of Gezer as her dowry (1 Kgs 3:1; 9:16). This change of policy may explain why Pharaoh became unwilling to let Hadad return to Edom—it was the wrong moment to show Egyptian interest in Edom or make trouble there for Solomon. Some scholars believe that Hadad indeed returned to rule Edom, and made trouble for Solomon, following the LXX version which completes the Hadad story by borrowing material

from the end of the following account of Rezon's hostility to Solomon (MT 1 Kgs 11:25), but this is unlikely. Edom was garrisoned, and lacking in population and manpower; in Jehoshaphat's reign there was still no king in Edom (1 Kgs 22:47), and it was not until the reign of Jehoram (ca. 847–845 B.C.) that Edom was strong enough to establish a monarchy. The activities described in 1 Kgs 11:25 are Rezon's, not Hadad's, especially if we follow the Syriac and LXX and read *wayyāṣoq* ("and he oppressed") for MT *wayyōqoṣ* ("and he loathed"). Hadad might have loathed, but he could not have oppressed Solomon (see Bartlett 1976).

We know virtually nothing of Edom under Solomon and his immediate successors. Glueck argued that the first period of Tell el-Kheleifeh, on the N shore of the Gulf of Aqaba, was destroyed ca. 925 B.C. by Sheshonq from Egypt (cf. 1 Kgs 14:25; Glueck 1967: 440), but Sheshonq's presence in this area is far from certain (Kitchen 1973: 296–300, 432–47), and recent analysis of the pottery from Tell el-Kheleifeh does not encourage belief in its existence before the 8th century B.C. (Pratico 1985). The relationship between Tell el-Kheleifeh and Ezion-geber "near Eloth on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom," where Solomon is said to have built a fleet of ships (1 Kgs 9:26), remains highly debatable. If Eloth is modern Eilat, Aqaba, or Tell el-Kheleifeh, Ezion-geber may be the island of Jezirat Fara'un (Rothenberg 1965; Flinder 1977). Through the second half of the 10th century B.C. and the first half of the 9th, however, Edom continued to be garrisoned and governed by a "deputy" (*nissab*, 1 Kgs 22:47). The Edomites were, like the Moabites and Syrians, the "servants" of David (2 Sam 8:14) and his successors, and probably like them paid tribute, though perhaps at a lower rate. Solomon is said to have included Edomite women among his wives (1 Kgs 11:1). Edom was too weak to take advantage of Judah's preoccupation with the revolt of Israel (1 Kgs 12), the attack by Sheshonq (1 Kgs 14:25–26), and subsequent wars with Israel. But its population must have been slowly recovering from Joab's massacre. From this situation Edom made a new start in the mid-9th century B.C.

B. The Edomite Kingdom

1. Edom and the Divided Israelite Monarchy. When Jehoshaphat reigned over Judah (869–847 B.C.), "there was no king in Edom; a deputy was king. Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold; but they did not go, for the ships were wrecked at Ezion-geber" (1 Kgs 22:47–48). The destruction of the ships was perhaps the result of storms, or of local hostility, to which Glueck (1965: 84) attributed the destruction of the second period of Tell el-Kheleifeh. The dating of this event may need revision in the light of recent research (Pratico 1985), but local unrest probably preceded the full revolt of Edom from Judah which took place in Joram's reign (ca. 847–845 B.C.), when Edom set up a monarchy (2 Kgs 8:20). The OT does not name this king, and offers a confusing account of Joram's response to the revolt (2 Kgs 8:21); by a slight correction, the MT may read, "Then Joram passed over to Zair with all his chariots, and the Edomites which surrounded him rose up by night and smote him and his chariot commanders, and his army fled home" (Stade 1901: 337; Zair, otherwise unknown, is perhaps Zoar at the S end of the Dead Sea). From this time, until its submission to Assyria a century later, Edom was an independent kingdom.

This account of the establishment of Edom's independence and monarchy in the reign of Joram of Judah is apparently contradicted by 2 Kings 3, which describes a campaign in which Jehoram of Israel leads Jehoshaphat of Judah (Joram's predecessor) and an unnamed king of Edom against Mesha of Moab. Some have solved this problem by dating the campaign to Jehoshaphat's later years when (it is argued) Joram was coregent with Jehoshaphat (Thiele 1965: 69–71, 205; Gray, *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 66–67); others (following the Lucianic recension of the LXX) argue that the king of Judah in this campaign was originally Joram's successor Ahaziah (Miller 1967; Shenkel 1968: 93–108). However, closer analysis of the narrative reveals that it is composed from a brief account of Jehoram of Israel's campaign against Moab and a prophetic tale about Elisha; in this story and in the similar story in 1 Kings 22, the historian has attributed to Jehoshaphat's reign a campaign which really belonged later (cf. 2 Kgs 8:28–29); and the reference to the king of Edom (who is unidentified and pays no real part) is inspired by the reference to the topography of the campaign, which itself owes much to the narrative of Numbers 20 (Bartlett 1983). In short, 2 Kings 3 provides no solid evidence for the existence of an Edomite king before the reign of Joram of Judah.

For the next half-century nothing is known of Edom. The new king and his successors were able to establish their kingdom while Mesha was establishing his in Moab to the N, while Israel was occupied by Syrian and Assyrian attacks, and while both Israel and Judah were suffering from internal upheaval. It was not until the reign of Amaziah (801–787 B.C.) that Judah attempted to reconquer Edom. According to 2 Kgs 14:7 Amaziah "killed ten thousand Edomites in the Valley of Salt and took Sela by storm, and called it Joktheel" (i.e., "El has put an end [to Edom]"; Starcky *DBSup* 7: cols 886–1017). Sela, usually identified with Umm el-Biyarah in Petra, has also been identified with Khirbet Sil' a few km N of Buseira (see Bartlett 1973: 252 n. 55; Hart 1986). In either case, Amaziah's success was a raid rather than a conquest, for there is no evidence that Judah's rule over Edom was restored. Edom was certainly weakened by the raid, and its weakness is further revealed by its submission and payment of tribute to Adad-nirari III of Assyria (809–782 B.C.), along with Tyre, Sidon, Israel, and the Philistines. Edom may have offered tribute (when Judah, Moab, and Ammon did not) in hopes of being left unmolested, and, whether it continued to pay tribute or not, there are no further Assyrian references to Edom until the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.).

A further sign of Edom's weakness in this period is Judah's revived interest in the route through the Gulf of Aqaba. 2 Kgs 14:22 reveals that after Amaziah's death, Uzziah "built Elath and restored it to Judah," which Glueck connected with the rebuilding of Tell el-Kheleifeh after a period of dereliction (Glueck 1965: 85); to this period of the tell Glueck ascribed the seal inscribed "belonging to Jotham," who may or may not be identified with Uzziah's

successor in Judah (Glueck 1940: 13–15; 1971: 225; Avigad 1961; Galling 1967).

Of the Edomites themselves in the first half of the 8th century B.C. we know virtually nothing. Amos 1:6 condemns Gaza for delivering "a whole people" to Edom, presumably selling them to slavery; Gaza and Edom may have been links on the slave-trading route between Arabia and the Mediterranean (though contra, Haran 1968). The oracle of Amos 1:11–12, if authentic (Bartlett 1977: 10–12), reveals Amos' knowledge of "the strongholds of Bozrah" and the region of Teman and of the fierce and warlike character of the Edomites as experienced by Judah when Edom seized its independence in the mid–9th century. Throughout Uzziah's reign, Edom was presumably recovering from the losses inflicted on it by Amaziah, and by time of Ahaz (736–729 B.C.) Edom was ready to take the offensive again. While Syria and Israel were attempting to depose Ahaz in favor of the son of Tabeel and coerce Judah into rebellion against Assyria, "the king of Edom recovered Elath for Edom and drove the men of Judah from Elath; and the Edomites came to Elath, where they dwell to this day" (2 Kgs 16:6; cf. the account in 2 Chr 28:16–18, where Edomite and Philistine attacks on Judah are made reasons for Ahaz' appeal to Assyria for help). Glueck ascribed the end of Tell el-Kheleifeh's Period III to this attack, and Period IV to the subsequent Edomite occupation (Glueck 1965: 86). The Edomite capture of Elath was an important development for Edom; Edom, not Judah, could derive the benefit of trade passing between Arabia and Syria via the Gulf of Aqaba, and could control the S Wâdī ʿArabah. This made it easier for Edomites to settle in the S regions of Judah, as they did over the next two centuries.

2. Edom and the Assyrians. The rebellion of Syria and its allies against Assyria ended with Tiglath-pileser III's capture of Damascus in 732 B.C. It was probably on this occasion that he,

> [received] the tribute of . . . Sanipu of Bit-Ammon, Salamanu of Moab, . . . Mitinti of Ashkelon, Jehoahaz of Judah, Kaushmalaku of Edom (U-du-mu-a-a), Muzr [i . . .], Hanno of Gaza, (consisting of) gold, silver, tin, iron, antimony, linen garments with multicolored trimmings, garments of their native (industries) (being made of) dark purple wool . . . all kinds of costly objects be they products of the sea or of the continent.
>
> (*ANET,* 282)

Edom thus became Assyria's vassal, with the obligations of regular tribute and probably military assistance when required. Presumably some Assyrian officials were installed, and it was perhaps in this period that the important N-S route from Damascus through Rabbath-Ammon, Heshbon, Dibon, Aroer, Kir-hareseth, and Bozrah became a vital link for imperial administration and first received its name, "the King's Highway" (Num 20:17; Oded 1970). Vassaldom to Assyria may not have been entirely to Edom's disadvantage; archaeological evidence suggests that it was in the Assyrian period that cities like Bozrah, and smaller places like Tawilan or the settlement on the top of Umm el-Biyarah, were at the height of their prosperity (Bartlett 1972: 31–35). Edom was therefore understandably hesitant to join rebellions against Assyria planned by Palestinian states, and when Ashdod solicited Edom's support in 713 B.C. (along with support from Philistia, Judah, Moab, Egypt, and elsewhere; *ANET,* 287), Edom probably avoided any serious commitment. A letter discovered at Nimrud in 1952 names the Edomites at the end of a list of those who paid tribute—Egypt, Gaza, Judah, Moab, and Ammon—after Sargon's retaliatory campaign against Ashdod in 712 B.C., but a lacuna in the text makes it uncertain what is said about Edom (Saggs 1955: 132–33, 151–52; Donner 1957: 159–61). In 701 B.C., when Sennacherib punished Hezekiah for rebellion, Aiarammu of Edom, together with the kings of Moab, Beth-Ammon, Ashdod, Byblos, Arvad, Sidon, and Samsimuruna, hastened to bring tribute (*ANET,* 287). An ostracon from Level VIII at Arad may be a fragment of diplomatic correspondence between Judah and Edom on the eve of Sennacherib's invasion, and it is not unlikely that Hezekiah invited Edom to join the rebellion, and that Edom (no friend to Judah) declined (Aharoni 1970: 28–32). A fragment of an Assyrian tribute list, from the reign of Sennacherib or his successor, notes "two minas of gold from the inhabitants of Bit-Ammon; one mina of gold from the inhabitants of Moab; ten minas of silver from the inhabitants of Judah; [. . . mi]nas of silver from the inhabitants of [Edom] (mat[U-du-ma]-a-a) . . ." (Pfeiffer 1928; *ANET,* 301). Restoration of the name Edom here is strongly suggested by the context. The list seems to be ordered according to the amount of tribute paid, Edom as a poor country probably paying less than the others.

The importance of Edom to the Assyrians in the 7th century B.C. is revealed in the records of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) and Assurbanipal (668–633 B.C.). Esarhaddon narrates that he called up

> Baʾlu, king of Tyre, Manasseh, king of Judah, Qausgabri, king of Edom, Musuri, king of Moab, Sil-bel, king of Gaza, Metinti, king of Ashkelon, Ikausu, king of Ekron, Milkiashapa, king of Byblos, Matanbaʾal, king of Arvad, Abibaʾal, king of Samsimuruna, Puduil, king of Beth-Ammon, Ahimilki, king of Ashdod

with others to transport "under terrible difficulties" Lebanese timber and quarried stone to Nineveh (*ANET,* 291). How this corvée affected Edom we do not know.

Assurbanipal later conscripted Edomite forces for his campaigns. According to the Rassam Cylinder, he took 22 kings from the seashore, the islands, and the mainland with him against Egypt, and if the list of 22 kings on Cylinder C belongs to this event, Qausgabri of Edom was involved with Manasseh of Judah, Musuri of Moab, Amminabdi of Beth-Ammon, and other contemporaries. In his ninth campaign, Assurbanipal marched against Uateʾ, king of Arabia:

> Upon the oracle-command of Ashur, and Ishtar [I called up] my army and defeated him in bloody battles, inflicted countless routs upon him (to wit) in the *girû* of the towns Azaril (and) Hirata(-)kasai, in Edom, in the pass of Iabrudu, in Beth-Ammon, in the district of Haurina, in Moab, in Saʾarri, in Harge, in the district of

> Zobah . . . Uate' had misgivings and he fled, alone, to the country Nabate.
>
> (*ANET*, 298)

Uate' was a member of the Qedarite tribe, which was in the Syrian desert E-SE of Damascus, traveling and raiding as far as the borders of Moab, Edom, and even into the Teima region (Bartlett 1979: 59–62). Edom could hardly escape involvement in this campaign, which seems to have occurred in part in its own territory. The advantage of Assyrian help against a local enemy may have been counterbalanced by the coercion to provide not only men but military bases, food, and other supplies.

These Assyrian references outline a period of Edom's history on which the OT is silent. Three Edomite kings are named: Qausmalaku in 732 B.C., Aiarammu in 701 B.C., and Qausgabri in the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, contemporary with Manasseh of Judah. Qausgabri's name is confirmed by a seal found at Umm el-Biyarah (Bennett 1966: 399–401). The lengths of their reigns are unknown, though Qausgabri's was perhaps fairly long. There is perhaps room for another king between Qausmalaku and Aiarammu, and another between Aiarammu and Qausgabri, and certainly for several between Qausgabri and the end of the Edomite monarchy under the Babylonians in the 6th century. However, while we know that the capital was in Bozrah, the nature of royal succession is unknown.

A sign of Edom's self-confidence in the Assyrian period is that Edomites were beginning to settle in S Judah. Edom's seizure of Elath ca. 735 B.C. has been mentioned; and 2 Chr 28:16 notes a successful Edomite raid on Judah at the time. Particularly interesting are those OT passages which assume that the territory immediately S of Judah and W of the Wâdī ʿArabah was Edomite. Thus the account of Israel's request for a passage through Edom after the Exodus (Num 20:14–21) locates the Israelites in Kadesh (ʿAin Qudeirat, over 100 km W of Buseira and a similar distance S of Hebron) on the Edomite border. In its present form this account may be no earlier than the 7th or 6th century B.C. (Mittmann 1973). A similar assumption appears in Num 20:23; 21:4; 33:37, and in the boundary descriptions of Judah given in Num 34:3–5; Josh 15:1–4; and Ezek 47:19, and in the Judahite city list of Josh 15:21–32. These passages suggest a boundary extending from the S end of the Dead Sea SW toward Kadesh. However, the discovery of pottery similar to that from Buseira and elsewhere in Edom at Tel Malḥata and Tel Aroer (Kochavi 1967; *EAEHL* 3: 771–75; Biran and Cohen 1976; 1978), and of ostraca from Malḥata (Kochavi 1967; *EAEHL* 3: 774) and Arad (Lemaire 1977: 171–72) and a seal from Tel Aroer (Biran and Cohen 1976; 1977) bearing recognizably Edomite names, suggests the presence of an Edomite element in the population of the region between Beer-sheba and the S end of the Dead Sea in the 7th century B.C. Ostracon 24 from Arad contains an order that troops be sent from Arad and Qinah (Khirbet Ghazzeh or Khirbet eṭ-Ṭaiyib) to Ramath-negeb (Khirbet Ghazzeh or Khirbet el-Gharrah [Tel ʿIra]) "lest anything should happen to the city" and "lest Edom should come there" (Aharoni 1970: 16–27; Lemaire 1977: 188–95; the connection of this reference with 2 Kgs 24:2 [emended] and Jer 35:11 is highly speculative; see Bartlett 1982: 16–17). Edomite presence or influence in the Negeb is further indicated by recent identification of "Edomite" ware at Tell Meshash (Tel Masos; Fritz and Kempinski 1976), at Tel ʿIra (Beit Arieh 1981) and at Ḥorvat Qiṭmiṭ (Beit Arieh and Cresson 1985), and the identification of an ostracon written in Edomite at Ḥorvat ʿUza (Beit Arieh and Cresson 1985).

Later, Obadiah 19 and 1 Esdr 4:50 reveal the postexilic Jewish grievance that the "sons of Esau" and the "Idumaeans" continued to hold the Negeb; by the late 4th and 3d centuries B.C. the land S of Beth-zur is known by the Greek name *Idoumaia* (Diod. 19.95.2; 19.98.1; Zenon papyri PZC 59006, 59015 verso, 59084 [Edgar 1925: 10, 34]; see also 1 Macc 5:65; *Ant* 13.9.1 257; 13.15.4 395; *JW* 1.2.6 63). This Edomite settlement on the S border of Judah should probably be seen as a population drift extending over several centuries (Doeg the Edomite may be an early example) of people migrating W from Edom in search of a better life. They probably had enough in common with the tribes of S Judah—the Kenites, Jerahmeelites, Kenizzites—to facilitate intermarriage; certainly the editor of Genesis 36 could draw on names from this region when compiling lists of Edomites. The over-simple view that the Edomites migrated W under pressure from incoming Arabs from the E is based upon misconceptions of the origins of the Arab population of the desert, and of the relationships between the occupants of the desert and the sown, and needs careful restatement (Gottwald 1979: 426–28, 435–63; Bartlett 1979: 53–54).

3. Edom and the Babylonians. The decline and fall of the Assyrian Empire doubtless gave Edom a few years' relief from imperial administration and taxation. Probably it became a vassal of Babylon, together with Judah and other states, when Nebuchadnezzar took control of the W after 605 B.C. Though involved in discussions of revolt with Moab, Ammon, Tyre, Sidon, and Judah at Jerusalem in Zedekiah's fourth year (594 B.C.: Jer 27:1–7), when Judah openly rebelled in 589 B.C. Edom seems to have stayed aloof, perhaps accepting Jeremiah's view that rebellion would bring disaster (Jer 27:8–22). The commonly held view that Edom wholeheartedly assisted the Babylonians in the sack of Jerusalem is largely based on an uncritical reading of prophetic oracles which owe more to the communal memory of Edom's traditional enmity than to precise knowledge of Edom's activity in 587 B.C. (Lam 4:21–22; Isaiah 34; Mal 1:2–5; Joel 4:19—Eng 3:19; Ezek 25:12; 35:3, 15; Ps 137:7; Obadiah; for a detailed discussion see Bartlett 1982: 13–24). The two major complaints in this material are that Edom had annexed land (for the background to this see above) and had been guilty of violence (that Edom usually came out against Israel with a sword was a longstanding tradition: cf. Amos 1:11; Num 20:18). A 4th- or 3d-century-B.C. development goes so far as to blame the Edomites for the burning of the Temple (1 Esdr 4:45), which 2 Kgs 25:9 attributes to the Babylonians. The most reliable evidence we have for Edom's part in the events of 587 B.C. is Jer 40:11, which reveals that Edom (with Moab, Ammon, and elsewhere) had given refuge to Jews fleeing the Babylonian forces. For inhabitants of S Judah, accustomed to the presence of an Edomite element in the population, Edom would have been a

natural refuge. While some individual Edomites may have taken advantage of the opportunity to pay off old grudges, there is no evidence that Edom gave formal and military help to Babylon in 587 B.C.

On the other hand, Edom did not oppose Babylon, and probably remained intact. Josephus notes (*Ant* 10.9.7 §181) that Nebuchadnezzar subjected Ammon and Moab five years after the fall of Jerusalem, but neither Josephus nor the OT suggests that Edom was attacked on this occasion. The end of the Edomite kingdom and monarchy may have been a result of the campaigns of Nabonidus in S Transjordan and N Arabia in the years after 552 B.C. (Lindsay 1976; Bartlett 1979: 57–58). According to the Nabonidus Chronicle, Nabonidus besieged a place called *[uru A/U]du-um-mu* (perhaps to be interpreted as "the city of Edom," i.e., Bozrah). If so, Nabonidus may be responsible for the destruction, burning, and clearing of the acropolis at Buseira (Bennett 1977: 4–6) and perhaps also the destruction of Period IV at Tell el-Kheleifeh (Glueck 1970: 134), but both places soon revived and remained centers of population and administration or trade throughout the following period. Possibly such passages as Jer 49:7–22; Ezek 25:12–14; Obadiah 1, 7; and Mal 1:2–5 allude to these difficult years for Edom. Mal 1:2–5 notes that Edom's hill country has been laid waste, but goes on to speak of the Edomites as contemplating rebuilding. Malachi does not see the land as empty (though he does see the Edomite effort as doomed to failure).

4. Edom during the Persian and Hellenistic Periods. The subsequent history of Edom and its inhabitants during the Persian period is virtually unknown. Nabonidus' activities are unlikely to have cleared the land of its inhabitants, most of whom doubtless continued in their traditional way of life, living in caves and tents, working their land or tending their herds. A cuneiform tablet discovered at Tawilan in 1982, drawn up in Harran in Syria in the accession year of Darius (probably Darius I, 521–486 B.C., though Darius II or even III are not ruled out entirely), tells of the sale of livestock by Samsa-yabi and Samsa-idri (the names are Syrian) to Qusu-šama', who is almost certainly an Edomite. Also from Tawilan came a hoard of gold jewelry, probably deposited in the late 6th or 5th century B.C. (Dalley 1984; Maxwell-Hyslop 1984). Bennett notes occupation at Buseira at the beginning of the Persian period (Bennett 1977: 9), and Buseira may have remained the center for whatever Persian administration may have been imposed. At Tell el-Kheleifeh, Glueck says, Period IV was destroyed before the end of the 6th century B.C.; "a new industrial city [Period V] was built over it which lasted from near the end of the 6th or from early in the 5th century B.C., mainly under Persian administration" (Glueck 1967: 442). Aramaic ostraca were found testifying to trade with Arabia; 5th and 4th century B.C. black-glazed Greek pottery indicated contact with Greece (Glueck 1967: 443). Nothing is known of this period for the site of Petra (its Semitic name was Reqem: cf. Num 31:8; *Ant* 4.4.7 §82; 4.7.1 §161; see Starcky 1965), though its importance is shown by Antigonus' attempt to capture it in 312 B.C. (Diod. 19.95).

Little is known of the people of the land, but evidence of changes in the population exists. It has been argued that by Nehemiah's time Geshem the Arab (Neh 2:19; 6:1, 9) was ruling Edom and the S Negeb (Myers 1971: 386); Geshem has been identified with Gashmu, the father of Qainu king of Qedar, the donor of a bowl found at Tell el-Maskhuṭa in the Delta region of Egypt, and a kingdom of Qedar has been postulated whose power ranged widely over NW Arabia and S Palestine (Dumbrell 1971: 33–44). A less speculative assessment of the evidence shows that the Qedarites belonged to the Syrian desert E-SE of Damascus, migrating and raiding as far as the borders of Moab, Edom, and even the Teima region, but there is no evidence that they settled or ruled in Edom. In the OT, however, the people of Qedar are closely associated with the Nabaioth (Isa 60:7; Gen 25:13; 1 Chr 1:29), who are in turn linked with the people of Esau (Gen 28:9; 36:3). It has always been tempting to identify the Nebaioth with the *na-ba-a-a-ti* of the Assyrian records, the *nbyt* of the texts from Jabal Ghunaym near Teima (Winnett and Reed 1970: 99–101), and the Nabateans *(nabaṭu)* whom Antigonus attacked in Petra in 312 B.C., and whose kings ruled from Petra from ca. 200 B.C. to A.D. 106. The identification has been opposed on linguistic grounds: in particular, it is not clear how the final *t* of the *na-ba-a-a-ti, Nebaioth,* and *nbyt* could become the emphatic *ṭ* of the *nabaṭu* of the Nabatean sources (Starcky *DBSup* 7: cols 902–3; but see Broome 1973). But close examination of the literary evidence for the homeland of the OT Nebaioth, the Assyrian *na-ba-a-a-ti,* the *nbyt* of the Jabal Ghunaym texts, and the Nabataioi of Diodorus locates them all in the region bounded by the mountains of Edom to the W, the Ḥismeh plateau to the SW, Teima to the S, the Nafûd to the E, and the Wâdī Sirhan to the NE (Bartlett 1979: 63–66), and whatever the relationship of the names, it seems clear that the forefathers of the Nabateans who became the dominant population of ancient Edom from the end of the Persian period onwards had their homes in this area. Diodorus portrays the Nabateans as people with recent experience as herdsmen in desert areas and acquaintance with the as yet forbidden pursuits of agriculture, viticulture, and house building. Diodorus' picture suggests that the older Edomite population in the 4th and 3d centuries B.C. was being overtaken by the newer Nabatean element, who in due course produced a dynasty and a kingdom of their own.

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J. R. BARTLETT

ARCHAEOLOGY OF EDOM

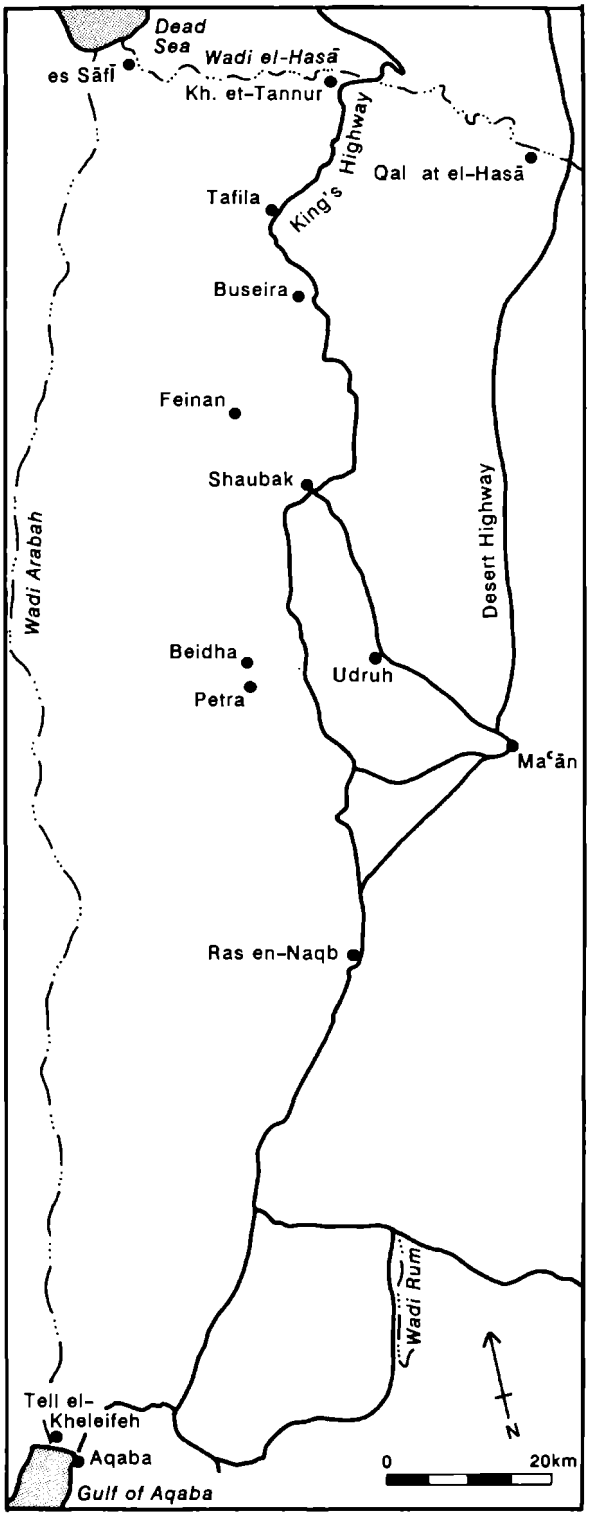
A. Extent of the Territory
B. History of Explorations
C. Present Status of the Archaeology of Edom
D. Conclusion

A. Extent of the Territory

Some scholars restrict the land of Edom to the territory between Wadi el-Ḥasā in the N and Wadi Hisma in the S, and Wadi ʿArabah on the W and the desert on the E (Glueck 1970: 161–67; Aharoni *LBHG,* 40). Others extend the territory W of the ʿArabah (Eod-Avd 1963: 622; Cohen 1962: 25; Is 1971: 370–71). The second position appears to be more consistent with the biblical data which describe the N border of Edom as extending from the Dead Sea southward to the Ascent of Akrabbim to Zin and Kadesh-barnea (Num 34:3–4; cf. Josh 15:1–3). The N shore of the Gulf of Aqaba, according to the biblical data, appears to be the S border of Edom (Deut 2:8). Moreover, the hill country of Seir is identified with Edom (Gen 36:8–9, 21) and the land of Edom is repeatedly referred to as the land of Seir (Gen 32:3; Num 24:18, Josh 24:4; Judg 5:4; Ezek 35:15; 2 Chr 25:14; Isa 21:11). The Bible locates Seir, in part, in the E Negeb (Josh 11:17; 12:17) in relation to the territory of Simeon (1 Chr 4:42–43) and Judah (Josh 15:10; Ezek 35:2, 3, 7, 15). It also uses the name to refer to a great part, if not the whole, of the Edomite territory E of the ʿArabah between the S end of the Dead Sea and the territory of Moab (Deut 2:1, 4, 5, 8, 12, 22, 29) as far S as the Gulf of Aqaba. The land of Edom, thus, includes territory both W and E of the Wadi ʿArabah. This entry, however, will treat only the territory of Edom located in the E ʿArabah and eastward or what is now in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. See Fig. EDO.01.

B. History of Explorations

Modern interest in the area essentially began with Burckhardt's visit to Petra on August 22, 1812 (1822; see Browning 1982: 64–65). He was followed to Petra by a number of scholars (Browning 1982: 70–78), including de Laborde, who made a thorough study of Petra as early as 1828 (Laborde and Linant 1830). Later, Musil (1907–8; 1926), Brünnow and von Domaszewski (1904–9), Albright (1924; 1926), Frank (1934), and Alt (1935), among others, did exploratory work in Edom. Glueck conducted extensive archaeological surveys in S Transjordan between 1934 and 1938 (1935; 1937a; 1939a). He followed this up by excavations at Khirbet et Tannur just S of Wadi el-Ḥasā in 1937–38 (1937b; 1937c; 1965a; 1970: 213–43) and at Tell el-Kheleifeh just N of Aqaba for three seasons between 1938 and 1940 (1938a; 1938b; 1939b; 1940; 1965b; 1970: 106–37; Pratico 1985). For almost 50 years Glueck's work has dominated the scholarly analysis of this area.



EDO.01. Area map of Edom.

C. Present Status of the Archaeology of Edom

As a result of work in Edom during the past several decades a more complete picture of the archaeology of Edom is emerging. There is evidence of human occupation in N Edom dating to the Lower, Middle, and Upper Paleolithic periods. This evidence spans as much as a half million years of human cultural development (MacDonald, Banning, and Pavlish 1980: 170–71; MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982: 119–25; Rollefson and MacDonald 1981; MacDonald et al. 1983: 314–18). Prehistoric sites in the Ras en-Naqb region cover a period of over 100,000 years between the Lower Paleolithic and the Chalcolithic (Henry 1979a; 1979b; 1982: 45; 1985; Henry et al. 1981). Just N and S of this area, between Maʿan and Aqaba, there is more Paleolithic evidence (Jobling 1981; 1982; 1983a; 1983b; 1984). In the Fjaje area near Shaubak, Late Acheulian hunters "harvested" herds during their migration, through the Wadi el-Bustan drainage complex, from the E grasslands and savannahs of the plateau to the warm and lush expanses of the Rift Valley in the fall and on their return to the grazing lands on the plateau in the spring (Rollefson 1981; 1985: 105).

The early Natufian site of Wadi Judayid, in the vicinity of Ras en-Naqb, carbon-dated to ca. 12,000 B.P., was occupied by sedentary hunters and intensive collectors. During the Epipaleolithic period sites were established in the upland piedmont zone of the Edomite plateau as well as on the floor of the Wadi Hisma. These sites display marked differences in their settings, sizes, and artifact inventories (Henry 1985: 76; see 1979a; 1979b; Henry et al. 1981). The Epipaleolithic period is also well attested in N Edom (MacDonald, Banning, and Pavlish 1980; Rollefson and MacDonald 1981; MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982; MacDonald et al. 1983) and near Petra (Kirkbride 1958).

Among the Pre-Pottery Neolithic (PPN) sites in Edom, Beidha is the most important excavated to date (Kirkbride 1966; 1968; 1982; 1984; 1985). D. Kirkbride dates the beginning of Beidha to about 7200 B.C. (1982: 52; 1985: 120). She writes: "After camping for a while in temporary huts the people of Beidha also built a wall around their inner territory and created their permanent community" (1982: 52). The site was abandoned about 6500 B.C. (Kirkbride 1982: 53; 1985: 120). In the late PPN at Abu Nakhailah in the Wadi Rum there was a stone-built settlement with both round and rectangular architecture. The round houses are semisubterranean and reminiscent of early Beidha. It had a more advanced flint industry than Beidha but there was no pottery (Kirkbride 1978; 1982: 54; Kirkbride and Harding 1947). PPN sites are also present at Jebel Queisa in the Judayid Basin (Henry 1979a; 1982; 1985: 74; Henry et al. 1981) and in the Wadi ʿArabah (Raikes 1980; 1985: 98–99). The Aceramic Neolithic site at Jebel Queisa served as a temporary hunting camp. Based upon the point typology, Henry dates the site to early in the 8th millennium (1985: 74).

The Pottery Neolithic is poorly represented in Edom. However, several sites from the period are reported from N Edom (MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982: 121) and the Hisma (Jobling 1983a: 189).

Twenty-five percent of the sites discovered in Henry's Ras en-Naqb survey contained a Chalcolithic component most of which contained "one or more circular or semi-circular stone structures in association with thick ash lenses and refuse pits" (Henry et al. 1981: 117; see Henry 1982: 45; 1985: 75). The sites normally displayed moderate densities of lithic artifacts along with some pottery (Henry et al. 1981: 117; Henry 1985: 75). Some of these sites suggest the transhumant pattern of modern pastoralists (Henry 1985: 77). There are remains of copper smelting near ʿAqaba, dating to the Early Chalcolithic period. Also found at the site were well-used, flint sickle blades and objects made from sea shells (Raikes 1985: 99). The Chalcolithic/EB is attested on the Edomite plateau (MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982: 121; Hart 1985: 412–13), between Maʿān and Aqaba (Jobling 1984: 201), and in the Feinan region in the Wadis Khalid, Ratiye, and Fidan (Hauptmann, Weisgerber, and Knauf 1985: 185–88; see Raikes 1980: 55; 1985: 99).

No Bronze Age sites have been excavated in Edom. However, Glueck reported EB sites from the SE plain of the Dead Sea (1935: 33–34). Sites belonging both to sedentary and nomadic peoples of the EB period are found in N Edom (MacDonald, Banning, and Pavlish 1980; MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982; MacDonald et al. 1983). EB sherds are also reported from the mining area in the Wadi Khalid (Hauptmann, Weisgerber, and Knauf 1985: 188). Thus, there is the possibility of EB Age mining activity in Wadi ʿArabah.

There is scant evidence of any population, either sedentary or nomadic, in Edom during both the MB and LB Ages with the exception of the copper mining areas of the Feinan region (Hauptmann, Weisgerber, and Knauf 1985: 173, 185, 188–90). A U.S. Geological Survey team has published radiocarbon dates from charcoal found in the E tributaries of the Wadi ʿArabah which yields corrected dates for Wadi Feinan-Wadi Dana area of 1390–1310 B.C. ± 70, and for Jebel Khirbet en-Nahas, 1540 B.C. (Overstreet et al. 1982: 2).

The situation changes at the end of the LB. Glueck was the first to report Iron I period sites from Edom (1935; 1936; 1939a). Weippert's work in Edom led him to conclude that the population increased during the Iron I period. This settlement began in the N between the Wadi el-Ḥasā and Tafila and gradually extended S of Tafila in the Iron II period (Weippert 1974: 30). This conclusion is supported by the Wadi el-Ḥasā Archaeological Survey (WHS) which reported LB-Iron I and Iron I sites in N Edom. These sites, which are small villages, farms, and sherd scatters, are generally located in the area best suited for agricultural activity (MacDonald, Banning, and Pavlish 1980; MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982; MacDonald et al. 1983). The Feinan region survey also reported Iron I pottery (Bachmann and Hauptmann 1984: 120–22; Hauptmann, Weisgerber, and Knauf 1985: 190–91). Thus, the archaeological evidence indicates both farming and mining activity in Edom during the Iron I period.

There was another increase in population in Edom during Iron II (Hart 1985: 412). Many of the sites from this period appear to have been agricultural settlements (MacDonald, Banning, and Pavlish 1980; MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982; MacDonald et al. 1983), but it is possible that several of these sites were fortresses or watchtowers (MacDonald 1984a).

Bennett's excavations at Umm el-Biyara, TAWILAN

(M.R. 196972), and Buseira (see BOZRAH) led her to conclude that no occupation earlier than the late 8th century B.C. existed at these sites. She posits that the settlement at Umm el-Biyara had a life of perhaps no more than 50 years. On the basis of a seal impression found at the site (of Qos Gabr, one of the few Edomite kings mentioned in the Assyrian annals), the settlement could center around the mid–7th century B.C. No earlier pottery or artifacts were found (Bennett 1964; 1966a; 1966b; 1966c; 1971a: 40; 1976: 252). At Tawilan she uncovered "a large, unfortified, prosperous agricultural settlement of the Iron Age II period" (1976: 252). She posits that neither the buildings nor the artifacts suggest a date earlier than the late 8th century B.C. for the earliest settlement (1969; 1970; 1971b; 1984). She suggests that the main period of occupation of Buseira was from the end of the 8th century B.C. to the end of the succeeding century (1973a; 1973b; 1974; 1976: 252; 1977).

There is also evidence for the Iron Age presence at es-Safi, Feifeh, and Khanazir (Rast and Schaub 1974). Rast and Schaub collected Iron II pottery from es-Safi and Feifeh and Iron I and II sherds from Khanazir (1974: 15–18).

Further S in the Feinan region, 8th–6th century sherds were found in Wadi Feinan, Khirbet en-Nahas, Khirbet el-Jariye, Khirbet Ghuweib, and the Wadi Dana (Bachmann and Hauptmann 1984: 117, 199; Hauptmann, Weisgerber, and Knauf 1985: 168). The U.S. Geological Survey reports a radiocarbon date from charcoal in the Jebel Khirbet en-Nahas area as having a corrected age of 800 B.C. (Overstreet et al. 1982: 2, 9). In summarizing its findings on mining and smelting activities in the Wadi ʿArabah the U.S. Geological Survey reports: "Certainly at the Wadi Feinan, Wadi Dana, and Jebel Khirbet en Nahas sites in Jordan, the largest slag piles are associated with dates from 3,220 ± 200 to 2,540 ± 200 years B.P. (corrected to 1,540 years B.C. to 800 years B.C.) . . ." (Overstreet et al. 1982: 37).

Pratico has reappraised Glueck's excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh. He dates the site from the 8th–6th centuries B.C. with the possibility of its continuance beyond the Iron Age (1985).

There appears to be little continuity of settlement between the Edomite and Nabatean periods. The Iron Age villages that Hart surveyed, not to mention Tawilan and Buseira, show little evidence of major Nabatean reoccupation (Hart 1985: 412). Firm evidence for Persian period occupation in Edom is lacking, but Pratico writes: "Although both architectural and ceramic data are lean, the occupational history of Tell el-Kheleifeh continued beyond the Iron Age, perhaps as late as the 4th century B.C." (1985: 26–27). Evidence from the Hellenistic period is also poorly represented, with the exception of sherds from several sites (MacDonald, Banning, and Pavlish 1980: 177; MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982: 127; MacDonald et al. 1983: 319–20). However, no recognizable Hellenistic architectural remains are reported.

In Glueck's opinion "the Nabataean kingdom was highly organized and intensively settled, and from the fourth century B.C. on was concerned with much more than caravan trade" (1970: 193). Nabatean sites are found throughout the Edomite plateau. They made greater use, for agricultural purposes, of the wadis than either earlier or later settlers in the area. Some of their reclamation projects, instead of supporting settled villages, may have been designed to supply forts and garrisons which guarded their extensive trade networks. They positioned their signaling stations or watchtowers on the ridges between the major wadis (MacDonald 1984b; 1984c: 188–89). The countryside is covered with farms, hamlets, and villages during the period (Hart 1985). The Hisma also supported a substantial Nabatean population. Graf posits pre-Roman, Nabatean settlements at such sites as Humayma, Quweira, Khirbet el-Khalde, and Khirbet el-Kithara along the main highway to Aqaba, and in Wadi Rum which was a large Nabatean center (Graf 1983: 650–60).

Parr dates the earliest building activity in the central part of Petra, the Nabatean capital, to the mid–3d century B.C., based on the earliest coins which were minted in Aradus in the mid–3d century B.C.; and later, painted Nabatean ware is common at Petra after about 100 B.C. (Parr 1970: 369–70). In his study of Nabatean pottery Khairy states: "The best ware belongs to the time of Aretas IV (9 B.C.–A.D. 40) but the most prolific period belongs to the second half of the first century A.D. and the first half of the second century" (1982: 276).

A number of Nabatean temples are located in Edom. Glueck dates the one on Jebel et-Tannur from about 25 B.C. to about 125 A.D. (1970: 241). Another, Khirbet edh Dharih in the Wadi Laʿban, also in N Edom, is dated to the 1st century A.D. (Villeneuve 1984; 1985a; 1985b; see Savignac 1937). The Nabatean temples of Qasr el Bint (Bowersock 1976: 225–26) and the "Winged Lions" (Hammond 1982) are located within Petra. The former is dated to the reign of Aretas IV (Bowersock 1983: 61; Starcky and Strugnell 1966; Parr 1965–66; Wright 1961). Another Nabatean temple is located in the Wadi Rum (Savignac and Horsfield 1935; Kirkbride 1960).

The main theater at Petra dates to the time of Aretas IV (Hammond 1964; 1965). It is an "obvious case of the Nabataean absorption of Graeco-Roman styles" (Bowersock 1983: 61). Bowersock also dates the Khazneh ("treasury"), with its strongly Hellenized architectural elements, to the same time (1983: 62; see Schmidt-Colinet 1980; Wright 1962; 1973).

Possibly, the best route for humans and pack animals from Aqaba to Petra is up the Wadi ʿArabah. There is evidence of Nabatean presence along this route (Raikes 1985: 100) at such sites as Aqaba (Glueck 1935: 46–48), ʿAin Gharandal (Glueck 1935: 39–40), Khirbet et-Taiyibeh (Glueck 1935: 37–38), and Bir Madhkur (Glueck 1935: 35–37; see Frank 1934, pl. 24). Glueck posits that the latter three sites were all *caravanserai*. These sites were probably also occupied during Roman times (Glueck 1935: 35–40). Further N in the ʿArabah, the sites of Feinan (Glueck 1935: 34–35) and of Qasr et-Talah show evidence of Nabatean occupation (Glueck 1935: 12–17; see Musil 1907–8: 209–14; Frank 1934: 213–15; and Raikes 1985: 100).

The Romans under Trajan annexed Edom as part of their annexation of Nabatea in A.D. 106 (Starcky 1955: 103–4; 1966; Bowersock 1976: 228; 1983: 76–81). It was at this time that the *Via Nova Traiana*, which joins Bostra in the N with Aila (= Aqaba) in the S, was built (Starcky 1955: 104; 1966; Bowersock 1983: 83). The S segment of

this highway, from the Wadi el-Ḥasā to Aila, passes through Edom. Parts of the *Via Nova Traiana* are well preserved (MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982: 128–29). The milestone inscriptions recorded by Thomsen (1917) along this stretch are now, in most cases, faint or completely obliterated (MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982: 128, 452). See Fig. ROA.03.

Petra apparently continued to flourish after the Roman annexation (Bowersock 1983: 86) and the domestic area of Petra has provided evidence of unbroken habitation through the Roman period, down to the great earthquake of the mid–4th century (Hammond 1980; 1981; Bowersock 1983: 86). The triumphal arch at Petra is the greatest memorial to Trajan in Roman Arabia (Bowersock 1982: 198; 1983: 84).

The WHS surveyed a number of structures along the *Via Nova* in N Edom. The most important of these is known as Rujm Faridiyyeh (Brünnow and von Domaszewski 1904–09, 1: 83; Glueck 1939a: 50; 1965; MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982: 129, 453; Roller 1983: 181; Parker 1986: 89–91).

SE of this area, and NE of Udruh, two *castella*—namely Jurf ed-Darawish and Daʿjaniya—are located E of the *Via Nova* (Parker 1976; 1986: 91–94). The former is located on a branch road which left the *Via Nova* a short distance N of Udruh (Parker 1986: 88). Parker dates it from the late 2d or early 3d century through the 4th century (1986: 91; cf. however, Brünnow and von Domaszewski 1904–09, 2: 14; Bowersock 1976: 226). Its function was to guard the outer branch road leading from Udruh to the upper Wadi el-Ḥasā (Parker 1986: 91). Parker suggests that the latter was occupied from about the time of the Roman annexation until the early 6th century, with the extant fort dating to the late 3d or 4th century (1986: 94). It protected the outer branch road E of the *Via Nova* against incursions from the E (Parker 1986: 94). S of this area, such sites as Udruh, Ail, Humayma, Quweira, Khirbet el-Khalde, and Khirbet el-Kithara are located along the *Via Nova* before arriving at Aila on the N tip of the Red Sea. Killick writes of Udruh that "in Roman and Nabataean times the site may have taken on a strategic importance because of the proximity to Petra and the construction of the Roman road network" (1983a: 239). Parker considers the fort as being the most important fortification of the S Arabian frontier and among the largest Roman military sites in Transjordan (1986: 94–95).

Humayma is located adjacent to the *Via Nova* near the N edge of the Hisma, just below the Esh Shara range. It is the largest ancient site in the Hisma and was occupied from the Hellenistic through the Umayyad periods (Eadie 1984a: 211, 220; 1984b: 5–6). The *castella* of El Quweira (Alt 1936: 96–98; Glueck 1935: 58–59; Graf 1983: 652–53; Parker 1986: 105), Khirbet el-Khalde (Parker 1986: 109; Savignac 1932: 595–96), and Qasr el-Kithara (Parker 1986: 110; Savignac 1932: 595; Glueck 1935: 54; Alt 1936: 106) were all located on the *Via Nova* between Humayma and Aila, and were all occupied during the Roman period.

A number of Roman sites were located in the Wadi ʿArabah. One of the most important of these is a fort in the Qaʿes Saʿidiyin just N of Gharandal. Many of the Nabatean sites in the ʿArabah, such as Aila, Gharandal, Khirbet et-Taiyibeh, and Bir Madkhur, were recognized during the Roman period (Glueck 1935: 35–40). SE of es-Safi and high above the Wadi el-Ḥasā, McCreery discovered a Roman period fort called Umm al-Tawabbin (MacDonald 1984c: 188–89). Evidence of Roman mining activity in the Feinan region spans the 1st to the 4th centuries. This evidence includes sherds, slag heaps, and a "triple shaft" (Bachmann and Hauptmann 1984: 114–20; Hauptmann, Weisgerber, and Knauf 1985: 169, 192).

The territory of Transjordan which had been unified by Trajan into *Provincia Arabia* was subdivided into four parts in the 4th century. The S part, which included Petra, was part of Palestine III or *Salutaris* (Piccirillo 1982: 291).

Edom continued to be occupied during the Byzantine period. The presence of pottery at nearly all the forts of Edom and the Hisma suggests continuous occupation from Diocletian to Justinian (ca. 284–530 A.D.). The fortress at Udruh apparently was refortified at this time, and the extant Hisma forts, such as Khalde and Quweira, may have been rebuilt (Parker 1986: 137, 142). Parker sees the Roman frontier of the 4th and 5th centuries as remaining essentially the system of Diocletian: "a broad fortified outer zone in Transjordan from Bostra to Aila . . ." (1986: 145). Moreover, he believes that the *castella* of el Hammam and el-Mutrab, just E of Maʿan, dates to the 4th and 5th centuries and represents an eastward extension of the frontier zone in this sector (1986: 146).

There was a decline in the defenses of the Arabian frontier by the late 5th century with the abandonment of the fortifications of the Diocletianic system during the late 5th and 6th centuries. Along the Edomite plateau, only the fortress at Udruh and the *castellum* of Ail yielded significant amounts of 6th-century pottery (Parker 1986: 149; see Killick 1983a: 231; 1983b: 125). Most other military sites were abandoned by the mid–6th century.

Byzantine agricultural sites are especially numerous in N Edom (MacDonald, Banning, and Pavlish 1980). Moreover, the hermitage of John the Abbot is located just S of the Wadi el-Ḥasā. The record of an abbot is the first evidence in the search for a monastery in the area (MacDonald and Vibert-Gogue 1980). Another hermitage is located on the N bank of the Wadi el-Ḥasā close to es-Safi (Frank 1934: 207–8). Frank reported finding bases, shafts, capitals (one with a cross), and several stones with crosses in Ghor es-Safi (1934: 204). Albright discovered Byzantine traces in his soundings at Khirbet Sheikh ʿIsa just S of modern es-Safi (1924; see Rast and Schaub 1974). Further S, Frank reported four churches, a monastery, and two large Byzantine cemeteries from Feinan (1934: 221–24; see Alt 1935: 64–72). Killick discovered a Byzantine church at Udruh (1983a: 231, 233). Eadie reports that abundant Byzantine pottery has been located at Humayma (1984a: 221; see Graf 1979: 124–27). He identified two Byzantine churches at the site. This is the only representation of the Christian faith in the Hisma that has been securely identified (Eadie 1984a: 219–20). Other Christian monuments located in Edom, which also date to the Byzantine period, are listed by Saller and Bagatti (1949: 229–33), Avi-Yonah (1954: 42–43), and Abel (*GP* 2).

Between 630 and 640 A.D. all of Jordan fell to Islam, after which the Umayyad dynasty was established in Damascus in A.D. 661 (Vaglieri 1970: 62, 77).

D. Conclusion

From the above, it is obvious that there is archaeological evidence for human occupation and cultural development in Edom for a period spanning approximately 500,000 years. This evidence testifies to periods of increased population and to other periods in which there appears to have been little or no occupation. On the basis of the present information, it would appear that the Iron Age II, Nabatean-Roman, and Byzantine periods were ones of increased population. On the other hand, the Pottery Neolithic, the MB, the LB, and the Early Islamic periods were ones of little or no population.

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BURTON MACDONALD

EDOMITE LANGUAGE. See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

EDREI (PLACE) [Heb *ʾedreʿî*]. **1.** A town in Transjordan and one of the residences of Og, the Amorite king of Bashan. Following their victory over the Amorites, who held northern Moab at the time of the Hebrew migration, the Israelites moved against the adjacent kingdom of Og. Though the capital of the ill-defined region of Bashan was Ashtaroth, Og moved his army to engage Israel at Edrei. As God had promised, the Hebrews were victorious; Og was killed, his army was soundly defeated, and Israel took possession of Og's land (Num 21:33–35; cf. Deut 1:4; 3:10; Josh 12:4; 13:12, 31). Following these events, the kingdom of Og was assigned to the Machirites, part of the tribe of Manasseh (Josh 13:31).

According to Deut 3:10, Edrei and Salecah (cf. Josh 12:5, where Salecah appears to be a regional name) seem to have formed the boundaries of Og's small kingdom in Bashan; both of these sites were situated in the southeastern region of that territory. It is normally thought that Salecah was the easternmost town in the kingdom of Og and that Edrei was on the western frontier. Because Ashtaroth is located to the northwest of Edrei, it is possible that these two sites formed the western limit of Og's territory.

In Roman times, Edrei was known as Adraene, and occupying this same spot is modern Derʿa, Syria. Derʿa sits on a tributary of the Yarmuk, ca. 60 miles south of Damascus.

2. A town in Naphtali, in upper Galilee (Josh 19:37), probably *ʾi-t-rʿ* in a campaign itinerary of Thutmose III.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

EDUCATION. This entry consists of three articles on the subjects of schools and the education of young people in the ancient world of the Bible. The first article surveys education in ancient Mesopotamia; the second examines the principles and institutions of education in ancient Israel; the third covers the subject of education in the Greco-Roman world of which early Judaism and Christianity were a part.

EDUCATION IN MESOPOTAMIA

Education developed quite early in Mesopotamia, particularly for the purposes of training scribes. To some degree, a general portrait may be reconstructed of these "schools."

A. Introduction
B. Teaching Materials
1. Word Lists
2. Clay Tablets
C. "School Regulations"
D. School Dialogues
E. Schools
F. Curriculum and Teaching
G. School Personnel
H. Students
I. Literacy
J. Social Value of Education

A. Introduction

Educational practices in ancient Mesopotamia can be indirectly reconstructed from preserved pupil exercises and, more indirectly, from descriptions of school activities and occasional literary references to scribal knowledge and training. Archaeological remains are at times helpful. There are no preserved theoretical treatises on educational methods and goals, and none is expected given the intellectual outlook of Mesopotamian culture, which was not given to the formulation of abstract principles and rules. Important considerations in understanding didactic practices of Mesopotamian schools are the use of the cuneiform writing system, the writing medium of clay tablets, and the bilingual nature of Mesopotamian societies. A further characteristic of historical and political import is a great uniformity of teaching materials and, presumably, of methods over very long periods of time and all throughout the entire area where cuneiform script was used. This area reached at times as far as Boghazköy in Anatolia and Tell el-Amarna in Egypt. The sources are chronologically uneven; direct sources are available only for the OB period. Unless indicated otherwise, the reconstruction of school life presented in the following paragraphs is based on and limited to the OB period.

B. Teaching Materials

1. Word Lists. Scientific and technical knowledge was transmitted in Mesopotamia primarily by extensive word lists and paradigms written on clay tablets in cuneiform script. How-to manuals or procedural instructions are known to a very limited extent. One example of such texts is the manual "Instructions to a Farmer," giving advice on barley cultivation. Hundreds of school exercises, recovered in archaeological excavations, allow the reconstruction of word lists. These lists are already found among the earliest examples of cuneiform writing in the Uruk III–IV periods, ca. 2,700 B.C. About a dozen lists of less than 100 lines date from this period. Each list is devoted to a single subject: birds, fish, trees and wooden objects, cattle, etc. These archaic lists, with the addition of a few more from Fara, Abu-Salabikh, and Ebla, were used in school until the end of the third millennium B.C. not only in Southern Mesopotamia but also in peripheral areas where cuneiform was used, from Susa in the east to Ebla in the northwest. More recent lists include practical vocabularies (lists of frequently used words in everyday documents) and lists of cuneiform signs. A new set of lists—customarily designated by their opening lines—with many local recen-

sions, was introduced in the early centuries of the 2d millennium B.C. Sometime around the 11th century B.C. their texts became fixed ("canonical" recensions). They continued to be copied everywhere and used in this form until the demise of the cuneiform script around the beginning of the Christian era. The major didactic compilations are the lists, or "series," HAR-ra and Aa. HAR-ra = *ḫubullu* is an encyclopedic list of 24 tablets containing ca. 9,700 entries with the following themes:

Tablet	Contents
I–II	legal terminology
III	trees
IV–VII	wooden implements
VIII–IX	reeds and reed objects
X	pottery and clays
XI	skins, leather objects, copper
XII	bronze, silver, gold
XIII	domestic animals
XIV	wild animals
XV	meat cuts
XVI	stones
XVII	plants, vegetables
XVIII	fish, birds
XIX	textiles
XX–XXII	toponyms, stars
XXIII–XXIV	food, drinks

The list Aa = *nâqu* is a syllabary combined with a bilingual Sumero-Akkadian dictionary of 42 tablets containing ca. 14,000 entries. An abbreviated recension in 8 tablets is known as Ea = *nâqu*. Each entry can consist of several subcolumns. In their most complete form, entries read, for instance:

ga-na	GÁN	*ga-nu-u*	*eq-lu*
ka-ra	KÁR	*ga-na-te-nu-u*	*na-pa-hu ša mê*
ri-ib	KAL	*gu-ru-šu*	*šu-tu-qu*

To be understood as "[read] *gana* [the cuneiform sign] GÁN, [called] *ganû*, [means in Akk] *eqlu* 'field.'" The two other entries mean "to twinkle" (said of light or water) and "to surpass," respectively. Assorted word lists of various types completed the inventory of "textbooks." Among the more remarkable, one can mention: DIRI : SI.A = *atru*, a list in 6 tablets with a total of ca. 2,100 entries, similar to Aa but with compound logograms. LÚ = *ša*, a thematic list in 4 tablets with ca. 1,300 entries, giving professions, kinship terms, and assorted human activities. SIG_7.ALAN = *nabnītu*, an etymological Sumero-Akkadian glossary in 32 tablets with ca. 10,500 entries, arranged according to the shape of the Semitic roots. ERIMHUŠ = *ananṭu* and ANTAGAL = *šaqû* are lists of synonyms, or semantically related entries, in groups of three. Naturally, more elementary syllabaries were used in the earlier stages of scribal training. The better known are Syllabary A and Syllabary B, the first in one tablet of some 400 lines, the second in two tablets with a total 743 lines; these lists were the backbone of scribal education in Post-OB times. The lexical lists can be unilingual (Sumerian) or bilingual (Sumero-Akkadian). Occasionally, one can find trilingual lists (Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite), in Boghazköy, and even quadrilingual (Sumerian, Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hurrian), in Ugarit. Unilingual lists are naturally more common in earlier periods. It should be stressed that the use of a Sumerian unilingual lexical list in school does not necessarily exclude bilingualism. There are indications that the pupils were required in most cases to provide an Akkadian translation orally. A few examples of grammatical drills and procedural texts have been preserved. Extensive verbal paradigms, dating from the 18th century, helped in translating Sumerian texts into Akkadian and in creating new Sumerian texts. In Neo-Babylonian times lists of grammatical elements, such as affixes, appear for the same purpose. A corpus of all preserved lists is available in Landsberger et al. 1937. A few examples of the oral teaching of the masters, from the last centuries of cuneiform, have been preserved in the form of commentaries which give etymologies and illustrative quotations, often side by side with astrological and religious speculations (Civil 1974; Cavigneaux 1976).

2. Clay Tablets. Various types of clay tablets were used in school in OB times. A typical one is a round plano-convex tablet, easily fitting into the student's hand, which has on its flat side a couple of lines of a model text—written by the instructor—in Sumerian which was copied underneath by the student. Sometimes, especially in peripheral areas, the convex side has a syllabic spelling to aid in reading the Sumerian and the Akkadian translation. An example from Susa:

(flat side):
(a) PA DÈ^{musen}
PA KUR-GI$_4$^{musen}
(repeated by the student)
(reverse, convex side):
(b) BA-A TE
BA-A KU-UR-GI
(c) *ga-pu-um ša e-ri-im*
ù ga-pu-um ša ku-ur-ki
"a feather of an eagle,
a feather of a goose."

Lines in (a) are the basic exercise in Sumerian; (b) gives the pronunciation; and (c) is the Akkadian translation. In other cases, these tablets have only a two- to four-line lexical or literary excerpt, with no model. At times, these tablets are biconvex rather than plano-convex, hence the designation "lenticular" in the Assyriological literature. Examples of such tablets can be seen in Falkowitz (1983) and al-Fouadi (1979). Another is a large rectangular tablet divided in two columns, with the instructor's model on the left and the student's copy on the right. The right half was erased and reused over and over until the clay was too thin, at which time the right half was broken off and the model on the left side kept for further use. The convex side of these tablets generally has long excerpts from word lists, written from memory. When learning literary texts, the scribes wrote small one-column tablets with an excerpt from a composition; these tablets were called IM-GID-DA, and are occasionally signed and dated. To avoid the accumulation of bulky old tablets in school, exercise tablets were "melted" down by softening in water and their clay was formed into new tablets. This practice was also useful

in teaching the students how to make tablets. In MB schools the most frequent type is a small oblong tablet with a short literary quotation on one side and a lexical excerpt, written at a right angle to the first text, on the other side. The classic school exercise of NB times includes, on a rectangular tablet, an excerpt from a literary or religious text followed by several five- or six-line excerpts from successive sections of the major word lists. These tablets are frequently dated by day and month, but not by year. From indirect textual evidence it may be concluded that students must have also used wax tablets, papyrus, and leather strips at the time when these writing materials became current after the NA period. Except for a few remains of wax-covered wooden boards, nothing has been preserved of these materials and there are no texts describing their use in school.

C. "School Regulations"

A Sumerian text from the OB period—not available yet in a critical edition—gives the norms or rules (Sum Á-ÁG-GÁ) for school activities and student discipline. A student is interrogated about his knowledge of them. The text unfortunately is preserved in an extremely fragmentary condition. Some examples of the better preserved passages read: "If a pupil, after he has laid down the cloth on his sitting place, strikes another pupil, after misbehaving he will not be beaten, he will be expelled." And: "After the instructor [lit. "big brother"] has collected the tablets, he will inspect them. He will correct the places where the wedges are not right. If the student is found to be deficient and could not recite his exercise tablet and his word list, the instructor and the master will strike his face. After the inspection is finished, when the "water man" says "take the jars!" and "idiot, your jar!" they [the students] will take the jars and fill them from the canal in the center of the city."

D. School Dialogues

Tablets, several still unpublished, mostly dating from the 18th century, preserve dialogues between schoolchildren. One, bilingual, probably dates from the 12th–9th centuries (Sjöberg 1975). Dialogues have been a traditional teaching tool through the millennia. OB dialogues contain ironical descriptions of school life and verbal fights between pupils and were used to learn Sumerian, the prestige language, which by then was extinct. Edubba A, or "Schooldays," is an ironical description of daily school activities and of a student's induction into the scribal ranks (Kramer 1949). The theme of the dialogue in Edubba B, or "A Father and His Misguided Son" (Sjöberg 1973), is the age-old one of a father's frustrations with his son's lack of application and ambition. Edubba C is a conversation between an established scribe, with the rank of supervisor (Sum UGULA), and a student, giving advice on the latter's future duties. Edubba D (Civil 1985) is a discussion between two students comparing their abilities and knowledge; it degenerates into an exchange of insults. Dialogue 1 is little more than an exchange of invectives between two pupils. In Dialogue 2 Enkitalu and Enkihegal discuss their social status and personal distinction. The text is not directly related to school activities, although education is a recurrent theme; the interlocutors seem to have been musicians. Dialogue 3 has two students, Enkimansun and Girnishag, fighting, in the teacher's absence, about the extent of their respective scribal knowledge. In a dialogue (Sjöberg 1975), probably of post-OB date but inspired by earlier sources, a teacher carries out a sort of "examination" of a pupil:

> A scribe tested his pupil [lit. "son"] in the masters' assembly, in the school courtyard.
>
> "Come son, sit at my feet, I want to talk to you, listen! From childhood to adolescence you have been attending school. You have learned the office of the scribe, but you do not know its salient points."
>
> "What is that which I don't know?"
>
> "What do you know? Come on I will question you, answer! Come on I will talk to you, speak!"
>
> "Ask, and I will answer, speak, and I will talk to you!"
>
> "You won't be able to answer!"
>
> "Why I won't be able to answer?"
>
> "The beginning of writing is the single wedge, its pronunciations are six and it stands for sixty. Do you know its name?"
>
> [The student apparently cannot answer.]
>
> "Do you know all the secrets of Sumerian you have learned that badly?"
>
> "Do you know how to translate, transfer the words, first the Akkadian then the Sumerian, first the Sumerian then the Akkadian?"

Following several paragraphs with similar questions, after a series of complaints of the genre "How long are you going to be deaf?" the text ends with a brief praise of the scribal art.

E. Schools

The Sumerian term for "school" is É-DUB-BA-(A), "tablet house" (or "tablet room"). The term is also the normal designation for an administrative center or archive, of which there could be several in a single town. Furthermore, the signs used to write this term can also be read É-KIŠIB-BA, "house of the seal" or "of the sealed documents" (a translation "sealed house" is unlikely). This ambiguity makes it very difficult to identify references to schools proper in economic texts. School exercises have been found—in greater or lesser numbers—in practically all archaeological sites which have produced tablets: Ur, Nippur, Isin, Uruk, Girsu, Adab, Sippar, Babylon, etc. However, despite many archaeologists' claims, no large building exclusively devoted to teaching can securely be identified. Where the large number of scribes required by the administration of the Sargonic and Ur III empires were trained is unknown. When remains of teaching activities have been found they are always in a familial milieu (Charpin 1986: 419–85, Stone 1987: 36–39) or in a section of a very large building that obviously served many other functions such as a palace or temple. Scribes, at least the ones destined to an administrative career, were probably trained as apprentices at the administrative centers (archives and repositories) or in the royal palaces where they would later ply their trade. Family teaching, on the other hand, was apparently more oriented toward the preservation of traditional literary and religious texts. From literary descriptions, it appears that teaching took place in a courtyard (Sum

KISAL), covered when needed by an awning, with the student sitting on a piece of felted cloth spread on the ground. Sand in front of the student was used as some sort of blackboard to sketch models of cuneiform signs. A physical feature of the teaching place was the "school well," a basin for the water needed to mix with the clay.

F. Curriculum and Teaching

Teaching was based on rote learning by repeated writing and recitation of word lists. Each line of text had to be written and recited repeated times, as many as four times in a single day, until well memorized by the student. After being taught how to make tablets, handle the stylus, and write elementary exercises of a syllabic nature, the student learned the repertory of cuneiform signs. Lists of personal names were a frequent writing exercise at this stage. He then memorized thematic lists that formed a sort of cultural encyclopedia, and various other types of lists, culminating in a list of human occupations and conditions over 800 lines long. Legal formularies, metrological and mathematical tables and problems, as well as the memorization of traditional literary works, completed the scribe's education. Many, if not all, students also learned the musical skills necessary for reciting these literary works. Students spent twenty-four days a month in school, the rest being taken by three days of vacation and three days of sundry festivals. At the time when information about schools is most abundant, the language of the population was certainly Akkadian. Sumerian was then an extinct, prestige language used in administration, law, religious activities, and literature. It can be assumed that teaching was conducted in Sumerian since it is the basic language in school exercises, even though an Akkadian translation, oral or written, was constantly required. One could compare this cultural and linguistic situation to a similar one in the classical world; that of educating the young Romans in Greek for centuries.

G. School Personnel

The headmaster was called "the school father" (Sum ADDA É-DUB-BA-A) and belonged to the rank of experts or masters (Sum UM-MI-A). There is also mention of supervisors (UGULA É-DUB-BA-A), but their rank in relation to the masters is unclear. Helping in teaching tasks as instructor was the "big brother" (ŠEŠ-GAL), presumably an advanced student or an aspirant to a teaching career. A number of aides and servants were in charge of class discipline and supplies. Their activities can be inferred from a humorous passage of "Schooldays," paralleled by damaged paragraphs of "School Regulations," and from lexical texts:

> At school, the man on duty [LÚ BAL] said "why are you late?," when he said that, I was scared and my heart pounded . . . the man in charge of the felted cloths [LÚ TAG-TAG, to be spread down at each pupil's sitting place] looked into the aisles and said "your felt is not picked clean!" and he beat me. I took my tablet; the model was written [on the sand] at my feet. I wrote my tablet and did my assignment, and then opened my mouth, without paying attention, and the man in charge of keeping silence [LÚ SI-TUR] said "why did you open your mouth without my permission?" and he struck me. The man in charge of the feathers [LÚ PA-MUŠEN-NA, function unknown] said "why didn't you raise your neck straight?" and he struck me. The man in charge of the drawings [LÚ GIŠ-HUR-RA] said "why did you get up without my permission [risking to step on the designs on the ground]?" and he struck me. The doorman [LÚ KÁ-NA] said "why did you go out without my permission?" and he struck me. The man in charge of the water jars [LÚ^{dug}LAHTAN-NA] said "why did you take [water] without my permission?" and he struck me. The Sumerian expert [LÚ EME-GIR$_{15}$-RA] said "put it[?] in Sumerian!" and struck me. The master [UM-MI-A] said "your handwriting is not nice at all!" and he struck me.
>
> (Kramer 1949, revised)

It is unknown how teachers and other personnel were paid. The texts seem to indicate that they had a right to a portion of the food brought in by the students for their own meals, or that they took it anyway.

H. Students

Students were called DUMU É-DUB-BA-A, "schoolchildren," an expression occasionally used to also designate a full-fledged scribe (normally called DUB-SAR). There is no information about how many years the student's education lasted, nor about at what age boys were first sent to school. In Edubba A the student's father is educated and can evaluate the homework of the son. Many Ur III scribes were themselves sons of scribes. It appears that even if the scribes were not necessarily always wealthy, they tended to form, up to a point, a class apart. Despite the patron deity of the school being a goddess (Nidaba), no text dealing with school activities mentions female students, although three or four lexical or literary tablets are signed by females. There must have been some female students, since female scribes, although exceedingly rare, are not unknown. At least three are known in Ur III times: two in the household of Babati, an archivist of note, uncle of king Šu-Suen. Another was the wife of a high-ranking scribe in the household of the governor of Umma. The highest number of female scribes is attested in Sippar—among the *nadītu,* women at the service of the sun god—and some are known from Mari. A daughter of king Sargon of Akkad is credited with compiling a long collection of hymns to the most famous Mesopotamian shrines. There is mention in Nineveh of a woman writing oracle questions on papyrus.

I. Literacy

Lacking reliable population estimates it is impossible to give any idea of the quantitative extent of reading and writing. For the six decades or so at the end of the second millennium B.C. for which the archives of the Ur III empire are preserved, the names of no less than 1,500 scribes are known. At that time, literacy seems to have been common in the upper classes and monarchs often boast of their literary accomplishments. Besides his uncommon scribal and musical abilities, king Šulgi claims that he could personally administer justice and conduct diplomatic relations in five languages (Sumerian, Akkadian, Elamite, Amorite, and Subarian). He describes his education as follows: "When I was a young child, there was school. There I learned Sumerian and Akkadian texts (tablets); no noble-

man could write on clay like me. I surpassed everyone in cleverness in the scribal arts. I learned adding and subtracting, counting and accounting perfectly . . . I am a smart scribe whom nothing escapes." The theme of the learned king, protector of letters, although perhaps less explicitly expressed than in Šulgi's case, is a recurrent one in Mesopotamia. For example, the preservation of many literary and scientific works is due to the actions of Tiglathpileser I (1114–1076 B.C.) and Assurbanipal (668–627 B.C.).

J. Social Value of Education

Good schools were eagerly sought, and children were sometimes sent away to another town for their education. A letter says "(The children) are anxious to (go to) Nippur . . . where they (the children) live there is no school of the right kind and they cannot learn the office of scribe. They do not recite the words twenty or thirty times; they do not perform the songs ten or twenty times . . . don't you know that there is one (good) school in Nippur?" The post of a scribe "who regularly comes and goes in the palace" was considered a most enviable one, a divine blessing to be preferred to material riches.

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MIGUEL CIVIL

ANCIENT ISRAEL

"We should praise Israel for his education *(paideias)* and wisdom *(sophias)*." This sentence from the prologue to Ecclesiasticus shows how highly valued Israelite education was toward the end of the biblical period. However, the Bible does not present any systematic description of this education and we must try to piece together the various sources at our disposal.

A. Terminology
B. Methodological Issues
C. Principles of Education
  1. Parental Responsibility
  2. Moral and Religious Education of Children
  3. Vocational Instruction
D. The Stages of Education
E. Educational Institutions
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F. Summary

A. Terminology

The main source of information about education in ancient Israel is clearly the Bible itself which, here and there, but mainly in the wisdom books, contains several references to education. Actually the Hebrew word *mûsār* is probably the best word to render "education" since it has been generally translated in Greek by *paideia* in the LXX; *paideia* appears 36 times in Ecclesiasticus and 5 times in the Wisdom of Solomon, while *mûsār* appears mostly in Proverbs (30 times), Jeremiah (8 times), and Job (5 times), and is often associated with *ḥokmâ,* "wisdom" (Prov 1:2, 7; 23:23; cf. 8:33; 13:1; 15:33; 19:20). However, *mûsār* also has the specific meaning of "discipline," "punishment." If we want to understand Israelite education more generally, we must take into account many other references connected with other roots such as *ḥnk,* "initiate," "start" (cf. Prov 22:6); *yrh,* "to show," "to teach" *(Hipʿil);* and *lmd,* "to learn," "to teach" *(Piʿel).* This last root is mainly attested in Deuteronomy (4:1, 5, 10, 14; 5:1, 28: 6:1; 11:19; 14:23; 17:19; 18:9; 31:12, 13, 19, 22) where it may have been used by one of the last redactors instead of the old word *šnn,* "to repeat," "to teach" (Deut 6:7; 28:37; 32:41); *lmd* is also well known in Isaiah (1:17; 2:4; 8:16; 26:9, 10; 29:13, 24; 40:14; 48:17; 50:4; 54:13), Jeremiah (2:24, 33; 9:4, 13, 19; 10:2; 12:16; 13:21, 23; 31:18, 34; 32:33) and Psalms (mainly Ps 119:7, 12, 26, 64, 66, 68, 71, 73, 99, 108, 124, 135, 171). The root *yrh,* in the *Hipʿil* (Gen 46:28; Exod 4:12, 15; 15:25; 24:12; 35:34) is also well known by the nouns *môreh,* "teaching, teacher" (2 Kgs 17:28; Isa 9:14; 30:20; Hab 2:18; Prov 5:13; 6:13; Job 36:22; 2 Chr 15:3) and *tôrâ* (Exod 12:49; Lev 7:7, 37); this last word is very often translated "law" (Gk *nomos*) but its first meaning is "instruction" (Östborn 1945; Jensen 1973).

B. Methodological Issues

In studying Israelite education we must also take into account the fact that it probably underwent changes during Israel's long history. This is especially true of the educational institutions which were probably affected by changes in political history. More generally, education as found in the time of the judges did not remain the same down to the time of the Maccabees, who were confronted with Hellenistic education. Moreover, education was not

necessarily the same throughout all levels of the society. We have to be aware of the differences in educational background between the inhabitants of a farm, a small village, or a town like Jerusalem, as well as the differences existing among Palestinian Jews or among Diaspora Jews.

The general historical and sociological context of the ANE may provide help in understanding Israelite education. What is already known about education in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia must be taken into account, as well as the situation in Greece for the later periods. This background serves not only comparative purposes but also indicates possible sources of concrete influence. For instance, it is generally accepted that Proverbs contains some adaptation of part of an Egyptian book, namely the Instruction of Amenemopet (cf. Prov 22:17–24:22 and *ANET,* 421–25) and two small Transjordanian collections (Prov 30:1ff; 31:1ff). During the Exile, many Jews probably received some Chaldaean (mainly Aramaic) education in Babylonia (cf. Dan 1:4, 17). At the beginning of the 2d century B.C., the influence of Hellenistic education was so strong in Jerusalem (cf. 2 Macc 4:12ff) that the Jewish tradition was actually in danger of disappearing. Knowledge of the educational practices among Israel's neighbors is therefore a useful guide for understanding various aspects of the history of Israelite education.

A study of Israelite education must take into account the discoveries in Hebrew and Aramaic epigraphy in Palestine (Puech 1988) and in the Jewish communities of the Diaspora. Even if the texts are fragmentary, they give us some direct evidence. For example, the various ostraca with "abecedaries" and schoolboys' exercises found in the latter half of the First Temple period (ca. 800–587 B.C.) reveal that reading and writing were taught not only in the capital city but also in small towns and fortresses. The Aramaic documents from the 5th century B.C. found in Elephantine shed some light on the Jewish and apparently mainly Aramaic education there, as well as probably in other communities of the Diaspora. In Palestine, the Dead Sea Scrolls have revealed the teaching of an Essene community in the 1st centuries B.C. and A.D. In the teaching of their community, biblical books and commentaries held a prominent place (Lemaire 1986a).

C. Principles of Education

1. Parental Responsibility. Education of children appears to have been initially a parental responsibility: "Attend, my son, to your father's education and do not reject the instruction of your mother" (Prov 1:8; cf. 6:20; 23:22). Because of this responsibility, the child had to respect his parents: "Honor your father and your mother" (Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16; cf. Prov 15:20; 20:20; Sir 3:1–16; 7:28).

If the mother took an important part in the education for her children (cf. 1 Sam 1:22–28; Prov 31:28; 2 Macc 7:24ff) even when they were teenagers (Prov 31:1ff), the father is often mentioned in the education of his sons (cf. Prov 4:4; 13:1) as soon as they become boys: "Discipline your son, and he will be a comfort to you and give delights to yourself" (Prov 29:17; cf. Deut 8:5: "as a man disciplines his son . . ."). The father was not to be hesitant in reprimanding his son, neither was he to avoid using the rod, so that the son might not put his father to shame: "Rod and reprimand give wisdom, but a boy who runs wild brings shame on his mother" (Prov 29:15; cf. 3:12; 23:13f).

The father was often considered responsible for his son's behavior and was reproved for being too feeble (cf. 1 Sam 2:22–25, 29–36; 2 Sam 13:21 [LXX]; 1 Kgs 1:6). The law of Deut 21:18–21 (cf. Exod 21:17) shows the official procedure to follow in case of a disobedient son:

> When a man has a disobedient and rebellious son, and he does not obey his father and mother, and even if they correct him, he does not obey them, then his father and mother shall take hold of him and bring him out to the elders of his town and to the city-gate of his place. They will say to the elders of his town: "This son of ours is disobedient and rebellious, he does not obey us, he is a glutton and a drunkard." Then all the men of his town shall stone him and he will die.

This extreme case was probably very rare. It is not known whether this law was ever implemented, but this borderline case shows clearly the limits of the authority of the parents. In ancient Israel a child's parents did not have the power of life and death even in the case of a bad behavior of a son; death can be only the consequence of an official procedure. The case of a young female prostitute is not so clear (cf. Gen 38:24ff; Lev 21:9) but can also be interpreted in the same way, namely the rebellious child could only be put to death after an official judgment.

2. Moral and Religious Education of Children. The desire and love for children pervades the OT (cf. Gen 15:5; 22:17; 24:60; 26:4; Prov 17:6; Ps 127:3–5; 128:3; Job 5:25; Sir 25:7) and disciplinary strictness in education was not at all thought to be incompatible with love for children. On the contrary, "A father who spares the rod hates his son, but one who loves him keeps him in order" (Prov 13:24); "A man who loves his son whips him often" (Sir 30:1–13). Even God displays the same attitude: "For those whom he loves, the Lord reproves, just as a father reproves his favorite son" (Prov 3:12; cf. Deut 8:5; 2 Sam 7:14).

Religious education was also the responsibility of the parents; in this way the religious tradition and its teachings were passed on from generation to generation. The parents had "to tell their children and grandchildren" the religious experience of their ancestors (cf. Exod 10:2; 13:8; Deut 4:9; 32:7). It was the father's duty to explain the meaning of the family's religious rites (Exod 12:26) and to teach the commandments of the Lord (Deut 6:7, 20–25; 32:46). The principal aim of this education was to help the young child become a wise person. This goal could only be reached through a religious education: "The essence of wisdom is fear of the Lord" (Ps 111:10; cf. Prov 1:7).

3. Vocational Instruction. The parents usually taught their children their profession. Living at home with his father, the son naturally watched and helped his father at work and learned his father's profession (cf. 1 Sam 16:11; 2 Kgs 4:18). The book of Proverbs several times insists on the usefulness of good work (12:24, 27; 14:23; 18:9; 20:13; 22:29; Qoh 9:10; 11:1–6; contrast Qoh 4:4–60), especially agricultural work, the most often attested profession (Prov 12:11; 24:27, 30–34; 27:18, 23–27; 28:19;

cf. Sir 7:22; Proverbs of Ahiqar: saying 40). Girls learned household activities with their mother, in particular baking (2 Sam 13:8), spinning, and weaving (Exod 35:25–26). Prov 31:10–31 seems to present the picture of the ideal woman as a model for the girls' education (Crook 1954). Young girls could also work in the fields (Gen 29:6ff; Exod 2:16ff; cf. Cant 1:6; Prov 31:16). According to Sir 42:9–11, in ancient Israel a father was generally more concerned and anxious about the education of his daughter than for his son. In later Judaism, the parents' responsibility in teaching a profession to their children was underlined by the maxim: "Who does not teach a profession to his son teaches him brigandage" (*b. Qidd.* 29a).

D. The Stages of Education

A young child first lived with his mother, who generally suckled him until his weaning. The day of his weaning was probably celebrated as a feast with a sacrifice (cf. Gen 21:8; 1 Sam 1:23–25). The date of the weaning is difficult to specify and may have varied with the mother. However, according to 2 Macc 7:27, Josephus (*Ant* 2.230), and Mesopotamian and Egyptian traditions (*ANET,* 420), it was generally celebrated when the child was three years old (Pfeiffer 1972).

In the leading families, a wet nurse (Heb *mêneqet*) could take the place of the mother (Gen 24:59; 35:8; Isa 49:23); this is especially attested among the royal families of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 11:2; 2 Chr 22:11) or of Egypt (Exod 2:7). Later on, and at least until age five or older, the child would be under the care of a dry nurse or governess (Heb *ʾōmenet;* 2 Sam 4:4). This last job was sometimes assumed by the grandmother (Ruth 4:16) or even by a male (Heb *ʾômen:* Num 11:12; Isa 49:23; cf. Esth 2:7). Male guardians were especially connected with the sons of the king (2 Kgs 10:1, 5), like the *paidagôgos* ("family tutor") in Greece. From about five to seven years of age the child could go to school or in some cases start to work with his father, who introduced the child to a profession (farmer, craftsman, etc.).

In later Jewish tradition a boy was generally considered to be an adult, at least from the religious point of view, as soon as the first signs of manhood became apparent, probably when he was twelve to fourteen years old. Thus, according to Rabbi Yehuda ben Tema (*m. ʾAbot* 5:21):

> At five years, one is fit for the Scripture,
> at ten years for the Mishnah,
> at thirteen for the commandments,
> at fifteen for the Talmud,
> at eighteen for the bride-chamber,
> at twenty for pursuing (a calling),
> at thirty for authority.

These approximate stages of life seem to be confirmed by the personal stories of Jesus (Luke 2:42; 3:23) and of Josephus (*Life* 9). The data of the OT, however, are not so clear. According to Gen 37:2, "Joseph was a boy of seventeen" when he worked with his brothers in the fields and started his adventures; he was probably considered an adult at that time. Lev 27:3–7 presents an estimation of the worth of a man according to the various stages of his life: "Between a month and five years old," he is still considered a small child; accordingly his value is one tenth of an adult. "Between five years old and twenty," the child can already help and work; accordingly his value is one third or about two fifths of an adult. "Between twenty and sixty years old," the person is an adult. "Over sixty," the person cannot do much work and thus his value is only about one third of an adult. See also OLD AGE.

These verses indicate that age twenty was generally considered the approximate age for full efficiency at work, that is, for assuming full responsibility in one's job. However, other traditions indicate that age thirty was considered the usual age to assume an official position with responsibility. It was at this age that Joseph became Pharaoh's prime minister (Gen 41:42–46), David was made king (2 Sam 5:4), and the Levites became servants of the Temple near the altar (cf. Num 4:3, 23, 30, 35, 43, 47). Of course the information concerns the upper class of Israelite society, namely the members of the royal family or of the priestly families, that is, high functionaries and leading citizens. Information about the lower class (farmers, craftsmen) is lacking.

E. Educational Institutions

1. Family. If parents were the ones initially responsible for the education of their children, other members of the family naturally could take part in this education as well, especially the grandparents (cf. Ruth 4:16), the paternal uncle, or even a cousin (cf. Esth 2:7). Actually, amid this large family, the child received not only a general education but also teaching about the national traditions, especially during the family celebrations (cf. 1 Sam 20:6) such as Passover where children played an active part asking questions (cf. Exod 10:2; 12:26).

2. Community Liturgy. Besides the family celebration at home, the child would accompany his parents on pilgrimages to sanctuaries (cf. 1 Sam 1:24). In the early period this meant a trip to the local sanctuary, but later, after the Deuteronomic reform, the pilgrimage was to the Jerusalem Temple: "Three times a year all your males shall come into the presence of the Lord your God at the place which he will choose, namely at the time of the pilgrim-feasts of Unleavened Bread, of Weeks, and of Tabernacles" (Deut 16:16).

These pilgrimages were important not only because of the sacrifices but also because of the teaching and prayer which occurred during the celebration. For instance, the *tôrâ* was to be read publicly once every seven years during the feast of Tabernacles: "Assemble the people, men, women, and children together with the aliens who live in your cities, so that they may listen and learn *(yilmĕdû)* to fear the Lord your God and observe all the words of this instruction *(tôrâ)* with care" (Deut 31:12). Parts of the instruction or similar texts were probably also read publicly at each feast, especially during the renewal of the covenant (cf. Exod 24:7).

All this teaching was memorized not only by means of hearing but also through repetition and singing. Psalms played an important role in this regard, especially the psalms of meditation on history or on the instruction *(tôrâ).* The psalms were good pedagogical means for learning about the nation's past and its foundational principles. "Listen to my instruction *(tôrātî),* O my people, pick up

your ears to the words of my mouth. I will open my mouth for sentences, I will expound the riddles of the past which we have heard and know, and our ancestors narrated to us" (Ps 78:1–3). This kind of didactic and historical meditation is well attested in several psalms (44; 105; 106; 114; 136), while other psalms insist more on moral education (cf. Psalms 15; 19; 50; 119).

Besides pilgrimage feasts, one of the best pedagogical means for developing the religious and national feeling in ancient Israel was the regularized sequencing of the Israelite feasts. In the earlier period this included every new and full moon (the sabbath of the First Temple period; cf. 2 Kgs 4:23; 11:5, 7, 9; Isa 1:13; Hos 2:13; Amos 8:5; Ps 81:4; see also Lemaire 1973); and then, after the promulgation of the Law by Ezra, every seventh day came to be used for the moral and religious education of not only children but also adults (cf. Gen 2:2–3; Exod 16:26; 20:10; 31:15–17; Lev 23:3; Deut 5:14).

3. Specific Training. Most of the specific training for a special profession was generally given when the boy helped his father as a shepherd (cf. 1 Sam 16:11) or as a farmer (cf. 2 Kgs 4:18) and when the girl helped her mother as a housewife or sometimes even went to the fields. However, some training could also be given outside of the family. Craftsmen, for example, seem at times to have been organized in guilds (Neh 3:8, 11–32; 1 Chr 4:14, 21–23). Apprentices were probably trained in this context, while midwives (cf. Exod 1:15, 21) learned their profession working with an older midwife.

Military training (cf. Judg 3:2) was probably first given within the family and the clan or the tribe; a boy gained some experience in accompanying his father (cf. Judg 8:20–21) or his brothers (cf. 1 Sam 17:13ff) at war. Military training was first a general training in physical exercises to learn steadiness and agility (2 Sam 22:34, 37) but also involved training in the handling of weapons, including the sling, bow, sword, and spear. For instance, the tribe of Benjamin was famous for the ambidextrous use of the sword (Judg 3:15–16) and of the sling (Judg 20:16), while other young men were trained to use the bow (1 Sam 20:20–22; cf. 2 Sam 1:18 MT). Youth were also trained to fight face-to-face (2 Sam 2:14–16). This specialized training was probably supplemented by learning about the heroic exploits of the past (Judg 5:14–16; 2 Sam 21:15–22) and particularly of tactical tricks (Josh 8:3ff), while past mistakes were recalled in order that they not be repeated (cf. Judg 9:50–54; 2 Sam 11:20–21). Later, military training was given under the supervision of professional officers of the king who supplied the required weapons (1 Chr 27: 16–22; 2 Chr 17:13–18; 26:11–15; 2 Kgs 25:19). Other specific training for the king's sons, scribes, and high royal functionaries was generally given in the context of schools.

4. Schools. Over the course of the last few decades there has been considerable discussion about the problem of the existence of schools in Israel from the beginning of the First Temple period (Whybray 1965; 1974; Lang 1972: 21–53; 1975; 1979; 1980; Golka 1983; Haran 1988). It is true that the Hebrew word for school, *bêt-midrāš,* appears only in Sir 51:23. According to late Jewish tradition, Joshua ben Gamla (= Jesus son of Gamaliel), high priest about A.D. 63–65, "decided that school-teachers *(mlmdy tynwqwt)* be appointed in every province and in every town, and children of six or seven years be brought to them" (*b. B. Bat.* 21a), but this decree was certainly not the creation of the first schools in ancient Israel. It was only a reform or a systematization of elementary schools everywhere in Israel; such schools and other types of schools existed long before the decree.

The general historical context of ancient Israel (at least from the time of David and Solomon), the existence of schools in Egypt and Mesopotamia from the 3d millennium B.C., as well as the recent discovery of various schoolboys' exercises from the First Temple period (Lemaire 1978) demonstrate that schools existed in Israel already during the time of the Israelite monarchy (Lemaire 1981). One must keep in mind, however, that schools in the ANE were not identical to schools today. Ancient schools were not so well organized and did not need the same furnishings. Actually, a school existed whenever a learned man, a master, taught a few pupils sitting around him. Such schools could exist in the open air or in the corner of a courtyard. The traditional Quranic schools offer some idea of the nature of these schools. Having made these observations, we may now consider various aspects of this educational institution in ancient Israel (cf. Lemaire 1984).

a. History. Before the birth of the Israelite confederation at the end of the LB Age, the small Canaanite kingdoms could use three kinds of writing besides hieroglyphic and Egyptian writing: (1) writing in Akkadian for international relations, especially with Egypt (cf. the El-Amarna letters); (2) cuneiform alphabetic writing, attested by the tablets of Beth-Shemesh and Taanak, and by a bronze blade from Nahal Tabor; and (3) linear alphabetic script, attested by a few incised and ink inscriptions scattered in Palestine, especially at Lachish. The use of these three kinds of writing as well as lexical and trilingual texts found at Aphek indicate that there was probably some kind of scribal training in Palestine during this period (Edzard 1985), but it is difficult to specify where.

Evidence from the beginning of Israel's history, namely the alphabetic ostracon from Izbet Sartah, the inscription from Qubur el-Walaydah, inscriptions incised on arrowheads from el-Khadr (Cross 1980), and a few other inscribed sherds from the 12th–10th centuries B.C. show that linear script, and apparently linear script only, continued to be used in Palestine, and that this script tradition was assumed by the Israelites from the Canaanite tradition. Actually from the biblical tradition one may assume that an Israelite culture was transmitted in the 12th–11th centuries B.C., probably mainly orally, near the local sanctuaries of Shiloh, Shechem, Gilgal, Bethel, Hebron, and Beersheba. The case of Shiloh is the clearest. Associated with that site is the story of young Samuel who stayed at the sanctuary carrying out the Lord's service in front of Eli (1 Sam 3:1). This story seems to imply that Samuel was some kind of apprentice and received cultic instruction at the sanctuary, perhaps at the same time as Eli's sons (cf. 1 Sam 2:12ff).

Later, under David and Solomon, the growth of Israelite territory and influence, the development of the administration, and the building of a new Temple in Jerusalem brought with it the need for instructing royal functionaries and for the organization of a royal school, possibly under

Egyptian influence (Solomon married Pharaoh's daughter: 1 Kgs 9:17; 11:1) and according to an Egyptian model (Mettinger 1971). As in Egypt, the royal school, at least in Jerusalem and perhaps also in the twelve regional capitals, gave a formative education (reading, writing, calculation, administration, history, geography, etc.) to the "sons of the king" and to the sons of "the friends of the king" or leading citizens who might then become high functionaries and royal advisers (cf. 1 Kgs 12:8, 10: "the young men who had grown up with him and who stood before him").

Such a royal school was also probably created in the capitals of the N kingdom, namely Shechem, Tirzah, and Samaria, but it is difficult to determine whether the seventy royal princes who were "with the nobles of the city who were bringing them up" (2 Kings 10) is a reference to a royal school or to private teachers. At least these tutors (*ʾōmēnîm*) seem to have formed a special group at the royal court of Samaria (2 Kgs 10:1, 5).

In Jerusalem, the building of the Temple carried with it the need for trained personnel for the Temple who had to receive a formative education for their service (reading, writing, singing, music, rites, feasts, calendar, national religious traditions, etc.). This instruction was probably given at or near the Temple, perhaps under the supervision of the high priest. 2 Kgs 12:3 (—Eng 12:2) show that this priest could even, under special circumstances, be responsible for the education of the young king.

From the 8th century onward, paleo-Hebrew epigraphy (Samaria ostraca, Kuntillet-Ajrud, Khirbet el-Qôm, Khirbet Beit-Lei, Silwam, Siloah, and Arad inscriptions, as well as inscribed seals) and the biblical texts (mainly the prophetic books of Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah) show an important development in the use of writing in ancient Israel. This development may have been connected with the creation of new schools; in fact 2 Chr 17:7–9 probably refer to some reform in teaching under the supervision of high royal functionaries, priests, and Levites. The "abecedaries" and schoolboys' exercises found at Lachish, Arad, Aroer, Kadesh-Barnea, and Kuntillet-Ajrud show that at the end of the First Temple period, one could learn writing not only in the great cities but also in villages and small fortresses. Actually "Deuteronomy expects a degree of literacy to permeate society" (cf. Deut 6:9; 11:20) and according to epigraphic evidence "few places will have been unaware of writing" (Millard 1985b: 308). Such degrees of literacy can hardly be reached without the existence of local schools.

In 598 and 587, most of the exiles were well-educated people; part of them probably already knew some Aramaic as is shown by the attitude of the members of the royal cabinet as early as 701 B.C. (2 Kgs 18:26). With this knowledge the exiles could prosper in Babylonia and some could even obtain an official position in the Babylonian, and later, Persian, administrations (cf. the story of Mordecai in Esth 10:1–3). Some of their children may have been educated in the royal Babylonian schools (cf. Dan 1:3–5 with an allusion to a training of three years) and entrusted with an official position by the king of kings—as were Sheshbazzar (Ezra 1:8, 11), Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:2ff), Nehemiah (Neh 1:1ff), and Ezra (Ezra 7:12–26).

Bullae and seals from a Judean archive (Avigad 1976) seem to indicate that the governors of the Judean province appointed by the Persian authorities were all Jews (Avigad 1976; Laperrousaz 1982), some of whom came from Babylonia and spoke Aramaic as their primary language. In fact, all the administrative ostraca from this period found in Palestine are written in Aramaic; this means that the local functionaries had received formal instruction in Aramaic, while Hebrew was used mainly in the cultic celebrations of the Temple of Jerusalem and in the teaching of the schools as the classical language of national literature.

In the Hellenistic period, efforts were made to inculcate Greek language and culture, thereby superseding Jewish (Hebrew and Aramaic) education (cf. 2 Macc 4:12ff). However, the nationalist revolt of the Maccabees succeeded in preserving Jewish culture even if they also adopted some aspects of Hellenistic education. Qoheleth and Ecclesiasticus are good examples of Jewish teaching in the Hebrew language in Jerusalem during the first part of the Hellenistic period, teaching based on the "study of the Law, the Prophets, and the other Writings of our ancestors" (preface to Sirach; Qoh 12:9–10), but the text was very soon translated into Greek to be used in Jewish education in Egypt (preface to Sirach).

From the end of the 2d century B.C. onward, Jewish tradition divided itself into three main groups, namely the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, each of which had its own interpretation of the Law, its own masters, and its own schools. The Essene school and teaching are now well known thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls (Lemaire 1986a), while the Pharisees were famous for their teaching in the local schools as well as in Jerusalem (cf. Acts 5:34ff; 22:3; 23:6); the teaching of the Pharisees is known from the later written rabbinic tradition (Mishnah, Talmud). The teaching of the Sadducees still remains virtually unknown (Le Moyne 1972). Around the turn of the Christian era, schools were a very well attested institution in Jewish society, especially in the capital: "There were 480 synagogues in Jerusalem and each had a *bêt-sēper* and a *bêt-talmûd*, the former for the Scripture, the latter for the Mishnah" (*y. Meg.* 3:1).

b. Teaching. The general method of teaching in ancient Israel was probably the same as in the other countries of the ANE; that is they emphasized two pedagogical means, oral repetition and the rod. The learning of reading started with the oral repetition of the sounds of letters and of syllables as hinted in Isa 28:9–10. "Reading" (Heb *miqrāʾ*) was essentially "to proclaim, to read in a loud voice," as is still done in traditional Quranic schools. This oral repetition bordering on chanting was a great help to memorize the whole text. This is possibly what is meant by the expression "to write on the tablet of the heart" (Prov 3:3; 7:3; cf. Jer 31:33; Deut 6:6) which could also be understood as an allusion to a tablet for schoolboys' exercises hung about the neck (Couroyer 1983). This repetition of words before writing is also referred to in the famous text of Deut 6:6–7: "These words which I command to you today will be on your heart. You shall repeat them to your sons and speak of them indoors and out-of-doors, when you lie down and when you rise." The call to memorize was also made easier with mnemonic devices used in teaching such as numerical sayings (cf. Ps 62:12; Job 5:19; 33:14; Prov 6:16; 30:15, 18, 21, 29; Sir 23:16; 25:7; 26:5, 28; 50:25; see also Roth 1965; Reuger 1981), acrostic

alphabetic poems (Psalms 9–10; 25; 34; 37; 111; 112; 119; 145; Prov 31:10ff; Lamentations 1–4; Nah 1:2ff; see Freedman 1972), parallelism, key words, and alliteration. Even with good pedagogical means, the Bible knows that teaching and education are not always easy; the teacher may have to use reprimand and the rod: "Do not withhold discipline from a boy. If you beat him with the rod, he will not die. When you beat him with the rod, you will save him from death" (Prov 23:13–14; cf. Prov 10:13). This use of the rod in ancient Israel confirms what is known about schools in Egypt and Mesopotamia.

The content of teaching probably differed according to the age of the person, the schools, and the time period. Young boys used to go to school after weaning (cf. 1 Sam 1:24; Isa 28:9–10), probably when they were "five" (cf. Lev 27:6; 2 Sam 4:4; *m.* *ʾAbot* 5:21; and cf. Egyptian custom; cf. Brunner 1957: 40), "six" (cf. *Ketub.* 50a) or "seven years" old (cf. 2 Kgs 12:1, 3?; *B. Bat.* 21a). Children at first learned to read and write by identifying the 22 letters of the alphabet in the traditional order (cf. paleo-Hebrew and square Hebrew "abecedaries"); then they copied the same word twice, complete sentences (for instance proverbs?), lists of names and months (cf. the calendar of Gezer), greeting formulas at the beginning of a letter (cf. Kuntillet-Ajrud), and even models of short messages or letters (cf. Lachish ostracon 2?). Soon, children were trained in writing ciphers and the abbreviations for the units of measures (cf. ostraca from Kadesh-Barnea), in calculation, and in drawing (cf. the copy of drawings on the pithoi of Kuntillet-Ajrud). In learning to read, children probably used classical Hebrew texts and, at least at the beginning of the Christian era, they started by reading the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament (cf. *m.* *ʾAbot* 5:21; 2 Tim 3:15).

Later, the student would begin writing on papyrus and leather. As a future scribe, he was probably trained to write deeds of sale (Jer 32:10–14), marriage contracts (Tob 7:14 and Elephantine papyri), bills of divorce (Deut 24:1–3; Isa 50:1; Jer 3:8) and court pleas (cf. Job 31:35; Meṣad Hashavyahu ostracon). For this the student needed to be trained in Israelite law as well as in administrative texts (bookkeeping, census, etc.). During the First Temple period, most of the scribes may have been employed in the royal administration and organized in a type of guild (Heb *mišpāḥâ;* cf. 1 Chr 2:55). The most important scribe was the official "king's scribe," probably a kind of secretary of state or chancellor (2 Sam 8:17; 20:25; 1 Kgs 4:3; 2 Kgs 12:11). In 701 B.C., this function was assumed by Shebna (2 Kgs 18:18, 37; 19:2 = Isa 37:2), during Josiah's reign by Shaphan (2 Kgs 22:3, 8, 9, 10, 12), and under Jehoiakim probably by Elishama (Jer 36:12). These names, especially that of Shaphan (cf. also Jer 36:11, 12, 20, 21; 40:9), whose family may have played an important role in writing the Deuteronomic history, present us with a few names of high royal functionaries (Lipiński 1988) from among the leading families—officials who are also known from seals and bullae bearing titles such as *bn hmlk,* "son of the king," *śr ʿl hbyt,* "royal steward" (more or less a prime minister), *ʿbd hmlk,* "servant of the king," *śr hʿr,* "governor of the city," *spr,* "scribe," *khn,* "priest" (Avigad 1988).

These royal functionaries probably received their training in the royal school of Jerusalem with the sons of the king, a custom attested in Egypt (cf. 1 Kgs 11:20). They had to master fully Israelite law, geography, and history as well as probably a diplomatic language such as Aramaic, the use of which is attested already in 701 B.C. (1 Kgs 18:26). Furthermore these students had to study the difficult art of ruling and administrating with success (cf. Heb *ḥokmâ,* "wisdom," "political acumen"). This kind of teaching may have been given/partly by senior officers or retired high functionaries, as is attested in Egypt. The students were probably teenagers (cf. many counsels about moral behavior in Proverbs), predominantly members of families of high functionaries, who were taught the difficult art of succeeding in the king's service. Several biblical books from this period, namely old traditions in the Pentateuch, geographical materials in Joshua, historical traditions in Samuel and Kings (Lemaire 1986b), and sapiential traditions of Proverbs (cf. mainly the proverbs about the king's court and the art of ruling) could well reflect the teaching of the royal school of Jerusalem.

The refined education needed for Temple service probably differed from that required by the royal administration. After a possible general training in reading, writing, the scribal arts, and national traditions, future priests were probably taught more specific subjects concerning rites, sacrifices, calendar, the Temple (buildings, furniture, etc.), distinctions between clean and unclean, the singing of psalms, and the playing of sacred music. Priestly instruction could well be reflected in biblical books such as Leviticus (especially chaps. 1–7; 11; 13–14; 25) or the end of Exodus (chaps. 25–31; 35–40). In fact, these biblical texts may have been used as a reference work, a kind of textbook, in the priestly school of Jerusalem, a learning center probably situated in the Temple complex having some kind of library (cf. 2 Kgs 22:8; Van der Kooij 1981: 332–35) as known from Egypt.

Some of the prophets may have originally been trained either in the royal school (cf. probably Isaiah and possibly Zephaniah) or in the priestly school (cf. Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and possibly Malachi). However, the prophets had their own teaching and their own disciples. The various stories about the "sons/disciples of the prophets" show that prophetic discipling was an old Israelite tradition. The success of this movement (cf. more than fifty "sons of the prophets" near Jericho mentioned in 2 Kgs 2:7) in the second half of the 9th century B.C. around Elisha even led to the building of a special house for teaching, since the place where the disciples used to sit and listen to Elisha had become too small; they decided: "Let us go to the Jordan and each fetch a log, and make ourselves a place to sit there" (2 Kgs 6:1–2). Expressions such as "to sit in front of somebody" are typical in describing the posture of disciples listening to their master (cf. 2 Kgs 4:38; Ezek 8:1; 14:1; 20:1). One can speak here of the building of a "prophetic school."

Prophetic teaching was different enough from the usual teaching in the royal or priestly school. The disciples may have been adults as well as teenagers, and the atmosphere may have been close enough to that of philosophical schools in Greece (Lang 1980: 31–58). The method of teaching was dependent on the individual character of each prophet. The existence of such "schools" of disciples around the prophets explains why and how the prophet's

story and teaching could be written down and transmitted to posterity (cf. 2 Kgs 8:4; Isa 8:16; Jer 36:17–19).

At the beginning of the Hellenistic period, teaching such as that of Qoheleth (cf. 12:9) or Jesus ben Sira (cf. preface to Sirach and 51:23) gives us an idea of the kind of "philosophical" teaching offered in Jerusalem—teaching which was at one and the same time traditional and innovative. Toward the beginning of the Christian era, strong religious personalities such as Bannus (Josephus, *Life* 10–12) or Gamaliel (Acts 5:34; 22:3) offer examples of teaching closely tied to this traditional and philosophical teaching; John the Baptist (Matt 3:1ff and par.) and Jesus (Matt 4:23ff and *passim*), who also assembled disciples around themselves (cf. Matt 4:18ff; 5:1ff; 11:2–15), may be considered more in line with the prophetic tradition.

c. The Teacher/Master–Pupil/Disciple Relation. In conformity with ANE tradition, the relation of teacher to pupil or of master to disciple is expressed metaphorically in terms of the relation of "father" to "son" (Nel 1977). This way of speaking is sometimes misunderstood and interpreted literally as if the biological father was himself teaching everything to his children, namely reading, writing, and the national and religious traditions. If, according to biblical tradition, parents were responsible for the general education of their children, it is however clear that most of the references to the "father" in wisdom books such as Proverbs, Qoheleth, and Sirach are to be understood as references to a teacher; the same is true about the relation between prophet and disciple (cf. 2 Kgs 2:12, 21; 13:14). The appelation "my son" *(benî)*, used by the teacher when addressing his pupil (cf. Prov 1:8, 10, 15; 2:1; 3:1, etc.; cf. also Proverbs of Ahiqar line 82, 96, 127, 129, 149), corresponds to the honorary title "father," "my father."

Two appelations are more technical: *môreh*, "instructor," which could be used for a wisdom teacher (Prov 5:13), priest (2 Chr 15:3; cf. 2 Kgs 12:4; 17:28) or prophet (cf. Isa 9:14), and *mĕlammēd*, "teacher" (Prov 5:13; cf. Qoh 12:9). In a general way the teacher was considered a man of experience, a "wise" man *(ḥākām)*; this adjective, which can be used more generally, seems in several places to characterize the teacher and master (cf. Prov 13:14; 15:12; 22:17; 24:23).

Beyond the honorary title of "father," the relation and respect shown to the teacher by the students may have been quite different according to the type of teaching given (elementary or more specialized). However, there is one point which is clear enough, namely that the student (or his parents) had to pay or give something to the master for his services. This may be the reason why Deuteronomy insists so much on giving gifts to the Levites in the cities and villages (Deut 12:12, 19; 14:27; 16:14; 26:11–13) and may also explain the insistence of Proverbs on the "price" of wisdom which is to be bought (cf. *qĕnēh ḥokmâ*, "buy wisdom"; Prov 4:7; 16:16; cf. 3:14; 8:10; 16:16; Sir 51:28). This habit of paying the teacher was well known in the antiquity and probably explains why the students of the "high schools" of Jerusalem generally came from wealthy families of high functionaries or leading citizens.

d. Schools for Younger Women. Besides the general education of young women to be good housewives and to help occasionally in the fields, a few professions seem to have been assumed by women: nurses, midwives (Exod 1:21), cooks, weavers (1 Sam 8:13; cf. Tob 2:11ff), perfumers (1 Sam 8:13), mourners (Jer 9:19), singers (cf. Sam 19:36; Qoh 2:8; 2 Chr 35:25), necromancers (1 Sam 28:7) or prostitutes (cf. 1 Kgs 3:16)—these latter two activities were reproved but were known to have been practiced by women. In Prov 31:10–31, the acrostic poem of a capable wife, the woman is quite active and this description could well have served as a guide for teaching younger upper-class women in home economics (Crook 1954).

It is possible that some kind of teaching and school existed for upper-class women, especially for the daughters of the king and of other great personalities in Jerusalem. Several seals belonging to "daughters" or "wives" are known, among them the seal of "a king's daughter" (*lmʿdnh bt hmlk;* Avigad 1978) with the emblem of a lyre, which could mean that she was an ardent lyre-player. However, the most interesting seals could be that of *yzbl*, probably to be identified with the Queen Jezebel, the wife of Ahab (Avigad 1964; cf. 1 Kgs 16:31; 18:4ff), and that of "Shelomith wife [*ʾmt*] of Elnathan the governor" (Avigad 1976: 11), probably to be identified with the daughter of Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, who was ultimately descended from David (1 Chr 3:19; Lemaire 1977; Laperrousaz 1982). This means that these women could sign official documents (letters, deeds, etc.) with their own seals and that they probably could read and write. A certain education of upper-class women in a school in Jerusalem would explain why Hulda, "the wife of Shallum son of Tikvah, son of Harhas, the keeper of the wardrobe," was considered an official prophet and consulted at home by officials sent from the king (2 Kgs 22:14–15).

F. Summary

These aspects of education in the OT do not give us all the information about the various historical problems connected with Israelite education and Israelite educational institutions; nevertheless, they clearly indicate that there is a strong connection between the Bible and education in ancient Israel. Biblical texts were essentially written with a didactic and educational aim, a position reflected in the NT (for which the OT essentially served as Scripture): "All the ancient scripture was written for our own instruction" (Rom 15:4); "Every scripture is inspired and useful for teaching, for refuting, for reformation, and for education in justice" (2 Tim 3:16).

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ANDRÉ LEMAIRE

GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD

In the world of the NT, educational theory and practice were essentially Hellenistic. The Greco-Roman world had settled into a single, universal educational system that was to dominate the ancient scene until the barbarian overthrow of the West and the Muslim conquest of the East. One should not see this system as a corruption of education in classical Athens but rather as the culmination of its development. Nor should education in the Latin West be viewed as developing out of Roman educational practice in early republican times. Rather, late republican and imperial Roman educators simply adopted the main tenets of the Hellenistic system with Latin added to the curriculum and with less emphasis on physical training. Even Jewish Hebrew schools were not immune to the pervasive Hellenistic influence, and one can easily interpret rabbinic education as the Jewish adaptation of Hellenistic educational methods and curricula.

A. General Characteristics
B. Primary Schools
C. Secondary Schools
D. Higher Education
E. Jewish Education

A. General Characteristics

Evidence for the essential unity of Greco-Roman education is impressive and extends beyond a general similarity in curriculum. Methods that Quintilian advocated in 1st-century Rome are reflected in the school papyri from Hellenistic and imperial Roman Egypt. Gymnasia from

Hellenistic and imperial Roman times show remarkable similarity in design. Late Greek and Latin grammarians expounded grammar in ways quite similar to those of Dionysius Thrax of Rhodes during the 2d century B.C.E.

There were, of course, some changes that took place during the long period in which ancient education followed the Hellenistic model; but these changes evolved slowly. In the western part of the empire Latin language and literature were receiving more emphasis, although the continuing importance of Greek in Roman schools meant that Paul foresaw no difficulty with Christians at Rome understanding an epistle written in Greek. In fact, Greek predominated in Christian worship at Rome until well after the NT period. The study of law was becoming more important, while music, and to a certain extent, physical education were on the decline. One reason for the decline in music was that real proficiency in musical performance was becoming the province of uncultured professionals. Even as early as 43 B.C.E., Sallust (*Cat.* 25.2, 5) casually refers to a lady who is able to "play the lyre and dance better than necessary for a virtuous woman."

The decline in the importance of physical education should not be exaggerated. In NT times, it still played a significant role in all levels of education, particularly in the East. Physical training was centered in the gymnasium, which was often an extensive complex. The typical gymnasium generally contained a sand-covered courtyard (palaestra) for physical exercises and a stadium. In addition, the complex included a lecture hall and hot and cold baths, as well as rooms for storing oil and dust, for working out on the punching bag, and for massage. Athletes performed in the nude, a fact which helps explain the negative attitude of traditional Jews toward the gymnasium (cf. 2 Macc 4:12, 14). The major sports were *pankration* (a combination of wrestling, boxing, and kicking), boxing (cf. 1 Cor 9:26), and the pentathlon (which included running, long jumping, discus throwing, javelin throwing, and wrestling). Much is known about how wrestling was taught, and part of a handbook has been found which tells an instructor how to put two wrestlers through their paces (Townsend 1971: 143–44).

At the head of a gymnasium was a gymnasiarch; and in a city with more than one gymnasium there was a gymnasiarch general over all of them. Serving as gymnasiarch was a high honor, but one which only the very rich could afford to accept. The gymnasiarch served without pay and was responsible for underwriting the costs of running his institution. He was not, however, expected to teach. Actual instruction was the province of assistants, gymnastic instructors, and lecturers.

Although classical education usually involved attending school, wealthy students might be tutored. In fact, Quintilian felt compelled to devote a whole chapter of his work on education to the advantages of school over a tutor. Unfortunately, there is not too much evidence about what home education was like, but sources such as Cicero's letters suggest that home study substantially paralleled education at school.

Ancient education progressed in three stages: primary, secondary, and advanced. Relatively few reached the advanced stage. Primary education, however, was widespread and not limited to freeborn males. Girls frequently attended school along with their brothers (Dittenberger 1960: no. 573 [9]); and in the case of slaves, many of them also necessarily received at least some education in order to perform tasks commonly assigned to them. In the Greco-Roman world of the NT, even the poor felt the need for reading skills. In fact, Martial, the late 1st-century Latin epigrammatist, could joke about a poor cobbler whose parents tried to save money by teaching him to read themselves (*Epigrammaton libri* 9.73.7). Even the strict Christian Tertullian recognized that the need for literacy might require Christians to attend pagan schools (*De Idololatria* 10). He did so even though pagan classrooms were decorated with representations of various gods and in spite of the fact that the students in these classrooms were expected, even compelled, to take part in pagan religious festivals.

B. Primary Schools

A few municipalities like Miletus and Teos of Asia Minor undertook the support of official primary and secondary schools. They hired the teachers but paid them only slightly more than skilled workers. Elsewhere schools were private affairs, commonly small and inadequate, and often with only one teacher. Such teachers depended on meager, sometimes unpaid fees for their living and tended to be socially despised. Classrooms consisted of whatever space was available, perhaps some curtained-off place at the market.

Students began their primary schooling at the age of seven and attended two institutions, the reading school *(didaskaleion)* and the palaestra, which at the primary stage was usually a private institution separate from the municipal gymnasium. Originally children spent all morning at the palaestra in physical education, but by NT times they were only spending the latter part of the morning there (Lucian, *Am.* 44–45; *Par.* 61) with the rest of the day in the *didaskaleion.* Still the Greek emphasis on physical training remained strong and exercised an influence even where Latin was spoken (Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.11.15).

Of special importance for primary education was the *paidagōgos,* a person whose position has no modern equivalent. The *paidagōgos* was the slave who accompanied a child to school and his role tended to be that of a male nursemaid. It is to this custodian that Paul compared the law in Gal 3:24. The *paidagōgos* was not the teacher. The teacher was a *grammatistēs,* known in Latin as a *litterator* or a *ludi magister,* whose main job was teaching children to read aloud (cf. Acts 8:28, 30) and to write.

Reading teachers first taught children to recite the alphabet forward and backward. Then the children learned two-letter syllables (*ba, be, bi, bo, bu, ca, ce,* etc.). Next came whole words with special emphasis on the rare and the archaic as well as on tongue twisters. School vocabulary lists have been found consisting wholly of proper names. After words came reading, not from simplified primers, but from passages out of the finest writers, i.e., those with a style worthy of imitation (such as Homer and Euripides). Having learned to read their selections aloud, students then memorized them for recitation.

In a world without printed books or blackboards, texts had to be hand-copied. Thus, the sooner a student could write, the sooner a student could reproduce the necessary

texts for classroom use. As with reading, the learning of writing also began with individual letters. Usually the teacher would guide a student's hand over sample letters, although Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.1.27) suggests using letters carved in wood to guide the student's stylus. The emphasis was on the ability to copy one's own exercises, not grammar or free composition. In addition, students learned simple arithmetic, which included a system of using the fingers for calculation.

Most children remembered the discipline of their early school days. While Quintilian disapproved of flogging (*Inst.* 1.1.20; 2.15–19; 3.6–18), brutality was the rule. In the 3d century B.C.E. Herodas (Mime 3) vividly depicted a school flogging with a bull-tail lash, and at the end of the 4th century C.E., floggings provided Augustine with the most vivid memories of his schooling (*Conf.* I.14). As for Jewish Hebrew schools, the 2d-century Mishnaic ruling of Abba Saul absolving a teacher who beats a pupil to death speaks for itself (*m. Mak.* 2:2; cf. *b. Sukk.* 29a).

C. Secondary Schools

After the reading school, students might choose to enter a grammar school to study the classics under a *grammatikos* or *kritikos*. Homer held first place among Greek writers, followed by Euripides, Menander, and Demosthenes. Among Latin writers, Virgil was first, followed by Terence, Cicero, and Horace. This pattern molded one's thinking. Students tended to remember the authors they had studied, and Christians were no exception. Thus, Clement of Alexandria in his *Exhortation to the Greeks* cited Homer far more than any other pagan author (39 times), with Euripides placing second (9 times).

The study of classics was divided into four disciplines *(merē)*. The first was textual criticism *(diorthōtikon)*, in which a student's copy of the teacher's text was checked for error. Then came reading aloud *(anagnōstikon)* with proper attention being paid not only to general meaning, but to things such as the meter and genre. Since the manuscripts were written continuously with no spacings between words and few marks of punctuation, fluent reading was difficult. Students therefore needed to prepare a manuscript for reading by adding such helps as accents and small marks to separate individual words. Only then came the actual reading followed by memorization. The third discipline was exegetical *(exēgētikon)* and involved "translating" a given selection from classical, literary Greek into the common *(koinē)* language of the day. To facilitate the process, students made vocabulary lists of literary usages along with their *koinē* equivalents. Other elements of exegesis took the form of a catechism which students memorized. Some catechisms concerned the content of the work being studied. One such catechism on the Iliad has been found. Other catechisms treated more technical aspects, such as details of meter and grammar. The fourth discipline was evaluative *(kritikon)* and was ultimately moral in character. It was believed that one could extract a whole ethical system from the poets in general and from Homer in particular in spite of the obvious problem that the classics contained so much that was immoral. Some interpreters would solve the problem through the use of allegory and so might understand the adultery between Venus and Mars astrologically as representing the conjunction of these planets (see Plutarch, *Mor. Quomodo Adol.* 4 [19F–20B]). Plutarch, however, preferred to look for clues that a poet disapproved of the evil being portrayed (*ibid.* 4 [19A–E]).

Along with reading the classics went writing in the classical style. According to Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.9.1–6), students would learn to write first a strict paraphrase of a simple fable, then a paraphrase that was freer, and finally a simple piece of original composition on a given theme. As sample themes he suggested, "When Cratus saw an ignorant boy, he beat his *paidagōgos*," or, "Since Milo had been accustomed to carrying the calf, he [now] carried the bull."

Such training impressed upon students that only works written in the classical style were worth taking seriously. In most cases the preference was for Attic Greek, but there were exceptions. The dialect of Homer was of course generally praised, and Cicero (*Ad Brut.* 53; cf. 284–91; also *De Or.* 25) defended the Rhodian dialect. Apart from such variation, however, all students learned that serious writers must shun the common *(koinē)* language. *Koinē* Greek was only fit for casual, nonliterary use. It was for this reason that Josephus wisely arranged to have his writings styled by experts (*Ant* 20.263; *AgAp* 1.50; cf. *JW* 1.2; *Ant* 1.2). The *koinē* Greek of the NT sounded barbarous enough in the ears of the educated that it had to be defended by the early Church (Tatian, *Ad Gr.* 26–30; Origen, *Comm. in Rom.* 4:23 [Scherer ed.]; Jerome, *Ep.* 22:30).

All the subjects studied in Hellenistic and Roman schools were collectively known as the *egkyklios paideia*, the ancient equivalent of the "liberal arts." Apart from reading and composition, opinions differed over what other subjects should be studied. Quintilian's list is typical. He included music and more mathematics (*Inst.* 1.10.1–49). Music was largely musical theory. Mathematics on this level included geometry (Euclid), astronomy, and numbers; and numbers included not only arithmetic but also the aesthetic properties of numbers, e.g., perfect numbers and friendly numbers (Nicomachus of Gerasa, *Ar.* I.14.1–1; 17.3–5). In fact, Nicomachus of Gerasa composed a whole Pythagorean theology of arithmetic *(Theologoumena Arithmētichēs)* on the mystical property of numbers.

D. Higher Education

After secondary school, young Greeks of good family commonly rounded off their education in an institution known as the *ephēbeia*. Many others chose the serious study of rhetoric. Somewhat fewer chose to study one of the philosophies. Other options were the study of medicine or law. In NT times, Rome was the center for legal training (Aulus Gellius, *NA* 13.13.1), although in the later empire Constantinople and particularly Berytus (modern Beirut) eclipsed Rome in this area. The great centers for the study of medicine included Alexandria, Cos, Pergamum, Smyrna, Corinth, and Ephesus. These centers commony had medical teachers loosely organized into a kind of medical faculty. At Ephesus the association *(synedrion)* of physicians used to sponsor yearly medical competition with contests in various aspects of the field (Keil 1905: 128–29). Such organizations, however, were no guarantee of reliable medical practice. Standards varied. A physician might have finished grammar school and then studied for many years at one of the major medical centers; but

humble apprenticeships were more the rule, apprenticeships as short as six months (Galen, *Opera* [Kuhn ed.], vol. 1, pp. 82–83; vol. 10, pp. 4–5). Thus the NT reference to "Luke the beloved physician" (Col 4:14) tells little about his education and training.

More important in the ancient world were the Hellenistic *ephēbeia* and its Roman equivalent, the *collegia juvenum*. Originally an instrument of military training, by Hellenistic times the *ephēbeia* had become an exclusive municipal male finishing school housed in the gymnasium where future aristocrats *(ephēboi)* leisurely pursued their studies with an emphasis on physical education. Apart from athletics, learning as not rigorous. Even though various grammarians, rhetoricians, and philosophers offered courses on a variety of subjects and even though the students usually had a library available, the time for study was relatively short. Students on the island of Chios were serving three years in the *ephēbeia* (Dittenberger 1960: no. 959), but one or two years was more the norm, with much of that time spent at the palaestra and the stadium. The importance of the *ephēbeia* lay, however, not in its curriculum, but in its social significance. Study in the *ephēbeia* certified that one was truly civilized (i.e., Hellenized) and was essential for full social and political acceptance. Thus, according to 2 Macc 4:9, 12, the high priest Jason established "a gymnasium and *ephēbeion*" in Jerusalem to demonstrate his Hellenism.

Serious higher education generally meant the study of rhetoric, a discipline which scholars like Cicero and Quintilian considered normative. One began rhetoric with learning the five steps for speech preparation: invention of ideas, arrangement, style, memorization, and delivery. Each of these steps was an elaborate discipline in itself with its own rules and systems. In fact, Quintilian devoted the bulk of his work on education (Books 3–9) simply to the elaboration of these five steps, nor was he exceptional in this respect. In the 2d century C.E., Theon listed thirty-six categories under which one might invent material for lauding the subject of an encomium. Then he showed how to expand this material, for example by making comparisons. He even showed how to praise subjects who were otherwise unpraiseworthy in areas such as parentage or citizenship. As for the other steps of speech preparation, teachers of rhetoric developed them to a similar extent. The arrangement of the oration proper fell under five or six headings, each with its own rules. Style and memory both had their own subdivisions and techniques. Delivery involved not only voice production and the theory of musical intonation, but also a system of gestures, which was almost detailed enough to stand alone as a sign language (see, e.g., Quintilian, *Inst.* 11.3.96).

Although much of the study of rhetoric involved the study of the rules, students also analyzed model passages from the great prose writers. These typically included Cicero, Livy, Cato, the Gracchi, and the ten Attic orators from the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.E. After the analysis of such model passages, the students practiced writing preparatory exercises of their own. Only then were they ready to compose full speeches on given subjects. The whole discipline of rhetoric, however, included much more than the art of public speaking. Since an orator had to be able to give a discourse on any subject, it was necessary for him to study all subjects (Cicero, *De Or.*, Book 1). The study of rhetoric, therefore, became the ancient equivalent to studying for a degree in liberal arts, i.e., the *egkyklios paideia*.

The study of philosophy generally presupposed a secondary education, although some schools were not overly strict in this regard. What they universally demanded, however, was some separation from the general culture. In this respect the Cynics were extremists; yet all philosophical schools were at least somewhat sectarian in their view of society. They expected a kind of "conversion" from their members, which was outwardly expressed by a special philosopher's garb such as Justin Martyr once wore (*Dial.* 1.2; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.11.8).

Even though the different schools of philosophy varied widely, there was a certain general pattern of study. Instruction typically started with the history of philosophy beginning with Thales. This was followed by some general instruction on the school's own philosophical teachings. Then came a more detailed study of the school's basic writings.

Not all learning of philosophy, however, took place in institutions. Learning might come about in any of three ways. First, one might listen to wandering lecturers and preachers. They were typically Cynics or Stoics, not unlike the Epicureans and Stoics whom Acts 17:18 portrays encountering Paul in Athens. By listening to such preachers many in the ancient world received a smattering of philosophy. It is therefore rash to assume that philosophical allusions in a Jewish or Christian writing implies that its author had deep knowledge of the philosophies behind the allusions. Secondly, an aspiring student might attend the lectures that private philosophy teachers gave on a regular basis. Epictetus, the Stoic philosopher, became such a lecturer in 89 C.E. after the emperor Domitian had exiled him to the western coast of Greece. In 2d-century Rome, Justin Martyr, Marcion, and Valentinus would have resembled such private philosophy teachers. Thirdly, as with rhetoric, one might study philosophy in established institutions. Athens was the oldest center in which Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno established their institutions during the 4th century B.C.E. Rivaling Athens was Alexandria. Here the center of scholarly study was the great Museum, which was founded around 280 B.C.E. In fact, Alexandria surpassed Athens in certain areas of higher learning. Thus, for example, the Alexandrian reputation in astronomy led the Church to depend on Alexandria for calculating the date of Easter (Cyril of Alexandria, *Ep.* [*Prologus*] 87.2). In the 1st century Vespasian set a precedent by establishing chairs of Latin and Greek rhetoric at Rome with salaries from the imperial treasury (Suetonius, *Vesp.* 18). In the following century Marcus Aurelius added state chairs at Athens for every branch of knowledge (Dio Cassius 72.32.3).

E. Jewish Education

Throughout the world of the NT many Jews received a standard Hellenistic education. They had accepted much of the culture surrounding them and were anxious for their children to share in the benefits which this culture offered. Thus it is not surprising that the edict of the Emperor Claudius to the Alexandrians (41 C.E.) represents

a situation in which some Jews had enrolled their children as *ephēboi* while others were attempting to do so, and Alexandria was not a special situation. Lists of *ephēboi* containing Jewish names have been found throughout the Hellenistic Roman world (Applebaum 1974–76: 446–48). There were other Jews, however, who preferred a Hebrew education. They had their children learn Scripture and Jewish tradition rather than Homer along with the rest of the *egkyklios paideia*.

Jewish Hebrew schools apparently arose after Hellenistic schools were well established. The earliest reference to a Hebrew secondary school is provided by Ben Sira at the beginning of the 2d century B.C.E. (Sir 51:23), but there is little evidence for the existence of Hebrew primary schools until the 1st century C.E. (see *j. Ketub.* 8.11 [32c]). In fact they were probably not widespread until the middle of the next century (*b. B. Bat.* 21a; cf. *b. Sanh.* 17b [Bar.]). Perhaps one reason for the relatively late development of Hebrew primary schools was the biblical injunction to teach children Scripture at home (Deut 4:9; 6:7; 11:19). In any case, at home or in school, Jewish boys learned to read well enough to take part in synagogue services (cf. Luke 4:16–20; Josephus, *AgAp* 1.60). There is also some evidence for teaching Torah to Jewish girls since the Mishnah (*Soṭa* 3.4) records a controversy on the subject between Ben Azzai and R. Eliezer around the end of the 1st century C.E. Ben Azzai argued that one is obligated to teach a daughter Torah, but the conservative R. Eliezer replied that to teach a daughter Torah was to teach her immorality.

Since ancient Jews and Greeks lived in relatively close proximity, it is not surprising to find elements of Hellenistic education in Jewish schools; and these similarities existed not only in Greco-Roman Jewish communities like the one in Rome where synagogue teachers were called *grammatei*, but even in rabbinic circles. It can hardly be a coincidence that Hebrew and Greek teachers used quite similar methods for teaching the alphabet and that rabbinic principles of scriptural interpretation had their Hellenistic counterparts (see Liebermann 1962: 47–82). In addition, rabbinic education took place in three stages that parallel the three in Hellenistic education (*ʾAbot* 5.21).

The Hebrew primary school (*bēt sēper* or *bēt sôpēr*) was taught by a scribe (*soper*) and had a curriculum not too different from Hellenistic reading schools, except for the use of Hebrew in place of Greek or Latin and the Bible in lieu of Homer and the classics. Like their Greek and Roman counterparts, Jewish students in Hebrew school began with the alphabet, which they learned to recite forward and backward (*b. Šabb.* 31a). After learning the alphabet, they proceeded directly to the reading of the biblical text. There was no intermediate study of syllables because Hebrew lacked written vowels; and since one could scarcely sound out vowelless words, reading was necessarily a matter of memory. Other differences from Greek schools arose from various precepts regarding the copying and general use of Scripture, e.g., the prohibition of copying Scripture from dictation. Besides the reading and probably the writing of Scripture, these Jewish elementary students learned to recite essential parts of the Jewish liturgy as well as how to do *targum* ("translation") in areas where Aramaic was spoken.

The Jewish secondary school (*bēt midrāš*) was concerned with the study of oral Torah. Oral Torah was the tradition of the Jewish *ʾAbot* ("fathers") and, as its name suggests, was not written down (at least not officially) but passed from the mouth of the teacher into the ears of the student. It took two forms: *Midrash*, which arranged this oral tradition as a kind of scriptural commentary, and *Mishnah*, which used a topical arrangement. Paul refers to oral Torah in Gal 1:14 as "the traditions of my fathers," and states that he had been "extremely zealous" for them, presumably at the time of his Damascus experience. This statement indicates that he reached at least the second level of Jewish education.

After studying oral Torah, a student might choose to study advanced scriptural interpretation and juridical learning, along with subjects like astronomy, mathematics, and mystical speculation. At this level it was common for students to become disciples of some great scholar. The NT represents Jesus as such a scholar-teacher surrounded by disciples, although it is doubtful whether Jesus' disciples had the academic qualifications that other great teachers would have expected. It is also unlikely that Acts 22:3 is correct in stating that the apostle Paul had advanced to studying under a teacher as famous as Gamaliel. The Pauline epistles (in spite of claims to the contrary) show little evidence that their author had reached this level of rabbinic education. Paul's scriptural interpretation is far closer to the general exegetical methods common throughout the Greco-Roman world than to specific rules of exegesis as used in early rabbinic works such as the *Mek. R. Ishmael* (see Liebermann 1962: 47–82).

Not all traditional Jewish education involved formal study. On Sabbaths and holidays Jewish scholars regularly preached in the synagogues and in doing so reached a large audience. There is some doubt about just where these homilies fitted into the liturgy (i.e., whether they introduced Scripture readings or came after them), but their popularity is undisputed. In time such homilies, or outlines for them, were arranged according to the order of the lectionary and strung together to form homiletic *Midrashim*. These preachers would have resembled Greek philosophy lecturers, except that the Jewish teachers were more popular and probably exercised more influence.

Among the Essenes there was a more intensive pattern of general education. The Dead Sea Scrolls speak of the continual study of Torah as their goal so that in any community of ten people one person was searching out Torah day and night (1QS 6:6–7). Philo gives a somewhat less mechanical picture of how Essenes studied (Philo, *Quod Omn* 80–82), but leaves little doubt that the Essenes had a reputation for taking the study of Torah very seriously.

In two areas Jewish children might receive special training that had nothing to do with Scripture and tradition. The first was vocational. A relatively early rabbinic saying clearly obligates a father not only to circumcise his son and teach him the Torah, but also "to teach him a trade" (*t. Qidd.* 1.11). Here Jewish attitudes differed from the general culture of the ancient world, which regarded manual labor and higher learning as incompatible. Thus, it is in keeping with Jewish culture for the author of Acts to represent Paul as a tentmaker by trade (18:3; cf. 1 Cor 4:12).

The other special area of Jewish education involved the study of Greek, although the place of Greek in rabbinic education is difficult to determine. In spite of the many rabbinic warnings against Greek wisdom, there is little evidence of an absolute ban against the language itself. Some knowledge of Greek was necessary for communicating with the civil government and the world at large. Although it is unlikely that Greek found a regular place in rabbinic schools, there is evidence that some who chose a traditional Jewish alternative to Hellenistic schools still achieved a certain proficiency in Greek. A notable example is Paul. Even though he never used the polished literary Greek taught in Hellenistic schools, he nevertheless had learned to communicate quite well in the common *(koinē)* Greek of everyday speech. Other Jews attained a more acceptable style than Paul, and in the 4th century C.E. a Jewish patriarch (probably Gamaliel VI) was able to carry on a written correspondence in Greek with Libanius of Antioch, the most famous rhetorician of his day. Eight of the letters from Libanius have survived (Stern 1974–78, 2: 580–99), and they indicate that he regarded the patriarch as a person with an accomplished Hellenistic education.

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JOHN T. TOWNSEND

EGERTON PAPYRUS 2. Papyrus Egerton 2 (P. Lond. Christ. 1) consists of some small fragments of an early Christian papyrus codex which contained a Gospel-type document. This document, otherwise unattested, is often called "the Unknown Gospel." Four fragments of this codex were found in 1934 among a miscellaneous group of ancient papyri purchased by the British Museum from an antiquities dealer. The place of their discovery is not known, but may have been Oxyrhynchus. Quite recently a fifth fragment of the same codex has been identified among the Cologne papyri (inv. 608, nr. 255).

The five small fragments now known preserve parts of three leaves of the original codex. Fragment 1 (11.5 × 9.2 cm.) carries parts of 20 lines of text on each side; fragment 2, only slightly larger, preserves parts of 17 lines on the recto and 16 on the verso; fragment 3 (3.6 × 2.3 cm.) offers only small parts of 6 lines on each side; fragment 4 is a mere scrap, blank on the recto and showing only one character on the verso. The newly identified fragment 5 (5.5 × 3 cm.) contributes parts of 7 lines on each side, which continue the text of fragment 1. Thus only fragments 1 (+ 5) and 2 provide significant portions of text.

The interest and value of this text are far larger than the fragments themselves. The ms is dated on paleographical grounds to the 2d century, and most consider it to be not later than ca. 150. Thus it is one of the earliest surviving ms of any Christian writing, rivaled only by P^{52}, and is the very earliest surviving ms of any noncanonical Christian text. Furthermore, the content of the papyrus bears upon questions about the early history of traditions about Jesus and upon problems in the emergence and use of gospel literature.

Since the original sequence of the fragments cannot be determined, their substance can only be itemized: (1) part of a controversy between Jesus and Jewish leaders over the interpretation of Scripture and the authority of Moses (fr. 1 v. + fr. 5 v.), which has some parallels in John 5:39, 5:45, 9:29 and 5:46; (2) the conclusion of a story of an attempt to stone and to arrest Jesus (fr. 1 r. + fr. 5 r.), which has some parallels in John 7:30, 10:31 and 39; (3) a virtually complete story of Jesus' healing of a leper (also fr. 1 r. + fr. 5 r.), which has features in common with Mark 1:40–45 (and parallels), Luke 17:11–19, and John 5:14; (4) part of an account of a controversy concerning tribute money (fr. 2 r.), elements of which are also found in John 3:2, Mark 12:13–17 (and parallels), and Luke 6:26; (5) part of a report of a nature miracle of Jesus at the Jordan river (fr. 2 v.), for which no parallels are known.

The similarities and differences between this "Unknown Gospel" and the canonical Gospels present a puzzling picture. In its structure, which appears to be provided only by loosely linked pericopes, the "Unknown Gospel"

closely resembles the Synoptics. The vocabulary and style of the papyrus are closer to those of Luke than of any other gospel, but the most striking similarities of content (including some verbatim agreements) are with John. It is also noteworthy that incidents in the papyrus which resemble incidents in the Synoptics are recounted with some marked differences from the synoptic reports, and that those which resemble the gospel of John in content are stylistically closer to the Synoptics. Such peculiarities make it very difficult to determine what sort of relationship, if any, obtains between the "Unknown Gospel" and the canonical Gospels, and scholarly judgments have varied widely. On the one hand, it has been argued that the "Unknown Gospel" is somehow dependent on one or more of the canonical Gospels. Various scholars have considered that it is drawn, probably by memory rather than through direct literary dependence, from all the canonical Gospels, but enriched with additional material (Jeremias *NTApocr* 1: 94–97; Gallizia 1956; Vielhauer 1975: 635–39; Wright 1985), in which case the papyrus might be regarded as a gospel harmony rather than as a gospel in its own right. Another has found evidence in the papyrus only for its literary dependence on the gospel of John, supposing that for the rest it relies on independent oral tradition (Dodd 1936). On the other hand, it has been claimed that the "Unknown Gospel" is not derivative from any of the canonical Gospels but is an early and independent redaction of tradition (Bell and Skeat 1935; Mayeda 1946). Some have gone still further to suggest that the "Unknown Gospel," far from being derivative, is perhaps itself a source of the gospel of Mark (Crossan 1985) or the gospel of John (Koester 1983).

While none of these possibilities can be excluded out of hand, the newly identified fragment (fr. 5) underscores the relationship of the papyrus with the gospel of John, which, as P^{52} shows, was in use in Egypt by the early 2d century. This strengthens the likelihood of literary dependence on John, and yet it remains conceivable that both the "Unknown Gospel" and the gospel of John drew on a common source. There are, however, no compelling reasons to think that the papyrus is dependent on any of the Synoptic Gospels as opposed to oral tradition, and even those who allege dependence on them must acknowledge that it is neither direct nor exclusive. Hence the question of the literary relationships of the papyrus to other known documents is still open to debate.

Too little remains of the document to draw conclusions about its original scope, general character, or purpose, all of which are uncertain. Presumably it contained a passion narrative, since reference is made to "the hour of his betrayal" (fr. 1 r.). Characteristic redactional tendencies cannot be ascertained in so small a sample, though the double vocative "Teacher Jesus" (twice, fr. 1 r. and fr. 2 r.) is unique, and the use of catchwords for linking purposes can be observed (the latter telling in favor of composition from memory). It has been theorized that the "Unknown Gospel" was composed for private and domestic rather than public and liturgical use (Mayeda 1946), but there is no good evidence for this. It may very well have been a gospel of the same order as other early gospels. The fact that it is attested only in this papyrus and finds neither echo nor reference in subsequent Christian literature may be explained as well on the assumption of strictly provincial use and/or by appeal to the fortuitous character of such evidence.

Finally, it should be noticed that the papyrus has some interest for early Christian paleography and codicology. It is a very early witness for the Christian convention of *nomina sacra* (see Roberts 1979), and an interesting one, since some of its contractions are unusual and even unparalleled. It also provides early attestation for the preference of Christianity for the codex or leaf book, as opposed to the roll, for the transcription of Christian literature of a "scriptural" type.

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HARRY Y. GAMBLE

EGLAH (PERSON) [Heb *ʿeglâ*]. A wife of David and mother of Ithream (2 Sam 3:5 = 1 Chr 3:3). Little is known of Eglah or her son. She appears as the sixth and last wife/mother mentioned in two lists of David's sons born in Hebron (2 Sam 3:2–5 and 1 Chr 3:1–3). Eglah is distinguished from the other five by her designation as David's "wife." Whether or not this epithet indicates that Eglah held a favored position (Hertzberg *1–2 Samuel* OTL, 254) is difficult to establish. Jerome (*Quest. Heb.* on 2 Sam 3:5) identifies Eglah with Michal, David's first wife, and suggests she died giving birth to Ithream. No indication in the text supports this speculation.

The list of wives and sons in 2 Sam 3:2–5 serves both a genealogical and literary function. 2 Sam 3:1 notes that David grew "stronger and stronger," while his enemy Saul grew "weaker and weaker." This general statement about David's strength is made specific by the genealogical list in

vv 2–5. The increase of David's strength is mirrored in the increase of his wives (i.e., Eglah) and sons. See also DAVID (PERSON); ITHREAM (PERSON).

LINDA S. SCHEARING

EGLAIM (PLACE) [Heb *ʿeglayīm*]. A town mentioned in the oracle against Moab in Isa 15:8. The context and poetic parallelism of this verse make it likely that Eglaim was located near one of Moab's boundaries, at the extremity opposite Beer-elim.

Although its exact location remains uncertain, several proposals have been made. Eusebius mentions Agallim, a site located 8 Roman miles S of Areopolis (modern Rabbah); the only ruin in this vicinity is Rujm el-Jilimeh (M.R. 217064), an amorphous heap of stones. Just over 4 miles further S is Kh. Jeljul, but its pottery seems to point to occupation only in the Nabataean and Roman periods. Aharoni tentatively identified Eglaim with Mazraʿ, on the E side of the Lisan (*LBHG*, 32).

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

EGLATH-SHELISHIYAH (PLACE) [Heb *ʿeglat šēlīšiyyâ*]. Hebrew for "the third Eglath," a place name mentioned in oracles against Moab in Isa 15:5 and Jer 48:34. Its location is so uncertain that no identification has been widely accepted.

The ASV and RSV, along with a majority of translations, follow the LXX and regard Eglath-shelishiyah as the name of a town. Conversely, the KJV translates these Hebrew words as "an heifer of three years old" (i.e., a calf not yet broken to the yoke). Such figurative language appears elsewhere in the OT (e.g., Jer 46:20; Hos 10:11) and could refer, in Isa 15:5 and Jer 48:34, to the as yet unconquered towns of Zoar and Horonaim.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

EGLON (PERSON) [Heb *ʿeglôn*]. The obese king of Moab who, allied with the Ammonites and Amalekites, subjugated Israel for eighteen years during the period of the judges until he suffered an ignominious assassination at the hands of EHUD, son of Gera, the Benjaminite "savior" (*môšîʿa;* Judg 3:12–30).

The setting of the episode is not entirely clear from the geographical data supplied by the narrative (e.g., on the location of SEIRAH [PLACE] in v 26, see Soggin *Judges* OTL, 52; Knauf 1988: 64). It is possible that the narrative embellishment of this story has, to some extent, displaced historical details in the account (Soggin 1989). However, in its present literary form, the reference to the city of palms (v 13) is presumably Jericho, which was occupied, not destroyed, by Eglon (note Deut 34:3; 2 Chr 28:15; see CITY OF PALM TREES [PLACE]). Also, from context, it seems probable that Eglon received tribute from Ehud at this location (Josephus *Ant* 5.187; see Soggin *Judges* OTL, 53–54). However, some, for example Kraeling (1935: 205), have proposed that Eglon was at his capital, perhaps Medeba, in Transjordan; and Mittmann (1977: 227–29) has suggested that the "city of palms" originally designated Tamar (M.R. 173024) SW of the Dead Sea rather than Jericho at its NW end.

According to the account, after Ehud completed his diplomatic mission and dismissed his retinue, he obtained a private audience with Eglon by informing him that he had a "secret word" (or "thing," *dĕbar-sēter*) to give him. When alone, Ehud surprised the king by reaching unsuspiciously with his left hand for the dagger hidden at his right side. Taking advantage of the obese king's efforts to stand up, Ehud plunged the blade, handle and all, into Eglon's belly of fat.

Despite the attention to detail, the story is confounded by both incongruities in the narrative (e.g., vv 18–19; cf. explanation by Kraeling 1935: 205–7) and obscure lexical forms. The latter is particularly vexing in the finale. After Ehud stabs Eglon, leaving the dagger lodged in his belly, v 22b adds the phrase *wayyēṣē᾽ happaršĕdōnâ*. However, *paršĕdōnâ* is a *hapax legomenon* which has been variously interpreted. The RSV translates this as "dirt" (i.e., feces), in the phrase, "and the dirt came out," the result of either the puncturing of the colon, or a post-mortem release of the intestines (so also *Targum Jonathan* and Vulgate; see Moore *Judges* ICC, 97). Halpern (1988a: 40, 69, n. 3) translates it as "anal sphinchter." The LXX omits the phrase entirely. Perhaps the episode of Joab's execution of Amasa in 2 Samuel 20 may shed light on this incident. The actions and outcome are remarkably similar to the Eglon-Ehud story: Joab approaches Amasa, grasps Amasa's beard with his right hand to kiss him, and with his left hand he reaches for the dagger hidden under his garment (vv 8–10a). Only one thrust of the blade is needed (v 10b), and Amasa "shed his bowels (*mēʿāyw*) to the ground." Whatever the exact meaning of *paršĕdōnâ* in the Eglon-Ehud story, the context seems to indicate some sort of "bowel movement" as a result of the death blow, since his guards later assume that he is relieving himself when they find the door locked (vv 24–25). Consequently, this supplies valuable time for Ehud to escape, assemble the Israelite militia, and cut off the Moabite troops at the fords of the Jordan River.

The episode is framed in typical Deuteronomistic language and in the repetition characteristic of the book of Judges: (1) because the people of Israel "did what was evil in the sight of the Lord," they were given into the power of an enemy (vv 12–14); (2) when they cried out to the Lord, he raised a deliverer, who subdued the enemy and gave rest to the land (vv 15a, 30); and (3) a period of faithfulness was followed again by the people's apostasy and the appointment by Yahweh of an enemy as an instrument of punishment (4:1; see Mayes *Judges* OTG, 18–19; but cf. Greenspahn 1986).

However, while the context of this narrative served as a theological vehicle, the story was also valued as entertainment (e.g., see Koch 1969: 138–40). Especially notable is its use of satire and irony. For example, the native reader (or hearer) would immediately catch the play on Eglon's name, which recalls both "calf" (*ʿēgel, ʿeglâ*) and "rotund" (*ʿâgôl, ʿāgōl*). The description of Eglon as "very fat" (*bārîʾ mĕʾōd*, v 17), is echoed in the description of his troops as "plump" or "fat" (*šāmēn*, v 29). (Note also the lines in the Ugaritic Kirta story [*KTU* 1.15 IV:4, 15]: *šmn mri*, "fattest of the fatlings," in which *šāmēn* modifies *mĕrîʾ*, a form

phonetically related to *bārî'*, "fat.") Similarly, Ehud's designation as a Benjaminite (lit. "son of the right") adds to the irony of his left-handed intrigue. The scatological details of the assassination, highlighting the humiliating effectiveness of the deed (vv 21–23), heighten the satire of the story. Even the description of the confused guards in vv 24–25 borders on slapstick, were it not for the sobering discovery on the other side of the door. The course of events, too, is enriched by ironic wordplays. For example, Ehud's pretext for revisiting the king is an extended pun on his actual intention: Ehud's "word" (*dābār*, vv 19, 20) which he has for Eglon is, in a sense, "spoken" by the dagger's two edges (*pēyôt*, lit. "mouths," v 16; see Good 1965: 33–34). Similarly, the narrative balances the dramatic action around a single verb: Ehud's "thrusting" (*tq'*) the sword into Eglon's belly (v 21) is followed by his "blowing" (*tq'*) the trumpet to rally the Israelites and complete the *coup d'état* (v 27). For further observations on these and other features of the narrative art of this episode, see Alonso-Schökel (1961: 148–58) and Alter (1981: 37–41).

Presumably the text reflects a period when Moab had penetrated into Benjaminite and Ephraimite territory from Transjordan (see Donner 1984: 158). In the 9th century B.C.E., the situation was reversed when Mesha, king of Moab, was obliged to deliver tribute to the king of Israel until he successfully overthrew Israelite domination (2 Kings 3; note also MESHA STELE [*KAI* #181; *ANET*, pp. 320–21, esp. lines 1–9]). Ironically, Mesha's name (*mêša'*), like Ehud's epithet, means "savior." It seems altogether fitting that the "savior" in the Eglon-Ehud story is a Benjaminite, since in the biblical tradition Jericho was assigned to the tribe of Benjamin in the original division of the land (Josh 18:21). Later indication of Moabite influence in the Benjaminite genealogy is suggested by the list of names recorded in 1 Chr 8:8–10. See also MOAB (PLACE) D.4.; and MESHA (PERSON).

Rabbinic tradition identifies Eglon as both the grandson of Balak, the Moabite king who hired Balaam to curse Israel (Numbers 22–24), and the father or grandfather of Ruth (*Ruth Targum* 1:4; for further references see Levine 1973: 48 n. 6). Aggadic commentary finds a redeeming virtue in Eglon's effort to stand at the "word of God" (Judg 3:20). According to this tradition, the king's pious action received its reward through the inclusion of Ruth in the genealogy of David (Ruth 4:18–22; see *Ruth Rabbah* 2.9; note 1 Sam 22:3–4). Furthermore, because of Ruth's own piety, she would be the ancestor of "the six Righteous of the world," namely, "David, Daniel, his three companions, and the Messiah king" (*Ruth Targum* 3:15). Perhaps the familiarity of the latter tradition also contributed to the inclusion of Ruth in the otherwise selective genealogy of Jesus (Matt 1:5; cf. Luke 3:32).

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JOHN KUTSKO

EGLON (PLACE) [Heb *'eglôn*]. A royal Canaanite city conquered by Joshua (Josh 10:34–35). It was later incorporated into the Judean Shephelah district of Lachish (Josh 15:39). Eglon figures prominently in the narrative of Joshua's conquest of the south (Joshua 10). Debir, king of Eglon, was one of four Amorite kings called upon by Adoni-zedek of Jerusalem to aid him in a war against Gibeon (Josh 10:1–4), which had, through a ruse, allied itself with the Israelites (Joshua 9). Since Debir occurs as a personal name only in v 3 (all other occurrences in the MT being the name of a place; see DEBIR), it has been speculated that in this passage, too, it originally represented a city (Soggin, Joshua OTL, 119; Boling, *Joshua* AB, 280). Eglon subsequently appears only in the list of the thirty-one Canaanite kings defeated by Joshua (12:12) and in the aforementioned list of cities in the Judean Shephelah. On the critical problems of Joshua 10 see Elliger 1934; Wright 1946; Soggin, *Joshua* OTL, 116–32; Boling, *Joshua* AB, 273–95.

The proposed location of Eglon has shifted a number of times over the course of the last century. Both Tel Nagila (Tell Nejileh) and Khirbet 'Ajlan were proposed as possible sites for Eglon in the late 19th century (about the former see Doermann 1987: 130–32 and Wright 1971: 439–40; about the latter see Petrie 1891: 19 and Bliss 1898: 141–42). However, in the 20th century the two leading candidates for Eglon have been Tell el-Hesi (M.R. 124106) and Tell 'Aitun (M.R. 143099). Once Albright (1924: 7–8; 1942: 35–36, 38) had questioned the identification of Lachish with Tell el-Hesi (a site of paramount importance in the history of Palestinian archaeology, since it was there that Petrie first developed the application of stratigraphy and pottery chronology), and had located Lachish instead at Tell ed-Duweir, the way was open for the identification of Eglon with Tell el-Hesi, partly on the basis of the alleged transference of the name to the nearby Khirbet 'Ajlan (but see Rainey 1983: 9–10). This identification has become the most widely accepted (see, e.g., Wright 1971: 440–41).

However, Elliger (1934: 66–68), basing himself on the

geographical progression of Joshua's conquests in Josh 10:28–39 (Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, and Eglon, north to south, "up to" Hebron, "back to" Debir), argued that Eglon was to be sought in the region to the S or SE of Tell ed-Duweir, preferably at Tell Beit Mirsim, or perhaps at Tell ʿAitun. This latter suggestion has been taken up by Noth (*Joshua* HAT, 95) and by Rainey (1980: 197; 1983: 3, 6, 9–10) and would appear to be the current leading contender for Eglon (dissenters include Ahlström [1980], who identifies Tell ʿAitun with Lachish [but see Davies 1982 and subsequent articles in *PEQ*], and Galil [1985: 71], who identifies Tell ʿAitun with Libnah).

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CARL S. EHRLICH

EGYPT (PERSON) [Heb *miṣrayim*]. The second of four "sons" of Ham and the "father" of seven whose *-îm* endings suggest they are to be regarded as peoples (Gen 10:6, 13–14). Egypt appears as a personification of the land of Egypt in the Table of Nations.

RICHARD S. HESS

EGYPT, BROOK OF. The Hebrew expression *naḥal miṣrayim*, "Brook of Egypt," is found only in the OT. It occurs both as a geographical term with reference to the southern border of Judah (Num 34:5; Josh 15:4, 47; 1 Kgs 8:65 = 2 Chr 7:8; Ezek 47:19; 48:28) and as an element in the phrase "from the Brook of Egypt to the river Euphrates" (2 Kgs 24:7) or its reverse (Isa 27:12). This latter phrase is a merism designating the portion of Syro-Palestine between the NE and S borders of the area to which Israel and Judah lay claim.

The expression "Brook of Egypt" is found outside the OT as a geographical term in some Neo-Assyrian documents (AOAT 6: 256). A summary inscription of Tiglath-pileser mentions a campaign to the URU *naḥal muṣur*, "Brook of Egypt," immediately after his conquest of Gaza on the S coastal plain (Alt 1953: 150–62; Tadmor 1966: 88). The use of the cuneiform determinative URU (indicating a region or country) rather than ID (designating a river) seems to indicate that the expression is a toponym in the general sense (Naʾaman 1979). Tiglath-pileser's campaign can be dated during the years 734–732 B.C.

The next mention of the Brook of Egypt is in Sargon II's account of his campaign in the year 716 B.C. The prism fragment contains the phrase *ša patti* URU *naḥal M[uṣur]*, "situated on the border of the Brook of Egypt," (Naʾaman 1979). Another inscription by Sargon II gives the extent of his conquests as ranging from the Elamite border "as far as the Brook of Egypt" (Winckler 1889; Naʾaman 1979). Esarhaddon refers to a city named Arza which is situated near the "Brook of Egypt" (*ANET*, 290). Another more detailed geographical notice found in the annalistic comments regarding his second campaign places Arza "a distance of thirty 'miles' from the town of Aphek [situated] on the border-region of Samaria as far as the town of Raphia, beyond the border of the Brook of Egypt, a place without [flowing] river" (after Naʾaman 1979). The town Arza, probably identical with later Yarda and Orda, should be identified with the toponym Yurza known from Egyptian topographical lists; this leads to an identification of the "Brook of Egypt" with the Nahal Bezor. The commonly suggested equation with the Wadi el ʾArish should be ruled out, at least as far as the earlier lists are concerned (Naʾaman 1979).

Another argument for this location may be the absence of pre-Hellenistic ruins in the vicinity of Wadi el ʾArish. The boundary between Palestine and Egypt stabilized at the latter location only in the Persian period or later (Naʾaman 1979; cf. Rainey 1982).

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M. GÖRG

EGYPT, HISTORY OF. In part because it was one of the greatest political and military powers in antiquity, Egypt had significant contact with the various states and peoples of the Levant. See EGYPTIAN RELATIONS WITH CANAAN. Consequently, much of biblical history is tied in with that of Egypt. This entry, which consists of nine separate articles, surveys the history of ancient Egypt. The first article covers the problems and issues related to

the chronology of ancient Egypt. The remaining eight articles survey Egyptian history from the prehistoric period to the Greco-Roman period.

CHRONOLOGY

This article attempts to survey the available sources used for reconstructing the chronology of ancient Egypt, and provides a construct for dating the major periods of Egyptian history.

A. Sources for Egyptian Chronology
1. Lists of Kings
2. Genealogies Mentioning Kings
3. Original Documents and Archaeological Evidence
4. Synchronisms
5. Astronomical Data
B. Constructing an Egyptian Chronology
1. Predynastic Period
2. Archaic Period
3. Old Kingdom
4. First Intermediate Period
5. Middle Kingdom
6. Second Intermediate Period
7. New Kingdom
8. Third Intermediate Period
9. Late Period

A. Sources for Egyptian Chronology

The ancient Egyptians had no single, continuous era for reckoning the passing of the years, such as our modern use of years counted B.C. and A.D. Instead, for most of their history, the ancient Egyptians dated events and documents by the years of the reigns of their successive kings, the "pharaohs." This system had its origins in the Archaic Period (1st–2d Dynasties), when years were named after important events. Then the habit was established of counting years by "Year of the 1st Cattle-census" of a reign, followed by the "Year *after* the 1st Cattle-census," then the "Year of the 2d Cattle-census" the year after it, and so on (census-years alternating with "after-census" years) through a given king's reign. The whole process began anew with each succeeding king. Eventually, in the later Old Kingdom (later 3d millennium B.C.), this alternating year-numbering gave way to a continuous year-count, e.g., Year 1, Year 2, Year 3, etc., as mentioned above. (On Egyptian reckoning of regnal years, see Gardiner 1945.)

Unfortunately, we do not possess today an ideal, straight, unbroken line of kings' reigns and their lengths in years that would enable us to convert Egyptian years instantly into years B.C. For many kings, we do not know the exact length of the reigns. During the three Intermediate periods in ancient Egyptian history, two or more lines of kings reigned side by side in different parts of Egypt. Therefore, our ancient Egyptian chronology has to be established (and not yet precisely) by making use of a variety of sources. These include ancient lists of kings, sometimes giving their supposed lengths of reign; genealogies giving sequences of people and rulers; original documents citing regnal years of kings, and archaeological evidence; synchronisms between Egyptian and independently dated foreign rulers; and astronomical calculations based on phenomena of the sun, moon, or stars mentioned in ancient texts.

1. Lists of Kings. The seemingly oldest such monument is known to us only from some fragments of an upright slab, the largest being the so-called Palermo Stone (after the town-museum where it resides). When complete, this slab was originally inscribed on both front and back with a series of horizontal registers. Each register was marked off into rectangles, one per year of a king's reign, and each year space was compactly inscribed with a note of events considered important by the ancients. On the front, the top register gave not years but the names of "prehistoric" kings. This monument originally gave the full series of regnal years of all the kings from Menes and the first historic dynasty down to the 5th Dyn. to King Neferirkare or even later (see Helck, *LA*: 652–54; Redford 1986: 87–90, 135–36). Intact, the Palermo Stone would have been invaluable; but the mere fragments that do survive are not enough on which to base a reconstruction that can be generally accepted.

Leaving aside other minor pieces (on which see Redford 1986: 24–29, 34–64), the next equivalent of a king list is the Table of Kings originally inscribed in the Karnak temple at Thebes under Thutmose III in the 15th century B.C. (see Redford 1986: 29–34, 176–78). However, its "display" of bygone monarchs in balancing groups is not very helpful to modern chronologers.

More important are the series of kings named in three monumental king lists of the 19th Dyn. (13th century B.C.). Two are mutual duplicates, inscribed under Seti I and Rameses II in their great temples at Abydos. The other, quite similar, was included in the tomb chapel of the official Tjunuroy at Saqqara. While Tjunuroy omits the first few kings (Redford 1986: 23), these lists are excerpts from a longer tradition, giving the names (in order) of the main kings of the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms (OK, MK, NK; ca. 3000–1250 B.C.). All exclude the female pharaoh Hatshepsut and the Amarna "heresy" kings (disapproved of by later rulers), but the Abydos lists include the Memphite kings who followed the 6th Dyn. (for texts see *KRI* 1: 177–79; *KRI* 2: 539–41; *KRI* 3: 481–82; latest discussion in Redford 1986: 18–24). So far as they go, these selective lists agree both with the evidence of first-hand documents and with the canon of kings transmitted to us by the Turin Papyrus and (a millennium later) in Manetho's work. The three lists from Abydos and Saqqara are in fact offering lists that formed part of the royal cult; nevertheless, they must derive from real, fuller king lists, simply omitting names and numerical data not needed in the limited space available.

A document of far greater extent and importance is a badly damaged papyrus in the Turin Egyptian Museum, known as the Turin Canon of Kings (text in Gardiner 1959; *KRI* 2: 827–44; for hieratic, see plates in Farina 1938). This is an informal copy, made on the reverse of an old tax register of the time of Rameses II. It gives a long list of kings: dynasties of gods and spirits, then historical kings from Menes down to the 17th Dyn., so far as preserved; originally it may have included the 18th and early 19th Dyn., perhaps to Rameses II himself. Regnal years are given for all rulers named (with life spans for early kings), including also months and days for reigns of the

12th Dyn. onward. Comparison of the canon's data with firsthand contemporary evidence indicates that its order of kings (within each dynasty or group) is mostly reliable, but not faultless. Some names have been corrupted by previous recopying, and likewise various figures (but not all). It is an unofficial and imperfect witness to a well-established historical tradition (see discussion in Málek 1982a; von Beckerath 1984; Redford 1986: 2–18, 197–201, contrast p. 5 top with p. 197, n. 238 end), but nevertheless constitutes a clear forerunner to the lists compiled by Manetho a millennium later.

In the transition from the late Persian to the early Ptolemaic period in Egypt (roughly 320 B.C.), we have the so-called Demotic Chronicle (for translations, see Spiegelberg 1914; Bresciani 1969: 551–60). In reality, this is an oracular work with commentary. It names (in order) the kings of the 28th–30th Dyn., differing slightly from Manetho for the order of the 29th Dyn. (cf. Johnson 1974; Ray 1986). See also DEMOTIC CHRONICLE.

Finally, there is the *Aegyptiaka* or "Egyptian History" by Manetho (an Egyptian priest of the 3d century B.C.), written in Greek under Ptolemy II. This work embodied in its narrative various series of kings and reigns. These are grouped in "Dynasties" or families (real or otherwise), with summaries of years of each dynasty, and of longer periods of several dynasties. Except for a few citations in Josephus (1st century A.D.), Manetho's original work is now lost. But at an early date, a basic list of the kings, dynasties, and periodic summaries had been gathered into an *Epitome*. This summary "king list" survives in three versions: in the writings of Africanus (3d century A.D.); Eusebius (4th century A.D.); and George the Syncellus (about 800 A.D.). The Greek text/Latin version with facing English translations is conveniently available in Waddell (1940), along with other Manethonic fragments and pseudo-Manethonic "lists." Even today, the 30 Dynasties given by Manetho are still retained because they provide convenient groupings of Egyptian rulers for historical purposes. However, the names and figures in the *Epitome* have clearly suffered considerable (if uneven) corruption in the course of centuries of repeated hand-copying, and sometimes at the hands of would-be manipulators of ancient chronology. This is clear from the variant names and numbers evident in Africanus, Eusebius, the Syncellus, and Josephus, when compared with firsthand older Egyptian sources, especially from the reigns of individual kings. Thus, Manetho provides only an outline framework; in detail, his data have to be used critically in conjunction with older and original sources.

2. Genealogies Mentioning Kings. There are two types of genealogy: "unitary" and "synthetic." "Unitary" describes an entire genealogy derived from one single monument or document. "Synthetic" denotes genealogies built up by combining data from several different sources. Dating from the Late Period, the most striking "unitary" genealogy is that preserved on the tomb relief Berlin 23673 (see Borchardt 1935: 96–112, pls. 2–2a), which provides a sequence of 60 generations extending back from the priest Ankhefen-Sekhmet, who flourished ca. 750 B.C. under Shoshenq V. Going back through time, beginning with the 11th generation before himself, this man included the cartouches of kings (supposedly contemporaries of various ancestors) alongside the names of at least 26 of the 49 generations from the 11th back to the 60th. While a few anomalies occur (see Kitchen 1986: 187–90, 560), the overall span of kings and generations compares well with results obtained from other evidence. For the 21st Dyn., the genealogy itself is confirmed by another monument that belonged to another branch of the same family (Louvre C.96; see Malinine, Posener, and Vercoutter 1968: 48–49, pl. 4, No. 52).

Under this head may also be mentioned the famous genealogy of Pasenhor from the Serapeum (from Year 37 of Shoshenq V, ca. 731 B.C.), which lists his forebears back to the 17th generation—the 8th down to 5th previous generations were the kings we know today as Shoshenq I (biblical Shishak) to Osorkon II of the 22d Dyn., the 17th to 9th ancestors being also those of Shoshenq I (for text, see Malinine, Posener, and Vercoutter 1968: 30–31, pl. 10, No. 31; discussion in Kitchen 1986: 105–6, 109–12).

"Synthetic" genealogies come closer to contemporary sources. Thus if three men, C, B, and A, each mention their contemporary king (Z, Y, and X), and C is son of B and grandson of A, then we have three generations A, B, and C, which in turn establish a basic parallel series of kings, X, Y, and Z, contained within a time span (biologically) of 60 years or so. Naturally, allowance must be made for kings who had ruled (if briefly) between X and Y, or Y and Z, but not mentioned by the sources concerned. This kind of evidence—combining the data from a group of documents—is especially useful in the Third Intermediate Period, ca. 1070–660 B.C. (see Kitchen 1986: 90, 106–9, 112, etc., particularly 187–239 passim), but applies also to all earlier periods, e.g., the mass of data concerning the royal workmen at Deir el-Medina in the New Kingdom (see, e.g., Bierbrier 1975).

3. Original Documents and Archaeological Evidence. Most valuable are the explicitly dated texts and monuments that bear the names and year dates of particular kings. Such datelines can confirm or correct the later record of the king lists. The range and sheer bulk of such data forbid any detailed list here.

Archaeological findings can add fresh dimensions to our historical understanding. For example, the recently documented growth of Memphis eastward during the NK (see Jeffreys 1985: 48 and passim) transforms our understanding of the history of Egypt's longest-serving capital city. It can also solve a puzzle in the narrative of Herodotus on Egypt, where two kings with the same name (Asychis) are confused as one (Kitchen 1988: 148–51). Proper historical sequence can also be verified archaeologically. For example, the fact that Shoshenq III cut up a great colossus of Rameses II to build his own main gateway at Tanis proves conclusively that the Ramesside kings preceded the 22d Dyn.

4. Synchronisms. The ancient Egyptians did not live in total isolation. By trade, or in war and peace, they had contacts with neighboring cultures and rulers. In the earliest periods, these linkups are archaeological and (in years) only approximate, not precise. Thus, links can be seen with Protoliterate Mesopotamia, as well as Early Bronze Age Palestine and Syria during the late Predynastic (prehistoric) period through the Archaic Period (1st and

2d Dyn.) into the OK (see Kantor 1965: 10–19 with references; Gophna in Rainey 1987: 13–21).

Later in the 3d millennium B.C., we have a link in the 6th Dyn. with the Syrian Early Bronze Age IV, provided by finds of stone vessels naming Khephren (Khafre) and Pepi I at Ebla (Scandone Matthiae 1979a: 33–43, figs 11–14).

In the early 2d millennium B.C., cross-links are still limited. The Tod treasure (a temple foundation-deposit) includes varied material from Western Asia; the cartouche of Amenemhet II provides an upper limit, but the actual date of deposit can be much later (Kemp and Merrilees 1980, Appendix II, correcting Kantor 1965: 19). Equally vague (in terms of cross-dating) is Minoan pottery in 13th-Dyn. (not 12th) deposits at Kahun. Turning to inscriptional data, it may be possible to link up Neferhotep I of the 13th Dyn., via Yantin(-Ammu) of Byblos, indirectly with Zimrilim of Mari, who in turn was a contemporary of Hammurabi of Babylon. But a strictly fixed and agreed date is not yet available for Neferhotep or Hammurabi (Kitchen 1987a: 48; Franke 1988: 273–74).

During the NK (late 2d millennium B.C.), we have far more evidence. The great pharaohs of the 18th and 19th Dyn. engaged in war and diplomacy with the "great kings" of Hatti, Mitanni, Assyria, and Babylon, besides vassals in the Levant and important smaller states such as Ugarit. Given the high accuracy of Mesopotamian dates during the 10th to 5th centuries B.C., and the close limits (within a decade or so) for such dates back to ca. 1400 B.C., the Mesopotamian data are of value in helping to set limits for Hittite and Egyptian dates for the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.

In the 1st millennium B.C., close dating becomes better as time passes. During the 22d Dyn., from Soshenq I to Osorkon IV, occasional cross-links with the Hebrew kingdoms and Assyria complete and confirm the general dates obtainable by dead reckoning of reigns before the 25th Dyn. In turn, the 25th and 26th Dyn. were involved with Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian rulers, for most of whom we have very precise dates based on firsthand cuneiform sources. These dynasties and Egypt in the time of the Persian Empire and after are enmeshed by classical writers and chronographers with later classical history and chronology (from Herodotus onward) down to Roman times.

5. Astronomical Data. In the past, vigorous attempts have been made to fix ancient Egyptian dates more precisely by using astronomy to set dates for mentions of new moons or so-called "heliacal" risings of the Dog Star, Sothis, in ancient sources. But here, too, various uncertainties make it difficult to reach firm results.

The problem with records of observations of the new moon is that any particular rising in the Egyptian calendar will be repeated every 25 years precisely, in an unending cycle (Parker 1976: 180–81; 1957a). Thus, we need to know in advance (within half a century) the general date of a given mention. Usable lunar dates are found in the Lahun papyri of the late 12th Dyn., and in Year 52 of Rameses II, which can be utilized within a wider frame of dates established on other grounds. However, attempts to turn most Egyptian festival dates into lunar dates for chronological purposes (so Kraus 1985: 136–63) are premature and too theoretical to be of any use at present.

So-called Sothic dates operate on a far grander scale, based on the slight difference in length between the Egyptian civil calendar and the real solar calendar. The latter is (in practice) 365¼ days long. But it is not convenient to work with a quarter of a day. So, since every four years the four quarters add up to one whole day, we maintain a calendar of 365 days per year, but with a leap year of 366 days (the extra day) every four years. Consequently, our calendar stays basically in line with the year as expressed by the movements of sun and earth, and so with the seasons.

However, the ancient Egyptians did not operate as we do. Probably in the early 3d millennium B.C. (see Parker 1950: 53 and generally), the Egyptians instituted a calendar of 12 months of 30 days each, plus "5 days over the year"—a calendar of 365 days like ours (and the origin of ours). But they did not notice (or if known, did not bother with) the odd ¼-day by which their calendar was short. So, after four years (with *no* leap year), their fourth civil calendar year ended one day too soon, and the next year began a day too soon. After another four years, the 8th year ended 2 days too soon. As this process of every year finishing too early continued, each year's calendar months began earlier and earlier during the natural seasons of the solar year. At first, no one would notice this. After 120 years, the civil calendar year was beginning a whole month (30 days) ahead of the real solar year, and by the time that 700 years had passed, the civil calendar year would begin (and end) 6 months too soon; then, the "winter" months of this calendar would have crept forward into nature's summer season of the previous solar year! But as time passed, after a total of some 1460 years, the too-short civil year would have overtaken itself by one complete year of 365 days, and everything (like the seasons) would for the moment be in its right place again. This, of course, applies to all phenomena dated by the civil calendar. The ancient Egyptian New Year was supposed to coincide with the observed rise of the new Nile flood, i.e., in July—or, the coming of the "inundation" be dated to the 1st day of the 1st month of the 1st season, in calendar terms. But of course, after several hundred years, any such report of the rise of the Nile would be dated correspondingly to some later date in the civil calendar, because that too-short calendar had meantime been creeping forward as noted above.

The rise of the Nile was not the only event noticed in the July time of the year in Egypt. Quite by coincidence, the so-called "heliacal rising" of the Dog Star (Gk *Sothis*, from Egyptian *Sopdet*) also took place on the original July "New Year" of the civil calendar. (The heliacal rising of Sothis is defined as that day on which this star first becomes visible just before sunrise, after 70 days of invisibility, Parker 1950: 7.) Because of the behavior of Egypt's too-short civil calendar, some 1460 years have to elapse between one sighting of this heliacal rising of Sothis on the 1st day of the 1st month of the 1st season (New Year's Day) in the civil calendar and the next time this exact sighting could reoccur. This period of about 1460 years is therefore called a Sothic cycle. Fortunately, one such date point

is known: within the period 139–42 A.D. (Parker 1976: 182). Therefore, allowing for variations in the stellar motion of Sothis, it can be calculated that previous Sothic cycles would begin in 1313 B.C. and 2769 B.C., if observed at Memphis (see Parker 1976: 182, who uses astronomic notation).

Fixing the date of these cycles should (in theory) help us to date any reign of a pharaoh, if a heliacal rising of Sothis is found mentioned in a particular year of his rule on a specific date in the civil calendar—one only needs to know inside which cycle his reign falls. For example, if some king who belonged within the period 2700 to 1350 B.C. had a document dated to his Year 1, mentioning the rising of Sothis on the 6th day of the 4th month of the summer season (11th month in the year), it is clear that the civil calendar had crept forward 335 days since such a rising last happened on its New Year's Day. So, 4 × 335 years had elapsed since 2769 B.C., putting our theoretical king's accession (Year 1) at about 2769 minus (4 × 335) years B.C., or 2769 minus 1340 = 1429 B.C.

Alas, in practice things are not so simple. There are several complications. First, one must allow for a 4-year margin of error (before quarter days add up to one day, among other factors). Second, the geographical location of any reported Sothic sighting affects reckoning of the date. In practice, the further south the sighting, the later the date B.C. So, we need to know, for example, whether a report of Sothis was made in Memphis, Thebes, or Elephantine. Only two usable Sothic rising reports are known to us at present: one in Year 7 of Sesostris (Senwosret) II or III, and one in Year 9 of Amenhotep I. The former one may have been observed either in Memphis or Elephantine; there would be a roughly 30-year difference in date, depending on place of observation. The latter one would have been seen in either Thebes (source of the Ebers Papyrus bearing the datum) or Elephantine; the date difference is then only about 11 years. (For the suggestion of Elephantine as the point of observation for both risings, leading to ultra-low dates for both, see Krauss 1985; contrast Kitchen 1987a: 42–44, 47, where the corresponding options of observations made at Memphis and Thebes respectively are preferred.)

B. Constructing an Egyptian Chronology

In the light of the kinds of evidence and their various problems sketched above, the only proper way to build up a chronology for ancient Egypt is to begin at the end and work our way back from the well-fixed dates of the 26th Dyn. to Roman times, step by step, until we reach the beginnings, i.e., the 1st Dyn. and the prehistoric era beyond it. However, for the reader's convenience, the chronology will be presented here in its natural order from the beginning to end.

While the long line of 30 dynasties is still useful as a basic framework of kings, it has been found helpful in modern times to divide the dynasties into larger, more convenient historical periods, i.e., "kingdoms" and "intermediate periods"—the former being eras of power and political unity (one line of kings), and the latter periods of political disunity (with parallel lines of kings). The following brief table will summarize the position.

Predynastic Period prehistory
Archaic Period Dyn. 1–2 (Formative Age)
Old Kingdom Dyn. 3–8 ("Pyramid Age")
• *1st Intermediate Period* Dyn. 9–10 (partly contemporaneous with Dyn. 11)
Middle Kingdom Dyn. 11–12 (reunification, "Classical" Period)
• *2d Intermediate Period* Dyn. 13–17 (overlapping lines of kings)
New Kingdom Dyn. 18–20 ("Empire Period")
• *3d Intermediate Period* Dyn 21–25 (age of disunity)
Late Period proper Dyn. 26–"31" (Saite, Persian, and independence rulers)
Greco-Roman Period Ptolemies and the Romans

The dating of each period in this long history can now be reviewed.

1. Predynastic Period. Traditionally, prehistory in Egypt ends with the union of the two "predynastic" kingdoms Upper and Lower Egypt (Nile valley and delta, respectively) by "Menes" the Narmer of the monuments), founder of the first line (dynasty) of kings of all Egypt. This event can be set somewhere about 3000 B.C., so Egypt's prehistoric ages are earlier than that approximate date. For the three main successive cultural periods in Egypt's prehistory (Taso-Badarian, Naqada I and II), no precise dates can be assigned beyond locating them in the 4th millennium B.C. (For Carbon 14 dates for the Naqada I and II periods [4th millennium], see Hassan and Robinson 1987: 128, 127 end.)

2. Archaic Period. The contemporary monuments and later king lists agree on 8 kings for the 1st Dyn., but neither set of sources enables us to know the actual lengths of these 8 reigns. For the 2d Dyn., the Abydos list has 6 kings, the Saqqara list 8 kings, and the Turin Canon and Manetho each have 9 kings. From the firsthand monuments we have rulers corresponding to the first five kings in all the lists. At the Dynasty's end, Khasekhem and Khasekhemwy appear to be successive forms of the same name used by one king during his career; this gives us a 6th king. In the middle of this dynasty, problems arise. It is still uncertain whether Sekhemib Perenmat is the same individual as Peribsen, and whether either is Senedi of the later lists. Therefore, a minimum of 7 kings is likely. The Turin Canon's figures for the 2d Dyn. are incomplete and not yet verifiable; from the Palermo Stone fragments we have just the 20 years of king Nynetjer. Thus, no definite total is available for the 2d Dyn. either. Involving yet another theoretical reconstruction of the Palermo Stone, a computation made by Kaiser (1961) suggests about 300 years for the whole of this period (1st Dyn., ca. 160 years; 2d Dyn., ca. 140 years). Such a period may be dated to roughly 3000–2700 B.C., if we begin the OK at about 2700 B.C.

3. Old Kingdom. Our first problem in this period is that the alternation of years of cattle census and years after census (see above) was no longer maintained. Under Snofru, for example, the 7th cattle count was immediately followed by the 8th with no intervening year "after" the 7th (Gardiner 1945: 13–14). Thus, there is uncertainty as to how one should reckon many reigns—assuming the

usual scheme of alternating years of *x*th cattle count and that years after counts provide a total of years for a king's reign; this total well exceeds the corresponding figure for the reign found in the Turin Canon in a suspiciously high number of cases. Snofru was probably only one king of several who sometimes reckoned cattle-count years consecutively. Each reign has to be considered on its own merits.

The 3d Dyn. has 5 kings in the Turin Canon (two with 19 years each, two with 6 years each, and the last with 24 years similar to Snofru who follows). Even if these curiously paired figures are not all correct, they may at least indicate relatively long and short reigns. For example, Djoser Netjer-khet (given 19 years) did complete his pyramid complex, but Djoser-Teti Sekhemkhet (given 6 years) did not. So 70/80 years (74 in the Turin Canon) may not be far wrong for the 3d Dyn., within 2700–2600 B.C. at most.

For the 4th to 6th Dyn., similar detailed argumentation (using the incomplete data from original documents, the Palermo Stone, and later lists) enables us to suggest about 102 or 112 years for the 4th Dyn. (18 or 28 years for Menkaure), within roughly 2600–2500 B.C. Three apparent kings in Manetho (Bicheris, Hardjedef, and Thamphthis) are probably spurious and never actually reigned. In the 5th Dyn., we have an agreed 9 kings from Userkaf to Unis, and in the 6th Dyn. probably 7 rulers down to Nitocris/Netjerkare, if the enigmatic Userkare be included between Teti and Pepi I. In terms of years, the 5th Dyn. cannot have lasted much under 150 years (about 2500–2350 B.C.), and the 6th may be allowed about 160 years (say 2350–2190 B.C.), although the internal details remain difficult to sort out. (For example, Teti may have reigned 12 or 20 years; Pepi II reigned at least 63 years, but may have died at 100 after 94 years if the cattle counts are interpreted strictly and the Turin Canon and Manetho figures are accepted.)

The length of the 7th to 8th Dyn. (all one line in the Abydos and Turin lists) is unknown. The Turin Canon has only 6 rulers here (Abydos has 16) and is obviously incomplete. Therefore, its total of 187 (= 181 + 6) years for the 6th to 8th Dyn. is most likely too small. It would be wiser to allow about 30 years for the 16 kings of the 7th–8th Dyn., as reigns of 1, 2, and occasionally 4 years are given by our sources for some of these kings. This would set the 7th–8th Dyn. within about 2190–2160 B.C. on the scheme adopted here. During this general period, we have evidence from Dendera on the sequence of local provincial governors ("nomarchs"). These data indicate 2 (perhaps 3) nomarchs contemporary with the 7th–8th Dyn. and at least 2 more contemporary with the 9th–10th Dyn. before the emergence of the 11th (see Fischer 1968; cf. Kitchen 1972: 124–25). Such a series of four, five, or even six nomarchs as stable local dynasts would require a period of some 60 to 90 years (note also Hayes, *CAH*³ 1/1: 180–81), within (in this case) about 2190–2100 B.C.

4. First Intermediate Period. The last of the 7th/8th Dynasty kings at Memphis was replaced by a fresh line of rulers from Heracleopolis, the House of Khety of Egyptian sources, and the 9th/10th Dyn. of Manetho. The Turin Canon does not distinguish between two separate dynasties here, but has one group of 18 kings, just as it has one set of kings that correspond to Manetho's 7th and 8th Dyn. However, it is convenient here to reuse the term "9th Dyn." for the first few kings who ruled all Egypt, and the term "10th" for their immediate successors who lost Upper Egypt to the new 11th Dyn. in Thebes. For an initial four Heracleopolitan kings of all Egypt, we may guess at some 50/60 years, at about 2160–2100 B.C. on the scheme used here. The remaining Heracleopolitan rulers will have been short-lived contemporaries of the 11th Dyn., who were finally brought to an end by Nebehepetre Mentuhotep II of the 11th Dyn. The date of that triumph within his long reign is unknown; it probably falls at some point after his Year 14, but not later than Year 39, allowing for this king's changes of titles, reflecting his political fortunes. Generally, the reunion of Egypt by Mentuhotep II has been set at about Years 20–25 of his reign (Stock 1949: 80, 92, 99, 103; Hayes, *CAH*³ 1/1: 181). On the scheme used here, the ending of the 9th/10th Dyn. by Mentuhotep II would have fallen in about 2010 B.C.

5. Middle Kingdom. In Manetho, the 11th Dyn. is accorded 16 kings for 43 years, which is transparently corrupted from the Turin Canon's figure of 6 kings for 143 years—a realistic figure, in terms of the amounts that can be assigned to individual reigns. Hence, depending on the date used for the following 12th Dyn., the 11th can be set best at ca. 2106–1963 B.C., or at the very latest (according to Krauss 1985) ca. 2080–1937 B.C.

Until recently, the anchor for all the early Egyptian dating down to this point had been the 12th Dyn., set at 1991–1786 B.C., as classically established by Parker (1950: 63–69, 81–82), using the Sothis datum of Year 7 of an unnamed king (probably Sesostris III and not before Sesostris II [document from his temple's archive]) calculated to be 1872 B.C.

However, three factors have rather dragged this "anchor" from its usual moorings. First, reductions in the supposed lengths of reigns of Sesostris II and III. Sesostris II is not known to have reigned any more than 6 full years (rather than 19), while Sesostris III cannot be shown to have reigned beyond 19 full years—his Year 19 is followed by a Year 1 in the Lahun papyri, and officials from before his Year 19 are still in office in the reign of his successor Amenemhet III (less likely if Sesostris III had really reigned 36 years; see Simpson 1972: 52–54; *LA* 5: 900, 903–4; Krauss 1985: 194–95). As a result, even if we kept the date 1872 for the Sothic rising of Year 7, the limits of the 12th Dyn. would shrink to a theoretical 1978–1801 B.C.

Second, it has been questioned (see above) whether this rising of Sothis was observed in the region of Memphis, as is usually assumed. Krauss (1985) locates its observation far south at Elephantine. This would lower the date from 1872 to 1830 B.C., reducing the date of Sesostris III by 42 years. Combined with the reduced reign lengths noted above, the theory of Krauss (and it is *only* a theory!) would produce a new low date of 1937–1759 B.C. for the 12th Dyn. (Kitchen 1987a: 43; Krauss 1985: 207).

Third, all these changes have required a reevaluation of the lunar dates of the late 12th Dyn. and inclusion of new ones, a topic tackled at length by Krauss (1985: 15–35, 73–103). So the various possible dates for the lunar entries in the Lahun papyri have to be integrated with those for the Sothic datum, a matter of complexity.

Out of all this, we have for the Sothic date of Year 7 of

Sesostris III (rather than II) a possible date in 1831/1830 B.C. (if observed at Elephantine) or else a higher date in 1856/1855 B.C. if observed near Memphis (so Baer, based on, and courtesy of Krauss). Combined with the revised lunar dates, the accession of Amenemhet III came in 1818/1817 B.C. (Elephantine dating) or 1843/1842 B.C. (Memphis dating) (see Krauss 1985: 96). It should be noted that the Elephantine dating for the 12th Dyn. is only usable if one adopts a similarly low Elephantine dating for the Sothic datum of Amenophis I in the 18th Dyn. (see below; see Kitchen 1987a: 44–46, 47). The Memphis location for the 12th-Dyn. Sothic observation would date this Dyn. at 1963–1786 B.C.—the date used as the baseline for all dates in the preceding sections of this survey. This location and date agrees well with a Theban location (and consequent date) for the Sothic datum of Amenophis I.

6. Second Intermediate Period. The limits of this period (13th–17th Dyn.) are set by the end of the preceding 12th Dyn. and the beginning of the following 18th Dyn. On the higher dates for those two "framing" dynasties, this intermediate era can be assigned either 236 years (1786–1550 B.C.) or 220 years (1759–1539 B.C.) on the lower dates of Krauss. Since the Hyksos regime was not expelled until the 11th year of Ahmose I of the 18th Dyn. (cf. von Beckerath 1965: 210–11), this era in fact did not fully end until either 1540 or 1529 B.C.

This whole era is characterized by the existence of contemporary lines of kings. Essentially, the 15th (Hyksos) Dyn. ejected the ruling 13th Dyn. from *Ithet-tawy* and Memphis, confining its rule to Upper Egypt as a vassal. The 17th followed the 13th Dyn. in Thebes, still contemporary with the 15th in the north. The somewhat nebulous 14th and 16th Dyn. were little more than local Egyptian and Hyksos princelings in the delta, largely contemporary with the mainline 13th/17th and 15th Dyn. (For the respective lengths of the various dynasties, see von Beckerath 1965: 135–37; Kitchen 1987a: 50, 44–45; and Franke 1988.)

7. New Kingdom. Here, the key figures chronologically are Amenhotep (Amenophis) I and Thutmose III (18th Dyn.), and Rameses II (19th Dyn.). A rising of Sothis is recorded for Year 9 of Amenhotep I in Papyrus Ebers, a document found at Thebes. If the observation of Sothis was also made at Thebes, the most natural solution, then it would lead us to set the accession of Amenhotep I at 1525 B.C., and the beginning of the 18th Dyn. (and NK) with the accession of Ahmose I at ca. 1550 B.C. If, however, we follow the theory of Krauss that all Sothis observations were taken far south in Elephantine, then the 18th Dyn. would have begun 11 years later, in 1539 B.C. From the reign of Thutmose III we have a lunar date which would imply his accession to the throne in 1479 B.C., in line with a similar datum from the reign of Rameses II, favoring his accession in 1279 B.C., in conjunction (1) with synchronisms with other Near Eastern rulers and (2) with the lapse of generations linking the Rameside period to later epochs.

If the 18th Dyn. began in 1550 B.C., there is ample time for the reigns of Thutmose I and II in between those of Amenhotep I and Thutmose III. If, however, the dynasty began in 1539 B.C. (so Krauss 1985), then only 13 years are available for those two reigns—which is decidedly cramped and not realistic.

Between the reigns of Thutmose III of 54 years (1479–1425 B.C. and Rameses II of 66 years (1279–1213 B.C.), all the intervening reigns can be fitted in without any serious problems. Most lengths of reigns can be determined quite closely (Kitchen 1987a; 1989). Bones of contention include the possibility of a coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, which would require a longer reign for Amenhotep II; and whether or not Amenmesses of the 19th Dyn. had an independent reign (on the latter point, see Kitchen 1987b).

8. Third Intermediate Period. Dead reckoning from the beginning of the 26th Dyn. back to the accession of Shoshenq I, founder of the 22nd Dyn.—plus the use of synchronisms with Assyria and the Hebrew kingdoms—enables us to set the accession of Shoshenq I in (or close to) 945 B.C. The claim that the Egyptian dates of this period depend entirely on Hebrew/Assyrian dates is a false one; these merely refine dates now obtainable by dead reckoning of known consecutive reigns.

Before 945 B.C., we have the 21st Dyn. for which there is good agreement between original data on kings and their reigns and the data in Manetho; the total count comes to 124/125 years—certainly not more than the total of 130 years given in Manetho, a figure which cannot itself be justified at present (Kitchen 1986: 531–33). At any rate, the death of Rameses XI (the end of the NK) and the start of the 21st Dyn. can be reasonably set within ca. 1075/1069 B.C.

For the 22d (Libyan) Dyn., the main sequence of kings from Shoshenq I down to Osorkon IV is now clear and generally accepted. By dead reckoning of known reigns from a bottom date of 712 B.C. (by which time Osorkon IV disappears), and allowing the data that speak for a minimum reign of 33 years (probably 35 years) for Osorkon I and 14/15 years for Takelot I, the accession of Shoshenq I could *not* fall any later than ca. 930 B.C. However, two synchronisms at least require an earlier date. First, despite occasional suggestions to the contrary, the So of 2 Kgs 17:4 (whose help Hoshea of Israel sought in 725 B.C.) was a king, not a place (Sais deep in the west delta had no role in Levantine politics before the 7th century B.C.). Osorkon IV is the only serious candidate for identification with So (see data, references and discussion in Kitchen 1986: 372–75, 551, 583). This has the effect of raising the minimum accession date of Shoshenq I to ca. 940 B.C. He in turn invaded Palestine in the 5th year of Rehoboam, which is virtually certainly 926/925 B.C. (Hornung 1964: 28; Thiele 1983: 80, Table and passim; Kitchen 1986: 74–75). There are good reasons for dating Shoshenq's campaign to his last year or so, hence his 21-year reign will have begun in 945 B.C. or very soon after. The 23d and 24th Dyn. were wholly contemporary with the 22d and 25th Dyn. (details in Kitchen 1986).

The 25th Dynasty's last full ruler of Egypt, Taharqa, reigned 26 years (690–664 B.C.) just prior to the fixed accession year 664 B.C. for the 26th Dyn.; his successor Tanutamun was entirely a contemporary of the 26th Dyn. Of Taharqa's two main predecessors, the first—Shabako—reigned at least 14 years (perhaps 15), conquering Egypt in his 2d year. That event cannot be set later than 712 B.C.,

when Sargon II of Assyria had contact with a king of Egypt *and* Nubia (as Shabako was), or any earlier than 716 B.C., when Osorkon IV still ruled in the east delta as the (U)shilkanni of Sargon II. Depending on whether a totally hypothetical coregency of up to 2 years between Shabako and Shebitku is accepted (probably not; Kitchen 1986: 164–72, 555–57, 583), Shebitku must have reigned 10 or 12 years.

9. Late Period. The dates from the 26th Dynasty to the Roman period are, with very few exceptions, well fixed by Egyptian, Near-Eastern and classical sources, and require no consideration here.

Table of Dates

PREDYNASTIC PERIOD

c. 4000 B.C. Taso-Badarian period
c. 3700 B.C. Naqada I (Amratian) period—C-14, 3850–3650 B.C.
c. 3500–3000 B.C. Naqada II (Gerzean) period—C-14, 3400 ± 139 B.C.

Later in this period belong traces of such Upper Egyptian local kings as "Ka" (Sekhen?) and "Scorpion," also, Lower Egyptian rulers (West Delta?), of whom some 9 names are preserved on the Palermo Stone.

ARCHAIC PERIOD

1st Dynasty (ca. 3000–2840 B.C.)

	Horus	Eg. lists	Manetho
1.	Narmer	Meni	(Menes)
2.	Aha	(A)teti	(Athothis)
3.	Djer	Atet	(Kenkenes)
4.	Djet	Ite(r)ty	(Uenephes)
5.	Den/Udimu	Khasty/Semti	(Usaphais)
6.	Anedjib	Merpabia	(Miebis)
7.	Semerkhet	Irynetjer	(Semempses)
8.	Qa/Sen	Qebehu	(Bieneches)

2d Dynasty (ca. 2840–2700 B.C.)

	Horus	Mons.	Eg. lists	Manetho
1.	Hetep-sekhemwy	Hetep	Bedjau/Bauneter	(Boethos)
2.	Nebre	Nubnefer	Kakau	(Kaiechos)
3.	Nynetjer	Nynetjer	Baninetjer	(Binothris)
4.	—	Weneg	Wadjnes	(Tlas)
5a.	—		Senedi	(Sethenes)
			? same as:	
5b(6).	Sekhemib Perenmat		Neferkare/Aka	(Chaires/Nephercheres)
			? same as:	
			Neferkasokar	(Sesochris)
5c(7).	Peribsen (= Seth)		"Hudjefa" [lacuna?]	—
6a(8).	Khasekhem, *prob. same as:*			
6b(9).	Khasekhemwy	Nebwy-hetep-imef	Bebti/ Djadjay	(Kheneres)

OLD KINGDOM

3d Dynasty (ca. 2700–2600 B.C.)

	Horus	Mons.	Eg. lists	Manetho
1.	Sanakht	Nebka I	Nebka	(Necherophes?)
2.	Netjerkhet	—	Djoser Sa/Ti	(Tosorthros)
3.	Sekhemkhet	Djoser-ty	Djoser- Te(ti)	(Tureis + Tosertasis)
4.	Khaba	—	Sedjes/ . . . djefa? Nebkare	(Mesochris + Aches)
5.	Qahedjet	Nebka II	Neferkare Huni	(Souphis + Sephuris)
	—	—	—	(Kerpheres)

4th Dynasty (ca. 2600–2500 B.C.)

1. Snofru (Soris)
2. Khufu (*Kheops; Suphis)
3. Redjedef (Ratoises, 5th)
4. Khafre (*Khephren; Suphis)
5. Menkaure (*Mycerinus; Mencheres) (Bicheris)
6. Shepseskaf (*[S]asychis; Sebercheres) (Thamphthis)

*= Herodotus

5th Dynasty (ca. 2500–2350 B.C.)

1. Userkaf
2. Sahure
3. Neferirkare I ʾKakai
4. Shepseskare Isi
5. Neferefre
6. Neuserre Ini
7. Menkauhor Ikauhor
8. Djedkare Isesi
9. Unis

6th Dynasty (ca. 2350–2190 B.C.)

1. Teti
2. Userkare
3. Meryre Pepi I
4. Merenre I Nemtyemsaf I
5. Neferkare Pepi II
6. Merenre II Nemtyemsaf II
7. Netjerkare Nitocris

7th–8th Dynasties (ca. 2190–2160 B.C.)

	Abydos	Turin	Abydos	(Turin omits)
1.	Menkare	—	7. Seneferka (Neferkamin) I	
2.	Neferkare	Neferka	8. Nekare	
3.	Neferkare Neby	Nefer, "child"	9. Neferkare Teruru	
4.	Djedkare Shema	—	10. Neferkahor	
5.	Neferkare Shema	—	11. Neferkare Pepisonb	
6.	Merenhor	—	12. Seneferka (Neferkamni) II	ʿAnu
13.	Qa(?)ka(u)re	Ibi (Saqqara pyramid)—Ib (Turin)		
14.	Neferkaure	?Koptos: Kha(bau) Wadjkare (. . .)		
15.	Neferkauhor	Koptos: Netjerbau Neferkauhor (+ Turin)		
16.	Neferirkare II	?Koptos: Demdjibtawy (+ Turin)		

1ST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

9th Dynasty (ca. 2160–2106 B.C.)

1. Meryibre Khety I
2. (. . .)
3. Neferkare ("Kaneferre")
4. (Nebkaure) Khety II

10th Dynasty (ca. 2106–2010 B.C.)

fourteen kings, few names preserved, but including at the end:
12. (Wahkare) Khety III
13. Merykare ("Kameryre")
14. (A last, ephemeral ruler?)

MIDDLE KINGDOM

11th Dynasty (ca. 2106–1963 B.C.)

B.C.	Horus	Prenomen	Name	Reign	
2106–(2100?):	"Ancestor" (Tepy-ȧ)	—	Mentuhotep I	(6?)	16
(2100?)–2090:	Sehertawy	—	Intef I	(10?)	
2090–2041:	Wahʿankh	—	Intef II	(49)	
2041–2033:	Nakhtnebtepnufer	—	Intef III	(8)	
2033–1982:	Seankhibtawy	—			
	Netjerhedjet	Nebhapetre	Mentuhotep II	(51)	
	Smatawy	Nebhepetre			
1982–1970:	Seankhtawyef	Seankhkare	Mentuhotep III	(12)	
1970–1963:	Nebtawy	Nebtawyre	Mentuhotep IV	(7)	

12th Dynasty (ca. 1963–1786 B.C.)

B.C.	King	Reign	(Krauss:)
1963–1934:	Amenemhet I	(29)	(1937–1908)
1943–1898:	Sesostris I	(45; 9 CR)	(1917–1872)
1901–1866:	Amenemhet II	(35; 3 CR)	(1875–1840)
1868–1862:	Sesostris II	(6; 2 CR)	(1842–1836)
1862–1843:	Sesostris III	(19)	(1836–1817)
	(Sothic date, Year 7: 1856–55)		(1830)
1843–1798:	Amenemhet III	(45, min.)	(1817–1772)
1798–1789:	Amenemhet IV	(9)	(1772–1763)
1789–1786:	Sobeknofru	(3)	(1763–1759)

2D INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

13th Dynasty (ca. 1786–1633 B.C.)

B.C.	Kings	Reigns	(Krauss:)
1786–1723:	first 21 kings	(63 years)	(1759–1696)
1723–1712:	Neferhotep I	(11)	(1696–1685)
1712:	Sihathor	(3 months)	(1685)
1712–1705:	Sobekhotep "IV"	(7)	(1685–1678)
1705–1701:	Sobekhotep "V"	(4)	(1678–1674)
1701–1691:	Iaib	(10)	(1674–1664)
1691–1668:	Merneferre Ay	(23)	(1664–1641)
1668–1633:	later kings	(35 years)	(1641–1606)

14th Dynasty

Either local Egyptian (West) delta kings, or "76 kings who reigned 184 years" in Xois (W. delta) with Manetho; 1786–1602 B.C. (1759–1575 B.C.).

15th (Hyksos) Dynasty (ca. 1648–1540 B.C.)
(Krauss 1985: 1637–1529 B.C.)

1. "Salitis"
2. "Bnon"
3. "Apakhnan"
4. Khyan ("Iannas"), Sewoserenre
5. Apopi ("Apophis") Nebkhepeshre/Aqenenre/Awoserre
6. Khamudy ("Assis")

16th (Hyksos) Dynasty (ca. 17th century B.C.)

Probably local West Semitic princes in East Delta

17th (Theban) Dynasty (ca. 1633–1550 B.C.)
(Krauss 1985: 1606–1539 B.C.)

1633–1575:	includes Rahotep, Thuty, Nebiryerau I and II; Sobekemsaf II; Intef V (Numkhepere); Intef VI and VII (Herihirmaat, Wepmaat).	
1575–1565:	Tao I (Senakhtenre)	(1565–1555)
1565–1555:	Tao II (Seqenenre)	(1555–1545)
1555–1550:	Kamose (Wadjkheperre)	(1545–1539)

NEW KINGDOM

18th Dynasty (ca. 1550 [or 1539]–1295 B.C.)

B.C.	King	Reign	(Krauss:)
1550–1525:	Ahmose I	(25)	(1539–1514)
1525–1504:	Amenhotep I	(21)	(1514–1493)
1504–1492:	Thutmose I	(12)	(1493–1481) (12?)
1492–1479:	Thutmose II	(13)	(1481–1479) (2?)
1479–1457:	Hatshepsut	(22)	
1479–1425:	Thutmose III	(54)	(Coregency option, Am. III/IV)
1427–1400:	Amenhotep II	(27)	(1427–1392: Amenhotep II (35)
1400–1390:	Thutmose IV	(10)	1392–1382: Thutmose IV (10)
1390–1352:	Amenhotep III	(38)	1382–1344: Amenhotep III (38)
1352–1336:	Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten	(16)	1352–1336: Amenhotep IV (16; 8CR) [Akhenaten])
1338–1336:	Smenkhkare	(2 CR)	
1336–1327:	Tutankhamun	(9)	
1327–1323:	Ay	(4)	
1323–1295:	Haremhab	(28)	

19th Dynasty (ca. 1295–1186 B.C.)

1295–1294:	Ramesses I	(1)
1294–1279:	Seti I	(15)
1279–1213:	Ramesses II	(66)
1213–1203:	Merenptah	(10)
1203–1200:	Amenmesses	(3)
1200–1194:	Seti II	(6)
1194–1188:	Siptah	(6)
1188–1186:	Tewosret	("6" + 2 = 8)

20th Dynasty (ca. 1186–1069 B.C.)

1186–1184:	Setnakht	(2)
1184–1153:	Ramesses III	(31)
1153–1147:	Ramesses IV	(6)
1147–1143:	Ramesses V	(4)
1143–1136:	Ramesses VI	(7)
1136–1129:	Ramesses VII	(7)
1129–1126:	Ramesses VIII	(3)
1126–1108:	Ramesses IX	(18)
1108–1099:	Ramesses X	(9)
1099–1069:	Ramesses XI	(30)

3D INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

21st Dynasty (ca. 1069–945 B.C.)

Kings	High Priests of Amun
	1081–1074: Herihor (7)
	1074–1070: Piankh (4)
1069–1043: Smendes I (26)	1070–1055: Pinudjem I as high pr. (15)
1043–1039: Amenemnisu (4)	1054–1032: Pinudjem I as "king" (22)
1039–991: Psusennes I (48)	1054–1046: Masaharta (8)
	1046–1045: Djed-Khons-ef-ankh (1?)
	1045–992: Menkheperre (53)
993–984: Amenemope (9; 2CR)	992–990: Smendes II (2?)
984–978: Osorkon the Elder (6)	
978–959: Siamun (19)	990–969: Pinudjem II (21)
959–945: (Har-)Psusennes II (14)	969–945: Psusennes "III" (24) [= Ps II?]

22d Dynasty (ca. 945–715 B.C.)	*23d Dynasty (ca. 818–715 B.C.)*
945–924: Shoshenq I (21)	
924–889: Osorkon I (35)	
ca. 890: Shoshenq II (x, CR)	
889–874: Takelot I (15)	
874–850: Osorkon II (24)	
ca. 870–860: Harsiese (ca. 10, CR)	
850–825: Takelot II (25)	
825–773: Shoshenq III (52)	818–793: Pedubast I (25)
	?804–803: Iuput I (x, CR)
	793–787: Shoshenq IV (6)
	787–759: Osorkon III (28)
773–767: Pimay (6)	764–757: Takelot III (7; 5 CR)
767–730: Shoshenq V (37)	757–754: Rudamun (3?)
730–715: Osorkon IV (15/17) (–713?)	754–720: Iuput II (34–39) (–715?)
	(720–715: Shoshenq VI (5?) (existence doubtful)

24th Dynasty (ca. 727–715 B.C.)

727–720: Tefnakht I (7) (or 727–719 [8])
720–715: Bakenranef (5) (or 719–713 [6])

25th (Kushite) Dynasty (ca. 780–656 B.C.)

ca. 780–760: Alara (ca. 20?)
ca. 760–747: Kashta (ca. 13)
747–716: Pi(ankhy) (31) (or 747–714 [33])

716–702: Shabako (14) (or 714–700 [14])
702–690: Shebitku (12) (or 702–690 [12; 2 CR])
690–664: Taharqa (26)
664–656: Tantamun (8)

SAITE-PERSIAN PERIOD

26th Dynasty (ca. 664–525 B.C.)

664–610: Psammetichus I (54)
610–595: Necho II (15)
595–589: Psammetichus II (6)
589–570: Apries [Hophra] (19)
570–526: Amasis II (44)
526–525: Psammetichus III (1)

27th Dynasty (1st Persian Dominion) (ca. 525–404 B.C.)

525–522: Cambyses (3 in Egypt)
522–486: Darius I (36)
486–465: Xerxes I (21)
465–424: Artaxerxes I (41)
424–404: Darius II (20)

28th Dynasty (ca. 404–399 B.C.)

404–399: Amyrtaios (5)

29th Dynasty (ca. 399–380 B.C.)

399–393: Nepherites I (6)
393–380: Hakor (Achoris) (13)
[392–391: Psimut (Psammouthis), rival (1)]
380: Nepherites II (and possibly a "Muthis") (months only)

30th Dynasty (ca. 380–343 B.C.)

380–362: Nakhtnebef (Nectanebo I) (18)
362–360: Djedhor (Teos) (2)
360–343: Nakhthorheb (Nectanebo II) (18)

"31st" Dynasty (2d Persian Dominion) (ca. 343–332 B.C.)

343–338: Artaxerxes III (5 in Egypt)
338–336: Arses (3)
336–332: Darius III (4)

HELLENISTIC-ROMAN PERIODS

332–323: Alexander the Great (9)
323–30: Era of the Ptolemies
30 B.C.–A.D. 641: Roman and Byzantine epochs
A.D. 641: Arab conquest

Mons. = The Monuments
CR = Co-regency

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K. A. KITCHEN

PREHISTORY

A. Introduction
B. Early and Middle Paleolithic
C. Upper and Late Paleolithic
D. The Holocene and the Neolithic
  1. Early Neolithic and Cattle Domestication
  2. Middle and Late Neolithic

A. Introduction

Egypt can be divided into two strikingly different geographic areas. See Fig. EGY.01. On the one hand is the Nile Valley, the narrow strip of land bordering the river, which supports rich agricultural fields and lush vegetation and is most suited to human habitation. The waters of the Nile come not from local rainfall but from the highlands of East Africa. They travel the length of Egypt, dividing the country into two, and flow into the Mediterranean. In marked contrast to the valley are the deserts on each side; they are essentially rainless and barren of vegetation. The landscape consists of vast expanses of rock and sand, and, except in a very few, favored areas, is uninhabitable. Because of the differences in resources, these two zones have had very different histories of human exploitation, but each has made important contributions to the prehistory of Egypt. The Nile Valley, so far as we know, has probably been occupied more or less continuously for the last half-million years and possibly more. The deserts, or at least the W Desert (almost nothing is known about the prehistory of the Red Sea Hills and the desert E of the Nile), saw human occupation only during episodes of increased moisture, of which there have been several in the last few hundred thousand years.

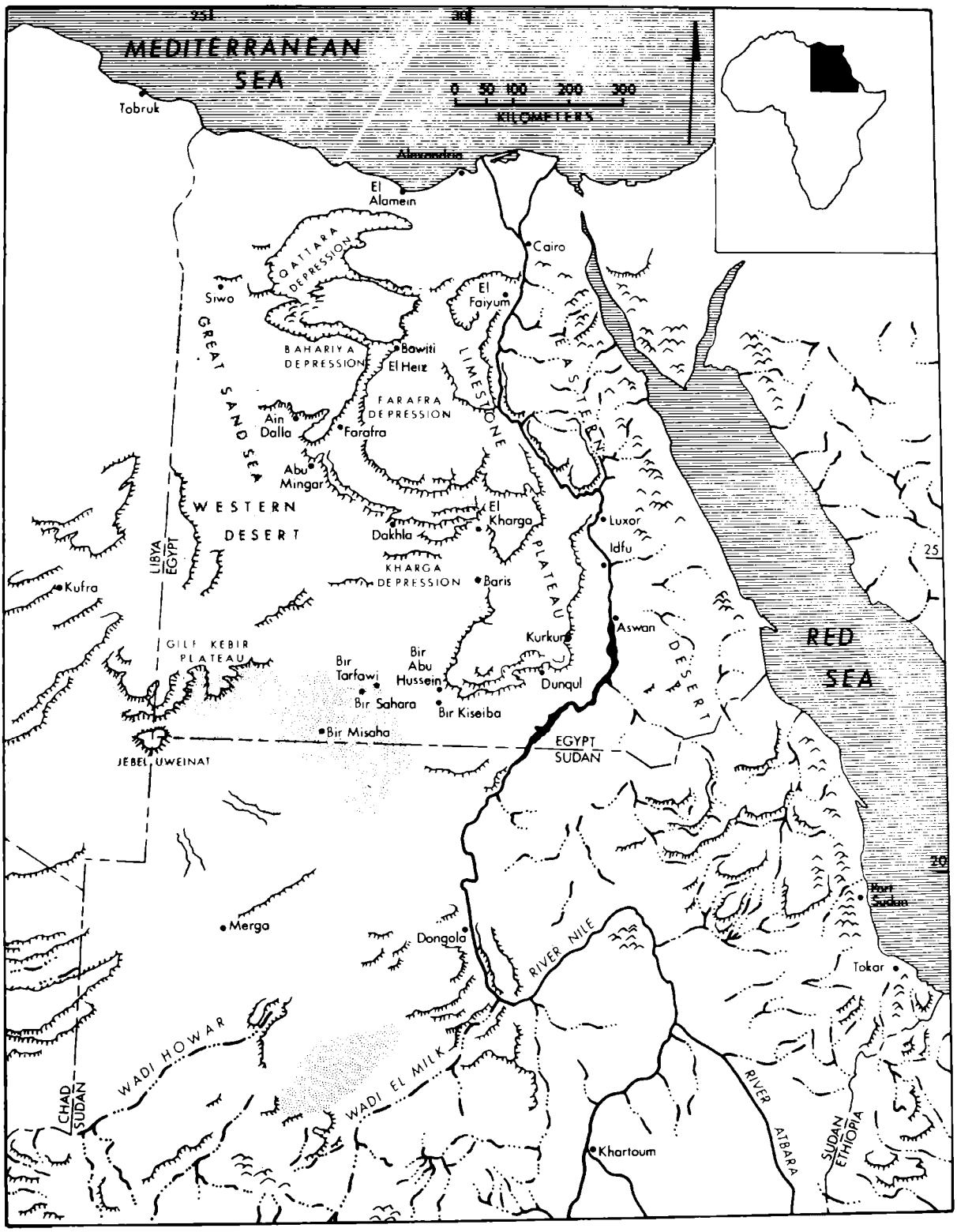
B. Early and Middle Paleolithic

Our knowledge of the Early Paleolithic in Egypt is very limited. There is no reason why Egypt should not have been occupied during the Oldowan period (beginning about 1.75 million years B.P.), but no evidence for such an occupation is known at this time. The earliest conclusive evidence of human occupation are the numerous large, crude hand axes and cleavers in the W Desert, associated with deflated remnants of fossil ponds along the margin of a large basin or much older river system. At one locality, a thermoluminescence date of 350,000 B.P. was obtained on sediments overlying the artifacts, but this provides only a minimum age for the occupation. Similar crude hand axes (but apparently lacking cleavers) have also been recovered from Nile sands, silt, and gravels near Cairo.

Finely made hand axes, which may be in the order of 250,000 years old, are more common. They have been reported from several sites in the Nile Valley, as well as from the W Desert, where they are associated with deflated fossil spring vents and remnants of shallow ponds. One of the spring vents with Final Acheulian tools also yielded bones of a horse or ass and fragments of ostrich eggshell, indicating a grassland environment and suggesting that there was significant local rainfall at this time (Caton-Thompson 1952; Schild and Wendorf 1977; 1981; Wendorf and Schild 1980).

We have much more detailed knowledge of the Middle Paleolithic in Egypt. Several varieties of occupation are known and seem to reflect both regional adaptations and diachronic change. The best data are from the W Desert, where a long sequence of Middle Paleolithic occupations has been found in two adjacent basins, Bir Sahara East and Bir Tarfawi (Wendorf and Schild 1980). The sequence is tied to a series of lacustrine events, which reflect periods of a high water table. The periods of lake development are separated by intervals of lower water table, wind erosion, and eolian deposition. The age of this Saharan Middle Paleolithic is not firmly established. The last lacustrine phase may date to about 90,000 B.P. and the beginning may be as early as 200,000 B.P. Many of the occupations fall within the Last Interglacial.

All the settlements share a similar tool kit, but there is considerable diversity in the functions of individual sites. Some sites were workshops; others had little manufactur-



EGY.01. Map of Egypt, showing locations of major towns, physiographic features, and places mentioned in the text. *(Courtesy of F. Wendorf)*

ing debris but numerous tools, and still others had quantities of both debris and tools. The associated fauna consisted predominantly of large herbivores, including rhino, buffalo, giraffe, extinct camel, and several varieties of antelope and gazelle (Gautier 1980). The microfauna and avian remains suggest that the environment was tropical and that the rainfall was probably about 600 mm per year (K. Kowalski, personal communication, 1986). There is no direct evidence that Middle Paleolithic people hunted the large animals, but many of the bones have been cut, split, or battered, and clusters of bones often occur closely associated with heavy cutting or scraping tools, indicating that the animals were butchered, regardless of how they may have died.

In the Nile Valley, most of our knowledge of the Middle Paleolithic comes from S Egypt and adjacent Sudan, N of the 2d Cataract (Wendorf 1968a). One site, deeply buried in ancient Nile sediments, had two cultural layers, with abundant remains of wild cattle in the lower and numerous fish bones in the upper layer (Shiner 1968a). This is the first evidence for the specialized exploitation of the two food resources, wild cattle and fish, which were to dominate the economies of the Egyptian Nile Valley until the adoption of food production during the Neolithic.

We do not know what the Middle Paleolithic inhabitants of Egypt looked like. Their contemporaries in Europe and the Near East were Neanderthals, and skeletons of this period found elsewhere in North Africa have Neanderthal features (Trinkaus 1982). In South Africa, however, Middle Paleolithic skeletons have been identified as modern *Homo sapiens sapiens*.

C. Upper and Late Paleolithic

The W Desert seems to have been hyperarid and uninhabitable from the time of the Middle Paleolithic until the early Holocene about 10,000 B.P. In the Nile Valley, the record is also far from complete, with a hiatus from before 45,000 B.P. until the first Upper Paleolithic, which is dated between 35,000 and 25,000 B.P.

One of the most interesting early Upper Paleolithic sites is a shafted and chambered flint mine, with several radiocarbon dates around 33,000 B.P.; it is perhaps the oldest known flint mine (Vermeersch et al. 1984b). On an adjacent hill was an extended human burial with an associated adz-like tool similar to those recovered from the mine (Vermeersch et al. 1984a). The identification of the burial as that of a miner is supported by the archaic physical features of the skeleton: he was a Mechtoid, a robust variety of *H. sapiens sapiens* known from several Late Paleolithic sites in the Maghreb and in the Nile Valley.

The quantity and quality of our information are much greater for the Final Pleistocene, beginning around 21,000 B.P. (Close, Wendorf, and Schild 1979; Hassan 1974; Lubell 1974; Phillips 1973; Wendorf 1968a; Wendorf and Schild 1976; Wendorf et al. 1980; 1986–89). The Nile at that time was very different from today. The highlands of E Africa were cold and arid; the Blue Nile had a very restricted flow that was loaded with sediment and the White Nile did not flow at all. As a consequence, the Egyptian Nile was a braided stream with several channels, which deposited sediment in the Valley, raising the level of the river much higher than it is today (Wendorf et al. 1986–89, vol. 2).

Most of the known sites seem to have been seasonal camps occupied immediately after the annual flood, which today occurs in late August and September. The period after the flood is an ideal time for fishing, because the fish can be readily caught by simple techniques as the floodwaters recede. Most of the sites contain numerous fish bones, but other subsistence activities included the gathering of starchy tubers, which grew along the edge of the flood plain and were in prime condition for harvesting shortly after the flood, and the hunting of hartebeest, wild cattle, gazelle, and hippo (Wendorf et al. 1986–89, vol. 2). In some sites, particularly those occupied after 15,000 B.P., there are indications that cattle were the most important prey.

The tool kits include numerous grinding stones on which the starchy tubers were crushed to remove volatile toxins and to improve their digestibility. Bone tools and ornaments make their first appearance in the prehistoric record; they are not common but include simple bone awls and narrow bi-pointed pieces which may have served as fish gorges, as well as beads made from ostrich eggshell (Wendorf et al. 1986–89, vol. 3).

Human remains of this period are known from several sites, including three graveyards containing multiple burials (Anderson 1968; Green et al. 1967; Wendorf 1968b; 1968c). All of them were Mechtoids, the same type as appeared in the valley in the early Upper Paleolithic. Their presence suggests that there was a single human type throughout N Africa during this period, from the Nile Valley to Atlantic Morocco. In the graveyards at Jebel Sahaba, near the Sudanese-Egyptian border, more than 40 percent of the skeletons—men, women and children—had stone artifacts embedded in their bones, fractures, cut marks, or other evidence of violent death; the actual percentage to have died violently was undoubtedly much higher. The skeleton of a male from Wadi Kubbaniya in Egypt had two stone blades in its pelvic cavity and signs of older, healed traumas (Wendorf et al. 1986–89, vol. 1). It is not clear that these deaths bear witness to organized warfare, but this was obviously a period of intense and violent competition for the limited resources of the valley.

D. The Holocene and the Neolithic

After about 13,000 B.P., there was a significant increase in the rainfall in E Africa, the White Nile began to flow, Victoria Falls became active, and the river soon broke through the dunes which had blocked its channel S of Khartoum. A stream regimen developed similar to that of today. At first, this produced record floods, traces of which are still evident along the edges of the flood plain, but the multiple braided channels which had characterized the river for nearly ten millennia were soon abandoned for a single, wide-stream course, which began to cut through the soft sediments that had filled the valley. This new and greatly enlarged river provided more stable, and probably richer, resources than before, but successful exploitation of them undoubtedly required new adaptations and technological skills.

1. Early Neolithic and Cattle Domestication. The period between 12,000 and 8000 B.P. is poorly represented

in the archaeological record of the Nile Valley; only four or five small sites are known (Schild, Chmielewski, and Wieckowski 1968; Vermeersch 1978). Fishing and hunting were still important economic activities, and grinding stones continued to be used, but there are no plant remains to tell us whether they were for processing tubers or for crushing grass seeds. There is nothing to suggest the presence of domestic plants or animals.

In striking contrast, we know much about developments in the W Desert during this period (Banks 1984; Caton-Thompson 1952; Wendorf and Schild 1980; Wendorf et al. 1984). The increased rainfall had spread N into the S Sahara by 11,000 B.P., ending the long period of hyperaridity. It was not as wet as during the Middle Paleolithic, with perhaps only 100 mm per annum even during the wettest periods, but this was sufficient to permit men and animals to recolonize the area. The summer monsoons created temporary ponds, or playas, in basins scoured out of the bedrock. Several meters of sediment had accumulated in the basins before the first evidence of human occupation, indicating a significant delay between the onset of the rains and the arrival of the first human groups (Wendorf et al. 1984).

The earliest Holocene sites are small clusters of stone artifacts, representing brief occupations by small groups of people. The tools closely resemble those from contemporary sites along the Nile. Several sites have also yielded a few sherds of well-made pottery, decorated with rows of designs made by pressing a comb into the clay while it was still soft. This pottery, called Early Khartoum ware, is known from the Nile Valley in central Sudan, and also from much of the S part of the Sahara.

The associated fauna is very different from that of the Middle Paleolithic, consisting mostly of the small dorcas gazelle, with some specimens of the slightly larger dama gazelle and an occasional hare. Many of the sites also contain the bones of cattle intermediate in size between wild and domestic forms (Gautier 1987). These are believed to have been domestic, primarily on ecological grounds. If the cattle were wild, there should have been the range of animals that usually accompanied them. For example, in the Nile Valley, where wild cattle were present, there were hartebeests, occasional Barbary sheep, wild asses and hyenas, as well as dorcas and dama gazelles, hare, and other small mammals. The early Holocene desert fauna lacks these medium-size animals, indicating an environment too harsh to support anything larger than a small ruminant. In addition, unlike gazelles and hare, cattle need to drink water. There was no permanent standing water in the Holocene desert. When the playas were dry, the only way to obtain water was to dig for it. Wild cattle thus could not have survived in the W Desert and the cattle must have been brought, as domestic animals, by the Neolithic people who found water and pasturage for them (Wendorf, Close, and Schild 1987). Since these Saharan cattle are quite as early as the earliest domestic cattle in the Near East and SE Europe, this raises the possibility of an independent African domestication of cattle.

There are two kinds of settlements among the earliest Neolithic sites (Wendorf et al. 1984). The first are small but relatively dense concentrations of artifacts with one or several hearths. Such sites are always located in the seasonally flooded lower parts of the basins. None of the sites has any indication of a dug well, so surface water must have been available nearby, in still deeper portions of the basins; these settlements do not, therefore, date from the very driest part of the year.

The second kind of settlement has small, thin clusters of artifacts and an occasional hearth, but with very few and often crudely made stone tools. These sites occur on the higher plateaus and on the sand sheets, where grazing would have been available in periods of increased rainfall. Since all the known earliest Neolithic sites seem to have been temporary camps occupied after seasonal rains, and since the associated faunas consistently include a few bones of presumably domestic cattle, it is likely that both varieties may have been herding camps occupied by small groups, but that each represents a slightly different function. The small clusters, with a few crudely made tools, are seen as representing satellite groups, possibly of young men or boys, who were tending cattle herds in distant pastures. The more elaborate sites in the playa basins are interpreted as the remains of camps of the families from which the herding groups were derived.

Since there is no evidence for the digging of wells, these groups must not have remained in the desert throughout the year. It is likely that the Early Neolithic cattle herders left the desert unoccupied each year from the beginning of the dry season until the grass began to grow—that is, from late winter until after the summer rains. They seem not to have moved S into Sudan, but may have gone E to the Nile Valley. However, there is an important difference between the Nilotic sites and those in the desert. Although the sites on the Nile contain cattle, they are larger than those found in the desert sites, falling within the normal range of wild cattle (Gautier 1987). However, the Neolithic groups in the Nile Valley may have kept herds of domestic cattle primarily for milk and blood, and obtained their meat from the wild cattle which roamed naturally in the lush environment of the valley. In that case, the cattle remains would represent almost exclusively the hunted wild animals, with only an occasional bone from a herd animal.

After a brief but intensely arid interval around 8200 B.P., distinctly different groups suddenly appear in the W Desert at about 8100 B.P. (Wendorf and Schild 1980; Wendorf et al. 1984). These new people lived in true villages, often with a clearly defined plan of houses set in rows, or with storage pits placed in an arc. Some of the villages had large, deep wells, with steps cut into the side, making it possible to walk down to the water. Hunting was still important, but hare were now relatively more common in the faunal remains. Cattle were present, although still rare, and domestic cereals (six-row barley) were also known. Pottery was more abundant, although it was not common.

The houses and pits indicate long-term or, at least, recurrent occupations, and they may even have been occupied for most of the year. These people seem no longer to have migrated to the Nile Valley; no sites have been found there of this age with anything approaching this level of social complexity (although they might, of course, now be buried). The stimulus for these new developments is not well understood, but one contributing factor may have

been the domestication of plants, for which these sites provide the first evidence in Egypt.

2. Middle and Late Neolithic. The trend of Saharan development was again broken by aridity between 7900 and 7800 B.P. When the rains returned, the playa sediments once more began to accumulate in the basins and the desert was reoccupied by people with a different stone tool technology, new preferences in raw materials, more abundant and differently decorated pottery, and a social system that did not require organized villages like those of the preceding period. Middle Neolithic sites are numerous and a few are very large. Settlement was almost certainly restricted to the desert. Occupation lasted 1500 years (until about 6200 B.P.) without interruption, even though there is evidence for several intervals of pronounced aridity during this period (Wendorf and Schild 1980; Wendorf et al. 1984).

Cattle were still present but rare, and the later part of this period may have seen the introduction of sheep or goats. Domestic emmer wheat occurred, as well as the already known six-row barley. Hare and gazelle remained the most important sources of meat. The only evidence of direct contact with people living along the Nile is a few shells from Nilotic and Red Sea shellfish, but stone tools in the two areas are remarkably similar, which should indicate more than occasional contact. There are only a few human skeletal remains which can be assigned to this period, and these seem to have Negroid features.

The Middle Neolithic saw the development of considerable variety in settlements, but in all the variations the availability of water remained the crucial factor. The communities include numerous middle-sized settlements, each with several wattle-and-daub houses, located in the lower portions of large playas, and small one- or two-house settlements in the lower part of small basins. On the higher plateaus and distant sand sheets, there are small clusters of hearths and artifacts, like those of the Early Neolithic; these, again, are thought to represent herding camps. There is also one very large settlement (>15 ha), on a dune overlooking one of the largest playas and above the highest reach of the seasonal floods (Banks 1984). No trace of houses has been found, but there are deep storage pits, large walk-in wells, and many hearths throughout a 2 m deep sequence. The bones of cattle are significantly more frequent here than in any other type of Middle Neolithic site.

We may try to reconstruct how these settlements articulated into one system. The exceptionally large site may have been the place where most, if not all, of the local population gathered, presumably for social purposes, during one period of the year. This period was probably within the rainy season, because only then would there be available sufficient water for a large group. The social purposes of such a gathering are, of course, unknown, but they may have included betrothals and marriages, trade, and religious or ritual activities. This may also explain the relative abundance of cattle remains, which recalls the practice among many modern cattle pastoralists of slaughtering cattle to mark socially significant occasions.

Later, near the end of the wet season, the people dispersed into medium-sized groups who moved onto the lower levels of the playas as the water levels receded. Before the playas had completely dried, crops were planted around the still-moist margins of the basins. The very small scatters of artifacts on the plateaus and sand sheets may also date from this season and may represent the pasturing of cattle on the new grass that came up during and after the rains. The one- and two-house sites in the playas may represent simply an alternative type of settlement during the same season, and the existence of such sites strongly suggests that there was no warfare or less formal conflicts, such as banditry. All the sites on the playas would become uninhabitable at the onset of the rains, and it was perhaps then, or shortly thereafter, that movement began back to the large aggregation sites.

Contemporaneous sites known in the Nile Valley are few and small, and date only to a late phase of the Middle Neolithic (Shiner 1968b). Thus, the best evidence now available suggests that an efficient settlement system, together with a rather sophisticated technology and a moderately stable interval of increased rainfall, permitted large communities to live permanently in what must still have been a very harsh environment.

A change in ceramics and possibly the introduction of new livestock (sheep or goats, if they were not already present in the later Middle Neolithic) mark the beginning of the Late Neolithic at about 6200 B.P. (Wendorf and Schild 1980; Wendorf et al. 1984). The new pottery tradition is characterized by burnished or polished surfaces and occasional simple painted decorations. These features seem to appear in the desert slightly earlier than in the valley, but this is probably a consequence of our limited knowledge of the Nilotic Neolithic. The appearance of the Neolithic along the Nile is one of the least studied and poorest documented periods of Egyptian prehistory. Only from the Faiyum is there any good archaeological information (Caton-Thompson and Gardner 1934; Wendorf and Schild 1976), and that area may have been exploited by groups who also made use of the desert.

The Faiyum is a large depression 30 km W of the Nile, which was filled by Nile water during the seasonal floods, forming a high lake (until controlled by the civil engineering projects of the pharaohs). From about 8000 to 7500 B.P., the lake shore was occupied by small groups of fishers, whose sites lack pottery, cereals, and domestic animals (Wendorf and Schild 1976). However, sites dating between 6400 and 6000 B.P. (the next period for which evidence is available) contain large, crudely made, undecorated, fiber-tempered pottery vessels and a few small, finely made vessels with polished surfaces and sand temper. Wheat and barley were both known, as well as domestic cattle and sheep or goats. The settlements included large, slab-lined storage pits, some of them still filled with grain, even in the 20th century (Caton-Thompson and Gardner 1934). The numerous fish remains indicate that fishing remained an important activity.

In the Sand Sea far to the W, sites have been found of about this age which contain pottery and stone artifacts similar to those of the Faiyum (R. Kuper, personal communication, 1984). These similarities suggest the possibility that the Faiyum Neolithic and the Sand Sea Neolithic may be part of the same settlement system, which would have involved seasonal occupation of the Faiyum after the late summer flood to fish and to plant wheat and barley,

and a westward migration into the desert with the herds. Such a pattern could explain why Faiyum Neolithic pottery has never been found in the Nile Valley.

We cannot yet determine whether the Nilotic Neolithic appeared because of the stimulus, or even immigration, of Neolithic desert groups to the valley, or because of stimulus (or migration) from the S Levant. We do know, however, that the modern aridification of the W Desert began about 5400 B.P.—corresponding to a historical date of 4320–4240 B.C.—at about the same time as the predynastic began in the Nile Valley. It seems very likely, although it cannot yet be demonstrated, that at least some of the stimulus for the predynastic can be attributed to the movement of desert populations into the Nile.

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FRED WENDORF
ANGELA E. CLOSE

NEOLITHIC TO DYNASTY 1

Although often characterized as "prehistoric" or "predynastic" (Weeks 1985), the period that immediately preceded the 1st Dyn. witnessed the emergence of writing and pharaonic rule in Egypt, and thus would be better thought of as "protoliterate" or "protohistorical."

A. Early Neolithic Prelude
B. Emergence of Regional Cultures
   1. Stone Tools and Interrelations
   2. Egypt and the Middle Nile
C. Cultures of Northern Egypt
   1. Domestic Economy
   2. Structures and Settlements
   3. Religious Practice
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A. Early Neolithic Prelude

The earliest evidence for Neolithic settlement near the Nile occurs in poor and dispersed sites or site-complexes without durable structures or deep deposits, which lack the transitions and detailed interconnections that make later sequences cohesive historical units. Although regionally distinctive features suggest that groups occupied areas as spheres of activity for long periods, important features

of pottery, implements, and a rich rock art which emphasized cattle can be traced across the Sahara, indicating widespread relationships (Håland 1987: fig. 3; Striedter 1984). This era of changing climate in northeastern Africa produced widely varying opportunities for human existence in any small area, but always allowed some kind of habitation in the region. By obstructing movement, the desert increasingly encouraged regional cultures (Eiwanger 1987: 83).

B. Emergence of Regional Cultures

In the sixth and fifth millennia B.C., human occupation shifted from the drying desert toward its southern and northern margins, the Nile, and the oases. Areas occupied included the mountainous desert east of the Nile, savanna lands east of the Nile in the south, Kordofan and Darfur to the southwest, the western oases, and the Nile Valley. Here, an annual inundation removed surface salts, leaving a layer of new silt, naturally fertilizing and irrigating the land well enough to support a limited population (Krzyzaniak 1977: 25–27, 55; Butzer 1976: 18–20).

1. Stone Tools and Interrelations. Regional cultures are present in the Nile Valley from the Middle Neolithic to the Egyptian 1st Dyn. (see discussion in *LÄ* 6: 1069–76). See Fig EGY.02. Despite their differences, these cultures shared such developments as trends in stone tool making. From Sudan to northern Egypt, the earliest Neolithic industries were blade industries. Thereafter, a bifacial core industry predominated until the Maadi and Naqada cultures of Egypt revived blade technique (Eiwanger 1983: 63–67). Mutual contacts and those with Asia correlate the cultures, but chronology in real time remains approximate, despite the application of radiometric techniques (Kantor fc.). The earliest phases in northern Egypt shared significant features with the pottery Neolithic of Palestine, but these contacts were severed (Eiwanger 1983) until the Chalcolithic period, when they again became important.

2. Egypt and the Middle Nile. The three major regional cultures in the northern Nile Valley were centered in northern Egypt, Upper (or southern) Egypt, and Lower Nubia, respectively. Far to the south, The Sudanese-Saharan tradition appears in small settlements supported mainly by hunting, fishing, and gathering, notably at Khartoum. Later, people also raised cattle and crops (Håland 1987: 51–56, 59–62). Distant contacts are illustrated by the widespread adoption of a special form of harpoon in Africa and Palestine (Håland 1987: fig. 3). In the Khartoum Neolithic phase contemporary with the Naqada period of Upper Egypt, a major center comparable in size to the great sites of Upper Egypt was established at Taragma near Meroe, a concentration previously unsuspected in the region (Reinold 1987: 17–43).

C. Cultures of Northern Egypt

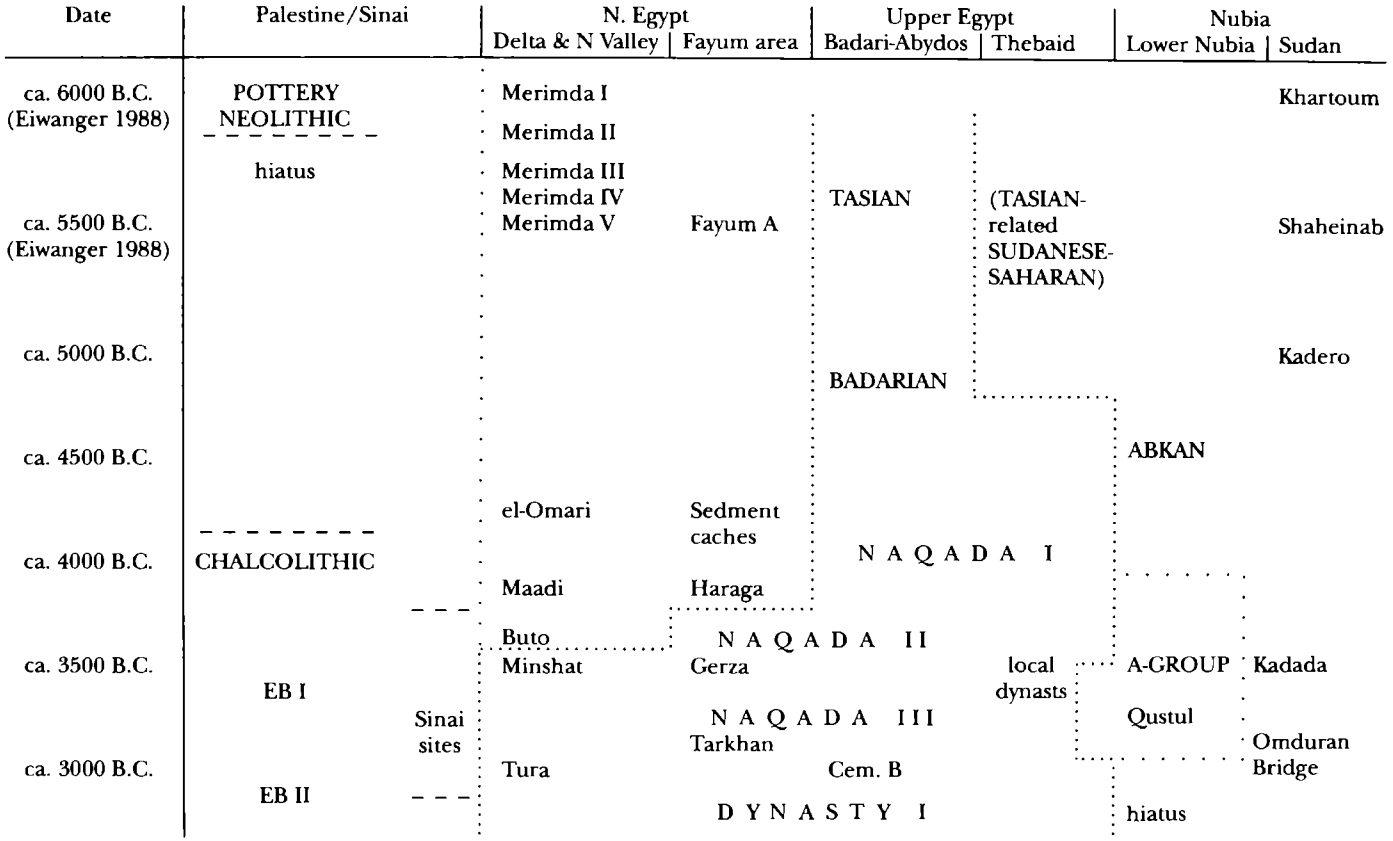
From the western delta to south of the Fayum, the cultures of northern Egypt occur largely in single sites or restricted areas, rather than extensive "horizons." The emergence of distinct cultural traditions in northern Egypt has often been connected to the later canonical division between Upper and Lower Egypt (*LÄ* 1: 1148–49), although these early cultures were actually located in large part south of the Delta in areas assigned to Upper Egypt. In order of appearance, the site phases are Merimda (early and main) at the western edge of the delta; Fayum A; sites near the northern shore of Lake Qarun; el-Omari and Maadi just south of modern Cairo; and possibly Buto, in the northwest delta.

1. Domestic Economy. The domestic economies of northern Egypt were substantially supported by agriculture which concentrated on the cultivation of cereals. Animals such as sheep, goats, cattle, and dogs were kept; fish and a wide range of animals were taken. Even hippopotamus bones occur in the settlements (Hayes 1965: 93, 112). Hunting this dangerous animal requires the coordinated tactics of bands or crews (but see Eiwanger 1988: 44).

2. Structures and Settlements. Like earlier *playa* settlements, most habitations were light, irregular or oval structures made of posts and reeds, sometimes plastered with mud. Many had hearths and circular storage pits nearby, some of which were lined with baskets or mud. At Maadi, some light structures were rectangular. The settlements had no regular plan, but part of a ditch and palisade were found at Maadi, in addition to large communal storage areas. Merimda contained a number of oval structures about two meters long, built of mud or mud slabs with floors below ground level. Sometimes a small jar would be imbedded in the floor near one end of the oval, and a stick or hippopotamus tibia would be plastered against the wall near the opposite end (Hayes 1965: 105). The buildings, some arranged as though on a lane (Hayes 1965: 105), were built only in restricted areas, probably for a special purpose (Eiwanger 1982: 68). They may be related to structures at Maadi that were sunk into the ground over two meters and approached by steps. One very large (10 × 6 × 2 m) and elaborate brick-lined sunken structure had a special entry and a niche. It was found with a cemetery and large deposits of fish and pottery vessels, many containing grain. These structures at Merimda and Maadi, especially the large building, may represent a tradition of religious architecture (Anonymous 1986).

3. Religious Practice. Other evidence of religious practice includes burials, deposits, and possibly structural features. Early Merimda contained a small cemetery of contracted burials, mostly placed with the heads south, on the right side. Later, burials in the Merimda levels were oriented irregularly (Eiwanger 1982: fig. 1; Hayes 1965: 112–13). In the el-Omari and Maadi phases, burials were made in cemeteries, some of them very large. Grave goods were deposited with later burials, and some later graves have simple dolmen-like superstructures. Even some goats were buried at Heliopolis with grave goods (Debono and Mortenson 1988: 39, 46–48). Female figurines and an egg-shaped terra-cotta head from Merimda are not readily connected to known traditions, but a deposit with axes and a hippopotamus figurine (Eiwanger 1982: 76–80; 1988: 46) and the hippopotamus tibia used as steps may be forerunners of Egyptian magical practices.

4. Manufactured Goods. The handmade pottery of earliest Merimda was relatively fine, but apart from some stands, the mostly ovoid shapes were simpler than later pottery. Many vessels were pattern burnished with a pebble. Some vessels have a band of incised herringbone decoration, a feature that occurs both in Palestine and



Key to Fig. EGY.02

- – – – – – hiatus in the sequence
- ..... separates Upper Egyptian sequence from neighboring cultures
- . . . . . separates adjacent cultures from more remote traditions
- Buto site, site phase, or feature
- NAQADA horizon phase

EGY.02. Relative chronology of Egypt and adjacent regions. All dates are approximate.

elsewhere in northern Africa (Eiwanger 1984: 61). The pottery of later Merimda was coarser, with vegetable temper. Shapes remained simple, but knobs and lugs were sometimes applied (Hayes 1965: 106–7; Eiwanger 1979: 28–38, 56; 1988: 15–33, pls. 1–32). Most vessels were burnished, with a dark surface color. This simple pottery continued at Maadi. Only a few pieces were decorated in red paint on a light ground, and the finer red and black burnished vessels were accompanied by much coarse dark pottery, and some very large storage jars (Ibrahim and Seeher 1987: pls. 27, 2 and 28, 2). In other industries, the stone vessels of Maadi were more elaborate than those found at Merimda (Hayes 1965: 126). Copper was also worked at Maadi from imported ores.

5. Trade. Trade and contacts expanded greatly between the time of Merimda and Maadi, but imports from the East primarily consisted of raw materials such as copper ore and asphalt, or oils; most objects were made locally or regionally, although wavy-handled jars were imported from southwest Asia and some vessels and other objects were imported or imitated from Upper Egypt (Kaiser 1985: 70; Ibrahim and Seeher 1984; von der Way 1987: 242–47, 256–57).

6. End of Northern Egypt. Maadi ended early in the second phase (II) of Upper Egypt's Naqada culture (Fig. EGY.02; Kaiser 1985: fig. 10). The settlement seems to have been finally destroyed by fire (Hayes 1965: 123). Maadi was the last of Lower Egypt's cultures in the area, although Buto in the Delta—where a settlement with a cemetery has recently been found—may continue (von der Way 1986; 1987: 242–47, including Naqada II pottery; Kaiser 1985: fig. 10).

7. Summary. In northern Egypt, a large number of small, shifting villages probably sustained a few more permanent large settlements (Eiwanger 1987: fig. 9). Consolidated in the area of Helwan and Maadi, these centers transcended the shifting earlier habitations without eliminating cultural variations (Kaiser 1985: 67), a contrast with the more uniform Naqada culture of Upper Egypt.

D. Cultures of Upper Egypt

Largely known through burials, the stream of culture in Upper Egypt is uninterrupted from the Tasian to the First Dynasty. The Naqada culture—divided into I (Amratian), II (Gerzean), and III—consists of broadly distributed cultural horizons most readily identified by their pottery (Kaiser 1957; for a different view, see Kantor fc.).

1. Tasian. The Tasian culture of Middle Egypt was found in few graves, but the burial arrangements and objects deposited were distinctive (Brunton 1937: 25–33), especially a narrow black pottery beaker with a flared rim and white-filled incised geometric decoration. The typical ordinary Tasian bowl or jar was burnished with a rippled effect in shallow grooves or facets.

2. Badarian. The culture identified at el-Badari and other sites in Middle Egypt is typified by red- or black-topped pottery combed and burnished to make a diagonally rippled surface. Other objects, decorated ivory combs and spoons, stone vessels, slate palettes, carved amulets, figurines, and vessels, were often elaborate versions of Tasian prototypes and many were developed still further in the Naqada I phase (Brunton and Caton-Thompson 1928; Krzyzaniak 1977: 68–84).

3. Succession of Tasian, Badarian, and Naqada I. The relations between Tasian, Badarian, and the succeeding Amratian or Naqada I are problematic; some have considered them partly or even entirely contemporary, although they are found in close proximity. Since the differences between objects are those usually encountered in successive phases in Egypt, the later reappearance of Tasian features such as the flared beaker—which had persisted in Nubia and Sudan—was probably due to reintroduction (Kaiser 1985: 81, fig. 8; but see Reinold 1987: fig. 4, ER, for persisting beakers).

4. Naqada Culture. The Naqada culture leads directly into the 1st Dyn. In the Naqada I, this culture extended from Middle Egypt to northern Lower Nubia. In Naqada II, it expanded into the delta, while a separate culture, known as the A-Group, occupied Lower Nubia (Kaiser 1956: fig. 5; 1957: 74). During Naqada III, official art appears in a refined and elaborate form in the well-known carved slate palettes and ivories. The later part of the period is sometimes referred to as Dyn. 0 because the names of pharaonic rulers not attested in the later king lists occur (Kaiser and Dreyer 1982: 260–69).

a. Manufactured Goods. The shapes of most Naqada I pottery vessels were different from Badarian, and burnished surfaces were no longer rippled; but continuity can be traced in such features as white-painted designs inside bowls derived from patterns incised in Badarian bowls. This Naqada I painted pottery became elaborate and included complex representations. Increased technical competence in other crafts is apparent in the presence of copper tools, glazed steatite, and high-quality linen textiles. Other objects, especially ivories, further developed Badarian types. In Naqada II, black-topped and red-polished pottery was first augmented, then replaced by buff or hard pink vessels fired in a closed kiln, and sometimes decorated with red paint in a new style. In Naqada III, only the pink-buff pottery was left among the Egyptian vessels (Kaiser 1957: 72–73; Kroeper and Wildung 1985: 69–72). Painting became less common, done in a third style related to formal art on the ivories and palettes. Stone vessels became truly elaborate and these and other industries develop without interruption (Petrie 1920: 34–36; Krzyzaniak 1977: 140–56), possibly already organized along lines familiar from later representations.

b. Domestic Economy. The domestic economy of Upper Egypt was agricultural, based on the cultivation of grains and raising livestock. By late Naqada III, even the date palm was cultivated. However, permanent agriculture and settlement in Upper Egypt's narrow valley was only possible where irregularities in the location, timing, and even height of the inundation could be sufficiently controlled to ensure reliable yields in the same location year after year. The foundation of Egyptian agriculture, the simple, flexible, and relatively reliable basin irrigation system, achieved control using crescentic canals to take water from the high river, direct it onto a series of basin fields, and then drain it back into the river downstream. Even a rudimentary basin system is a large-scale enterprise requiring a considerable effort made yearly by organized troops of workers. Thus, a large resident population in

Upper Egypt and control of the inundation are mutually implied, but control was never complete enough to prevent progressive or catastrophic failures (Butzer 1976: 51–56).

c. Settlements and Construction. The known habitations, mostly located at the desert edge, were probably peripheral and do not fairly represent the original settlements. Most major permanent settlements were probably located on modest eminences in the floodplain or on the riverbanks; they are now largely destroyed or deeply buried. A reconstruction of Upper Egypt depends on inference from scattered and fragmentary physical remains such as the village at Hemamiyya (Brunton and Caton-Thompson 1928: 69–74), representations, and cemeteries.

The earliest long-lasting sites are found in Middle Egypt, but great sites began in the Naqada I southern Upper Egypt. From south to north, these include the cemeteries and town of Hierakonpolis (Fairservis, Weeks, and Hoffman 1971: 29–37; *LÄ* 2: 1182–86), the large structures and cemeteries of Naqada (Petrie and Quibell 1896; *LÄ* 4: 344–47), evidence for a temple at Coptos (Petrie 1896: 5–9), and the cemeteries of Abadiya-Hu, or Diospolis Parva (Kaiser 1957: 73–74). Population was not just scattered in villages, but also concentrated in such major centers. The consolidated towns dominated almost crescentic areas of arable land sharply constricted at either end where the river approaches the desert to define a virtually natural basin irrigation complex. The Scorpion Macehead of Naqada III may actually depict part of such a complex (Krzyzaniak 1977: fig. 3; Butzer 1976: 20–21).

As in the north, dwellings in Upper Egypt were at first simple circular or oval shelters of posts and reeds with some substantial circular mud-ring foundations; enclosures of grass or matting were also used (Brunton and Caton-Thompson 1928: 47, 82). Some shelters were rectangular (Hoffman 1980). In Naqada II, an important rectangular tomb was lined with mudbrick and painted, and a model probably represents a rectangular brick house (Baumgartel 1960: pl. XII, 3). A terra-cotta model of Naqada I–II date and representational evidence from Naqada III indicate that large oval fortifications with bastions were erected of a type later depicted enclosing the names of known towns, using brick for at least part of the structure (Baumgartel 1960: pl. XII, 1–2; Petrie 1953, pls. F: 19 [Libyan Booty Palette], F: 17–18 [Bull Palette], and K [Narmer Palette]). A sinuous, curved wall with a bastion of this general kind surrounded the compact town of Elephantine by the end of the 2d Dyn. (Kaiser et al. 1987: figs. 5–6).

d. Trade. Trade for products such as malachite (and copper?) and vessels of oil from the east, and resins from the south, was already important in the Naqada Period. Its organization is not easy to reconstruct, but groups of cache pits found from the northern delta to Nubia and small short-term settlements in northern Sinai indicate that it was at least partly handled by small parties or teams (Oren 1973). Naqada III sealings from Ein Besor in Palestine may derive from official trade (Williams 1986: 175). Many large pottery vessels that may have contained agricultural products were taken to Nubia, probably in cargo boats. Naqada II–III rock drawings in the Eastern Desert indicate that expeditions already obtained products such as gold, slate or schist, and alabaster.

E. A-Group in Nubia and Upper Egypt

Through trade, the growing prosperity of Naqada-period Upper Egypt played a vital role in the expansion of the A-Group culture of Lower Nubia and southernmost Upper Egypt. Although the two cultures differed somewhat, A-Group pottery was related to both older Tasian-like ceramics and the preceding Abkan of Lower Nubia (Nordstrom 1972: 21–22, 28–29), while A-Group and Egyptian art shared important formal features (Williams 1986: 138–59, 167–71). Although the settlements were badly preserved and cemeteries were of modest size, one site at Afya contained substantial rectangular buildings with apsidal ends, and fields of cache pits at Khor Daud near Nubia's gold-mining region were larger than most in Egypt (Nordstrom 1972: 20–21; Williams 1986, table 6 and 16–18). The domestic economy may have been simple, but trade was so important that Egyptian vessels were placed even in poor burials and A-Group vessels appear in Egypt (Nordstrom 1972: 26; Kroeper and Wildung 1985: 73). Sudanese features also appear. Later tombs contained evidence of differences in wealth comparable to Upper Egypt and early Naqada III attests a rich cemetery of great tombs at Qustul near the modern Sudanese border more important than any in contemporary Egypt. This cemetery contained representational evidence linking it to pharaonic rulers (Williams 1986: 163–83).

F. Emergence of Pharaonic Egypt

The origin of Egypt's all-pervading pharaonic culture is the major problem in the era before the 1st Dyn. Although scholars do not now generally believe that pharaonic Egypt was essentially the creation of a "dynastic race" from the northeast, or that the Delta was largely responsible for high culture (Kantor fc.; Krzyzaniak 1977: 14–18), contacts with Mesopotamia are based more firmly on the striking similarity of elements that occur in both countries. These include important artistic motifs, such as a bark approaching a paneled or niched building, intertwined serpents, and paired monsters with long, intertwined necks, as well as cylinder seals and niched brick architecture (Helck 1987: 134–37, Kantor fc.). Even the development of writing may have been accelerated by Mesopotamian contacts (Kantor fc.). Most of these features appear early in Upper Egypt, but Mesopotamian relations remain an important consideration.

1. Ruler, Writing, and Cults. Pharaonic images always depicted or indicated the ruler and the gods in a manner that supported universal order. Certain signs, images, and conventional activities can be traced in progressively earlier representations as early as Naqada 1. Standards of known deities appear in the art of Naqada I and II. A pharaonic sacrificial procession appears on monuments of Naqada III, on a painted textile from Gebelein of Naqada I, and in a large wall painting in a tomb dating to the middle of Naqada II at Hierakonpolis that is an organized pharaonic composition (Williams and Logan 1987: 253–57). In Naqada III, pharaonic images on ceremonial stone and ivory carvings can be linked with other representations to show that the art of the period was completely pharaonic (Williams 1988). It concentrated on the figure of the pharaoh and his ceremonial activities and often included or reflected political conflict (Kaiser 1964: 89–

92). The compositions have brief but definite inscriptions that label persons, objects, possibly situations, and name rulers, such as Narmer and Scorpion, whose monumental carved stone palette and macehead were found at Hierakonpolis. Cults already included the monumental gigantism characteristic of later ages. Stone colossi found at Coptos in the pose of Min were inscribed by Narmer and display the emblem of the god (Anonymous 1988: 41–42).

2. Succession of Rulers. Important lists such as the Turin Papyrus and the Palermo Stone, as well as later mythological texts and the 3d-century historian Manetho, record dynasties and rulers for this early period, but a relationship to actual persons and events is difficult to establish (Helck 1987: 81–114). Archaeological evidence must be used to help reconstruct political geography in Naqada II–III. The large painted tomb of a ruler at Hierakonpolis of mid-Naqada II and comparable tombs at Naqada and Abadiya indicate that Upper Egypt was consolidating into regional sovereignties (Kaiser and Dreyer 1982: 242–45). At the end of Naqada II, these large tombs in different locations were replaced by a unique series of even larger tombs and complexes whose designs lead in a direct, possibly dynastic, succession from Naqada III into the 1st Dyn. At Abydos, double-shaft tombs of three predecessors of the 1st Dyn. were found: Iry-Hor (Ra), Ka (Sekhen), and Narmer. A still earlier tomb at Hierakonpolis, a long trench with a side chamber, may be assigned to Scorpion. Qustul's great trench and side-chamber tombs may fill the hiatus between Scorpion and the latest rulers of Naqada II to complete a series that led to the 1st Dyn. (Williams 1986: 177).

G. Consolidation of Egypt.

In early Naqada II, the northern Nile Valley was divided among northern Egyptian cultures, the Naqada culture, and the A-Group. By mid–Naqada II, Naqada culture cemeteries appeared in the delta, indicating that control of the southern delta and the entire valley had passed to the south. By Naqada III, the vast cemeteries at Tarkhan and Tura indicate that the Naqada culture now had regional centers in an area that had been the core of northern Egypt. The geographical completion of ancient Egypt, if not its unity, had essentially been accomplished, for records of conflict parallel the consolidation of regional centers. At the same time, trade with Asia and Sudan expanded, leaving northern Sinai dotted and A-Group Nubia lined with sites. The culmination of the consolidation is reflected in monuments at Abydos in Dyn. 0, followed by great but secondary funerary monuments at Saqqara and elsewhere in the 1st Dyn. At this time, the overland routes across Sinai became inactive and Lower Nubia was largely abandoned. Having developed in contact with so many peoples, Egypt began her 1st Dyn. as a solitary eminence in northeastern Africa.

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BRUCE B. WILLIAMS

EARLY DYNASTIC—1ST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD (DYN. 1–11)

A. Unification of Egypt
B. Early Dynastic (or Archaic) Period
C. Old Kingdom Period
D. First Intermediate Period

A. Unification of Egypt

During the last centuries of the 4th millennium, a long-term process of political and cultural coalescence resulted in an Egyptian state encompassing much of the Nile Delta (Lower Egypt) and the valley proper, almost as far S as Aswan (Upper Egypt). Later Egyptian tradition, however, held that an Upper Egyptian ruler named Meni (Gk Menes) had conquered Lower Egypt. This unification became for the Egyptians not only the beginning point of their history, but an enduring emblem of the congruence of the social and political order with the cosmic (Eg *ma'at*), embodied in the divine monarch. Menes—perhaps the King Narmer whose palette appears to lay claim to sovereignty over both parts of the country—stood as the founder and first ruler of a unified Egypt. A new administrative center, later Memphis, was attributed to him. The accession year of each succeeding ruler was designated "the (year of the) Unification of Upper and Lower Egypt." Throughout its long history, even under foreign domination, Egypt was understood to be a condominium of two originally discrete political entities.

While this is certainly too simple, idealized, and constructed a notion of how unity came about or of the political situation in Egypt prior to unification—evidence for a preunification delta monarchy, for example, is not strong—the controlling idea that eventually emerged from this picture of the founding was that the unity of the Two Lands (i.e., Egypt) equalled "order," stability, prosperity, etc., while disunity meant "chaos." The monarch's role—both as king of Upper and Lower Egypt (Eg *nisu-bity*) and as the embodiment of the patron goddesses (Eg *nebty*) of the two sections of the country—was to ensure the former and suppress the latter. Rebellion against the king, therefore, became not merely a political act, but resistance to the divine order of the world as well.

Despite late predynastic cultural and technological influence from SW Asia, Egypt did not develop the pattern of urbanism (with its particular sort of localism) that had emerged earlier there. The establishment of an effective centralized state in Egypt likely limited the potential of larger towns to become cities in the Mesopotamian sense, because the monarchy, with its control over economic and political priorities and decision making, became the focus of social and economic life. Nevertheless, local centers of economic, judicial, and cultic responsibilities retained an underlying importance: whenever, in later eras, the central royal government disappeared or was, for one reason or another, ineffectual and unable to enforce its will much beyond the royal palace complex district, these local centers and their leaders provided the essential stability and continuity in daily life. Egyptian history is thus best understood as an equilibrium between the ideologically preferred centralized monarchy and the decentralizing tendencies of local power foci.

B. Early Dynastic (or Archaic) Period.

The two primary developments during the Early Dynastic (ED) period (Dyn. 1–2; late 4th–early 3d millennia B.C.) were the country-wide articulation and acceptance of the ideology of the divine monarchy and the development of an administrative hierarchy that effectuated the king's wishes. The king's verbal command *(hu)* gave form to his divine perceptions *(sia)*, always within the constraints of *ma'at*. The ruler's titulary expressed his relationship to the gods, his own divine attributes, and his essential unifying and ordering role. As the bodily manifestation of the god Horus, he was the living expression of royal legitimacy and succession. The elaboration of the size and design of the royal tombs, surrounded by the burials of relatives, officials, and retainers—some perhaps killed and buried at the time of the king's death (Dyn. 1)—and the 2d Dyn.

decision to abandon the older royal cemetery at Abydos (Upper Egypt) to make the Memphite necropolis at Saqqara the preferred royal burial site, focused attention on the monarch, both in this life and in the next. From a very early date, kings fortunate enough to rule for an extended period of time celebrated the *sed* festival, a rite of royal death and rebirth designed to renew the king's divine powers and, by extension, the stability and prosperity of the entire country.

The bureaucracy, dominated until late in the 4th Dyn. by the king's male relatives and headed by the vizier (or chief minister), organized the land-holding elites to manage the royal economy (the palace, royal estates, tax collection, economic redistribution, etc.). They also utilized a growing and increasingly indispensable scribal corps and the social and political aspects of monarchy: the king's cultic activities, the biennial tour of the country, the judicial apparatus, the royal construction administration, the military (a corvée, rather than a standing army), and the maintenance of records (including annual Nile heights). The evolving class structure included newly important artisans, service personnel and retainers, a small group of professionals, and the peasantry.

Foreign trade in the ED period was conducted under royal aegis. From SW Asia, principally exploiting surplus grain production, precious and semiprecious materials, and some manufactures, Egypt obtained such materials as construction-quality wood, obsidian, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and copper. Dyn. 1 Egyptian pottery has been found in S Palestine, and EB II ware from Syria-Palestine is known from Egypt. A portion of the proceeds was subsequently redistributed to cultic and private loci in the form of royal patronage. An inscription of King Den (Dyn. 1) near the 2d Cataract attests to early royal trade interests in Nubia to the S.

The king's role in the support and construction of cult temples together with the demands of the new ruling elites resulted in a number of basic artistic innovations, building on both foreign influences and native trends. These formed the foundations of subsequent Egyptian art and architecture. It is in this period that major advances were made in the design and construction of tombs and in the use of stone for building.

During the 2d Dyn., a still poorly understood, but temporary, alteration of the divine symbols of kingship took place. Whether the episode reflects a change of royal family, civil strife, or some ideological shift is not clear, but, by the end of the dynasty, little trace of that change remained; its last king's name (Khasekhemwy) stresses the harmony of once disparate elements. The burials of royal officials, retainers, and relatives cluster around the burials of the monarchs, signifying their continued dependence on and service to the king in the next world. Uncertainties submerged and the divine monarchy institutionalized, the formative period was now essentially over; an age of unparalleled royal power began.

C. Old Kingdom Period

The chief index of royal power in the Old Kingdom (OK; Dyn. 3–8; ca. 2700–2130 B.C.) was the king's ability to command and organize the country's human and material resources. The most visible manifestation of his godhead and authority was monumental architecture. Little remains of the royal temples for the cults of the various divinities (notably Ptah of Memphis and Re of Heliopolis), but not so with the massive monuments devoted to the burials and funerary cults of the kings (Edwards 1985). Beginning with the Step Pyramid complex of King Djoser (Dyn. 3) at Saqqara and reaching a dramatic high point with the 4th Dyn. pyramids of Snefru at Dahshur and the Giza pyramids of Kings Khufu (Gk Cheops), Khafre (Gk Chephren), and Menkaure (Gk Mycerinus), vast amounts of labor, building materials, food, etc. were marshaled for the construction of the pyramid-tomb and its attendant temples and subsidiary structures, an "eternal" palace complex designed to meet the needs of a ruler who, after bodily death, would take his place among the gods of heaven and earth, meriting ritual and sacrifice from succeeding generations. The king's association with the solar deity Re emerged quite early, and the pyramid is, in part at least, related to the deceased monarch's ascendance to the heavens to accompany Re as he circumnavigated the world. From the middle of the 4th Dyn., the king's throne name was most commonly compounded with the name of Re. During the 5th Dyn., when the solar aspects of kingship were stressed, the title "son of Re" came to precede the name the ruler had been given at birth. Likewise, during the first 75 years or so of Dyn. 5, some of the smaller resources available for pyramid building were reallocated to the building of solar temples in the W desert not far from the royal pyramids, forming a part of the mortuary complexes. By the end of the dynasty, the rulers had reverted to the single pyramid complex, but the linkage between the Osirian and solar aspects of the monarchy was now mirrored in the so-called Pyramid Texts (Faulkner 1967) inscribed on the walls of the chambers of pyramids from King Wenis (Unas), the last king of the 5th Dyn., through the end of the Old Kingdom. These dual aspects of the monarchy remained central to the ideology of kingship throughout the remainder of pharaonic history: the identification of the deceased king with Osiris stressed his continuity with his royal predecessors (as well as his divine role in the afterlife), while his association with Re (as his bodily son) emphasized the monarch's role in the present (prosperity, order, etc.) and the future (i.e., the continuity of the cosmic and social orders). The tombs of the officials created a life-after-death made brilliantly concrete with scenes of the daily life familiar to the elite.

To build these complexes, a bureaucratic apparatus grew (Strudwick 1985). The administrative responsibilities of such officials as the "Overseer of All the Works of the King" included the design, the work organization, and the overseeing of these projects at every stage. Slaves played a very minor role in the work force; labor conscripted from among dependent farmers with less to occupy them during the inundation season comprised the bulk of the labor force. Devotion to the god-king no doubt shaped some worker attitudes and willingness to work, but economic incentives were probably also a factor.

Pyramid, solar, and cult temple establishments served essential economic roles. Corvée laborers received food and clothing rations. More far-reaching, perhaps, was the economic impact of the perpetual endowments, sometimes called "pious foundations" (Kemp 1983), which provided

the economic wherewithal for the maintenance of the various cults (the architectural necessities, the priestly and support staff, offerings, etc.) in the form of agricultural estates whose proceeds were assigned to the temples. Since the number of professional priests was small during the OK, many priestly responsibilities were performed by members of the landholding and administrative classes on an assigned periodic basis. In exchange for services rendered, these individuals were assigned income from one or more of these estates. They, in turn, could reassign a portion of such income to individuals who would then perform the required services. A considerable segment of Egyptian society derived some portion—all in some cases—of their income from institutional sources. Not all land was held under such usufructual arrangements; a significant segment of the Egyptian upper classes owned land outright, as part of their patrimony. In advance of death, such OK personages wrote mortuary contracts in which they assigned some of their estate income to individuals (relatives, friends, etc.) who would, in exchange, serve as mortuary priests for the cult of the deceased. These royal and private endowments formed an interlocking network of economic distribution. The system, however, lacked long-term stability: although it promised individuals a continuing postmortem food supply, there was no assurance that the agreement would be maintained over the course of generations. By the late OK, a number of mortuary endowments—notably those for temples—were exempted from taxes and labor corvée, thus limiting the economic resources available to the monarchy, causing some loss of royal power and influence (*AEL* 1: 28; Hayes 1946).

The kings of the 4th Dyn., having experienced some conflict within the royal family over the succession to the throne, began the process of relocating control of the main bureaucratic departments into the hands of upper-class families. In theory, such individuals, owing their new eminence and power to the king's favor, would be assiduous and loyal in the king's service. The premise was largely correct for most of the OK period and was strengthened by the institution of a ranking hierarchy among the royal officials. This process may have contributed to a weakening of the monarchy, especially with the growth, at least as early as the 5th Dyn., of an hereditary factor in office-holding. The officials in the central administrative offices in the capital appear to have remained loyal to royal position and prerogative right to the end, although, during the 6th Dyn., many provincial officials were building their tombs in their home districts. It is likewise clear that the king came to play a smaller personal role in what went on outside Memphis, despite the continuance of the periodic processions to the S. Decision making with respect to major economic, construction, and judicial policies would be made at the central administration, but the daily work in all these areas was performed at the local level, where the personal power and prestige of officials likely counted for a great deal, especially whenever lower Nile inundations (5th–6th Dyn.) led to some serious food shortages. These men no doubt acquired more and more confidence in their abilities and a concomitant sense of independence, but they certainly made no show of the latter that might overtly oppose royal dictates. It is conceivable that very long reigns, such as those of Pepi I and Pepi II of the 6th Dyn., would have, at least in their later stages (and during the long minority of Pepi II), required greater reliance on officialdom. It is clear, however, that the kings neither completely isolated themselves in the royal residence nor felt great mistrust of the greater provincial magnates. Merenre I made the tour as far as Aswan, and Pepi I appointed the provincial official Djau to be his vizier (chief minister).

Foreign relations during the OK period centered on either trade or defense. The periodic incursions of the Libyans were met with force. In the S, trade for good wood, oils, incense, animal pelts, etc. took center stage (Kemp 1983). King Huni (Dyn. 3) extended the S boundary to Aswan and built a fortress there. The 4th Dyn. king Snefru campaigned in Lower Nubia (Aswan to the 2d Cataract), adversely affecting that region for generations; captives and cattle were brought back to Egypt. From the late 4th Dyn. until the mid-5th, an Egyptian copper smeltery was in operation at the 2d Cataract, and thereafter Egyptian officials conducted trade missions further S, employing force if need be. The Aswan official Harkhuf made at least three trips (each lasting 7–8 months) to the S during the reigns of Merenre and Pepi II (*AEL* 1: 23ff.). During this period, a new, more dynamic people (C-Group) entered Lower Nubia; Harkhuf's mercenaries ensured his safe passage, but at least one other Egyptian expedition leader was murdered in the S. Occasional trade with the distant land of Punt was carried on in the 5th Dyn. In SW Asia, beginning in the ED period, the lure of copper and turquoise in Sinai, as well as the products and manpower of Palestine, led to Egyptian royal trade missions and, not infrequently, military forays. The 6th Dyn. official Weni (*AEL* 1: 18ff.) reports five expeditions into S Palestine, using Egyptian forces augmented by Libyan and Nubian mercenaries (Redford 1986).

The end of the OK came as a result of a number of factors: economic decline due to Nile problems and the decline of foreign trade; the reassertion of local authority as the central administration became moribund; and perhaps the lengthy reign of Pepi II and related problems of succession.

D. First Intermediate Period

While it suited the propaganda of the early 12th Dyn. kings (*AEL* 1: 139ff.; 149ff.) to portray the 1st Intermediate period (Dyn. 9–11; ca. 2130–1940 B.C.) as an age of anarchy during which the lack of a strong central government allowed the release of disruptive social forces, it is more likely that after the confusion of the largely ephemeral Dyns. 7 and 8—a mere 25 years at most—generalized disorder was episodic rather than typical. The emergence of such regional power centers as Herakleopolis (Dyns. 9–10) near the Fayum and Thebes in Upper Egypt (Dyn. 11) yielded considerable stability. Territorial conflicts or attempts to unify the country were the principal causes of conflict. The local officials dealt with the problems of food supply, legal affairs, and the suppression of criminal behavior (*AEL* 1: 88ff.). The problems against which the Herakleopolitan King Merikare is warned (*AEL* 1: 97ff.) are those of a ruler of a small state, trying to build and maintain the network of loyalty and obligation necessary

to attain permanent (even expanded) power. On the whole, the inscriptions of officials, independent landowners (James 1962), and some literary texts (*AEL* 1: 169ff) generally project a picture of stability. The campaigns to reunify Egypt, perhaps begun by Wahankh Intef II of Thebes and brought to a successful conclusion by his grandson, Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II, no doubt were attended by bloodshed and disruption, but even these were periodic, not constant. Localism was a powerful force that Mentuhotep sought to overcome by recourse to both force and diplomacy; his success was due to his own personal qualities of leadership and did not outlast his reign. That fact, coupled with the certainty that the 12th Dyn. rulers took more than a century and a half to subordinate localism completely, shows how far the balance of power had shifted toward localism after the OK period.

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GERALD E. KADISH

MIDDLE KINGDOM—2D INTERMEDIATE PERIOD (DYN. 11–17)

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A. Dynasty 11

1. Activities. With his victory over the northern Heracleopolitan kingdom (ca. 2040 B.C.), the Theban Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II brought about the end of the civil war that raged during the First Intermediate Period. This victory inaugurated the period known as the Middle Kingdom (MK) by establishing the 11th Dyn. with Mentuhotep as sole ruler of Egypt. After a few military campaigns against remaining dissidents, the king was able to turn his attention to peacetime activities. Large building projects, such as his funerary monument at Deir el-Bahri and numerous expeditions sent to mines and quarries, show a confident administration in control of the country's resources—one that could muster and support large contingents of men and with the bureaucracy necessary to oversee the logistical requirements of such undertakings. Trade routes were also reopened, implying that the central authorities commanded the roads and outlying areas, and could once again assume the protection of the population.

2. Inscriptions of Officials. Indicative of the new age are the inscriptions left by its officials. The expedition leaders of the past had been content with terse phrases recording the purpose of their missions, along with their names and titles, attributing whatever success they had achieved to the goodwill of the king. The 11th Dyn. functionaries, however, added autobiographical information which proclaimed their success to future generations. A new era had dawned upon Egypt, with the officials refusing the role of unacknowledged functionaries.

Two other kings named Mentuhotep closed off the 11th Dyn. with successful reigns; they sent large expeditions to the quarries of the Wadi Hammamat and the Wadi el Hudi, and even to far-off Punt. But suddenly, and without any records to illuminate the period for the historian, the 11th Dyn. disappeared. In its place a new family—the 12th Dyn. (1990–1786 B.C.)—sat on the throne, with King Sehetepibre Amenemhet I as its ruler. This would be a pivotal dynasty for Egyptian history, a time of great prosperity, witnessing the flowering of literature. Its rulers would live on in the Egyptians' consciousness in the later legends involving kings Sesostris (Senwosret) and Lamarres (Amenemhet III).

B. Dynasty 12

1. Origins. Little is known of the origins of the 12th Dyn. A literary source states that its founders were southerners, and it is tempting to speculate that this Amenemhet was the vizier of the same name under the last king of the 11th Dyn. The new dynasty faced a number of problems, chief of which was the legitimacy of its claim to the throne. The population surely felt no loyalty to these upstarts and had to be convinced that the new rulers were in fact the true heirs to the throne of Egypt. How the 12th Dyn. accomplished this constitutes one of the major achievements of this vigorous family and assured them a place among the great rulers of ancient Egypt.

2. Initial Policies. Quickly realizing that it would have been politically unsound to ignore his Theban predecessors, Amenemhet I erected monuments that associated him with the 11th Dyn. Other monuments were commissioned which claimed direct descent from the Old Kingdom (OK) families; thus the new ruler established himself

as a true heir to the throne in the minds of his contemporaries. Nevertheless, political intrigue was not quenched, for the king's long reign ultimately ended in assassination.

Another major decision of the new dynasty was the choice of a capital city. A need must have been felt to move away from Thebes, where the ghosts of the previous dynasty still lingered. The new site chosen was named (in Egyptian) *Itj-tawy* (meaning "[Amenemhet-is]-The-one-who-has-taken-possession-of-the-Two-Lands"). Little is known of this city, including its exact location. A later text states that it lay somewhere between Memphis and Meydum. Since the early 12th Dyn. rulers built their pyramids near the modern village of Lisht, it is quite likely that the capital city was situated nearby. The move to the Memphite area may also have been motivated by a need to be associated with the past glories of the OK. In the collective memories of the Egyptian people, Memphis must still have been the capital city par excellence; by building a royal residence in that general area, the 12th Dyn. sought legitimacy by close association with a traditional seat of power. Another more pragmatic reason for the move may have been a desire to be closer to the northwest border of Egypt, where Libyan tribes threatened invasion.

Another way in which the 12th Dyn. furthered its claims to the throne was through the subtle use of literature as political propaganda. The *Prophecy of Neferti* (see Lichtheim *AEL* 1: 139–45) recounted how an OK sage had long ago foretold the advent of the new dynasty. If this were the case, who could now deny its existence? In the *Instructions of Amenemhet* (*AEL* 1: 135–39), the assassinated Amenemhet I advised his son Senwosret (Sesostris) I to trust no one around him, something which must not have escaped the guilty courtiers' attention. The beautiful and moving passage describing the death of Amenemhet I may have been included to win sympathy for the young king for the harsh reprisals which no doubt followed the assassination.

The classic *Story of Sinuhe* (*AEL* 1: 222–35) is another example of such propaganda. Although the tale appears to be a simple affair filled with heroes and villains, and wise old chieftains and fair maidens, long hymns of praise for Senwosret I make the story an effective tool in enhancing the crown's reputation. Also useful to the royal house was the so-called *Satire on Trades* (*AEL* 1: 184–92), in which various trades are unfavorably compared to the comfortable life of a scribe. The purpose behind this particular tradition may well have been that the 12th Dyn. needed new recruits for a burgeoning bureaucracy, since the scribal profession had fallen out of favor during the troubled times of the 1st Intermediate Period.

Starting with Amenemhet I and Senwosret I, the institution of coregency was also used to ensure smooth transitions of power. In practice, the younger king assumed the more strenuous activities, such as military campaigns, while the senior partner remained in the palace and handled the affairs of state. This system worked remarkably well for the 12th Dyn., as son succeeded father for two hundred years without interruption.

3. Dealings with Provincial Rulers. Despite their sound political maneuvering, the 12th Dyn. kings still had to contend with formidable provincial rulers who held sway over particular domains in Egypt. The independence which the latter had acquired during the 1st Intermediate Period could not be disregarded, and once again the Palace showed remarkable political acumen in dealing with them.

The Crown's basic policy was a compromise between controlling the nomarchs, their territories, and their revenues, while, at the same time, acknowledging the rights of these long-standing families who boasted impressive pedigrees. The nomarchs were allowed to have their own courts, maintain a small standing army, erect buildings in their domains, and even record the dates of events according to their own tenures of office. They were allowed to collect their own revenues and were even given the liberty to lower taxes after bad harvests. Nevertheless, the king reserved the right to approve the appointment of a new nomarch, at which time the province's boundaries were also resurveyed. In addition, the nomarch had to render a yearly account of his holdings to the Palace, and was responsible for supplying the labor force for royal enterprises such as building projects or quarrying expeditions. Thus, the policy of the royal family toward the provincial rulers was a constant give and take where the claims of the nomarchs were respected yet the absolute rights of kingship were still acknowledged.

The almost total disappearance of the nomarchs' tombs by the reign of Senwosret III (1878–1843 B.C.) has led to the belief that the power of these individuals was curbed under this king, and that the country was reorganized under a centralized bureaucracy. Although this belief has been challenged recently, the disappearance of these old provincial families cannot be ignored; nor can the creation at this time of new administrative titles based on a division of the country into three major provinces, each administered from the capital city.

4. Foreign Policy. Caution must also be exercised when examining the foreign policy of the 12th Dyn. Although an aggressive frontier policy had been demonstrated by the earliest Egyptian kings, the 12th Dyn. rulers seemed more concerned with maintaining their borders and keeping foreigners out of Egypt than with establishing a presence outside. The Execration Texts, nevertheless, have been cited as evidence for an MK empire. Written on clay figurines in the shapes of bound prisoners or on pottery bowls, these texts list the names of various local rulers and localities in Syria-Palestine, Libya, and Nubia, followed by ritualistic curses directed against these rulers. Although they show an astounding ability on the part of Egypt to collect intelligence about its neighbors, the purely ritualistic nature of the texts does not permit us to determine the 12th Dyn.'s foreign policy from them alone. See also EXECRATION AND EXECRATION TEXTS.

Close scrutiny of the existing archeological material has shown that what used to be regarded as proof of a 12th Dyn. empire in the MB Syro-Palestinian area was nothing more than evidence for strong trading ties between Egypt and the Levant. To the Egyptians, the most important of these trading partners was the seaport of Byblos, which furnished Egypt with coniferous woods and resin. The Egyptian influence there was great enough that by the close of the MK, the Byblite princes had become quite slavish in their imitation of Egyptian customs. The same degree of contact existed in the Aegean: although Middle Minoan objects have been found in Egypt and Egyptian material in Crete, the uncertain context of many of these

finds cannot argue for anything more than contact of a mercantile nature.

The situation was markedly different with Egypt's southern neighbors. In the 11th Dyn., Mentuhotep II had begun the reconquest of Lower Nubia against the local C-Group population, whose culture spanned the period between the late OK and the early New Kingdom (NK) with occupational sites south of the Second Cataract. The 12th Dyn. kings continued this policy and eventually annexed the whole of Lower Nubia, where they built a series of forts between the First and Second Cataracts. These forts were built in two main stages. The earliest ones served as metal-working centers or trading posts to control river traffic. The second group was built by Senwosret III around his newly acquired frontier at the Second Cataract, at the border of modern-day Sudan. This group served to remind the population of the king's intention to let no one pass through the cataract at Semna unless a business transaction was to be conducted at the major trading center of Mirgissa, north of Semna. Although Senwosret III's boundary stelae show an expected aggressive tone against the native population, other texts from the period imply that the Egyptians were actually more concerned with profits from the river trade and the local gold mines than with military conquest for its own sake.

With a full Egyptian dependency to the south and a strong centralized government—and thus the resources of the entire country at his disposal—Senwosret III's son Amenemhet III (1842–1797 B.C.) was free to concentrate on domestic matters. He continued his predecessors' work of reclaiming land in the Fayum, where he built his second pyramid at the site of Hawara. Attached to this monument was his Mortuary Temple, which became famous in the Classical period as the Egyptian Labyrinth.

C. Dynasty 13

The end of the 12th Dyn. brought no immediate change in Egypt's fortunes. Although the succeeding period is obscured by a lack of sources, it seems clear that the 13th Dyn. (ca. 1786–1633 B.C.) originally ruled from the Memphite area. Many of its kings ruled only briefly and may have been under the influence of a few powerful viziers, but the principle of a single central government continued to be respected for a time. The last kings of the 13th Dyn., however, lost control of Lower Egypt and probably retreated upriver to Thebes, where a new capital was established.

D. Second Intermediate Period

1. Rival Dynasties. The weakening of the 13th Dyn. begins what is known as the Second Intermediate Period. By this time, the country had become fragmented. A number of rulers vied for hegemony over limited areas, and rival dynasties were established concurrently. The names given to these dynasties by the classical historian Manetho do not necessarily reflect a chronological sequence. In Thebes, the 13th Dyn. was succeeded by the 17th (ca. 1650–1567 B.C.). In the Delta, certain rulers designated themselves as kings and set up short-lived dynasties; these correspond to Manetho's 14th (ca. 1786–1603 B.C.) and 16th Dyn. (ca. 1684–1567 B.C.).

2. Hyksos Invasion. The most significant of these contemporaneous rulers were the so-called Hyksos, Manetho's 15th Dyn. (ca. 1674–1567 B.C.). See also HYKSOS. There has long been a debate regarding the arrival of the Hyksos in Egypt. Documents that show large numbers of Semites in Egypt in the late Middle Kingdom have been used to prove a slow infiltration into the country, with these Semites somehow acting as a fifth column for the advancing Hyksos. However, Manetho's dating of the Hyksos attack to the reign of a King Tutimaios—probably one of the two Egyptian kings named Dudumose—argues for a sudden invasion, since it is unlikely that the Egyptians' collective historical memory would have fixed a slow infiltration to a specific reign.

The archeologists' spade has provided evidence for both theories. Excavations at modern Tell ed-Dabʿa (Manetho's Avaris and the site of the Hyksos capital) have shown that Northwest Semitic peoples did migrate and settle in the area, bringing MB II Syro-Palestinian culture with them. A destruction level between the late MK and the Hyksos strata implies more than just peaceful infiltration.

Once in Avaris, the Hyksos prospered and, utilizing their own Palestinian models, ruled as overlords over Egyptian vassals. This occupation was a watershed in Egyptian history, for up to that point, the Egyptians, despite periods of internal political chaos, had been free from invasion. For generations the Egyptians would be haunted by the specter of foreign domination. Thus, when the 17th Dyn. rulers revolted against their Hyksos overlords and surged northward in victory, they would rightly be regarded as liberators by the grateful Egyptians. The liberation of Egypt under kings Kamose and Ahmose ushered in a new era, the New Kingdom.

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RONALD J. LEPROHON

NEW KINGDOM (DYN. 18–20)

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A. Chronology

Absolute dates within this period (ca. 1570–1070 B.C.E. = New Kingdom [NK]) revolve around the disputed accession years of two kings: Thutmose III (Dynasty XVIII) and Ramesses II (Dynasty XIX). Recent scholarship has reached consensus on 1279 B.C.E. for the beginning of Ramesses II's reign, but the debate regarding Thutmose III's accession year—variously placed at 1504, 1490, and 1479 B.C.E.—continues (e.g., Parker 1957; Hayes and Rowton *CAH*^{3} I/1: 173–239; Hornung 1964; Krauss 1978). The chronology followed in this article adheres to the highest date for Thutmose III, i.e., 1504 (Wente and Van Siclen 1976), but readers should be aware that a reasonable case can be made for the lower options as well (e.g., Kitchen 1987). The gaps in the historical record preclude all certainty. For example, since exact lengths of reign are unknown except in a few cases (Thutmose III, Hatshepsut, Amenhotep III [?], Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, Tutankhamun, Ramesses II, Sety II, Siptah, and Ramesses III), shifts amounting to one year or more are possible in the NK for all reigns, except for those of Thutmose III and Ramesses II, both of which are fixed points in any chronological scheme. Given the uncertainties that still prevail before Ramesses II (see Hornung 1979; Krauss 1985; Kitchen 1987), it should be noted that dates provided in this article for kings prior to Amenhotep III could be lowered in some cases by more than a quarter of a century.

B. Early 18th Dynasty

The expulsion of the Asiatic "Hyksos," who had dominated Egypt since ca. 1650 B.C.E., is the event that demarcated the beginning of the NK in Egyptian tradition. Freedom from Hyksos suzerainty and the reunification of Egypt were finally achieved in the reign of Ahmose I (ca. 1570–1546). Ahmose thus achieved the somewhat artificial distinction of founding a new dynasty, called the Eighteenth by the 3d cent. B.C.E. historian Manetho (Waddell 1940: 100–47; cf. Redford 1986: 18–64, 242–47), even though Ahmose was a direct descendant of the late 17th Dyn. kings who had begun the Theban rebellion (Hayes *CAH*^{3} 2/1: 64–74; James *CAH*^{3} 2/1: 289–96). Ahmose I's struggle and his final success were achieved on two fronts. In the north, he drove the last of the Hyksos into Asia and crushed their Egyptian supporters (Vandersleyen 1971: 17–48, 75–88). The struggle was carried onto Asiatic territory, notably with the siege of the city of Sharuhen (Vandersleyen 1971: 89–129), but the further extent of his northern wars is uncertain (e.g., Weinstein 1981: 1–10). As a necessary counterpart to the struggle with the Asiatics, Ahmose I also continued the war begun by his predecessor, Kamose (ca. 1573–1571), against the Hyksos' southern ally, the kingdom of Kush (Smith 1976: 80–85; Vandersleyen 1971: 49–74). By the reign of Thutmose I (ca. 1524–1518), the Egyptians had more than tripled their domains in Nubia. This unprecedented extension of Egypt's southern possessions was accompanied by an equally novel imperial system. Nubia was placed under a viceroy, the "King's Son of Kush," and was directly governed by a hierarchy of Egyptian officials in collaboration with native Nubian princes (Adams 1977: 217–45; O'Connor *AESH*, 252–70). Egypt thus secured the rich mineral deposits of Nubia, including the renowned "gold of Kush," and also controlled the trade routes that brought southern African products to northern markets (Hayes *CAH*^{3} 2/1: 329–33, 346–53). This political arrangement endured until the end of the NK, and the effects of the Nubians' adoption of their rulers' culture lasted long after that.

The peril to Egypt's northern frontier was not exorcised, however, by the Hyksos' defeat. Sparsity of textual documentation prevents any but the most speculative discussion of the players in this drama and their actions (Drower *CAH*^{3} 2/2: 415–36; Helck 1971: 107–19). It is clear, however, that the pharaohs were occasionally compelled to lead their armies far beyond their borders during the half-century that followed Ahmose I's reunification of Egypt. Military exercises such as the campaign of Thutmose I up to the banks of the Euphrates River, together with the wars that secured Egypt's hold on Nubia, helped to forge the military facets of the king's institutional identity. There is little evidence, however, that these activities in western Asia were as yet motivated by the imperialist spirit so apparent in Egypt's policy toward the south (Redford 1979). An empire was no doubt easier to impose in Nubia than in the culturally more diverse and politically complex environment of Syria-Palestine, where the Egyptians already faced a potential rival in the kingdom of Mitanni (Frandsen 1979; Kemp 1978). It appears, however, that while the Pharaohs were resolute in the face of provocation, they were not prepared at this point to commit themselves to much more than a defensive posture toward western Asia.

At home, Ahmose I and his son Amenhotep I (ca. 1551–1524) took in hand the reorganization of Egypt after nearly two centuries of disunity (James *CAH*^{3} 2/1: 299–312). Internal affairs were managed by one or two viziers (one for Upper and Lower Egypt respectively, a division of office attested by the reign of Thutmose III and intermittently thereafter). The viziers exercised regular supervision over the treasury, supply, judiciary, and police departments. They also appear to have ranked over the chief commanders of the army and the high priests of the various gods in Egypt, although their real power in these areas was frequently overshadowed by others, not least by the king himself. Although tenure in office was under the king's control, the patrimonial tendency ingrained in Egyptian society encouraged the growth of whole "dynasties" of entrenched officeholders, whose power endured so long as they remained in favor (Hayes *CAH*^{3} 2/1: 323–29, 353–401; *AESH*, 204–18). While the effects of such

social inertia were not always beneficial, the government thus constituted proved sufficiently stable to weather many disturbances in the centuries to come.

The first major crisis was dynastic, involving tensions within the royal family, which festered over the next three generations (Hayes *CAH*³ 2/1: 315–22). For lack of a male heir, Amenhotep I went outside the immediate royal family and appointed Thutmose I as his successor. The latter's paternity is unknown, and his claim to the throne seems to have been secured by his marriage to a daughter of Amenhotep I and his chief queen, herself a full member of the royal family on both sides. Over the next two generations, this pattern persisted. Thutmose I's chief queen passed her Ahmoside lineage on to her daughter, Hatshepsut, who wed her half-brother, Thutmose II (ca. 1518–1504); and the issue of this union, another daughter, was married to *her* half-brother (and cousin), Thutmose III (1504–1450). As the last descendants of Ahmose I, these women continued to hold the office of chief queen at the expense of the nonroyal women who bore the king's sons.

While the preeminence of the Ahmoside females has suggested that the kingship was transmitted matrilineally in the earlier 18th Dyn. (Redford 1967: 65–76), it may reflect little more than the value that the pharaohs then placed on their connection with the dynasty's founding family. In any case, the implied conflict between the claims of the Ahmoside branch, by now exclusively female, and the king's supremacy (regardless of lineage) was not to be resolved quietly. When Thutmose II died prematurely, leaving the baby Thutmose III as his heir, Hatshepsut assumed the regency for the young king. Her eventual assumption of the kingship itself (in 1498?) carried to a logical extreme the pretensions of the Ahmoside branch of the royal family. Although Hatshepsut did not dethrone her nephew, she asserted a claim to royal power equal to his and, as senior coregent, took precedence over him in contemporary monuments (Redford 1967: 50–87; Murnane 1977: 32–44). The joint reign of Hatshepsut and the young Thutmose III was outwardly prosperous, punctuated by the execution of great building projects (e.g., the queen's mortuary temple, today called Deir el-Bahari) and expeditions to the land of Punt on the eastern coast of the Sudan (Hayes *CAH*³ 2/1: 329–33; Kitchen 1971). An ingenious hypothesis, which interprets an inscription from this time (Gardiner 1946) as referring to the tidal wave that followed the volcanic eruption on the Greek island of Thera and connects this phenomenon with circumstances surrounding the Israelite exodus from Egypt (Shanks 1981; 1982), has not gained general acceptance (e.g., Oren 1981).

Hatshepsut's death (1483?) ended her coregency with Thutmose III; and when her daughter also died, apparently childless, the original branch of the 18th Dyn. died with her. While the dispute between the two sides of the royal family was practically resolved in the Thutmosides' favor, the issue of legitimacy continued to rankle. In spite of all the glory he won through his later achievements, Thutmose III felt compelled to secure his claim to the throne by systematically dishonoring Hatshepsut's memory (Edgerton 1933; Nims 1966). Thutmose III's later queens, and those of his successors, enjoyed a largely ceremonial status that did not permit them to challenge the king's right to determine the royal succession, as the females of the Ahmoside line had at least implicitly managed to do.

C. Formation of the Empire in Western Asia

The resolution of the dynastic crisis in Egypt coincided with the rise of a fresh challenge from western Asia. During the last years of Hatshepsut's reign, the king of Kadesh had succeeded in forging an alliance with over three hundred Syro-Palestinian principalities. This was a development that the Egyptians, from their experience of the Hyksos invasion, could only regard with apprehension. In his first and most celebrated campaign (1483), Thutmose III surprised the confederate princes at Megiddo and, after a seven-month siege, was able to dictate terms (Faulkner 1942; Helck 1971: 118–36). The fate of the vanquished princes, however, was unexpectedly mild: tribute and an oath of loyalty to the pharaoh were all that was required in most cases. These provisions marked a departure in Egypt's relations with her Asiatic neighbors: reciprocal obligations between vassal and overlord were now extended more widely and systematically than ever before, and the Egyptians were committed to a consistent pattern of involvement in Syria and Palestine (Drower *CAH*³ 2/2: 444–59).

The stability that Thutmose III sought through this farsighted policy was not, however, to be won quickly. Continued resistance from major states such as Kadesh and Tunip encouraged other cities to rebel and eventually triggered the direct involvement of Mitanni, the rival superpower in the north. The ensuing struggle, prolonged over the next three generations, demonstrated the futility of the major powers' efforts to prevail over one another. Having secured the Syro-Palestinian coastline, as well as the interior of Palestine, Thutmose III next carried the war deep into enemy territory. In 1473 he equaled Thutmose I's earlier feat of campaigning on the River Euphrates, thus demonstrating Mitanni's vulnerability on her own borders (Faulkner 1946). This lesson was driven home repeatedly in Thutmose III's later years, which witnessed numerous incursions into the Mitannian vassals' territories. The Mitannians countered by inciting rebellions within Egypt's sphere of influence, precipitating fresh campaigns by Amenhotep II (ca. 1453–1419) and Thutmose IV (ca. 1419–1386). By the close of the 15th cent., competition between the superpowers had become a vicious circle that benefited neither one. The time had now come for Egypt and Mitanni to stabilize their respective spheres of influence in the Middle East (Drower *CAH*³ 2/2: 459–67; Redford 1979; Spalinger 1983).

Peace between Egypt and Mitanni was celebrated by the first of several "diplomatic marriages" when Thutmose IV married a daughter of the Mitannian king Artatama. This marriage tie between the royal families, maintained over the next two generations in Egypt (Schulman 1979), symbolized the peace that, with the two empires' rapprochement, now extended from the Nile to the Euphrates. Cordial relations between Egypt and Mitanni removed barriers to trade between their territories and helped to expand commercial and diplomatic contacts with other regions, notably Cyprus, Hatti, Assyria, and Babylon. Peace between the superpowers also helped suppress, even

if it did not eliminate, rivalries and occasional lawlessness among their vassals. The two empires met in southern Syria. On the coast, the Egyptians were supreme, for their sphere of influence ran north into Amurru (northern Lebanon). Mitannian access to the coast was through the territory of Ugarit, which was friendly to both powers. Inland, the border lay north of the city of Kadesh, an Egyptian vassal. A measure of insight into the vassal states' relations with their suzerains and with one another can be gleaned from the diplomatic correspondence on cuneiform tablets recovered from the Egyptian site of El-Amarna (Drower *CAH*³ 2/2: 467–93; Albright *CAH*³ 2/2: 98–116; Liverani 1979). The beneficial effects of peace can be observed in the Nile Valley under Amenhotep III (ca. 1386–1349), whose reign has become identified with the splendor of imperial Egypt in the period just preceding the foreign and domestic crises which arose in the reign of his son (Hayes *CAH*³ 2/1: 338–46).

D. Amarna Period

Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) is one of the best known, yet among the most mysterious, of the pharaohs. A younger son of Amenhotep III, he became crown prince on the premature death of an elder brother. Suggestions that he spent the greater part of his reign as his father's coregent (Aldred 1968: 100–32) are now generally disbelieved (Redford 1967: 88–169; Murnane 1977: 123–69, 231–33). Although many of the changes he introduced can be traced to artistic, linguistic, and religious trends of earlier periods, the contemporary significance of these innovations are still debated (e.g., Aldred 1968: 163–96; Redford 1984: 157–81). Similarly, while the objects and practical effects of Amenhotep IV's program are fairly clear, a great deal of uncertainty still clouds his motives and the antecedents of his reforms.

Amenhotep IV's new program began to manifest itself soon after his accession (ca. 1350?). An obliquely expressed disdain for traditional cults (Redford 1981) was accompanied by unequivocal signs of favor to a form of the sun god who was manifest in the solar disk, the "Aten." Although the disk itself was an accepted religious symbol, the king gave it new attributes and a cult that the established priesthoods were forced to accept. Temples to the Aten, hastily built and decorated in a new style that self-consciously broke with the artistic tradition of previous reigns, sprang up throughout the Nile Valley. The new cult was particularly favored at Thebes (Redford 1984: 57–142), the bailiwick of the most conspicuous of the old deities whom Amenhotep IV wished to supplant, "Amun-Re King of the Gods." Favored since the beginning of the 18th Dyn. as the ruling god of the family's Theban hometown, Amun and his clergy had acquired property and privileges far beyond those awarded to other institutions. The danger presumably lay in the possibility that this power might someday erode the king's exclusive authority (Kees 1953: 10–84; Hayes *CAH*³ 2/1: 323–29). While the precise nature of the challenge, if such it was, remains obscure, it is clear that the pharaoh had set himself on a course that would only be to the established cults' disadvantage.

By the fifth year of Amenhotep IV's reign, even the pretense of dispassion toward the old gods (Redford 1963) had been replaced by a widening alienation from their clergy. The king now changed his name to Akhenaten (meaning, perhaps, "One who is effective on behalf of the Aten"). At the same time, he established a new cult center for his god in Middle Egypt, at a site hitherto devoid of cultic associations, which he called Akhet-Aten ("the Horizon of the Sun Disk"), today known as El-Amarna (Murnane 1984; Kemp *LÄ* 6: 309–19). See also AMARNA, TELL EL-. The resources of the state were thrown into the construction of the new royal residence city, which was further magnified at Amun's expense when Akhenaten decreed that he and his family should be buried there instead of in the traditional royal cemetery of West Thebes (Redford 1984: 142–53). The snubbing of the old gods eventually turned to outright persecution when Akhenaten closed their temples and ordered that the images of most divinities be destroyed (Aldred 1968: 191–96). It was plain that the stability of Akhenaten's new order would have to depend on the force of his will, and not on any long-standing institutional bases.

Much has been written on the doctrinal foundations of Akhenaten's creed. The identification of his god with the royal interest has even led to a charge of atheism (Redford 1984: 157–81, 232–35); but the prevailing tendency has been to debate the extent to which Akhenaten was or was not a monotheist. A strict monotheism can be excluded, for the divinity of the Aten in the sky was shared on earth by the king and, very probably, by his chief queen, Nefertiti (Wilson 1973). On the other hand, one of the salient characteristics of Akhenaten's "heresy" is that it sharply restricted the traditional embodiments of divinity, even in the cult of the sun god (Assmann 1972; *LÄ* 1: 526–40). The king's iconoclasm, moreover, extended beyond the destruction of individual divine images, attacking even the word "gods" in earlier hieroglyphic inscriptions (Hornung 1982: 244–50). Akhenaten may not have breached the traditional Egyptian henotheism, but he certainly stretched its limits to an ultimately unacceptable degree.

In the end, Akhenaten's reforms could not outlive their creator. The religion of the Aten found no effective champions at his death, which left Egypt wracked by troubles abroad and instability within the royal family. The accession of Akhenaten's son-in-law Tutankhamun (ca. 1334–1325) brought with it the restoration of the orthodox cults, and a measure of calm was thus restored. Akhenaten and his immediate successors were tarred with the same brush, however, and all were eventually consigned to the official oblivion that Akhenaten initially planned for Egypt's ancient gods (Alfred *CAH*³ 2/2: 63–81; Redford 1984: 222–31).

Alongside the internal upheavals of Akhenaten's reign, Egypt faced nothing less than a fundamental change in the balance of power in the Middle East. The superpowers' *entente cordiale* was already under strain when the renascent kingdom of Hatti began to challenge the Mitannians in the north. When the Hittite king Shuppiluliuma drove the pharaoh's father-in-law, Tushratta of Mitanni, from his capital and took over most of his vassals in Syria, the Mitannians suffered a mortal blow. Egyptian interests were directly affected, moreover, when the Hittites took over the city-state of Kadesh, an Egyptian vassal, and then refused to give it up. There followed a prolonged period

of cold war, during which both Egypt and Hatti were hostage to each other's indecisiveness and to the machinations of their Syrian vassals. A serious effort to resolve the superpowers' dispute ended badly when a Hittite prince sent to marry Tutankhamun's widow (ca. 1324) died on his way to Egypt. The active hostilities which followed only confirmed the dispiriting trend of foreign affairs under the Amarna pharaohs. Egyptian military failures and the preponderant Hittite power in northern Syria eventually forced the kingdom of Amurru to join Kadesh as a Hittite vassal, pushing the border of Egypt's empire still further south. Affairs on the frontier would continue to sour relations between Egypt and Hatti over the next three generations (Goetze *CAH*³ 2/2: 1–20, 117–29; Murnane 1979).

E. Dynasty 19

When a series of premature deaths wiped out a royal family already discredited by association with the Amarna heresy, the way lay open for a competent strongman to rule in its place. This was Horemheb (ca. 1321–1293), a general of humble birth who had risen to a position of preeminent authority in the years following Akhenaten's death. His coronation by oracular decree (Gardiner 1953) inaugurated a long reign whose solid orthodoxy did much to repair the social ravages the Amarna period had left in its wake (Aldred *CAH*³ 2/2: 71–77). Horemheb's failure to produce an heir, however, compelled him to appoint as his successor a trusted associate who, as Ramesses I (ca. 1293–1291), founded the 19th Dyn. (Kitchen 1982: 9–20).

The unresolved quarrel between Egypt and Hatti was reopened by Ramesses' son Sety I (ca. 1291–1279), who won back for Egypt the border territories of Kadesh and Amurru. The Hittites' failure under Sety, however, would be redeemed with interest in the early reign of his son, Ramesses II (1279–1212). When Kadesh once more defected to the Hittites, Ramesses marched north in 1274 and, believing reports that the Hittite King Muwatalli was still far away, pitched camp on the western side of Kadesh. Muwatalli's army was hiding behind the city, however, and in a fierce attack it cut the Egyptian column in two, nearly destroying the king and his forces. Ramesses II's gallantry on the field and the timely arrival of relief troops averted this disaster; and after another day of inconclusive fighting, Muwatalli allowed the Egyptians to leave the field of battle (Kitchen 1982: 43–64; Schulman 1962; 1981). This orderly retreat masked a calamitous defeat for Egypt, however, as the Hittites reconquered Amurru and swept down into southern Syria, which Egypt had held since the middle of the 18th Dyn. Although this territory was recovered, the ensuing struggle between the two empires soon degenerated into an unproductive stalemate (Kitchen 1982: 64–72). Mutual exhaustion, the Hittites' inability to cope with Egyptian intrigues, the rising power of Assyria, and (perhaps) concern with the waxing might of marauding "Sea Peoples" in the Mediterranean, finally ended the hostilities. With the conclusion of a mutual defense pact in 1259, the superpowers were again at peace. During the balance of his long reign, Ramesses II would resume the practice of diplomatic marriage and wed no fewer than two Hittite princesses (Kitchen 1982: 73–95; Goetze *CAH*³ 2/2: 252–73; Schulman 1977–78; 1979). The equilibrium of the great powers in the Middle East was restored.

The scale and abundance of Ramesses II's monuments—which include the majestic rock temples in Nubia, imposing cult buildings at Thebes, and numerous constructions in the north—amply justify this pharaoh's posthumous reputation for grandeur. Among these projects, embellishments to ancient Heliopolis and the development of the royal residence Piramesse (at Qantir in the eastern Delta) probably lie behind the account in Exodus 1:11 of the Hebrews' servitude at the cities of Pithom and Rameses (Uphill 1968; 1969). See also RAMESES (PLACE). Widespread prosperity is also reflected in commemorative monuments of the high officials of the reign (Kitchen 1982: 97–182) and in the surviving workaday records of common people, notably those recovered from the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina in West Thebes (Bierbrier 1982).

In Asia, the turmoil that had beset the borders of Egypt's empire from the Amarna period into the early 19th Dyn. led to an intensified military presence in the remaining territories (Weinstein 1981: 15–22). This heightened security in the east was matched in Ramesses II's reign by defensive measures against the persistent infiltration of foreigners from Libya into the Delta (Habachi 1980). The movement of people from the Libyan homelands could not be stopped, however, and by the reign of Ramesses II's son Merneptah (ca. 1212–1202), bands of Libyans roved virtually at will through the western Delta. In 1208, Egypt's northwestern border was overrun by a massive invasion from Libya: spearheaded by the Libu tribe, it was rendered even more formidable by an alliance made by the Libyan chief with five peoples from the marauding groups at the fringes of the Mediterranean, known collectively as "Peoples of the Sea" (Helck 1976). Merneptah's defeat of this horde, and his suppression of a major revolt in Nubia at about the same time, deflected a major challenge to Egypt's imperial and, indeed, political integrity (Faulkner *CAH*³ 2/2: 232–35; Sandars 1985: 29–117). Egypt's territories in western Asia not only survived any disruption from the Sea Peoples' invasion of Egypt, but enjoyed (under Egyptian auspices) a renewed prosperity that lasted into the next century (Oren 1984). Egyptian dominance within her sphere of influence is also illustrated by Merneptah's war with the city-states of Ashkelon, Gezer, and Yanoam and with a people called Israel, the latter being mentioned in Egyptian records for the first time during this reign (Yurco 1986). Egypt, however, had not seen the last of her troubles from Libya or the Sea Peoples.

The quarter-century following Merneptah's death was marked by civil wars, capped by a fresh wave of foreign invasions. The first phase, marked by a dispute between rival branches of Ramesses II's family, was eventually settled in favor of Merneptah's son, Sety II (Yurco 1980; Krauss 1976, 1977; Osing 1979). At Sety II's death (ca. 1193), the crown passed to his feeble son Siptah; but real power was apparently held by Sety's chief queen, Tausret, and by a court official of Syrian extraction, the "great chancellor of the entire land" Baye. At Siptah's death, Tausret briefly took the throne, but when she died, there ensued another obscure period of civil war—this time between foreign mercenaries, supporting Chancellor Baye, and forces loyal to the country's administration,

which stood behind a certain Sethnakht. This man's victory, after a struggle lasting somewhat in excess of a year (ca. 1183), restored order to the land and passed the kingly office to a new royal family (Drenkhahn 1980; Faulkner *CAH*³ 2/2: 235–41).

F. Dynasty 20

Sethnakht had barely been succeeded by his son Ramesses III (ca. 1182–1151) when problems on the northern borders flared up anew. Two Libyan invasions (ca. 1178 and 1172) and a fresh incursion of Sea Peoples (ca. 1175) required the young pharaoh to engage in a vigorous defense of Egyptian territory. Particularly menacing were the Sea Peoples, who had eliminated the northeast Mediterranean states that had previously helped to contain them. Now they were advancing into Egypt's Asiatic possessions, while their fleet assaulted the coastal defenses of the empire. Pitched battles on land and sea prevented this invasion from penetrating Egypt itself (Faulkner *CAH*³ 2/2: 241–44; Sandars 1985: 117–77; Stadelmann 1968). Ramesses III's defeat of the two Libyan invasions, especially that of the Meshwesh Libyans in ca. 1172, was also considered a major achievement; but the Libyans' infiltration into western border areas, which had continued despite Merneptah's victory, would be the source of recurring difficulties later on (*AESH*, 271–78; Kitchen 1985). Seen retrospectively, the victories of Ramesses III appear to have been won at some cost. Egypt could not defend her Asiatic vassals from the very Sea Peoples whom Merneptah and Ramesses III had defeated, and who were now settling on the Levantine coast. As a result, even the appearance of Egyptian imperial control in Asia ended by the second half of the 12th cent. (Dothan 1982; Weinstein 1981: 22–23). At home, large numbers of Libyans were incorporated into the armed forces. Settled in permanent military camps, these troops formed the basis of a soldier class that, within two centuries, would support the political ambitions of its native leaders, the "Great Chiefs of the Me[shwesh]" (Kitchen 1973: 243–45, 285–92).

Strikes by the workmen of the royal tomb late in Ramesses III's reign (Edgerton 1951; Janssen 1979) are among the first indicators of the economic difficulties that persisted through the 20th Dyn. (O'Connor *AESH*, 226–29). The extent to which these problems can be traced to lower annual inundations (Butzer 1976: 29–33) is debatable; but they are manifest in higher prices for basic foodstuffs (Janssen 1975a, 1975b) and in widespread corruption at all levels of society (Peet 1924, 1930; Wilson 1956: 267–88). Some of the social disruption seen in this period can be blamed on marauding bands of Meshwesh Libyans, whose depredations are mentioned frequently in surviving records from Thebes (Černý *CAH*³ 2/2: 616–69). The pharaohs who succeeded Ramesses III are ill defined as historical personalities, and it is hard to escape the impression that they remained increasingly in the splendid isolation of their Delta residence, leaving the local management of affairs in other hands. In much of Upper Egypt this duty came to devolve upon the high priest of Amun, whose importance as the chief manager of his god's extensive land holdings increased when the office became hereditary during the 20th Dyn. (Černý *CAH*³ 2/2: 626–34; *AESH*, 211–18, 222–25). To all appearances, the competition that Akhenaten had feared from the Amun clergy was realized some two centuries after his death.

It was not the priests, however, but the generals who would preside over the dismemberment of NK Egypt. While much of this process remains obscure, it began with a rebellion that broke out in Upper Egypt near the beginning of Ramesses XI's reign (ca. 1098). Apparently directed against the central authority represented by the high priest of Amun (Wente 1966), the insurrection was put down by loyalist troops under the command of Panehesy, the viceroy of Nubia. Panehesy stayed on as governor of the Thebaid until he was driven out by the general Herihor, a commander of Libyan extraction who also professed loyalty to Ramesses XI. Herihor, like Panehesy before him, acted as military governor at Thebes, but he went a significant step farther by claiming the offices of viceroy of Nubia, vizier, and even high priest of Amun. In fact, Herihor was an independent ruler who appropriated the titles of kingship on some of his monuments at Thebes. The "Report of Wenamun," which (like the MK "Autobiography of Sinuhe") is probably an artful work of fiction with a factually realistic setting (Helck *LÄ* 6: 1215–17; but cf. Wente 1973), describes Herihor as having cordial relations with one Smendes, who wielded a commensurate power in the north from his headquarters at Tanis. The ideological legitimacy of these regimes was apparently grounded in their leaders' authority as representatives of the god Amun, who by now was reckoned as the true king of Egypt. Ramesses XI still reigned through all this, but it is clear that he did not rule.

However peacefully these usurpations were accomplished, they would have far-reaching and ultimately destructive results. When Smendes became the founding king of the 21st Dyn. at Ramesses XI's death (ca. 1070), he could command only the nominal submission of the Theban high priests, whose territory began some fifty miles south of Memphis. In the far south, the war that Herihor and his successors had begun with the viceroy Panehesy achieved only the detachment of Nubia, which would go her own way until she reclaimed her heritage from Egypt in the 8th cent. B.C.E. The NK had begun with the reunification of Egypt and her brilliant conquests in Asia and Nubia. It ended with the loss of both empires and the beginnings of an internal fragmentation that would eventually cost the nation its political independence (Kitchen 1973: 247–57; Černý *CAH*³ 2/2: 626–43; *AESH*, 229–35).

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WILLIAM J. MURNANE

3D INTERMEDIATE–SAITE PERIOD (DYN. 21–26)

A. Third Intermediate Period
   1. Egypt in Dynasty 21
   2. Libyan Era: Unity

3. Libyan Era: Anarchy
4. Kushite Era
5. Assyrians and Kushites
B. Saite Period

A. Third Intermediate Period

The era immediately succeeding that of the New Kingdom (NK) witnessed varied developments in society, culture, and economy (Kitchen 1973). Notwithstanding the apparent paucity of royal inscriptions, much has been revealed by recent research concentrated on this hitherto presumed Dark Age of Egypt. However, the paramount and consistent trend in the dynasties following the fall of the NK is one of political decentralization and corresponding lack of a firm unified monarchy (Yoyotte 1961). Foreigners, too, made an impact on the Nile valley, and not one but three different contenders for the prize of Egypt left their mark. First, there were the Libyans, who had already settled in the north during the reign of Ramesses III; then Egypt was faced with a southern incursion, that of the Kishites; finally, the mighty Assyrians attempted to conquer the land. As a result, the political history of this time is difficult to view as a whole if only because Egypt was not unified as before. For the sake of simplicity and ease of comprehension, modern scholarship now uses the term "Third Intermediate Period" to cover Dynasties 21–25 (ca. 1069–664 B.C.). This, in turn, was followed by the Saite Period, Dyn. 26 (664–525 B.C.), an era of unity (De Meulenaere 1951; 1967; all dates follow Kitchen 1982–83). However, it should be stressed that the 3d Intermediate Period is purely a global designation, revealing little about the 400-year span of Egyptian history, a time that witnessed the emergence of a society quite different than any preceding.

1. Egypt in Dynasty 21 (ca. 1069–945 B.C.). The last years of Pharaoh Ramesses XI saw a subtle alteration in the power structure of Egypt. The famous report of Wenamun (ca. 1076 B.C.) alludes in fairly direct language to the dual control of Egypt: in the south, control had effectively passed to the high priest of Amun, Herihor, while the north was under the *de facto* jurisdiction of Smendes from his capital at the seaport of Tanis in the East Delta (Wente 1972; Lichtheim *AEL* 2: 224–30). At the death of the last Ramesside ruler, the two offices passed smoothly to, respectively, the then incumbent high priest of Amun Pinudjem and to Pharaoh Smendes himself. It is noteworthy that there followed a sudden blanket of darkness concerning Egypt's control over Nubia. From the beginning of Dyn. 21, most of the territory south of Egypt proper was lost to the Egyptians, whether the royal house of Tanis or the pontiffs of Thebes. However, some degree of economic control may be inferred from the female side of the priestly family of Pinudjem II, high priest of Amun, which received titles such as "Superintendent of Southern Foreign Lands" and, presumably, revenues from Nubia (Kitchen 1973: 276). This cessation of control further aggravated the economic weakness of Egypt already begun with her withdrawal from Asia a half-century earlier. An examination of the difference between the two parts of Egypt at this time is more instructive. Not only was the high priest of Amun the religious leader of the south, controlling the old area of the "Head of the South" in Upper Egypt as well as most of Middle Egypt, but he was likewise a commander-in-chief of the army, or *generallissimo*, as modern scholars label him, and "army leader" (Kitchen 1973: 252, 257). Inscriptional evidence from Thebes points to the common practice of consulting oracles, in which the god Amun (through his priesthood) played a crucial role (Gardiner 1962; Kruchten 1986). A few such oracles have come down to us from this period, dealing with property settlements by members of the royal family; these texts stress the all-powerful connection of the religious hierarchy of Thebes and its far-ranging secular jurisdiction (Černý 1962). The judgments that were rendered had to be approved by the god, who "nodded vigorously" as the inscriptions recount. A famous inscription probably dating from the later reign of King Siamun (ca. 978–959 B.C.) narrates an oracle decision wherein the legal case concerned misappropriation of funds (Kitchen 1973: 277; Kruchten 1985; 1986).

Pinudjem I renewed the burials of his royal ancestors in the Valley of the Kings, albeit with some possible mistakes in attribution (Černý 1946; Kitchen 1973: 257). He also had himself proclaimed pharaoh in his own right, the first clear-cut evidence of this practice from the temple of Khonsu at Thebes. In the 16th regnal year of Smendes (ca. 1057 B.C.), Pinudjem became the first pharaoh of the south, while his son Masaharta took the position of "high priest of Amun." Although this was not the start of a civil war, it essentially created a separate and continuing dynasty in addition to the royal line of Tanis. It is difficult to view such appropriation of royalty as *lèse majesté* or revolt by Pinudjem against Smendes, since the latter never had effective control over Thebes. Moreover, there are no regnal years associated with Pinudjem as king, a point worth stressing as it indicates that Smendes still was superior, if only in form. Indeed, the high priest may have taken this move owing to unrest in Thebes, which was finally resolved by his son (see below). Nevertheless, the natural division in Egypt between north and south finally reached its logical conclusion and the new king probably moved his residence to El-Hibeh in Middle Egypt, thereby establishing his court there. He was related by marriage to Smendes through his wife Henettowe and it is probable that relations between Smendes and his son-in-law were cemented by means of this physical alliance. In this light it is interesting that the next high priest, Menkheperre, traveled south (from the Middle Egyptian residence of El-Hibeh) to take up his new position in year 25 of Smendes. He was soon faced with dissension and civil disturbances in the Theban region (Kitchen 1973: 260). Rather than resulting from a conflict between adherents of the Tanis dynasty and those of Pinudjem I, it is more probable that these outbreaks of violence reflected the further disintegration of unity within Egypt, in this case with Thebes and the extreme south against Middle Egypt. Indeed, it is clear that Pinudjem attempted to firm his absentee control over this religious capital by ensuring that all of the key positions remained within his family. It should also be remembered that during the preceding dynasty, the Theban temples, especially that of Amun-Re at Karnak, possessed large tracts of land to the north (Gardiner 1942–48); there is no reason to think that such was not the case in the middle of Dyn. 21. Hence, he who controlled Thebes and

its hierarchy automatically gained access to considerable resources, including tenants, land, and of course, wealth. The so-called "Banishment Stela" of Menkheperre recounts the apparent success of Pinudjem's son in quashing unrest when he reached Thebes, as well as his later grant of clemency toward banished malcontents who were then residing in the Khargah Oasis (Von Beckerath 1968). The most careful reading of the text fails to disclose any clue to the exact historical circumstances leading up to the Theban dissension, but one suspects that it was more politic for the high priest to aim at reconciliation rather than warfare.

With the deaths of Smendes and his short-lived son, the Tanite line then passed on to the energetic Psusennes I (ca. 1039–991 B.C.). Although the southern line of high priests never again rose to claim royalty after Pinudjem I's death seven years later, Psusennes himself took the title of high priest of Amun (this time in Tanis). He copied the policy of his southern contemporaries by securing his control over various priestly offices. Indeed, unlike the administrative setup of the NK, Dyn. 21 and its successors reveal the intimate family relationships that existed between the kings and the religious benefices in the land. It would be false to view only the south in this manner: Psusennes I and his royal descendants also established a joint religious-secular state, a "God's State," to employ the term used by German Egyptologists (Meyer 1928). In addition, the new monarch built extensively at Tanis, transforming it into the major commercial and administrative metropolis of the north. Noteworthy is his predilection for the Theban gods Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, reflecting the predominance of this triad, already known from the NK, outside of Thebes.

Very little is known concerning the south of Egypt during the reign of Psusennes and his successors. The line of Menkheperre continued to hold the office of High Priest of Amun, but none of his descendants ever took the kingship. Perhaps indicative of the independence of this region from the north was the establishment of El-Hibeh as the capital and fortress of the southern rulers, a fact well known from Menkheperre's own building program there and from a group of papyri (Spiegelberg 1917). This citadel city was ideally suited both for possible defense against the north and commercial control over the north-south river trade owing to its vantage point on the Nile. In fact, Menkheperre and his sons may have found their hands full maintaining control over the southern city of Thebes from their capital in addition to keeping guard on the border just north of El-Hibeh. However, the close connections between Tanis and the southern pontiffs should remind us that there is no evidence of warfare or hostility between the two powers. Psusennes I and his immediate successors were recognized in Thebes, and the aged king himself was interred there.

The next three Tanite kings, although of relatively small importance, present interesting aspects. During the reigns of the first two, Amenemope and Osorkor(n), now named "The Elder," close connections appear to have been forged between the Tanite court and Hadad the Edomite (see 1 Kgs 11:14–22), a political refugee from the north (Malamat 1958; 1963: 8–17; Redford 1973: 5–6; Kitchen 1973: 273–75; Schulman 1983). It was probably during these two reigns that Hadad came to Tanis and secured for himself a place in exile after the victorious armies of King David had taken control of his kingdom. This passive support of an enemy of the Israelite Kingdom was to have repercussions toward the close of Dyn. 21. Such brief indications of international maneuverings clearly indicate that the paucity of our sources for this period does not necessarily indicate that the Tanite kings eschewed foreign affairs. The second pharaoh, Osorkor(n) (ca. 984–978 B.C.), bears a good Libyan name and there is little doubt, following recent research, that he was not related to the previous pharaoh (Yoyotte 1976–77). Quite the contrary, Osorkor(n) was descended from an important Libyan (or Meshwesh, as they called themselves) tribe that had settled in the north in Dyn. 20. His father was a tribal emir of great importance and he himself was the uncle of the future founder of Dyn. 22.

Such an occurrence indicates the gradual but steady rise in importance accrued by the Libyans in Egypt during the 21st Dyn. By and large, they were descendants of captured soldiers and families defeated by Ramesses III at the beginning of Dyn. 20. As such, they were given parcels of land on which to work, a fact confirmed from the data of Papyrus Wilbour (Gardiner 1942–48). Despite many years in Egypt, they appear to have kept their military ability as well as their tribal character. Indeed, although the next dynasty may be viewed as archetypically "Libyan," at this earlier date they still possessed their tribal political system and were ruled by chiefs designated as "Great Chiefs of the Ma" (or Meshwesh).

Siamun (ca. 978–959 B.C.) continued to support the refugee Hadad at his court. However, when the aged king David of Israel died, he took the opportunity to support fully Hadad's return to Edom and at the same time moved his army north into Philistia (Malamat 1963: 12–16; Kitchen 1973: 280–83). This campaign, although minor in comparison to those of the NK, nevertheless indicates that Tanis regarded her northern neighbor, the kingdom of Israel, with a jaundiced if not jealous eye. Precisely at David's death and coinciding with the problems of royal succession in Israel, Siamun moved on Gezer and seized it. Unfortunately for the Egyptian, events in Israel had also sped swiftly and Solomon quickly took control of his father's kingdom. As a result, the Tanite monarch made an about-face and, under the guise of a diplomatic marriage agreement, "gave" the captured city of Gezer to Solomon as a dowry with his daughter, thereby cementing an alliance with his powerful neighbor. Indeed, as Gezer belonged to the Philistines, it may be persuasively argued that Siamun's campaign was an attempt at curtailing, if not crushing, a commercial rival, since the Philistines were in control of much of the East Mediterranean sea trade.

The last pharaoh of Dyn. 21 (Psusennes II: ca. 959–945 B.C.) rounded out the domination of Tanis. Recent evaluation of his little-recorded reign has indicated that the rise to power, previously thought to be quite sudden, of an important Libyan family, was not so very rapid or unexpected (Redford 1973: 7–8; Kitchen 1973: 284–86). This lineage, which eventually saw one of its members (Sheshonk) placed on the throne, could trace its roots far back in time. Indeed, as Yoyotte was first to stress, the importance of the Libyan families in the north, especially in the

Western Delta, was part and parcel of Egyptian society from Dyn. 20 onward. At Bubastis, the family of the future king intermarried with that of Tanis. Much of the background information concerning the future Sheshonk I of Egypt can be derived from a well-known inscription set up at the holy shrine of Abydos, as well as from some genealogical stelae and inscriptions (Blackman 1941; Kitchen 1973; 105–6, 109–10, 282–85). They reveal that Sheshonk was related to the earlier Pharaoh Osorkor(n) and that his son in turn was married to the daughter of Psusennes II.

Certainly one of the most significant aspects of Dyn. 21 is the almost incredible linkages maintained by the royal family at Tanis and by the high priests of Amun at Thebes. Both in the north and south, the two powers consistently maintained their relatives in key economic and military positions of the land. One might well view a system wherein the king's wives, children, and other relations were all associated with the main cult centers of the day as quasi-feudal. This system was not practiced in the NK to as great an extent. Basically, the growing devolution of the Egyptian state in Dyn. 20 had revealed the importance of temporal and religious power, especially in the south with the immense influence of the priesthood of Amun-Re. No longer could a pharaoh depend upon an ostensibly impartial bureaucracy for his power. The situation had altered to one in which the king's might was not merely contested by the power of the pontiffs at Thebes but, more significantly, could not be effectively exercised without firm support from other temples in Egypt. Such limitations on actual rather than theoretical power must imply that the basis for the king's strength was more constricted than previously, a conclusion partially supported by the numerous officials in Egypt—not only at Thebes—who held military ranks side by side with religious ones, and whose loyalty was not necessarily to the pharaoh. The settlement of Libyan warrior-families undoubtedly hastened the change of the social setup of Egypt, for these settled soldiers carried with them a clan or tribal system alien to the Egyptians. This can best be seen in the plethora of Libyan titles mentioned earlier, and it is striking that these people kept for a long period of time their native names, unlike other foreigners who settled in Egypt. The West Delta at this time may be likened to a Libyan lake, an interpretation stressed by Yoyotte (1961: 148–49, 151–59) and Kitchen (1973: 285).

2. Libyan Era: Unity. Owing to the complexities of the period during which the Libyans dominated Egypt, it is best to divide it into a time of comparative unity (ca. 945–850 B.C.), followed by a gradual disintegration leading to the fragmented political structure so well evident (c. 750 B.C.) just before Assyria and the Kushites became interested in the Nile Valley. This section will therefore deal with the first kings of Dyn. 22 and their apparent success in holding the land. Unfortunately, despite grandiose plans, they were unable to alter the social and political structure of the day, and Egypt relapsed further into a decentralized form of government.

Such an interpretation belittles the apparently radical move of Sheshonk I to the throne of Egypt. This active and internationally minded pharaoh (ca. 945–924 B.C.) is well known to biblical historians and Egyptologists. He quickly associated himself with the religious capital of Thebes, while at the same time allying with the last members of the Tanite lineage. Indeed, as noted previously, Sheshonk could trace his ancestors back into the misty past of Dyn. 20, certainly indicating that his pedigree was as old and, from a residence point of view, as settled as any local commoner. He followed the practice of his less successful predecessors of Dyn. 21 in cementing control over the Theban hierarchy through appointments of his relatives. It is unclear whether he intended any new course of action, for records indicate that the army commanders under his dynasty, just as that preceding, held religious posts as well. Although he planted his supporters and relatives in key positions in the north and south, Sheshonk did nothing to invalidate that decentralized system. Indeed, in his inscriptions we note constant references to adherents from the army, thereby lending credence to the feeling that the new pharaoh was perhaps even more dependent upon his military retainers (Blackman 1941: 84–85; Tresson 1935–38: 825–26).

Sheshonk's well-known campaign into Asia, for example, was not one of conquest (Kitchen 1973: 294–300, 432–47; Redford 1973: 7–11; Feucht 1981). Quite the contrary, he seized upon an opportune time to damage the power of his immediate neighbor to the north by marching into Palestine a few years after the death of Solomon. Recent work has revealed that rather than attempt to annex property, Sheshonk preferred to despoil the territories of Israel and Judah, which had the added advantage of providing needed booty in order to pay his army. Certainly the campaign was a success if the limited nature of the strategy is seen and understood (Redford 1973: 7–13). Unlike Siamun before him, who had to contend with a united kingdom of Israel, the split between the north and south after the death of Solomon lent itself to an effective war of attrition. Significantly, Sheshonk did not return to Palestine, even though the state of Judah was weakened from the attack as well as from the desertion of Israel. Hence, one might also interpret Sheshonk's action as an attempt to break Israel's commercial monopoly in the north which had grown considerably at the expense of a weak Tanite line. This argument has the indirect support of the date of the campaign: in year 21 of the king, which is quite late in comparison to NK pharaohs, who usually campaigned in their opening years, thereby indicating that Sheshonk waited for a favorable time before moving north. Whatever the actual cause, the pharaoh returned home with much captured booty from Jerusalem itself and soon after began building at Karnak the Bubastite Portal (Caminos 1952; Epigraphic Survey 1954: pls. 2–9). This overt sign of Theban construction indicates the importance that the new Libyan king attached to the temple hierarchy of Amun-Re, a policy very different from that of the preceding dynasty.

It is therefore wrong to view the policy of Sheshonk and his immediate successors, Osorkon I (ca. 924–889 B.C.) and Takelot I (ca. 889–874 B.C.), as an attempt to revive the glory and power of the NK. While it is true that the former (Sheshonk I's son) did involve himself to the north in Judah, this was a minor foray (2 Chr 14:9–15) and probably intended solely for added booty. Close connections were also maintained with Byblos, the age-old ally of Egypt in the Levant. At home, Osorkon I is presumed to

have provided the major temples of Egypt (Thebes and those in the north) with a great deal of wealth, or so says a lengthy inscription from Bubastis (Redford 1973: 13–15; Kitchen 1973: 303; Naville 1891: pls. 51–52). However, it is possible that this text is a copy of an earlier inscription, an occurrence well known from one other text written by Osorkon's namesake at Bubastis, Osorkon II (see below). In Thebes, Osorkon I had one of his sons installed as high priest of Amun, thereby preventing the incumbent from securing for his own lineage this all-important post. A second son, "Sheshonk II," became coregent but never ruled in his own right. Oddly enough, this shadowy king is eclipsed by one even more unknown, Takelot I, of whom, as Kitchen has stressed (1973: 310), not one contemporary document can be found. Nevertheless, during his reign there was issued a famous inscription known as the Iuwelot Stela. This text, now in the Cairo Museum, is a will listing the Theban property given by the donor (Iuwelot) to his son (Legrain 1897: 13–16; Baer 1973: 14). Of crucial importance for prices of land and slaves at the time, the Iuwelot Stela is remarkable for the omission of the name of the then reigning pharaoh, Takelot I. Is it possible that Takelot was not readily accepted in Thebes or that Iuwelot, himself a military chief of Libyan descent who controlled most of Middle and Upper Egypt, was independent enough of the royal authority to ignore the pharaoh? Such questions can be answered only through speculation, although it is significant that both Takelot I and his elder brother, "Sheshonk II," remain as ephemeral today as they must have been considered in antiquity.

With Osorkon II (ca. 874–850 B.C.) we come to the last significant king of Dyn. 22. His reign is noteworthy for a great amount of temple building, especially at his capital, Tanis. A well-known inscription from Bubastis dealing with his *heb-sed* (or Jubilee) festival is actually a copy of an earlier text of Amenhotep III and as such, bears witness to Osorkon II's "pious plagiarism," for want of a better phrase (Kitchen 1966: 277; 1973: 320–21; Van Siclen 1973; Naville 1892, pl. 6). Building projects at Thebes in Karnak, as well as at Bubastis, also provide evidence for this king's wide-ranging activity. Nevertheless, a close examination of his relations with the standard political offices and officeholders of the day reveals that he did nothing outside of the ordinary. In other words, the same type of decentralization existed, with members of the royal family holding key military and religious centers of the land. Kitchen has noted (1973: 314) that a dangerous precedent was established by the pharaoh when he allowed a certain Harsiese, son of a previous high priest of Amun-Re, to be appointed to that position. Sometime after, Harsiese elevated himself to the level of kingship in a little-understood event that bode ill for the Libyan state. That he died before Osorkon II, and that the king placed one of his sons in this post, in no way contradicts the feeling that Egypt's unity was quite fragile. Indeed, oracular degrees written at this time parallel in their verbiage and formulae a text of Osorkon II which refers to evildoers and threats to one's family (Redford 1973: 13–14; Yoyotte 1961: 136–37; Jacquet-Gordon 1960: 77; Kitchen 1973: 317). This sense of insecurity probably was the result of two conflicting elements in the Libyan era, attitudes that can be traced back to an earlier date: the king had to secure control of the land through his appointments, particularly from his family; however, the sons and descendants of these appointees sought the very same positions themselves. In other words, devolution was a natural by-product of such a policy, and Egypt may be likened, for the first time in her history, to a feudal state following the model of medieval Europe. Yoyotte has noted (1961: 122–24, 129–30, 134–36) that toward the middle of the 9th cent. B.C. the title "Great Chief of the Ma(swesh)" was taken up by members of the royal family even though they were not clan leaders, properly speaking. And as for Osorkon himself, despite his construction projects, his close connections with Byblos and his abortive attempt to stave off the Assyrians at Qarqar (853 B.C.), he was unable to halt the internal developments within Egypt. Although he passed the throne to his son Takelot II, with his death the land split into warring camps.

3. Libyan Era: Anarchy. Within the next twenty or so years, Egypt was witness to the complete fragmentation of political power so evident in the numerous small principalities that the Assyrians later faced. At this time one of the ostensible causes was the attempt of Pharaoh Takelot II (ca. 850–825 B.C.) to secure his son, a certain Osorkon, the position of high priest of Amun-Re in Thebes. The trials and tribulations of this man are aptly considered to be his chronicle. In them, one reads of the continual opposition of the locals in Thebes as well as their adherents in Upper Egypt against the Bubastite ruler (Caminos 1958; Kitchen 1973: 329–33). Even though Osorkon's chronicle is one-sided, enough historical information is provided to follow the main thread of political dissolution. Basically, the king attempted to control the south by placing his son, Osorkon, as pontiff. This time the resistance was too great. For ten years the political and military fortunes of this man waxed and waned, until he reconciled with his opponents and then studiously followed a policy of realism. As stressed above, the real causes of dissent did not lie within Thebes itself. By following the decentralizing practices of Dyn. 21, the pharaohs of the Bubastite line only made the political situation worse. Actually, considering the tribal nature of the Libyans themselves and their dependence upon a leader for each clan, the so-called "Great Chiefs of the Ma," it is hardly surprising that the state of Egypt should become fragmented. The high priest Osorkon found during his lifetime that the system was too weak for effective royal control. Let it not be forgotten that during this time all the pharaohs resided in the extreme north at Tanis, quite distant from the religious center of Thebes. In addition to this center of potential opposition, other cities in Middle Egypt (Heracleopolis, Hermopolis, and El-Hibeh) were controlled by powerful Libyan dynasts; even if one could trace their ancestry back to a common royal figure, this says nothing concerning the real temporal power of the day, viz., inheritance of office without royal intervention. Such appears to have been the *causus belli* following Osorkon's fatal move to Thebes. He eventually lost and was buried soon after his father.

With Sheshonk III (ca. 825–773 B.C.), we reach the end of a united kingdom. Although the south, particularly Thebes, went its own way, a second dynasty established itself at Leontopolis in the East Delta (Kitchen 1973: 123–37; Baer 1973: 11–12, 21–23 differs). Indeed, the country

can be envisaged at this time as being peppered with pro-Bubastite (Dyn. 22) and pro-Leontopolite (Dyn. 23) rulers, all small Libyan potentates. This political fragmentation is confusing as both lines followed their own system of regnal dating. Rather than recount the history of these two rival dynasties, it would be better at this point to turn to a more generalized picture of the land.

For the next eighty years or so the Egyptian state became a country with numerous Libyan principalities, each quasi-independent of any royal control. The split between Dyn. 22 and 23 merely hastened the breakup of the country. Indeed, toward the end of this period we find that some local Libyan rulers omit their nominal pharaoh's name while still using his regnal years! The redoubtable prince Osorkon, whose appointment to Thebes began this fragmentation, still pursued a persistent but unsuccessful policy against his opponents in the south. With Thebes went Heracleopolis, although Memphis and most of the Delta remained pro-Bubastite. Owing to this extreme state of affairs, a group of mini-dynasts or kinglets eventually arose. The trail-blazing research on this period was done by Yoyotte (1961), whose work remains the basis for all future analyses. He pointed out that, in the middle of the 8th century B.C., a new power arose in the West Delta and managed to unify most of that area within two decades. The leader of this territory held the Libyan title of "Great Chief of the Libu," unlike his compatriots in other corners of the Nile valley (Yoyotte 1960a; Kitchen 1973: 350–51, 355). These local yet increasingly powerful chiefs had not yet reached the point of claiming royal status, although they effectively ran a homogeneous territory, at least geographically speaking, in contrast to their rivals of Dyn. 22 or 23. Indeed, if one were to survey Egypt at the time of the Bubastite king Sheshonk V (ca. 767–730 B.C.) or his contemporary Iuput II of Dyn. 23 (ca. 754–717 B.C.), one might well find at least a surface resemblance to Medieval France or Germany.

One interesting sidelight of the Libyan period is that much of our information, especially concerning the royalty, is derived from a series of inscriptions generally termed "Donation Stelae" (Meeks 1979). These were erected by a king or private individual to record gifts of land to a temple. Such monuments were in effect the visual declaration of a previously ratified contract, presumably on papyrus. For modern scholars their importance lies in the economic as well as political sphere. Although such stelae are known from as early as Dyn. 13, they appear to have become more popular close to the end of the NK and especially later, in the Third Intermediate Period. In particular, one can determine the allegiance of a specific locality from the name of the king at the beginning. As mentioned earlier, quite late in the Libyan anarchy even the cartouches were left blank, thereby strikingly testifying to the impotence of the nominal rulers of Egypt.

This period of extreme political fragmentation did not end abruptly. A series of internal struggles was to be compounded by external threats from both the south and the north, until a new and unified Egypt could be forged. One such long-range trend was the consolidation of the kingdom of the West Delta. By year 36 of Sheshonk V (of Bubastis) a certain Tefnakht of Sais claimed to be Great Chief of the Libu and two years later absorbed the remaining western principalities into his realm. His later contemporary, Osorkon IV, ruled as the nominal head of Dyn. 22, while the contender of Dyn. 23 faced more serious problems from the south. Indeed, it is the south and particularly the kingdom of Kush that performs the main role in the next act of Egypt.

4. Kushite Era (ca. 747–664 B.C.). The Kushites did not begin with their surprise move northward into Egypt. One must remember that, after the fall of the NK, the south was severed from Egyptian control. A new power had emerged which, although native, was very Egyptianized and had absorbed much of NK Amun religion. This new expansive commercial kingdom had its capital at the Fourth Cataract at Gebel Barkal (Napata) and held territory even farther south. By the middle of the 8th century B.C., this new state began a series of northern campaigns that was to head it into the hornets' nest of divided Egypt. Under the first known king, Kashta, both Lower Nubia and Thebes were taken (Leclant 1963; Priese 1970: 16–22; Kitchen 1973: 358–59). This move downstream (i.e., northward) was not lost upon the nominal ruler of Thebes, a Dyn. 23 ruler. However, the Kushites possessed a unity sorely lacking in Egypt, and a religious fervor for their god Amun which seems to have enabled them to withstand adversity. Following Kashta's death, his son Piankhy (or Piye as perhaps he should be called) was the effective ruler of a kingdom that included part of Upper Egypt (Thebes to Elephantine) and all of Nubia, in addition to core territory with a capital at Napata. It was in his 20th regnal year that Piye heard of an ominous development—the Chief of the West Delta, a certain Tefnakht, had not merely laid claim to his father's territory (with its capital at Sais), but had moved southward and found allies eastward (Yoyotte 1961: 151–59; Kitchen 1973: 363–68). In other words, a rival to the Kushite king now existed. Considering the virtual political anarchy in Egypt, such a situation could have bode ill for Piye and he was now slow to react.

The campaign of this Kushite king is well known owing to his famous and detailed stela of victory now in the Cairo Museum (ET in Lichtheim *AEL* 3: 66–84; see also Grimal 1981a). Piye followed a cautious and careful strategy, first sending his army to Heracleopolis north of Thebes in Middle Egypt and then, after that strategy had failed, traveling to Egypt itself (Spalinger 1979; Kessler 1981). Piye's effective maneuvering was counterbalanced by his devout belief in the Egyptian gods, and it is revealing that he spent part of his time in Thebes performing religious rites before marching north. His campaign was a relative success: whenever the Kushite met the Libyan allies of Tefnakht or even those cities loyal to the new ruler, he was victorious, even under siege conditions (as, for example, at Hermopolis and Memphis). On one occasion, disregarding the condition of the inhabitants themselves, he vociferously complained about the treatment of horses in Hermopolis after his siege had succeeded, probably owing to the crucial role that the beasts played in the army. Piye also recorded in minute detail the political setup of the day: local Libyan chiefs are correctly labeled and their names included; the various kings (pharaohs) are enumerated (there were four at this time); and a very competent account of the warfare is described with many asides known only from the NK. The stela is itself a masterful

piece of political propaganda, glossing over setbacks (although not failing to note some losses) and glorifying the pharaoh. However, Piye failed to achieve his ultimate desire: despite the fact that Tefnakht was pushed out of Middle Egypt and lost Memphis as well, the Kushites were unable to penetrate far into his kingdom of the west. This limitation of power is best seen in the final act of this drama. Piye first received the submission of his opponents in Memphis after Tefnakht had fled home. The latter eventually sent a messenger to sue for peace, but this was only a token submission: Tefnakht remained in complete control over his small kingdom, and when the Kushites withdrew southward, he was now slow in claiming royalty for himself.

In Tefnakht's resilience we see the kernel of the failure of Kushite policy in Egypt. Although they could defeat the motley and heterogeneous Libyans and Egyptians, they could not effectively administer the land unless they themselves moved north. Piye was unable to prevent the recovery of power by Tefnakht, who capitalized on the absence of any Kushites in the north by proclaiming himself pharaoh and effective founder of Dyn. 24. Since no military or administrative network was established by the victorious Kushites, one wonders if their main purpose was simply to prevent any major kingdom coming to power in Egypt that would threaten their control of Upper Egypt. For example, Piye's successor and brother, Shabako (ca. 715–700 B.C.), was forced to repeat the military actions of his predecessor, although after conquering the north, he remained in Egypt. Dyn. 24 was itself extinguished with the last pharaoh, Bakenranef (Bocchoris), dying in opposition (Yoyotte 1971). The new Kushite capital was placed at Memphis and it is from this time that a marked intellectual influence can be seen on the Kushites. Now settled in the age-old capital of the north, they quite naturally were influenced by the art and culture of Memphis. This period of artistic endeavor has often been called the Kushite Renaissance, following earlier historical work which labeled the succeeding dynasty (26) as the Saite Renaissance (Russmann 1974; Bothmer, De Meulenaere, and Müller 1960: xxxvii). Of course, both terms are ill employed. By "Renaissance," we commonly mean a distinct intellectual break with the period immediately preceding and an attempt to link with a far older era which is then cherished and emulated. There is little doubt that the Kushites and later their successors of Dyn. 26 copied the artistic style of the Old Kingdom (OK), but this was probably in part due to the proximity of private tombs at Memphis and Sakkara. The Kushite move from Thebes as their outlying capital in Egypt to Memphis meant a switch from NK traditions (for example, the cult of Amun-Re) to those of the OK.

Despite the apparent unity under the 25th Dyn. kings, the fabric of Egyptian society remained complex. The local Libyan princes were suppressed but their lineages were alive; resistance was quashed but nationalism persisted. Hence, Shabako and his successors, Shebitku (ca. 702–690 B.C.), Taharqa (690–664 B.C.), and Tanwetamani (Tanutamun) (664–656 B.C. in Egypt), always faced the same problem: their administration was strained, stretching from Napata at the Fourth Cataract up to the Mediterranean, and they continued to depend heavily upon local support, whether it be from an Egyptian prince or a Libyan. In fact, they left alone the local military caste system so typical of the period of Libyan anarchy. Even the very city of Sais itself, the former capital of Tefnakht and Dyn. 24, remained a focal point for future pharaonic aspirations by its local rulers.

5. Assyrians and Kushites. The main impetus for change was not to come from the Egyptians themselves. Outside of Egypt a world empire had been in existence for many years. This kingdom of Assyria had already proven that it had the ability to absorb most of its enemies, including any small state in its path. Over a period of expansion lasting three centuries, Assyria had moved from an insular state to a far-ranging one. Her battles against the Arameans had formed the nucleus of the greatest army that the world had seen: the north Syrian states had fallen, one by one, in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C., the Lebanon was taken, Phoenicia made into a client, and the kingdom of Israel crushed in 722 B.C. Confrontation with Egypt was inevitable. Sargon II (722–705 B.C.) was the first Neo-Assyrian ruler to encounter Egyptian or Kushite armies (Tadmor 1958: 33–38, 77–80). His claim was not on Egypt herself; rather, Sargon intended to control the sea trade of the East Mediterranean through the subjugation of the small kingdom of Judah, Egypt's northern neighbor, and the capture of Philistia. However, such a policy automatically carried the seeds of further warfare since Judah, Philistia, or even a Phoenician city, could always appeal to Egypt for aid. Thus in ca. 726 B.C. Hoshea of Israel had sought military support against the Assyrians who were besieging his country. The king wrote to a certain "So, King of Egypt," for aid (2 Kgs 17:4) and it has been argued that the local Egyptian ruler was Osorkon IV, the last nominal pharaoh of Dyn. 22 (Kitchen 1973: 372–75; Goedicke 1977). In 720 B.C. Sargon of Assyria marched into Philistia, Egypt's closest neighbor to the north. At this time the king of Gaza received logistic support from one of the generals in the Delta. The upshot of the affair was that Gaza fell and Raphia, the final post leading from Palestine, was taken (Tadmor 1958: 33–38). However, it must be noted that Sargon's policy was circumscribed: he set up a trade entrepôt but made no pretense of invading Egypt. Four years later the same Osorkon IV sent gifts to the Assyrian ruler, clearly supporting him in his annexation and reorganization of Philistia and, at the same time, maintaining good political ties (Kitchen 1973: 376). On all of these occasions only local Egyptian-Libyan potentates were involved; the kings of Kush were yet to meet the Assyrians.

With Shabako's triumph, Dyn. 25 now controlled the north more or less completely. However, relations with Assyria could not be ignored by him. By 713/12 B.C. another minor affair, again close to the southern border of Philistia, broke out. This time the city of Ashdod rebelled and the local ruler, Yamani, fled to Egypt. He was ungraciously returned by Shabako, whom the Assyrians designated king of Egypt, adding that the territories now belonged to Kush (Spalinger 1973; Kitchen 1973: 380). Hence, despite a change of political climate in the Nile Valley, relations between Assyria and Egypt remained ostensibly cordial.

Sargon's death in 705 B.C. brought no end to Assyrian aggressiveness. This was as much due to the attempt of

her captured territories to free themselves as to the continual battles with rebels and lands farther away from her homeland. The famous 701 B.C. clash with Sennacherib (705–689 B.C.) indicates just how extended the interests of Assyria had become (Kitchen 1973: 383–86; Spalinger 1978). The Assyrian king tried to crush totally the rump kingdom of Judah, now under the leadership of Hezekiah. The latter sought active support from Egypt, or from the Kushites. An army composed of Egyptians, Kushites, and Libyans was sent north to meet the Assyrians, but failed and retreated after losing the battle of Eltekeh. The Bible (2 Kgs 18:13–19:37), as well as Assyrian sources (*ANET* 287–88), provide independent accounts of this conflict: the Kushites may have been led by Taharqa, who was not yet pharaoh; the Judeans resisted the siege of Jerusalem; and the Assyrians failed to achieve their desired goals. Henceforth, Sennacherib stayed out of Judean politics, preferring to concentrate his energies elsewhere, and the Kushites, although defeated, had time to regroup for further war. In a nutshell, the battle of Eltekeh reveals the foreign policies of this region for the next half-century or so: Egypt would support Judah and any local city against the superpower of Assyria, despite the latter's overwhelming strength and military capability. Under the reign of Taharqa, the Kushites and Assyrians fought more than once.

To the outsider, these battles and political sallies appear monotonous. However, such definitely was not the case under Taharqa's reign. His was the unfortunate task to deflect the Assyrians from an all-out attack on Egypt. Again, late in the 670s, he fought with his enemy in Asia. His opponent, Esarhaddon, finally managed to defeat the Kushite king and drive him out of Memphis ca. 671 B.C. (Kitchen 1973: 391–93; Spalinger 1974b). This apparent success ought to have resolved for the Assyrians their perennial difficulties with Egypt. Nevertheless, they found themselves in the same situation as Kush herself following Piye's invasion almost a half-century earlier, viz., the land was divided into small principalities each led by a warrior class. In other words, the Libyan setup had not yet been erased and the conqueror was by necessity forced to rely upon the local kinglets, since he could not change the social and political system of the land. Any attempt to do so would involve a great deal of time and expense, in addition to encouraging even more severe outbursts of rebellion. As a result, Assyria practiced the same internal policy that Kush had done: holding nominal rule, but leaving local structures alone.

It comes as no surprise that Egypt (or Kush) revolted when the Assyrians left and a second campaign was undertaken in 669 B.C., the date of the death of Esarhaddon. Taharqa's support came from the native Egyptians or their Libyan leaders, but so did Esarhaddon's. It was clear that whoever wrested effective control of the land would be the accepted pharaoh. Assurbanipal, Esarhaddon's successor, attempted twice. In 668/67 B.C. and 664 B.C. the Assyrians marched to the Nile, first taking Memphis and then even Thebes (Spalinger 1974b; Kitchen 1973: 393–94). Significantly, in the interim there was another revolt and the Kushites regained their former territories. On the second occasion, Taharqa was succeeded by his nephew Tanwetamani, who proudly reports on his Dream Stela of his victories in the north (Grimal 1981b). However, even a cursory reading of the inscription reveals that his success in Egypt (the Delta in particular) was against the local kinglets, not Assyria. As it turned out, some of the Delta kings supported Assyria and Assurbanipal's army was soon on the road. Tanwetamani was forcibly removed from Memphis and Thebes, and for all practical purposes, Kush never again could claim the north, although it must be noted that she still had a degree of influence in Thebes until 656 B.C. (Kitchen 1973: 403–4).

But the Assyrians were still faced with recalcitrant local potentates. This time Assyria attempted reconciliation—whether for altruistic reasons or otherwise, we cannot say. The city of Sais was particularly singled out by Assurbanipal, if only because it had held the seeds of revolt against Kush for many years (cf. Tefnakht and Bakenranef above). Indeed, there was the tradition of a pharaonic dynasty there, and what could be better than enlisting the support of Necho I of Sais and his son Psamtik (Psammetichus) I (664–610 B.C.) against the southern foreigners. Such turned out to be Assurbanipal's policy and it served him well. Beset by a massive revolt in Babylon plus a threat from the east—not to mention Arab incursions—Assyria preferred to maintain her alliance with Sais, now the seat of Dyn. 26, even though it meant the unification of Egypt. This was no rapprochement: Psammeticus was not a king of Kush, nor had he advocated a pro-Kushite policy.

B. Saite Period (664–525 B.C.)

The following period properly speaking belongs to the rule of a united Egypt led by the pharaohs of Sais (De Meulenaere 1951). It should be added by way of clarification that Psammetichus remembered his alliance with Assyria and that he and his son, Necho II, aided the tottering Assyrian Empire in the last decades of the 7th century B.C., thereby proving their allegiance. In Egypt itself, Psammetichus carefully quashed his Delta rivals and took first Memphis and then, after some diplomatic wrangling, Thebes (Kitchen 1973: 401–4; Spalinger 1976). The latter affair is quite well known owing to a length report entitled the Nitocris Stela (Caminos 1964). The Kushites appear to have simply withdrawn from Egypt, probably owing to their continual losses against the Assyrians, while Psammetichus peacefully (and with pomp) had his daughter Nitocris appointed to the position of God's Wife of Amun in Thebes. With that act, Egypt was once again reunited and the Libyan anarchy finally at an end. Indeed, its demise was more protracted than it should have been, owing to the rival interests of Kush, Assyria, and Sais.

The reign of Psammetichus I (664–610 B.C.) set the paradigm for the new united dynasty. He carefully built up his power in the Delta, outwitting his local rivals until the only opposition remaining was that of Thebes. With the active intervention of Montuemhet—the Fourth Prophet of Amun, City Mayor, and actual power in Upper Egypt—Psammetichus accomplished the annexation of the south by 656 B.C. Noteworthy in the first decades of his rule is the king's reliance upon the military (Spalinger 1976). Indeed, the account of Herodotus places a great deal of emphasis upon his employment of Greek mercenaries in the army and their usefulness in defeating his foes. It was from this time that mercenaries began to play

a significant role in the country, later forming a separate division in the Egyptian army, a fact known from texts dealing with Psammetichus II's campaign into Nubia (see below). Garrisons were established at the south in Elephantine, and to the northeast at Daphnae. A local war with the Libyans ended successfully for Psammetichus, and he erected a series of stelae commemorating his army's victory over these perennial foes in regnal years 10–11 (Goedicke 1962; Basta 1968; Kitchen 1973: 405). In this case, it is clear that the Libyans actually represented Egypt's western neighbors, rather than the former kinglets of the Delta. It is possible that a third garrison was founded on the west soon after this victory. All three were built to control the entrances into the land, since Egypt had to fear invasion from Kush (south of Elephantine), Assyria (northeast at Daphnae), and Libya (northwest at Marea). In addition, the Nile itself was supplied with an independent fleet, a forerunner of the navy developed in the East Mediterranean by later Saite monarchs. Finally, Psammetichus allied himself to the Lydians who, under King Gyges, began to expand and form a kingdom hostile to the Assyrians (Spalinger 1978c; Millard 1979).

Internally, Egypt lost much of the character of the preceding age. The abiquitous donation stelae were still erected but now under only one king. Local independence in the north had ended by year 8 of the pharaoh and even though Libyan families still held power in some cities, their might was now subservient to the monarch. Initially, Psammetichus stressed the importance of the powerful families in Egypt, such as the Masters of Shipping at Heracleopolis and the Theban dignitaries (Kitchen 1973: 402–3). Later, he placed his adherents, most of whom came from the north, in key positions in the land (Kees 1935). However no real administrative reform took place. The local administrative units, the nomes, became tax collectors' districts, and outmoded titles dating back to the Old and Middle Kingdoms were employed, but no major reorganization of the finances or bureaucracy was apparently needed. By simply sending his new officials to the south, Psammetichus ran the land effectively.

Necho II (610–595 B.C.) succeeded his father to the throne of Egypt and reigned during one of the momentous periods of world history. Already late in the life of his father, the Assyrian Empire had begun to break up at the death of Assurbanipal (629 B.C.). Egypt, which may well have been promised support and territory from the Assyrians, sided with them against the new opposition of the Babylonians and Medes (Freedy and Redford 1970: 476–78; Spalinger 1978a). From 616 B.C. on, the collapse of this empire precipitated Egypt into an aggressive foreign policy which continued upon Necho's accession. In his first regnal year he marched north to aid the tottering Assyrians, now fighting for their rump state in Syria. In a famous encounter with the resurrected kingdom of Judea, now led by Josiah, Necho (biblical Neco; see 1 Kgs 24:29) smashed his opponents at Megiddo before traveling north (Malamat 1973; 1975). See also NECO. Allied to Assuruballit of Assyria, Necho fought against Nabopolassar, the king of Babylonia. In the next few years, Assyria fell, but the Egyptians maintained a presence in Lebanon until Nabopolassar's son, Nebuchadnezzar, defeated Necho at Carchemish in 605 B.C. (Yoyotte 1960b: 374–92). Necho was able to keep the Babylonians out of Egypt, being just sufficiently powerful to prevent an invasion in 601 B.C. The result of these sudden political and military alterations was that Egypt lost whatever power she had accrued in Asia during the reign of Psammetichus I. Indeed, despite later support for the kingdom of Judah, the best that Necho and later Psammetichus II could do was to stave off invasion by a triumphant Babylonia.

Internally, Necho is best known for his attempt to build a canal between the Red Sea and the Nile, a "proto-Suez Canal," one may say (Posener 1936; De Meulenaere 1951: 50–54). This probably successful enterprise highlights the direct continuation of his father's policy. Owing to the importance of the kingdoms of Lydia and Cyprus during this period, the Saite rulers found it politically beneficial to maintain a strong commercial and military presence in the East Mediterranean. In similar fashion, Necho supported the circumnavigation of Africa, an event well known to the Greeks, who later kept record of this astounding maneuver (doubted by Lloyd 1977). With Babylonia now fully in control of the Lebanon, Necho's maritime strategy had the added advantage of not involving him in fruitless land wars. Internally, Necho undertook building work in Thebes, although for the most part he appears not to have been preoccupied with the temples of the land (Yoyotte 1960b: 367–68). Significantly, his reputation came into disgrace after his death, a fact made visible by the erasures of his name (cartouches) on his monuments and those of his officials (Yoyotte 1960b: 370–71; Bothmer, De Meulenaere, and Müller 1960: 50–51). The exact cause of this later disrepute is unknown, but perhaps Necho's lack of visible success with the Babylonians and his loss of empire in Asia were a major contributing factor.

Necho's son, Psammetichus II (595–589 B.C.), did not rule long. Nevertheless, he followed an interesting foreign policy with respect to the north and south. Although avoiding direct involvement with Babylonia, he actively supported the state of Judah against Nebuchadnezzar just as earlier the Libyans and Kushites maneuvered in Palestine against the Assyrians. It is probable that the Egyptians reckoned correctly with their Judean allies by not overtly committing themselves to a policy antagonistic to Babylon: Judah under her last king Zedekiah was, after all, nothing more than a rump state with no outlet to the sea. Although Psammetichus II marched to Asia in his fourth regnal year, the affair was nothing more than a show of Egyptian presence (Yoyotte 1951b). When the final seige of Jerusalem took place (ca. 589 B.C.), Egypt watched the fall of her former ally without taking arms in her defense (Malamat 1968; 1973; 1975). Perhaps part of this cautious policy owed a great deal to a sudden war in the south with a former foe, Kush. In year 3 of Psammetichus II's reign, a combined Egyptian-Greek army, led by Egyptians, traveled south into the heartland of Nubia. This military campaign was successful and we possess important hieroglyphic records of the encounter which indicate that Napata (Gebel Barkal) was taken (Sauneron and Yoyotte 1952; Bakry 1967; Habachi 1974; Goedicke 1981). The Kushite kingdom removed its capital farther south and henceforth no longer played an important role in the affairs of Egypt. It is not surprising to learn that Psammetichus II then sys-

tematically erased from the monuments the names of the 25th Dyn. kings (Yoyotte 1951a). Such a policy of anathematization fits perfectly with his military activity and reflects the new dynasty's antagonistic feeling toward its immediate predecessor.

Psammetichus II died and was succeeded by his son Apries, who ruled until 570 B.C. This pharaoh continued to play an important role in the political affairs of the east by moving against the Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon in an effort to prohibit their control by Nebuchadnezzar. Although inheriting the continual war with Babylon, for almost all of his reign Apries was able to keep the enemy at bay. His dependence upon Greek mercenaries was cited by later historians, such as Herodotus, as proof of his philohellenic policy. On the other hand, among the Egyptians, a great deal of resentment had built up which was to spill over in the successful revolt of his general, Amasis (Ahmose). A famous stela from Mitrahineh, first edited by Gunn (1927), is notable for the archaism in language as it reads almost like an original OK document. The deliberate attempt to emulate OK artistic representations as well as language had begun earlier in Dyn. 25, but by the Saite Period such imitation was part and parcel of official monuments and inscriptions. Blocks from the capital of Sais indicate that Apries apparently celebrated a *heb-sed* (Jubilee) festival, although he did not rule the standard thirty years required for such a celebration (Habachi 1943: 402; Koefoed-Petersen 1956: 45–46 and pl. LV). A famous commander of the southern fortress at Elephantine, Nesuhor, is known from the reign of Apries (Schaefer 1904; Kees 1935: 95–96, 101–2). He suppressed a revolt of his troops who wished to leave their posts and flee to Nubia. Later, Nesuhor donated gifts to the god of Mendes, an action mentioned by other texts of the Saite Period.

A recent reinterpretation of the Amasis Victory stela by Edel (1978) has revealed the complexity of the period surrounding the fall of Apries. In 570 B.C. Amasis, a general of Apries, revolted after a defeat at Cyrene. With Cypriot troops as well as his Greek soldiers, Apries recaptured control of most of Egypt. However, this counterattack was not long successful and Apries fled to the east. His return in 567 B.C. (year 4 of Amasis) led to his ruin. Against a combined naval and land attack, Amasis, now allied with Cyrene and, utilizing Greek mercenaries, overwhelmed the former pharaoh, who died in battle. This inauspicious beginning of a new reign does much to reveal the weaknesses of Egypt in the middle of the 6th cent. B.C.: she continually had to defend herself from foreign intervention, but such defense could be accomplished only through the aid of mercenaries, mainly Greeks (specifically Carian and Ionian soldiers). It is not surprising to see that Amasis later allied himself with Polycrates of Samos and Croseus of Lydia (De Meulenaere 1951: 98–100, 113). Further contacts were cemented through gifts to various Greek temples, and later by a conquest of Cyprus, thereby attempting to counter the Babylonian threat. Finally, to the south, a possible campaign (ca. 529 B.C.) is reported on a fragmentary account (Erichsen 1941).

At home, the tradition of Amasis befits his plebian origin. Clearly not of the royal family, he apparently received from the popular press of the day a reputation as a wine bibber (De Meulenaere 1951: 93–96). Such reports reached Herodotus a century later and are confirmed from a Demotic tale centered on Amasis. More important, the settlement of Greeks at the Delta site of Naucratis is generally dated to his reign (De Meulenaere 1951: 100–10). This policy of permitting the Hellenes to reside permanently in Egypt in the Delta is further proof of their growing significance in the internal affairs of the Nile Valley.

Unfortunately for Egypt, the Babylonians were overrun by the more vigorous Medes and Persians, led by Cyrus. With the fall of Babylon (ca. 546 B.C.), most of the Near East became part of the second World Empire, i.e., Achaemenid Persia. Cyrus then marched against Lydia and took it. Therefore, at the death of Amasis in 526 B.C. little remained independent of Persia in the Near East outside of the Nile Valley. In fact, under Cyrus' successor, Cambyses, plans were already under way for an attack on Egypt. Cambyses found natives who would support him, and within a year, purposely not long after the accession of the new pharaoh Psammetichus III, the Persians moved southwest and conquered Egypt.

Dyn. 26 became one of the last native ruling families of Egypt for a long period of time. This period saw a restoration of unity and the beginnings of another empire. Although the latter was short-lived, the Nile Valley did witness a continuance of its art and religion as previously. The dynasty fostered a new landed nobility by allowing them to receive a salary from plots of land given by the kings. However, these parcels of land were also donated to temples and therefore could not be used by the nobility to build up an independent power base. Indeed, the right of succession to the plots was conditional. By the 7th–6th centuries B.C., Egypt was no longer parochial. Foreigners in increasing numbers traveled freely within its borders. If the backbone of the army came more and more to be Greek, this was in part due to their advanced state of military preparedness. At the same time, these mercenaries posed no real threat to the safety of the country. The Saite kings also relied heavily upon the sea and it is ironic that their final fall to the Persians was connected with the defection of one of Egypt's admirals. Certainly fatal to her might was the lack of iron deposits, now crucial since the world had turned from bronze to iron; for the first time Egypt was reduced to the role of a dependent importer for her armament.

The annexation of Egypt by the Persian ruler Cambyses led to a stronger foreign domination than that attempted by the Assyrians. This was in part due to the resilience of the Persians, as well as their newly founded empire. Persia at the close of the 6th century B.C. was unlike the Assyrian Empire in the middle of the 7th. Egypt became effectively administered by a satrap who, with Persian troops, lived in Memphis. However, the history of Egypt as part of the Persian Empire belongs to another chapter.

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ANTHONY SPALINGER

PERSIAN PERIOD (DYN. 27–31)

A. Political and Military History
B. Administration
C. Culture

A. Political and Military History

Persian control of Egypt fell into two stages: the First Persian Occupation (525–404 B.C.) and the Second Persian Occupation (343/2–332 B.C.). The invasion of the country by Cambyses in May/June 525 was the result of a long period of hostility initiated by Egyptian fears of Persian expansion westward. As early as the reign of Cyrus (538–29), these fears had led to the formation of a grand defensive alliance between Egypt, Lydia, Babylonia, and Sparta (Hdt. 1.77.1–2; 1.53.4). The destruction of Lydia and Babylonia left Egypt as the only significant Near Eastern opponent by the beginning of Cambyses' reign. The latter ruler's invading force defeated the Egyptian king Psamtik (Psammetichus) III at Pelusium, took the capital city of Memphis, and swiftly achieved the subjugation of the entire country (Hdt. 3.1–26; Lloyd 1988b: 55, 63–64).

Information on Cambyses' behavior within Egypt is contradictory. The classical tradition is generally hostile and paints a picture of a brutal and impious tyrant afflicted with intermittent and progressive insanity (Hdt. 3.16, 27–29, 37; Brown 1982: 387–403; Lloyd 1988b: 56: cf. *CAP* nos. 30–31). On the other hand, hieroglyphic sources depict a ruler making a great effort to respect Egyptian sensibilities by establishing himself as pharoah in the fullest sense and acting in religious matters with the strictest propriety (Posener 1936: 1–26; Lloyd 1982: 166–80). In all probability, the hostile tradition arose from priestly resentment excited by Cambyses' determination to define precisely the privileges of Egyptian temples. Negative reactions to Cambyses as a fratricide and king associated with widespread rebellion could also have encouraged this hostile attitude (Lloyd 1988b: 65–66). Be that as it may, in 522 B.C., this general unrest compelled him to depart from Egypt, leaving Aryandes in control as satrap. *En route* he died, under somewhat mysterious circumstances, probably in September of that year.

Cambyses was succeeded by Darius, who had been one of his bodyguards during the Egyptian invasion (Hdt. 3.2.3–140; Xen. *Cyr.* 4. 2. 46); Egypt immediately revolted as a result of the harsh government of the satrap Aryandes. Problems elsewhere in the Empire meant that Darius could not immediately march on Egypt, but in 519–518 he had regained control. His reign in Egypt was characterized by circumspection and a concern for developing it as part of the Persian Empire. In 518 he undertook a reform of the laws which made a deep impression on later tradition (Spiegelberg 1914: 30–32; cf. Diod. Sic. I. 95. 4–5); in the same year, he buried an Apis bull with all the traditional honors (Posener 1936: 36–41, cf. 30–36); he was active in temple building or restoration at Hibis in the Khargeh Oasis, Abusir, Edfu, and El-Kab (Porter and Moss 1927–74, 4: 44; 5: 173; 6: 167; 7: 277–90); and he began the construction of a canal in ca. 510 B.C. to join the Nile to the Red Sea as part of a policy of improving communications within the Empire (Posener 1936: 48–87; Hinz 1975: 115–21). Overall, therefore, it is not surprising to find that Herodotus can depict Darius as remarkably tolerant of Egyptian nationalist pretensions (Hdt. 2.110.2–3). However, membership in the Persian Empire brought obligations as well as benefits, and Egypt was no exception: Egyptian craftsmen were employed in making Darius' citadel at Susa, and we can be confident that they were also active in Persepolis during his building operations between 503 and 494. Whether "the Egyptian" mentioned in Babylonia in the 490s was, in any way, involved in these activities remains an open question (Olmstead 1948: 168, 193). Military duties were also discharged; for we find an Egyptian naval contingent participating in the Persian assault on Miletus in 494 at the end of the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. 6.6). Evidently, Darius extracted full benefit from this rich and populous satrapy, and it comes as no surprise that Persian exploitation drove the country into revolt toward the end of his reign in 486 (Hdt. 7.1.3; Porten *ArchEleph,* 25–26).

Darius' successor, Xerxes, came to the throne in 485 B.C., and although anxious to exact vengeance from the Greeks for his father's defeat at Marathon in 490, he gave priority to the Egyptian revolt. Xerxes marched south as soon as possible and had subjugated the country by early

January 484, placing it under the control of his brother Achaimenes. The tradition of Herodotus that Xerxes' rule was harsher than that of Darius is powerfully confirmed by the Satrap Stele of 311, which vividly describes his iniquitous treatment of the deities of Buto (Sethe 1904–16: 11–12; Bevan 1968: 30–31: cf. Posener 1936: 120–24). However, the Egyptians' resentment of Xerxes did not prevent their employment in his military operations. In the fleet which accompanied the invasion of Greece in 480, no fewer than 200 Egyptian ships were engaged under the command of the satrap Achaimenes and carrying contingents of heavily armed Egyptian marines. According to Herodotus, they distinguished themselves at Artemisium, capturing five Greek ships, and were also present at Salamis and Plataea (Hdt. 7.25.1; 34; 89.2–3; 97; 8.17; 68.2; 100.4; 9.32).

The accession of Xerxes' successor, Artaxerxes I (464–423 B.C.), was greeted by general unrest throughout the empire. Egypt became involved through the revolt of the Libyan Inarus (ca. 463), which quickly spread eastward. The latter was successful in gaining the support of the Athenians and proceeded to defeat and kill the satrap Achaimenes at Papremis in the western Delta, penning up the remnant of the Persian forces in Memphis. These initial successes were, however, short-lived, and the main revolt was brought to a disastrous conclusion (ca. 455/54). The embers of rebellion were kept alive in the Delta by a certain Amyrtaeus, with some halfhearted support from the Athenians ca. 450, but the affair was probably highly localized and of no great importance (Olmstead 1948: 303–4, 308–12; *ArchEleph*, 26–27; Meiggs 1979: 93–95, 101–8).

The reign of Darius II (423–404 B.C.) is best recorded in Egypt for the problems created among the Jews at Elephantine by his intervention in their religious life. We also hear of a revolt by a certain Hydarnes in 410, which clearly had Egyptian support but was quickly suppressed. Much more serious was the revolt of the younger Amyrtaeus (ca. 405), which brought a speedy end to the first Persian domination.

Even though the Persians had been expelled from Egypt by Amyrtaeus, they continued to dominate Egyptian foreign policy since they evidently had no intention of relinquishing their claim to the country. The Egyptians attempted to keep them at bay by military and diplomatic means, but these did not prevent the Persians from mounting four major assaults on the country, one by Artaxerxes II in 374 (Diod. Sic. 15.29; 38.1; 41–44; Kienitz 1953: 89–92), and three by Artaxerxes III in 359–358, 351, and 343 (the first as crown prince) (Trogus, prol. 10; Kienitz 1953: 99–107). The third of these was successful; the last pharaoh of the 30th Dynasty, Nectanebo II, fled the country. Artaxerxes then set about consolidating his conquest by pulling down the walls of major cities and establishing Pherendates as satrap. He is also alleged both in Greek and Egyptian sources to have engaged in widespread plundering of Egyptian temples (Diod. Sic. 16.47–52; Bevan 1968: 30, 209, 390).

The Second Persian Occupation may well have been difficult to sustain initially, since there are indications of an Egyptian nationalist revolt under a certain Khababash, who may have regained at least part of the country sometime between ca. 343 and 339–338. The revolt was brought to an end by a second Persian invasion (Kienitz 1953: 109–10, 185–89; Lloyd 1988a: 159–60). Be that as it may, the last Persian Dynasty has left few traces in Egypt (Kienitz 1953: 231), a situation which bears striking testimony to the Persian lack of commitment to the country. This was, in turn, reflected in the grim catalog of maladministration and incompetence characteristic of the period; thus, it is hardly surprising that the invasion of the country by Alexander the Great late in 332 was welcomed with open arms.

B. Administration

Civil government followed the usual Persian laissez-faire approach. The great king became the pharaoh and was given all the traditional titles and divine status which formed the theoretical basis of the pharaoh's authority. Generally, however, the Persian emperors were absentee rulers, and their powers were wielded by a satrap or governor whose activities were subjected to regular scrutiny by imperial officials such as the *gauša-ka*, "ears," and "the King's Eye." The satraps were drawn from the cream of the Persian aristocracy and based in Memphis, the capital. Here they disposed of a chancellery modeled on that of the great king himself and were supported by an army of scribes and officials either Egyptian or Persian in origin, though the overall trend ran clearly toward a progressive Egyptianization. The administrative language, as elsewhere in the Empire, was Aramaic, but there were at Memphis scribes for translating relevant texts into the native language, and we can be confident that bilingualism was common.

The most important section of the satrap's administrative machinery was undoubtedly the treasury which was under the protection of the god Ptaḥ (hence its Egyptian name *pr-ḥḏ n Pṯḥ*, "treasury of Ptaḥ") and administered by a treasurer who on at least one occasion and probably always bore the old Egyptian title *ỉ³my-r pr-ḥḏ*, "overseer of the treasury." Its most important function, from the Persian point of view, was the collection of taxes paid both in cash and in kind (Hdt. 2.98.1; 149.5; 3.91.2–3). In addition to this fiscal role, the satrap also functioned as the ultimate court in legal matters, thereby inheriting another of the major functions of the pharaoh, though normally these legal duties were discharged by the *patifrasa/frasaka*, "inquisitor." The law which he administered for the subject population was Egyptian law which shows no break with the system used under native rule. In addition, the satrap exercised a general supervisory control over local government and for this purpose probably conducted annual inspection tours.

The precise details of local government under the Persians are obscure, but the system evidently followed traditional pharaonic practice. We hear of the nomes, which were extremely ancient administrative subdivisions of the country reminiscent of English counties. These were administered by nomarchs, and traditionally numbered forty-two, but whether that held true for the Persian period cannot be determined. At least in the southern part of the country nomes could be grouped together into larger units, the best known being *Teshres* or *Ptōres*, which possibly extended from Elephantine to Hermonthis.

Within the nomes themselves, cities functioned as distinct administrative areas under the control of governors, and the same held true of villages. Probably all these administrative entities had their own treasuries and record offices. If there were garrisons in a particular area, the head of the garrison could function in a civil capacity in local administration. Attempts to identify within this scheme the role of such Persian officials as the *fratarak* mentioned in 5th-century Aramaic documents have generated more conflict than consensus, but these texts at the very least provide a clear picture of the general character and problems or provincial government, including the suspect loyalty of some of the Persian officials (*BMAP* 32–40; Bresciani 1958: 132–47; *ArchEleph*, 28–61).

Details of administration during the Second Persian Period (343–332 B.C.) are very sparse, but we can safely assume a system based on that of the last period of Egyptian independence which, in turn, evolved from the scheme described above. The written evidence shows clearly that it was characterized by a mixture of avarice, arrogance, impiety, and violence which inspired bitter hatred (*POxy.* I.xii [col. IV]; Q. Curtius Rufus 4.1[5]; 7[29]; Diod. Sic. 17.49; cf. the Demotic Chronicle [Spiegelberg 1914: 19–20], and possibly the autobiography of Petosiris [Otto 1954: 181–82; Lloyd 1982: 177–78]).

The satrap was also the commander of the military resources of the province, which were substantial. The army consisted of two main elements: the native Egyptian militia, or Machimoi, and foreign units. The Machimoi amounted, according to Herodotus, to 410,000 in the 5th century. They were inherited by the Persians from their pharaonic predecessors and were settled almost entirely in the Delta. In exchange for the obligation of required military service, they were each given tax-free plots of land, allegedly ca. 8 acres (3.2 hectares) in extent, though this is likely only an average (Hdt. 2.168; Lloyd 1988c: 200–1). They could also serve as marines in the Egyptian fleet, a capacity in which we encounter them during Xerxes' campaign of 480–479 against Greece (Hdt. 7.25; 89; 97; 8.17; 68; 100; 9.32). As for the non-Egyptians, the best-known group is the force of Jewish troops maintained in the important garrison town of Elephantine at the First Cataract. The substantial corpus of Aramaic papyri from this site has yielded a vivid picture of their life, revealing an intriguing vista of assimilation, on the one hand, and religious antagonism, on the other. The latter arose mainly, if not entirely, from local Egyptian resentment at the sacrifice of animals in the cult of Yahweh (*ArchEleph*, 278–98; cf. *BMAP*, 100–10). See also ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI.

In addition to the army, the Persians inherited a substantial fleet of warships from the Saites, which they put to good use (see above). Clearly, despite some disparaging comments, they were not the least efficient or successful contingent in the Persian fleet.

C. Culture

The ambiguity of the evidence makes it very difficult to define precisely the impact of Persian culture on specific aspects of Egyptian civilization. Possibly the marked upsurge in Demotic papyri of a legal nature reflects Persian practice. There is some reason to believe that the Egyptians took over loan words from Aramaic and Persian at this stage; it is also feasible that they were influenced by Mesopotamian ideas on prophecy using astronomical phenomena. Mathematics may have drawn on Mesopotamian influences at this period; and Egyptian literature may also have borrowed from Achaemenid sources (Ray *CAH*^{2} 4:280–81). However, in essentials, the overall impression is one of continuity with earlier Egyptian civilization. Egyptian religious tradition was quite unimpaired, not least because the Persian kings generally showed considerable circumspection toward it. This is illustrated by the sequence of Persian Serapeum stelae, the exploitation of the Wadi Hammamat greywacke quarries for building stone, and the restoration or building of temples. Overall, however, the corpus of work is small, given the length of Persian occupation, and the quality of the workmanship inferior to that of the 26th Dynasty. The attractions of Egyptian religion for the invaders were, however, very real, and the devotion of some of them to Egyptian deities is easily demonstrated (Ray *CAH*^{2} 4: 279–80).

When we turn to sculpture, continuity is again the hallmark. Certainly, private statuary shows an upsurge of realism at the beginning of the Persian period which sets a trend for the development of Egyptian sculpture down to the end of the pharaonic period. One also detects a growing tendency to crowd hieroglyphs, which was to become a standard feature of Greco-Roman writing. In addition, the statuary shows modifications in dress. Only occasionally, however, can we detect unequivocal Persian influence: a gesture involving the clasping of hands before the body is the one conspicuous exception (Bothmer 1960: xxxiv–xxxix, 67–87; Bianchi *LÄ* 4:946–47). In general, the distinctive artistic features of this period should be regarded as the result of the evolution of a native tradition which is at most reacting to the experience of foreign occupation and has little interest in assimilating traits of the invaders' civilization.

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ALAN B. LLOYD

GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD

The Hellenistic period of Egypt's history began with the arrival of Alexander the Great in late November 332 B.C. This period, shaped by the succession of rulers descended from Ptolemy I, was itself brought to an end by Rome's annexation of Egypt in 30 B.C., following Cleopatra's death on August 12 of that year. Rome's direct influence over Egypt ceased with the establishment of Constantinople as the first city of the Roman Empire by Constantine in November A.D. 324. The Byzantine era lasted until September A.D. 642—except for ten years of Persian rule (618–28)—when the conquering Muslims compelled the remnants of the Byzantine army to leave Egyptian soil.

A. Alexander the Great
B. Administration under the Ptolemies
C. The Ptolemaic Dynasty
  1. Ptolemy I Soter
  2. Ptolemy II Philadelphus
  3. Ptolemy III Euergetes
  4. Ptolemy IV Philopator
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A. Alexander the Great

Except during the 29th and 30th Dyn. (ca. 399–343 B.C.), Egypt was ruled as a Persian satrapy after Cambyses conquered the country in 525 B.C. Because of the harsh character of much of Persian rule, contemporary Egyptian sources complained about conditions under which people were obliged to live. Consequently, Alexander was hailed as a liberator when his conquering troops—coming from a seven-month siege of Tyre and a major battle at Gaza—drove out the Persians.

During Alexander's brief stay, limited to a few months, he forced the submission of the Persian satrap, journeyed to Memphis, where he was crowned pharaoh, returned to the sea coast, where he established boundaries for the future city of Alexandria, paid his famous visit to the oracle of Amon at the Siwa oasis, then returned to Memphis, where he organized the government. Even though legends have elaborated on these events, their main outline remains solid. Alexander's most memorable experience may have occurred at Siwa, home of the oracle of Amon, which ranked in the Greek world with the oracles at Delphi and Dodona. Here he was addressed as "son of Amon," a title he took seriously, affirming as it did his divine station. It was this affirmation of divinity that the Ptolemaic rulers, who eventually inherited Alexander's power in Egypt, adopted to show that they were his true successors, as well as heirs to the godly prerogatives of the pharaohs.

In his governmental restructuring, Alexander first appointed two native Egyptians as satraps, one over Upper Egypt and the other over Lower Egypt, reversing the Persian policy of a single governor. When one of the satraps failed in his office, Cleomenes of Naucratis—appointed as financial overseer—took his place. The task of collecting taxes from the native population was initially entrusted to local Egyptian officials, presumably to protect against extortion. The small occupation army left behind was placed under Macedonian commanders, one of whom oversaw the mercenaries formerly employed by the Persians.

B. Administration under the Ptolemies

Substantial links to the Greek world had existed for about three centuries before Alexander. The delta city of Naucratis, situated on the western or Canopic branch of the Nile, had been established in the 7th century as a trading colony by the city of Miletus in Ionia. Greeks seeking opportunities abroad had settled in Memphis and elsewhere. An additional Greek city, Ptolemais, was founded by Ptolemy I in Upper Egypt—320 miles upstream from Memphis—doubtless to play an economic and political role in the south similar to that of Alexandria in the north, and to underscore this king's status as Alexander's successor.

Egypt already served as the granary of the region as well as the sole supplier of papyrus. The Ptolemies maintained the export of grain, adding to it barley beer, alabaster, linen, and the polychrome glass which would make Alexandria's artisans renowned. Imports were necessary in Egypt, a country poor in natural resources, especially in timber and metals. Wine and olive oil were imported, even though the production of both was fostered by the Crown. But the local variety was inferior, principally because of growing conditions. Other imports included cheeses, fruits, slaves, and horses. One major contribution to trade was the domestication of camels early in the Ptolemaic era.

The early Ptolemies pursued both land reclamation and improvement of irrigation. Building a system of canals, they brought more land under cultivation. Further, agri-

cultural experts from Greece soon improved farming methods so that in some areas three crops became the annual norm. Attempts to improve viticulture—largely to meet the demands of wine-drinking Greeks—were frustrated by the inferior quality of the product. Even though olive oil was not of the same grade as that produced abroad, Ptolemy I saw opportunity for export and established state control over the amount produced, the price received by growers, and the sale price abroad. The state had virtual monopolies over salt, beer, and textiles. It also controlled banking. But even though banks and a new coinage were now established, bartering and payments made in kind were not entirely eliminated. Indeed, rents on royal lands were paid in kind.

Taxation added substantial revenues, in addition to those profits acquired from rents of arable land and royal industries. The welter of taxes included those on sales of certain goods, on homes and estates, on licenses for artisans in various trades, and on revenues generated by religious activities. Moreover, the Ptolemies imposed duties on imports to protect certain homegrown commodities—such as olive oil—and quite simply, to generate revenue. The collection of such fees was let out for bid to "tax farmers" whose activities were regulated by decree. Hence, the profit realized by tax farmers was never very great, and as time passed, the numbers of bidders became fewer.

The most valuable resource was land. Made fertile by the late summer flooding of the Nile, it was treated largely as royal estate. In a sense, the Crown was the sole landowner. Some of the best land, retained in regal hands, was leased as "royal land" to freeman peasants, even though they were not free to move from the land while agricultural work was in progress. For lessees of "royal lands," the lease could be canceled at any moment, causing obvious difficulties. To a degree, ownership of private property was allowed, minimally under the early Ptolemies, but more broadly under later rulers. To be sure, "sacred land," i.e., parcels that belonged to temples while actually administered by the Ptolemies, was managed nonetheless for the benefit of the temples. Sacred land could even be leased or purchased by individuals. Military personnel—of Greek or Macedonian descent—were encouraged to settle in Egypt with the offer of land grants *(klēroi)*, a tactic that assured the presence of a permanent group of soldiers for defense. As time went on, the *klēroi* were of inferior land, occasionally parcels already abandoned by prior tenants. Thus, the numbers and quality of soldiers loyal to the royal house diminished so that, by the time of Ptolemy IV (222–205 B.C.), the army survived only by conscripting native Egyptians. In the case of land allotments to soldiers, only occasionally was such land passed on from one generation to another. But as enticing mercenaries from abroad with offers of land grew more difficult, the Ptolemies allowed *klēroi* to be inherited by soldiers' sons. In time, it became possible for the wife or a brotherless daughter to receive title to such land, indicating a basic shift toward rights of women.

While Greek newcomers were attracted chiefly to Alexandria, Naucratis, and Ptolemais, a substantial number settled in Egyptian villages and cities, particularly Memphis. Those who resided away from concentrations of Greeks usually dwelt on lands awarded to military personnel. Intermarriage between natives and newcomers became widespread, but there seems otherwise to have been little intercultural borrowing. Rarely did Greeks learn the Egyptian language. Some natives, of course, sought opportunities in the Hellenic centers; but they were a small group who, to further ambitions, learned Greek and adopted Greek culture. Even so, they could not acquire citizenship in the Greek cities, just as other ethnic groups were excluded from the citizenry, including Jews. Plainly, Greeks formed an élite. This situation doubtless contributed to the resentment felt by natives toward their foreign overlords, feelings which grew until, at the end of the reign of Ptolemy IV, the whole of the Thebaid in Upper Egypt revolted and, for a period, became independent. Ever after, there were sporadic, local outbreaks, although never a rebellion of the whole native populace.

Citizenship in the Greek cities was limited to Greeks and Macedonians alone. Citizens were organized much like those of a Greek city-state, formed into demes and tribes, with a senate, assembly, and magistrates. Such an arrangement engendered a certain independence in this part of the population and, inevitably, led to conflicts between Crown and citizenry, with some disputes leading to rioting in the streets of Alexandria. Evidence suggests that Alexandria's senate, because of its pugnatious tendencies, had been disbanded before Rome took charge of affairs in 30 B.C.; but the date of such action cannot be fixed.

Of the Macedonians, little is known. To be sure, they formed the majority of colonists who came in Alexander's wake. They also formed the king's guard and made up part of the court. One of their contributions came in liberalizing attitudes and laws toward women, certainly within the Greek population. This tendency began in the royal family, but eventually spread to a growing segment of the population.

The Jewish population, growing to an estimated one million people in the Roman era, centered largely in Alexandria, and initially in the delta quarter near the royal palace. Eventually they occupied much of a second of the city's five areas. In fact, early in the Roman age, synagogues stood in all of Alexandria's quarters. Although Jews could not become citizens, they were allowed their own courts as well as their own magistrates and council of elders, and thus possessed, in effect, a government within a government.

Extensive foreign possessions characterized the reigns of the first four Ptolemaic kings (323–205 B.C.). Thereafter, rulers were unable to maintain an extended empire, owing not only to strife within Egypt and the royal family, but also to Rome's refusal to return lands when it halted the expansionist designs of Seleucia (198) and Macedonia (197) during the childhood of Ptolemy V. At the height of Ptolemaic influence, foreign dominions included Cyprus and Cyrene—each held for more than 200 years—as well as major cities and their environs throughout Palestine, Coele Syria, Phoenicia, southwestern Asia Minor, islands in the southern Aegean Sea, and the islands of Samothrace and Lesbos. Soon after the fifth Syrian War (202–199 B.C.), Egypt's empire had been reduced to little more than Cyprus (finally lost in 30 B.C.) and Cyrene (lost in 96).

In matters of religion, the Ptolemies were far more tolerant of the Egyptian gods than the monotheistic Per-

sians had been. Moreover, it was in this area that the Greek populace apparently assimilated most from Egyptian culture. Worship was augmented by the introduction of the cult of Sarapis by Ptolemy I. Besides a shrine in Memphis, the major cult center for this deity was the Serapeum, built in the native Rhacôtis quarter of Alexandria. While the origins of both Sarapis as a god and his cult are debated, it is clear that few Greek settlers and Egyptians worshipped Sarapis. Even though this god, represented in male form, was the patron deity of the Ptolemaic dynasty, his cult was received much more enthusiastically outside Egypt. In time, the worship of Sarapis was established as far away as Britain. It was Sarapis, along with deities such as the Persian Mithras and the Great Mother of Phrygia, which were marshaled by pagans in their last struggles against Christianity in the third and fourth centuries. Worship was further augmented by cults in honor of kings and queens, effectively broadening state support for the powerful priesthood. According to the Decree of Canopus, Ptolemy III and Queen Berenice II even inaugurated a cult to honor their daughter Berenice, who died in her youth. Under Ptolemaic leadership, some of the most important temples preserved were founded: Philae, begun and almost completed by Ptolemy II; Edfu, began in the reign of Ptolemy III; and Dendera, started by Ptolemy IX and Cleopatra III.

C. The Ptolemaic Dynasty

1. Ptolemy I Soter (323–383 B.C.). Ptolemy, son of Lagos, a general in Alexander's army, took over the office of satrap of Egypt from the devious Cleomenes not long before Alexander's death in 323 B.C. When Alexander's generals divided up the empire, Ptolemy governed Egypt first for Alexander's half-brother, Philip Arrhidaeus, and then on behalf of his son, Alexander IV. After eighteen years as satrap, Ptolemy declared himself king on November 7, 305 B.C., establishing his descendants as "pharaohs" for the next 275 years. Years before, in order to secure his claim as Alexander's successor, Ptolemy had brought the late king's body to Memphis and then, with lavish pomp, to Alexandria, where it remained—an act which also demonstrated that the new Greek city had replaced the ancient capital.

Ptolemy I was a vigorous ruler. Even during his satrapy, his confidence as overseer was evident from the hieroglyphic "Satrap Stela," which stressed his role in liberating the country from the Persians. He grew strong enough to be able to marry women from other royal families. He divorced his first wife, a Persian woman. In 321 B.C., he married Eurydice, daughter of Antipater, satrap of Macedonia. Within four years, he married Berenice (I). Plutarch reported that Berenice exercised "great influence" over Ptolemy as well as being a fine example of virtue and wisdom [*phronēsis*], in the best Greek sense. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine at what points in affairs of state she had her strongest influence.

Ptolemy viewed Egypt more or less as his estate; it was to furnish him with a base not only for pursuing domestic and particularly foreign interests, but also for filling the treasury. Because he was Greek, he looked to the Mediterranean for commercial and political ties. Indeed, his divine title Soter ("savior") was granted by the senate of Rhodes after he had helped to end a blockade of the island in 304. Thereafter, kings and queens adopted titles which pointed to their divine character.

For its inhabitants, Alexandria was a thoroughly Greek city. Here, Soter founded both the Library, which eventually housed the largest collection of texts assembled in the ancient world, and the Museum, an unrivaled center of higher studies. In medical studies alone, the Museum surpassed the schools at Cos and Cnidus, establishing a standard at its zenith that would not be matched until modern times.

2. Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.). Late in 285, Soter handed power to one of his sons, selecting Ptolemy II Philadelphus ("sibling-loving"), son of Berenice, over the older Ptolemy Ceraunus, son of Eurydice. When the old king died early in 282, he left an empire which spread from the western Mediterranean to the Aegean Sea. Ptolemy II did not rigorously pursue foreign dominions, but he did establish outposts in Arabia and eastern Africa and, with his sister-wife Arsinoë II, sent an embassy to Rome in 273. The negotiations, which included a return visit by a Roman delegation, resulted in a lasting *amicitia* ("agreement of friendship"). This mutual recognition formed the first link between the two states and, later, placed each in position to serve as intermediary in disputes involving a third party. The agreement lent status to Philadelphus and Arsinoë II, who were facing both insubordination from their half-brother Magus in Cyrene and military expansionism into Coele Syria by the Seleucid king Antiochus I.

According to extensive papyrus remains, Philadelphus began, or at least continued, restructuring the country's administrative system. He also continued state support of culture and education; it was under his rule that the Library and Museum were completed. Legend has assigned to his reign the production of the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. The account in Pseudo-Aristeas exhibits terminology peculiar to the Ptolemaic age, pointing to an Egyptian backdrop. Moreover, Manetho, an Egyptian priest of Heliopolis, dedicated his history of Egypt to Ptolemy II. This account has provided the traditional divisions of pharaonic Egyptian history not only into thirty-one dynasties, but also into the three overarching periods known as the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms. Ptolemy II was also the founder of the Ptolemaieia, a celebration modeled on the Olympic games to honor his father, including contests in equestrian events, music, and gymnastics.

Philadephus' marriage to his older full sister Arsinoë set a precedent for his successors. Although they may have been imitating marriage practices of ancient pharaohs, or even following the divine model of Zeus with Hera, or Isis with Osiris, their marriage seems to have offended the sensibilities of their Greek subjects. Arsinoë had first been married to the aged Lysimachus of Macedonia, then to Ceraunus, her half-brother and contender for Philadelphus' crown. But after each of her husbands perished as a result of foul play, and after two of her three children by Lysimachus were killed by Ceraunus, she returned to Egypt and supplanted Ptolemy II's first wife, also named Arsinoë (I). Besides being an ambitious woman, Arsinoë II was a capable administrator, a trait that ensured the

continuing success of the royal couple. She and her husband were later deified, receiving the title "Gods Adelphi." She was known in Egyptian sources as "King of Upper and Lower Egypt."

3. Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–222 B.C.). The third Ptolemy, named Euergetes ("Benefactor"), came to the throne on 29 January 246 upon the death of his father. Internally, Egypt was prosperous and peaceful, but the new king's sister, Berenice, the queen of Syria, whose husband had just been murdered, fell into mortal danger. Before Euergetes' military force could reach her, she and her young son were betrayed and killed. Ptolemy's rescue effort then became a campaign to avenge his sister. Though Syria lay helpless before his army, he chose to withdraw, retaining only territories as far inland as Damascus. In returning, he brought back statues of Egyptian gods originally taken by the Persian Cambyses, an act which earned Ptolemy the goodwill of Egyptians as well as his divine title "Euergetes."

Berenice II, a cousin, married Ptolemy upon his coronation. A skilled horsewoman, she not only sponsored horses at equestrian events, but also rode into battle herself. In Demotic sources she was called "the female pharaoh." Her divinity was celebrated in a poem of Callimachus, which relates that a lock of her hair, offered at the shrine of Arsinoë Aphrodite for the safe return of her husband from Syria, was whisked to heaven to become a constellation.

Papyri from the Fayyum, substantial for this period, reveal that life continued in that part of Egypt much as it had before. The Canopus decree, intended to honor Ptolemy III and Berenice II, points not only to the inauguration of a cult dedicated to their late daughter Berenice, but also to a chronometrical reform that anticipated the modern calendar by adding an extra day every four years to the Egyptian calendar of 365 days. The most enduring monument from this period is the famous Edfu temple in Upper Egypt, begun in 236. All succeeding Ptolemaic rulers contributed to its ongoing construction and adornment.

4. Ptolemy IV Philopator (222–205 B.C.). Both Polybius and Strabo maligned Philopator ("father-loving") as a pleasure-seeking, careless ruler whose reign—influenced by self-seeking courtiers—saw the onset of Egypt's decline. Early in his reign, his army was ill prepared to meet the threatening Syrian army of Antiochus the Great, a temporary weakness which may have resulted from his father's relaxed policies in his later years. The Egyptian victory at Raphia in southwestern Palestine in 217 was decisive in Philopator's foreign affairs. Thereafter, Antiochus and Ptolemy's other nemeses kept their distance. The victory had other consequences at home. In the rush to assemble an army to defend Egypt, Sosibius, Ptolemy's confidant and leader of the influential palace circle, not only hired mercenaries from abroad, but also brought in Greek commanders to train native Egyptians as soldiers. The performance of the Egyptian force at Raphia helped turn the tide against the Syrians. The lesson was not lost: their hard-won confidence inspired natives to revolt when opportunity arose.

After Arsinoë III finally married her brother the king, she bore a son. Her murder at the behest of Agathocles, another confidant of the king, was kept secret until Ptolemy IV died under mysterious circumstances. A riot ensued at Alexandria, ostensibly owing to outrage over Arsinoë's fate. Agathocles was killed when turned over to the mob by the Macedonian guard. Aside from this outburst in the capital city, affairs were in largely good condition when Philopator died, except for a local flareup in Upper Egypt during his last year.

5. Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205–180 B.C.). Ptolemy V Epiphanes ("God-manifest") was crowned king at age five and was guided by courtiers who vied with one another for influence. Internally, the troops dispatched to Upper Egypt (a still troubled region) did not return for several years, illustrating the seriousness of the rebellion. Externally, Antiochus of Syria, Ptolemy IV's old foe, and Philip V, king of Macedon, agreed to move against Egyptian holdings. Philip made war against cities loyal to Egypt in Samothrace and Thrace while Antiochus attacked Palestine. Rome eased into affairs when an embassy came to Alexandria in 200 to thank the royal house for its neutrality in the Second Punic War. Rome had no quarrel with the Syrians, but was on the brink of hostilities with Philip. Then in 197, Egypt lodged a protest in Rome against Antiochus, who had recently vanquished her territories in southern Asia Minor. In the end, Egypt settled her differences with Antiochus, who, in the bargain, betrothed his daughter Cleopatra (I) to the young Egyptian king. Rome, after bullying Philip and then Antiochus into relinquishing former Egyptian lands, restored none to Ptolemy's control; Egypt's power had been eclipsed.

Cleopatra wedded Epiphanes in 194/3. It is said—not without dispute—that her dowry included lands in Coele Syria, a territory which Egypt had recently lost in war to Syria. In any case, she brought a certain amount of independent wealth to the union as well as a resilient personality.

A year after Epiphanes celebrated his majority (197), he accorded honors to the Egyptian religions at a synod; these were recorded on the now famous Rosetta Stone. The language of the commemoration was certainly Demotic, the Greek panel representing a rather slavish translation. Compared to the Canopus decree, the growing sensitivities of the Greek monarchy toward native affairs are apparent and, from this period, were visibly continued by the queen, who introduced Jews and other non-Greeks into administrative posts. Epiphanes died while trying to recapture lands under Syrian control. There is evidence that, to raise money for the campaign, he forced the wealthy to buy titles and ranks.

6. Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.). The second successive king to come to power as a child, Philometor ("mother-loving"), enjoyed his mother's guidance. While regent, Cleopatra ruled as monarch, minting her own coins and placing her name before her son's on official documents. Following her death in 176, the Syrian and Egyptian courts quarreled, and the two sides prepared for hostilities. In the meantime, a joint rule was celebrated, elevating as a triumvirate Philometer and his sister-bride Cleopatra (II), along with their younger brother Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.

When the Egyptians attacked, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the Syrian ruler, overwhelmed them and fought his way to

Memphis, where he had himself crowned pharaoh. A dispute between the two young Ptolemies undercut the war effort until it was healed by their sister. After Antiochus IV had subdued much of Egypt, had captured Ptolemy VI—apparently during an attempted escape to Samothrace—and had made the young ruler his client overlord in 168, he returned to Syria. But when he came the next year, he found that Cleopatra II and Ptolemy VIII had turned the countryside against him. His ensuing attempt to crush Alexandria failed. In the course of the war thus far, Cleopatra and her younger brother had sent appeals for help to Rome. Subsequent events turned the relationship of Rome and Alexandria from one of cordial but distant dealings to one of Egyptian dependence. The Roman ambassador sent to settle difficulties was C. Popillius Laenus. After delaying until he learned of Rome's victory over the Macedonians at Pydna, he ordered Antiochus to withdraw. When Antiochus hesitated, Laenus drew a circle in the dust around his feet and told the Syrian king to make up his mind before stepping out. During his forced return, Antiochus took out his frustrations on Jews in Jerusalem, an action that galvanized Maccabean resistance and led to Jewish independence.

7. Dynastic Rivalries and Relations with Rome (145–52 B.C.). By pressing appeals at Rome in the winter of 169/8 for help against Antiochus IV, Egypt became a virtual client state. This situation, which lasted for almost a century, was characterized and perpetuated largely by feuding within the royal house. Barely four years after Rome forced Antiochus to withdraw, a quarrel between the two royal brothers became cause for public storm, leading to the ascendancy of the younger, Euergetes II. Philometor was forced into exile, and went to Rome. When members of the senate learned, to their embarrassment, that he was in the city, living in a cheap dwelling, they received him and heard his pleas for righting injustices committed against him. To its credit, the senate agreed only to "reconciling the kings." In time, Alexandrians demanded that Philometer be restored to Egypt; in the settlement, Euergetes II was handed control over Cyrene, a lesser appointment. Thus affairs remained until Ptolemy VI died from injuries suffered in 145 while on the threshold of regaining dominion over territories formerly held by Egypt in Coele Syria.

Cleopatra II's attempt to install her young son on the throne as Ptolemy VII ended in disaster for him. The queen's younger brother Ptolemy VIII seized power, had his nephew killed, and married his sister, whom he unofficially set aside in favor of her daughter Cleopatra III. Euergetes' suppression of opponents, including the murder of his own son born to Cleopatra II, finally sparked a revolt in 131 which was backed by Cleopatra II. After an uneasy peace concluded between brother and sister in 127, Cleopatra II turned to the Seleucid ruler of Syria, Demetrius II, who had married her daughter, and embroiled the ruling houses of the two nations in quarrelsome matters of royal succession.

Both Cleopatra II and Ptolemy VIII died in 116, opening the way for Cleopatra III to rule without rival. But instability also grew. Her attempt to elevate her younger and favored son, Alexander, met resistance from the Macedonian guard, who would not breach tradition, installing instead her older son Ptolemy IX Soter II. It was he who, except for the year 110/109, ruled with his mother until he was expelled from office in 107 by Ptolemy X Alexander I, Cleopatra's favorite. Alexander reigned through a period of worsening relations with his mother and the apparent crisis engendered by her death in 101. He then ruled with Cleopatra-Berenice (III), daughter of his older brother Soter II, until 88 when he was removed by Soter II, who again ascended the throne, this time with his daughter, until he died in 80. This king and his mother, Cleopatra III—even while hating each other—together launched an extensive building campaign during Ptolemy IX's first regnal period, laying the foundation of the great temple of Dendera and adding to other temples, notably that at Edfu. Ironically, in order to suppress a revolt during his second kingship, Alexander had much of Thebes destroyed in 85 B.C.

Berenice III became sole ruler after her father Soter II died in 80. She married and elevated to the throne her cousin Ptolemy XI Alexander II, son of Ptolemy X. He then had her murdered and, after reigning nineteen days, was himself murdered in retaliation by soldiers.

It was during the period of these kings and queens that Rome's influence grew in the eastern Mediterranean. Direct interference in domestic affairs of Egypt was never part of the Roman program, but the country's wealth was ever an attraction. The most important of Egypt's dominions to fall under Roman sway was Cyrene, which had been bequeathed to Rome by Ptolemy VIII while he still reigned there. In the interim, his illegitimate son, Ptolemy Apion, had ruled this dominion until his death in 96. Rome allowed its cities to remain independent until 74 when Cyrene as formally annexed as a province, a territory that had been Egypt's for more than two centuries. Next to be annexed was Cyprus in 58.

8. Ptolemy XII Auletes (80–51 B.C.). Nicknamed Auletes ("flute player") because of his skill with the flute, Ptolemy XII was the son of Soter II. He held on to power through support which he brought with gifts at Rome. Though ineffectual as king—even being forced into exile for two years by Alexandria's citizens—he was able to remain neutral in Rome's war with Mithridates of Pontus in northern Asia Minor. While he was in Rome winning patronage to be reinstated by passing out lavish bribes to officials (including Julius Caesar), the queen, Cleopatra VI Tryphaena, assumed rule with her sister Berenice (IV). When Auletes was restored in 55 through the intervention of one of Pompey's officers, the king was obliged to install the Roman banker Rabirius Postumus as finance overseer, a result of Rabirius' huge loans for the king's lavish gifts. Although the appointment of a Roman was unprecedented, and eventually public outcry drove Rabirius from Egypt, his nomination doubtless arose because Egypt's taxes would lie under his direct control.

9. Cleopatra VII (52–30 B.C.). The most famous of the Ptolemaic line, she and her older brother Ptolemy XIII became co-regents with their father Auletes in 52, a year before his death. Not content merely to share Egypt's throne, she involved herself in the upheavals besetting the late Roman Republic. Her first opportunity came in 48 when Julius Caesar arrived at Alexandria in pursuit of the defeated Pompey. When Caesar departed the next year,

after subduing the Egyptian forces that had pinned him in the capital city, and solidifying Cleopatra's regal hold, by her account he left her with child. She named her infant son Caesarion. During the same year, Ptolemy XIII died and she married her younger brother Ptolemy XIV, who reigned with her until his death in 44.

In the meantime, two important events occurred. First, Egypt's economy, which had sagged for decades (most recently under the weight of Aulete's bribes in Rome), began to revive under Cleopatra's leadership. With it, the country's fortunes seemed to rise. Taking an interest in all her subjects, even learning Egyptian along with several other languages, she came to enjoy solid popular support. Second, pursuing her loftier aim of being queen of the Roman world, she followed Caesar to Rome in 46. Her efforts to link her fortunes with his came apart in 44 when he was assassinated. Her retreat to Egypt did not last long. In 41, after the victory of the party led by Octavian and Mark Antony, she answered Antony's summons to account for her neutrality by going in person to Tarsus. Thereafter, Antony became Cleopatra's slave.

In 40, Antony returned to Rome. There, in an apparent effort by Octavian to draw him from Cleopatra's grasp, Antony was married to his friend's sister Octavia. But in 36 he was sent east to lead the war against the Parthians. Once again, he fell under the Egyptian queen's charm. Politically, this was fatal for him in Rome, particularly when he gave large tracts of land to Cleopatra and, additionally, refused to visit his wife Octavia in Athens where she had come to meet him, choosing instead the company of the queen. Militarily, he was vanquished by Octavian in the naval battle fought at Actium in September of 31. When Cleopatra and her ships pulled away from the battle, Antony followed. It was only a matter of time before Octavian caught up with them in Egypt. The victor finally arrived in August of 30. Antony committed suicide. Cleopatra, after seeing that she could not entice Octavian, reportedly exposed herself to the bite of a cobra, the snake which had long symbolized royalty and divinity. Within days of her death, Egypt belonged to Rome.

D. Egypt as a Roman Province (30 B.C.–A.D. 324)

As the Ptolemies had thought of the land and its inhabitants as their personal property and workforce, so the emperors of Rome continued to look upon Egypt as their own. Octavian—later known as Augustus—and his successors allowed no Roman of senatorial rank to visit Egypt without permission of the emperor. He had two reasons for this decision. First, Egypt's geography gave it a unity possessed by no other province. Flanked on both east and west by desert, it was difficult to invade. By sea, because of the prevailing northwest winds, it was most easily approached from the west. But no natural anchorage existed along the delta coastline except at Alexandria. Hence, Egypt could be turned into a base of power by an enterprising adventurer. The second reason was linked to Egypt's character as the most abundant agricultural producer among territories abutting the Mediterranean Sea. The confinement of the Nile valley—coupled with the Ptolemaic bureaucracy already in place—made management of shipping a simple matter. During the early empire, Egypt's produce offered the most certain and abundant supply of food for Rome. As Italy's needs for food grew, the stability of Egypt became paramount.

1. Administration under Rome. Egypt was now governed from afar. Although his representatives lived in Egypt, the Roman emperor only occasionally visited the country. For the same reasons that those of senatorial class were to stay away, members of the emperor's family were not to come. Consequently, any appeal to Rome's highest authority, whether by a Roman citizen or on behalf of a person or a group—as that carried out in A.D. 40 for Alexandria's Jews by Philo Judaeus and his associates—had to be made in Italy.

The highest-ranking appointee in Egypt was the prefect, a person from the equestrian or knight class. His authority was preeminent, since responsibilities included those of principal financial officer, chief justice, and head of both the military and civil service. In the judicial realm, differences between the Ptolemaic era and that inaugurated by Rome are readily apparent. In place of the previous system of itinerant courts, the prefect now served as virtually the only judicial officer. Consequently, litigations could be resolved only by a certain expense and inconvenience to the parties. Yet the prefect's judicial circuit was largely limited to Pelusium in the eastern delta, Alexandria in the west, and Memphis for Upper Egypt. It must have become clear to many Egyptians that Rome intended to rule in civil matters with the least expense possible.

The civil administration was reinforced in its duties by the military, with the prefect holding both. Rome could afford to keep relatively few civil servants on its payroll because the army secured order and cooperation, an empire-wide trait. When revolt broke out in the Thebaid over the first Roman census, the disturbance was quelled with a strength which showed that Rome would brook no dissent. The census, conducted every fourteen years, was designed chiefly to inventory properties for taxation purposes. The resulting records were deposited in Alexandria in a central records office, as well as in the capital city of the relevant nome or region.

The nomes, consisting of more than thirty administrative regions in Egypt, acquired a new status under Rome. All village gymnasia—the basic educational institutions of Hellenistic societies—which had sprung up under the Ptolemies were now concentrated in nome capitals. The heads of these schools, gymnasiarchs, were given official status, each in a magistracy or urban office. These magistracies constituted an innovation. Several such offices were joined to form a type of city council, each officer with a different responsibility. One function of the urban magistracies was to keep track of youths who qualified by birth or otherwise for special privileges, including citizenship and reduced taxation. This policy perpetuated social classes, a fixation in Roman society. At the end of the second century, the urban magistracies formed the core for Septimius Severus' creation of senates in each nome capital.

Service in a magistracy became difficult over time. Under the Ptolemies, civil service had been voluntary, except in crises when persons were conscripted, for example, to lease a certain tract of land. Although voluntary acceptance of governmental trusts continued under the Romans, during the first century the "liturgy" was introduced. Under this system, not only were officials to use

their own resources in performing their duties but their persons and properties were warranted as guarantees against any failure occurring during their tenure in office. One result was to weaken the wealthier peasants and, eventually, the more affluent of the middle class. To escape the harsh penalties for failures caused, say, by a bad agricultural year, some abandoned homes and lands. One reads of villages from which 10 or 12 percent of the inhabitants had fled. In order to make up shortfalls, others were compelled to cultivate abandoned fields and were held liable for further failures. The reforms of Septimius Servus in 200 A.D. were designed to address falling revenues, then epidemic throughout the empire. He awarded senates to Egypt's nome capitals, making these bodies of about 100 persons responsible for the financial functions within the nome, e.g., collecting taxes or financing the municipal gymnasium. Each senator became liable for shortfalls that might occur in the jurisdiction of any and all associated on the council. To refuse the nomination to serve—even for a term of a few days, an attested circumstance—was no solution, since the nominee would thereby forfeit two-thirds of his property. While the impact on the wealthy who could accept such nominations was often ruinous, the effect was not uniform.

Religion required attention. In Ptolemaic times, temple priests, often sympathetic to nationalist sentiments, were treated with respect. Under Rome, the rules changed. While sacred lands underwent no fundamental alteration, temples and priesthood ranks came under supervision of the "high priest of Alexandria and all Egypt," a Roman civil officer. Temples were inspected regularly and the ranks of priests limited, any excessive numbers being liable to the poll tax, a fee from which the priesthood had earlier been exempt. Even so, within the guidelines, temple personnel prospered and little complaining was heard from that quarter for a long time.

To traditional religion in Egypt was added the emperor's cult. The emperor had taken the place of the Ptolemies as pharaoh, "Lord of the Two Lands." His divinity, celebrated in his cult, was widely accepted. *Libelli,* certificates of sacrifice submitted by all subjects, were imposed to ensure the ongoing function of emperor worship. Only Christians who were willing to risk public ridicule, and even death, refused to comply.

Christianity's arrival probably occurred by the third quarter of the first century. Although literary evidence is thin, recent archaeological finds in the Fayyum are compelling. The movement is often thought to have embraced so-called heterodox forms and ideas; but the fourth-century gnostic texts from Nag Hammadi, taken with the speculative elements in the writings of the Alexandrian scholars Clement and Origen, need not be seen as broad indicators of Christianity's character throughout the country. While Egypt became a seedbed for movements later deemed schismatic, e.g., the Arian controversy of the early fourth century and the later Monophysite dispute which drove a wedge between Egyptian Christians and others, Egypt's contribution to Christendom in the early centuries is not thereby diminished. Like Christians everywhere, Egyptian adherents suffered severely—often for refusal to join in emperor worship—during both local and empire-wide persecutions. These gave rise to a martyrdom literature whose more sober accounts detail dreadful human suffering at the hands of Roman officials. Persecution also led to growth, with Christians becoming the numerical majority as early as 325 A.D. See also CHRISTIANITY (EGYPT).

Citizenship was the dominant feature which perpetuated distinctions within Roman society. In Egypt, citizenship could be either Roman or of one of the "Greek" cities: Naucratis, Alexandria, Ptolemais, or Antinoöpolis (founded in Middle Egypt in 130 by the emperor Hadrian in memory of his friend Antinoüs, who drowned in the Nile). People attracted to Antinoöpolis at its founding were awarded privileges, including exemption from certain taxes. Citizenship in the "Greek" cities continued much as it had under the Ptolemies, featuring special exemptions. Roman citizenship formed the highest prize and, during the first two centuries of Roman rule, was awarded to those who had served in the legions. But the Edict of Caracalla *(Constitutio Antoniniana de Civitate),* issued in 212 A.D., gave citizenship to all inhabitants of the empire, diluting its importance. For those in Egypt, it apparently made little difference.

2. Diocletian's Reforms. The empire came under increasing strain in the late third century when a series of military leaders seized imperial power, none holding office for more than a decade. Diocletian, who became emperor in the fall of 284 A.D., saw the difficulties, and with his organizational acumen, revamped the empire's administrative structure. Egypt became a part of the eastern diocese and was divided into three provinces. The prefect's duties were restricted to the northernmost province in the delta. The other two provinces received governors *(praeses),* both of whom reported to the prefect. Military authority was placed in the hands of a duke *(dux),* leaving the prefect as a civil authority only. Taxation underwent simplification and was linked to a fifteen-year cycle ("indiction") of production estimates for a province, rather than to a quota established locally. In a further move to unify, Latin replaced Greek as the language of administration, but the impact in Egypt was slight.

In Egypt, most prior governmental attempts to meet difficulties did not involve thorough reformation, only temporary measures which often led to further problems. Even after Diocletian's reforms, the strictures faced by small landholders drove them to deed their lands to owners of larger estates who could bear the burdens of ownership, a feature which would dominate Byzantine Egypt. All that the former sought in return was the right to farm their own holdings as lessees. Further, Roman objectives in Egypt did not really change. The wealth of the country was at Rome's disposal. Unlike the Ptolemies, who amassed wealth from the country and then disposed of most of it there, Rome was an absentee landlord. Egypt's riches, gathered by Roman civil servants, were sent off to Italy; Rome's fiscal interests were to be served, first and foremost. However, it is not completely fair to conclude that all in life was miserable. Evidence from papyri shows that, even in periods of political or economic difficulty, for many (perhaps the majority) of Egyptians life went on much as it always had, unperturbed by forces that shaped the larger picture of the empire's destiny.

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S. KENT BROWN

EGYPT, PLAGUES IN. The series of nine plagues *(maggepōt),* also called signs *(ʾotōt)* and wonders *(mōpetîm),* climaxing with the tenth plague, the death of the eldest son (i.e. Passover), which Yahweh brought on Egypt to move the obdurate pharaoh to allow the Israelites to leave Egypt (Exod 7:14–12:32). These events play a significant in Israel's salvation history in as much as they are linked to the deliverance from Egypt.

A. Sources in the Plagues Narrative

The three-source analysis (J, E, P) of Driver (1913: 24–29), which goes back to Wellhausen, has continued to find support (*IDB* 3: 823 and accompanying table; Clements *Exodus* CBC, 40–41; Childs *Exodus* OTL, 130–142). The reasoning for distinguishing J from E is not at all clear. The use of the rod in introducing the first plague (Exod 7:15b, 17b) is assigned to E (Childs, *Exodus,* 137), and yet the introduction of the magical rod is found in a passage generally regarded as belonging to J (Exod 4:1–4; Hyatt *Exodus* NCB, 48; Clements *Exodus,* 26). When the rod is in Aaron's hand, that section is assigned to P (Hyatt *Exodus,* 103).

The use of divine names, *ʾelōhîm* (E) and YHWH (J), is considered as diagnostic for these two sources. However, this criterion does not work in the story of the plagues. In passages connected to E, according to Hyatt (p. 48; e.g. 9:22–23a, 35; 10:12–13a, 20–23, 27) and to Childs (p. 131; 7:15b, 17b, 20b, 23; 9:22–23a, 24a, 25a, 35a; 10:12–13a, 15, 20, 21–23, 27; 11:1–3) YHWH is written, not *ʾelōhîm.* In fact, *ʾelōhîm* is never used without being associated with the divine name. Noth (*Exodus* OTL, 9–18) recognized this problem and maintained that J and E were virtually indistinguishable, and hence he referred to these narratives as JE, and the remaining sections were the work of P. G. Fohrer (1964: 60ff.), however, has argued against Noth for three sources in the plague narratives. His conclusions have more recently been endorsed by Childs (*Exodus,* 131). The work of a redactor, it is argued, removed some of the distinctions. The redactor is thought to be the work of the Deuteronomist by Clements (*Exodus,* 4), while Noth (*Exodus* 18) speaks of additions after P, and does not assign a particular redactor. For Childs, three sources are present and P is the redactor (pp. 131–32).

A complicating factor in the source analysis is the relationship between Exod 7:14–12:44 and Psalms 78 and 105, which have different sequences for the plagues than that in Exodus (see table in *IDB* 3: 823), and in recent years this has attracted considerable discussion (Lauha 1945: 39–50; Margulis 1969: 491–96; Loewenstamm 1971: 34–38). The differences may "reflect only a free handling of the source material" (Allen, *Psalms 101–150* WBC, 41), or what might be called "liturgical license." Psalm 78, for instance, mentions the rebellion in the wilderness (78:40–41) before mentioning the plagues in vv 44–51. The reversal in sequence is not accidental but deliberate to show that in the wilderness the Israelites forgot God's power as evidenced in the signs and wonders in Egypt. The reversal in order of wilderness period and the plagues/exodus events does not mean that the Psalmist had his history backward.

It is clear that both Psalms refer to only seven plagues, which may in part account for the differences between them and Exodus. Again, liturgical reasons may lie at the root of this problem. Drawing conclusions on the relationship between these Psalms and Exodus, and what sources they may reflect, still entails much speculation.

In recent years a number of scholarly works have raised serious questions about traditional sources and tradition criticism (Alter 1981; Kikawada and Quinn 1985; Rendsburg 1986; Whybray 1987). The emphasis has shifted from the micro to the macro structure of pericopes.

B. The Structure of Plagues Narratives

In their present form, the first nine plagues are closely related and constitute three parallel cycles of three plagues each, which for some indicate the literary unity of the text (Cassuto 1967: 92–93; Sarna 1986: 73–78 and his table 4.2). The tenth plague represents the climax which resulted in the release of the Hebrews. Like the number seven, ten signifies completion and perhaps may be a climactic number (Loewenstamm 1971: 38). If the the literary unity, a tightly woven fabric, found in Exod 7:14–12:30 merely reflects the work of the redactor, it might be asked if it is possible any longer to isolate the threads that have been so thoroughly reworked. This factor in part has led a number of scholars to aver that in matters of exegesis and theological reflection, the present form of the text must be seriously considered (Childs, *Exodus,* 149–51; Noth, *Exodus,* 18; Rendtorff 1986: 290).

C. The Phenomena of the Plagues

On the phenomena of the plagues from an Egyptian perspective, Petrie has said, "The order of the plagues was the natural order of such troubles on a lesser scale in the Egyptian seasons, as was pointed out long ago" (1911: 35). For Petrie, the bloodlike Nile derived from stagnating conditions associated with the lowest level of the Nile before the beginning of the inundation which generally began in July. One very early rationalistic approach to the plagues was that of Eichhorn in *De Aegypti anno mirabili* (1818). In modern times, Hort (1957: 84–103; 1958: 48–59) has examined various natural explanations for the first plague and argued that for the right condition of the Nile

to be determined it had to meet four attendant phenomena as outlined in Exod 7:20–24; (1) the blood red color (7:20), (2) the death of the fish (7:21a), (3) the putrid smell of the water (7:21b), and (4) the undrinkableness of the water (7:21c). For Hort, only one scenario explains all four and provides a basis for the rationale for some of the later plagues that appear in chapters 8–9, and that is presence of massive numbers of flagellates (*Euglena sanguinea* and *Haematococcus pluvialis*) in the waters of the inundation (1957: 94). The flagellates likely originated in Lake Tana and came via the Blue Nile to Egypt. The presence of the flagellates would account for the color as well as the loathsome taste of the water (p. 94). The flood waters are generally reddish owing to the presence of suspended particles of soil *(Roterd)*, but this alone would not cause the other three phenomena. Furthermore, the flagellates yield high amounts of oxygen during the day but absorb oxygen during the night. Fish require a consistent amount of oxygen, and this fluctuating condition could lead to their death. If this theory is correct, then a chronological framework for the plagues can be established. The Nile rises in July–August, cresting in September, and declining in October and November (Hort 1957: 95). The implications of Hort's thesis for the study of the plagues of Egypt is so important that a thorough review of her observations is in order.

In connection with the annual inundation, frogs are known to invade the land from the marshy banks of the Nile, usually in September–October (Hort 1957: 95). Hort notes that 7:25 dates the occurrence of the second plague seven days after the waters had been infected by the first plague, showing the relationship between the two (p. 96). The sudden death of the frogs (8:13) is attributed to their being contaminated by bacillus anthracis, which is found along the banks of the Nile and may have come from the decomposing fish (p. 98).

The identity of the insect mentioned in the third plague *(kinnîm)* has been debated. "Gnats" is a popular understanding (RSV; NASB; NIV; Cassuto 1967: 105); "lice" is another suggestion (KJV, Clements, *Exodus*, 49). "Mosquitos" (JB) makes very good sense in the aftermath of the inundation season, especially if it had been an abnormally high flood, which would take longer for pools and puddles to dry (Hort 1957: 98–99). Childs understands "gnat" to be a type of stinging mosquito (*Exodus*, 156).

The fourth plague is flies (*ʿārōb*), which as a collective means "swarm" (Hyatt, *Exodus* NCB, 111). The LXX reads *kunómuia*, "dog-fly," so named because it is especially vicious. Hort also associates this flying insect with the sixth plague (1957: 101–3). The fifth plague *(deber)*, which affected field animals (Exod 9:3), is often described as "murrian" (Hort 1957: 100; *IDB* 3: 823; KJV, RV). For Hort, the anthrax that was associated with the second plague now affected limited numbers of field animals, since most animals were kept in stables and shelters away from the flood waters during this season (1957: 100).

"Boils" is the usual understanding for the sixth plague *(šēḥîn)*, but boils do not afflict animals, and Exod 9:9 specifies that this plague affected man and beast alike. For this reason, Hort ties this plague to the flies of the fourth plague (which she identifies as *Stomoxys calctirans*), which transmitted the anthrax to both humans and animals (1957: 102). *St. calcitrans*, known to multiply rapidly in warmer climates, bites its victims in the lower regions of the body, a point acknowledged in Deut 28:35.

Hail, thunder, and lightning make up the seventh plague (Exod 9:23), which caused considerable damage to vegetation (9:25, 31–32). Rain and hail are not that common in Egypt (hence the statement in 9:24), but very violent and heavy storms are known to strike even in modern times. In ancient times such storms were considered divine manifestations (Hoffmeier 1985: 224–45). Hort suggests, based on the time when storms hit Egypt and the agricultural date offered in 9:31–32, that February would have been the likeliest time for this plague to have occurred (1958: 49).

Locust hordes, a known plague in the Mediterranean world and Africa—as the Bible elsewhere attests (Amos 7:1–2; Joel 1:4–7)—was the eighth plague. According to 10:13, an east wind *(rûaḥ qādîm)* brought the locusts to Egypt, and after the pharaoh softened his stance, a west wind drove them into the Red/Reed Sea (10:19). Hort argues that a north wind driving the locusts down the Nile valley better accords with the description in Exod 10:15 and with the prevailing wind patterns, which blow in off the Mediterranean; it also makes good sense of *rûaḥ yam*, a sea wind, i.e. a north wind (1958: 51). To resolve how a north wind could blow the locust west to *yam sûp*, Hort proposes emending *yam sûp* to *yamin* based on a misreading of the *mem* as *samek* and *waw* for *yod*. *Yamin* would mean toward the south. This is certainly a possible explanation, but unnecessary. The blowing of the locusts into the Red Sea possibly foreshadows the destruction of the Egyptian armies in the same waters in Exodus 14 (Cassuto 1967: 128–29).

The obscuring of the sun for three days (10:21), the ninth plague, must certainly have seemed strange in Egypt, a land accustomed to sunshine year round. Most commentators agree that a sand storm (Arabic *khamsin*), prevalent in Egypt between March and May, is the phenomenon in question (Clements *Exodus*, 63; Hyatt *Exodus*, 126). Having traveled in Egypt from Minya to Cairo (ca. 170 miles) on a train in May 1967, through the brown-orange darkness caused by a *khamsin* that blanketed a good portion of Egypt, the writer can attest to the eerie feeling caused by this phenomenon. Cars had to drive with lights on in the afternoon. Hort points out that the *khamsin* was exacerbated by the *Roterd* left behind by the sudsiding flood waters that would have covered the land (1958: 53).

The tenth plague generally is considered to belong to a different realm than the nine. Sarna says, "From a theological perspective, they are the instances of God's harnessing the forces of nature for the realization of His own historic purpose. The tenth and final visitation upon the pharaoh and his people is the one plague for which no rational explanation can be given. It belongs entirely to the category of the supernatural" (1986: 93).

Some (Finegan 1963: 47–57; Kitchen, *NBD*, 943–44) agree with Hort that the scheme she proposes demonstrates "that the Biblical account gives us true and historically accurate information of the events which led up to the Exodus of Israel from Egypt" (1958: 59). On the other hand, McCarthy (1965: 336–37) rejects the approach of Hort owing to the inconsistencies between the Exodus

material and Psalms 78 and 105, claiming that there was no attempt to "mirror reality" in the "sequence of these episodes." He maintains that the long oral and literary history of the traditions behind the development of the Exodus plagues pericope militates against the naturalistic analysis. In view of the literary considerations discussed already and the source critical questions raised above (sections A and B), one could equally ask, if the scheme proffered by Hort is logical and can be demonstrated as a sequence of events, how is it that a variety of traditions could be drawn together centuries later by a redactor that makes such good sense in an Egyptian context, but certainly not in Palestinian or Mesopotamian locales?

D. Egyptian Religious Background to the Plagues

It has long been maintained that Egyptian local color and a specific degrading of Egyptian deities are evident in the plague narratives. Exod 12:12 and Num 33:4 point out that plagues and exodus were God's executing judgment on "the gods of Egypt." Furthermore, Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, said "Now I know that the Lord is greater than all the gods" (Exod 18:11a; RSV). Some have tried to see an Egyptian deity behind each plague (Davis 1971: 79–129; Aling 1981: 103–9); e.g. the Nile and the god Hapi; frogs and the goddess Heket; the cows and bulls struck by the murrain as representing Hathor and Apis respectively; the Sun being obscured and the god Re; etc.

It is incorrect to regard animals in Egypt as "sacred." In some cases, there has been a misunderstanding about certain deities and their function. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate this. Concerning the first plague, Aling says, "it is quite obviously an attack against the Nile god, Hapi. The god and the river were synonymous. . . ." (1981: 106). However, Hapi is not the Nile, nor the Nile god. In fact, Hapi is associated with the annual innundation. While there are hymns to Hapi (P. Sallier II, P. Anastasi VII, and P. Chester Beatty V), there is no known temple, priesthood, or cult of Hapi. His praises were likely sung in connection with the annual innundation at other temples. The obese fecundity figures, wrongly called "Nile-gods" by early Egyptologists, are now classified as personifications of fertility by J. Baines in his authoritative monograph *Fecundity Figures* (Aris & Phillips 1985). Furthermore, it is inappropriate to call the river Nile "sacred" because the Egyptians never used words like "sacred" or "holy" attributively of the Nile (Hoffmeier 1985). There is no evidence to suggest that the Nile was a sacred river in the sense used by Hindus of the Ganges river. These observations have an impact on the view that the Nile god is somehow shown to be overmatched by Yahweh. If the plague on the Nile, however, coincided with the annual innundation, as Hort suggested, then it could be argued that Hapi's manifestation in the innundation is overshadowed by Yahweh.

The annual innundation was also connected to the resurrection of Osiris (Frankfort 1978: 190–91). It has been suggested that the reddish flood waters might have been seen by the Egyptians as the failure of Osiris to come back to life (Sarna 1986: 79). Or possibly, the red waters might remind the Egyptians of Osiris' death because his corpse was pulled from the Nile near Memphis, according to the tradition in the Memphite Theology (l. 9) and the Pyramid Texts (§ 615).

In general, animals, even though associated with a particular deity, were not considered "sacred." Indeed, from the time of Amenhotep III the Apis bull at Memphis was mummified and buried at Saqqara. But only one bull at a time received the special treatment in the temple. Cows and bulls were slaughtered for meat. They were not revered in the sense that cows have a special status in Hinduism. While some animals were associated with a particular cult center and may have been kept as pets (Spencer 1982: 196–97), not every animal of that species received special treatment or was linked with the deity. The proliferation of mummified animal burials (e.g. falcons, cats, ibis, baboons, etc.) began in the 7th century and possibly expanded as a nationalistic movement against Persian domination in an attempt to express the superiority of traditional Egyptian religion (Spencer 1982: 212). During the Greco-Roman period, the practice of mummifying animals reached its zenith. Whatever religious attitudes these burials reflect on the sacred nature of certain animals, they are certainly too late to have any association with plague on the animals in Exodus.

The supremacy of the sun god Re (or Atum) throughout much of Egyptian history is well known. For this reason, the obscuring of the sun in connection with the 9th plague has been regarded as the triumph of the Hebrew God over the head of the Egyptian pantheon (Sarna 1986: 79; Aling 1981: 106). It was noted by Cassuto that "evil" (*rāʿâ*) in Exod 10:10 was a word play on the Egyptian term *rʿ* for sun, and that the darkness was a response to pharaoh's comment there (1967: 129). A recent detailed study of *rāʿâ* elsewhere in the Pentateuch has made a good case for this word play on the sun god (Rendsburg 1988: 3–15). It seems quite likely, then, that a connection between the 9th plague and Re can be made.

One area of Egyptian backgrounds that has not sufficiently been explored is how the plagues affected the pharaoh and his office. In Near Eastern parlance, the "hand of god X" is an idiom for a plague, and it has been suggested that the expression "hand of Yahweh" in Exod 9:3 and 15 should be understood in this manner (Stieglitz 1987: 47). Consequently, plagues were considered to be divine in origin. This observation certainly fits the scenario of the epic struggle between God and pharaoh. It has also been observed that the expressions about the hand or arm of God in the exodus narratives take on a special meaning when it is realized that similar expressions are found in Egyptian literature that symbolize the conquering and controlling power of pharaoh (Hoffmeier 1986: 378–87; Görg 1986: 323–30). This realization shows that the contest was primarily between Yahweh and pharaoh, known in Egypt as the "Son of Re," "Good God," and other divine epithets. The final assault on the power and authority of pharaoh came at "the sea." God says to Moses, "I will get glory over Pharaoh and all his host; and the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord" (Exod 14:4). The plagues, exodus, and the incident at "the sea" were all a part of a cosmic struggle between Yahweh and pharaoh.

The cumulative effect of the plagues on the Egyptian view of cosmic order and the king's role in maintaining it is a major issue in the plagues. From Dynasty 4 onward,

the pharaoh bore the title "Son of Re." As such, he was the god of the Egyptian state and was responsible to maintain the cosmic order *(maᶜat)* on earth that had been established by Re at creation (Frankfort 1978: 51–56). Because of the bond that existed between the created order and the king as the incarnate "Son of Re," he was responsible for the fertility of the land as well as for the proper function of the Nile, and because of the strong bond between the sun god, Re, and the king, he was the one who illuminated the two lands, i.e., Egypt (Frankfort 1978: 56–59). The vitality of the land was ensured by a number of annual festivals and related rituals over which the king presided.

The nine plagues certainly showed that a cosmic struggle was in progress, and they challenged the king's ability to maintain that cosmic order. If the king failed to execute his duties properly, the land would suffer, i.e., it would be in a state of chaos *(isft)*, which is how Egyptian literature describes the 1st and 2d Intermediate periods. When a strong king appeared and regained control of the land, *maᶜat* was reestablished. The "Admonitions of Ipuwer" laments the deplorable conditions within Egypt:

> Lo, the river is blood, as one drinks of it one shrinks from people and thirsts for water . . .
> Towns are ravaged, Upper Egypt became a wasteland . . .
> Lo, the desert claims the land, the nomes are destroyed, foreign bowmen have come to Egypt . . .
> See now, the land is deprived of kingship by a few people who ignore custom . . . (*AEL* 1: 147).

The same despair is found in "Prophecy of Neferti," which dates to early in the 12th Dynasty, and was apparently written to help legitimize Amenemhet I (1991–1961 B.C.), the founder of the dynasty. Conditions move from gloom to glory at accession of Amenemhet as king. Neferti states:

> Dry is the river of Egypt, one crosses the water on foot; one seeks water for ships to sail on, its course having turned into shoreland . . .
> The land is bowed down in distress, owing to those feeders, Asiatics who roam the land. Foes have risen in the East, Asiatics have come down to Egypt . . .
> Re will withdraw from mankind: Though he will rise at his hour, one will not know when noon has come; No one will discern his shadow, no face will be dazzled by seeing him.
> Then a king will come from the South, Ameny the justified his name. . . . Then Order *(maᶜat)* will return to its seat, while Chaos *(isft)* is driven away (*AEL* 1: 141).

These texts have several points in common. First we see that the Nile is either extremely low, owing to poor innundations, or in some way is contaminated, and so the crops fail and people don't want to drink the water. Second, kingship that unites and controls the land is absent. Third, foreigners are present in Egypt; and fourth, the sun was concealed in some way.

The plagues of Exodus 7–10 would have been understood by pharaoh and the Egyptians as a direct assault on the king, who was responsible for the proper function of the Nile, the crops, and the sun. This could be why the unnamed pharaoh of the exodus is so angered by the "signs and wonders." They were beyond the limits of his control. Perhaps his continued obstinacy was due to his hoping he could somehow reestablish himself as the Lord of Maᵓat.

Indeed the gods of Egypt were shown to be impotent through Yahweh's "signs and wonders." But much of the language and symbolism of the exodus narratives is directed at the monarch and his inability to maintain order and protect Egypt from the Asiatic foreigners.

E. Theological Implications of the Plagues

In Exod 5:2 Pharaoh asks, "Who is the Lord, that I should heed his voice and let Israel go? I do not know the Lord . . ." Ultimately, the plagues were the means used by God to convince Israel, Egypt, and Pharaoh that Yahweh was supreme. The plagues, along with the exodus from Egypt and the deliverance at "the sea," were regarded as part of the mighty acts of God (Deut 3:24). In later Israelite worship, the plague traditions did not play a major role, and when they did, they were reworked (i.e. Psalms 78 and 105) for reasons which are not clear. The recitation of the plagues in the Psalter serves to remind later Israelites of God's grace and power, which were soon forgotten in the wilderness (Childs *Exodus*, 169).

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JAMES K. HOFFMEIER

EGYPT, RIVER OF. Appearing only once in the OT, the expression *nahar miṣrayim* "river of Egypt" serves as an element of the phrase "from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates" (Gen 15:18). The expression might suggest the Nile, certainly the best-known Egyptian river. But the contrasting designation of the Euphrates as the "great river" implies that the *nahar miṣrayim* is a lesser waterway, probably the Brook of Egypt (see EGYPT, BROOK OF). Emendation of MT *nahar* "river" (Gen 15:18) to *naḥal* "brook, wadi" is unwarranted; the author of Gen 15:18 is placing Israel in contrast to, but also on a par with, the neighboring powers (on the passage, see Lohfink 1967: 65; Mölle 1989: 166–67; Weimar 1989: 405–6). A late mention of the River of Egypt is found in LXX *potamos Aigyptou* (Jdt 1:9), clearly indicating the border of Israel with Egypt.

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M. GÖRG

EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE. See LANGUAGES (EGYPTIAN).

EGYPTIAN LITERATURE. Writers in ancient Egypt produced a great quantity of texts that can be considered as "literature" in the sense that they partake in a tradition and were not composed simply to meet immediate needs of communication and finance. This entry consists of four articles. The first provides a broad, introductory survey of Egyptian literature. The second focuses on perhaps the earliest type of Egyptian literature—the biography. The second and third articles respectively cover two types of Egyptian literature that seem to have influenced Israelite (and therefore biblical) literature: love poetry and wisdom writings.

SURVEY OF EGYPTIAN LITERATURE

In this survey the term "literature" will be used in a broader sense to include all kinds of texts belonging to the written tradition of ancient Egypt but excluding actual letters, receipts, files, and other documents that were not meant for tradition but for everyday use.

A. Generalities
1. Definitions, Literaticity, and Poeticity
2. Institutional and Functional Frames
3. "Poeticity": Formal Devices and Metrics
4. Inscriptions and Manuscripts
5. Forms of Transmission
B. Genres
1. Belles-Lettres
a. Wisdom Literature
b. Narratives
c. Poetry
2. Functional Literature
a. Temple Literature
b. Funerary (Mortuary) Literature
c. Magical Incantations
d. Codification of Knowledge
3. Monumental Literature
a. Royal Inscriptions
b. Biography

A. Generalities

1. Definitions, Literaticity, and Poeticity. Literature in the narrow sense of aesthetic or fictional texts will be called *belles-lettres.* These texts are called "literary texts" in contrast to "nonliterary texts," which constitute the body of "functional literature." The criterion for attributing texts to one or the other corpus is their functional fixity. While some texts are meant to serve only one well-determined function, as is the case with magical spells or biographical tomb inscriptions, others, such as narratives, harper's songs, and wisdom texts, may serve several functions. The latter appear in different contexts because they are functionally nonspecific, that is, not permanently bound to a single context. This functional nonspecificity is our main criterion for determining the "literaticity" of a text, regardless whether it exhibits poetic form ("poeticity") or not (Assmann and Assmann 1983: 269–74). Poetic texts may in fact be found within both belles-lettres and "functional literature."

All Middle Kingdom (hereafter MK) texts belonging to belles-lettres are framed by a narrative which explains their setting. This interior frame may be interpreted as the intratextual substitute of the extratextual context which is lacking in the case of literary texts. This custom of framing literary texts has caused chronological problems. Most Egyptologists tend to identify the date where the author locates the plot (the literary date) with the time of the author himself (the historical date). The literary date may in most cases, however, point to a much earlier time than the historical date and may thus have a special, symbolic meaning (which has, of course, nothing to do with "pseudepigraphy" much less "forgery").

2. Institutional and Functional Frames. Institutions of literature, where books were produced, stored, and copied, were primarily the "House of Life" (Eg *pr ʿnḫ;* Weber *LÄ* 3:954–57) and to a lesser degree the school. Houses of Life were attached to the major temples. They served not only scriptorial, but also ritual purposes for the sake of "the preservation of life." Their primary concern seems to

have been the tradition of ritual and magicomedical knowledge, but the literary activities extended into the fields of education, wisdom, and belles-lettres on the one hand, and astronomy, cosmography, and "sacerdotal sciences" on the other. In the schools the main focus was on educational ("teachings") and administrative knowledge (model letters). Our main sources here are the ostraca from Deir el Medinah and papyri from the Memphite area. Officials typically assigned to the House of Life were the priests of Sakhmet—physician-scholars of broad erudition and magical competence (von Känel 1984), who appear in the Bible (e.g., Gen 41:8; Exod 7:11; Dan 1:20) as *ḥartummîm* (Eg *ḥrjw-tp*) and constitute the typical entourage of pharaoh (Quaegebeur 1985; 1987). This institutional frame accounts for the seemingly strange combination of wisdom texts, narratives, rituals, hymns, and magicomedical texts which typically occurs in each of the (rare) relics of, or references to, libraries: e.g., the Ramesseum find (a chest with books, 13th Dyn.; Gardiner 1955b), the Chester Beatty find (a group of papyri from Deir el Medinah, 20th Dyn.; Gardiner 1935) and the papyri from Elephantine (temple of Khnum, ptolemaic period) and Tebtunis (Roman period; Tait 1977; Reymond 1977), and the catalogues of temple libraries at el-Tod and Edfu, as well as the canon of 42 books described by Clement of Alexandria (Fowden 1986: 58–59).

There are four major functional frames, or "macrogenres," to be distinguished in Egyptian literature: temple, tomb, palace, and administration. Within both temple and tomb literature a distinction should be made between "recitation" and "knowledge" literature. The latter term refers to codifications of knowledge necessary for the priest to perform a ritual or for the deceased to resist the dangers and pass the trials of the netherworld. Under the notion of "palace," we subsume the body of official royal inscriptions, most of which do not occur in palaces but in (relatively) public spaces like temple outskirts, courtyards, rock inscriptions, etc. Biographical inscriptions of nonroyal persons seem to address the same kind of public. They occur mostly on tomb walls and on temple statues. These genres are by necessity linked to the inscriptional or monumental form and therefore can be grouped together as "monumental literature." Bureaucracy seems to have been the most productive realm of all. The annual output of one minor temple office in the Old Kingdom (hereafter: OK) could amount to 120 m of papyrus. Bureaus of similar productivity were attached to palaces, various offices, granaries, workshops, and courts of justice. Quotidian administrative records should not be regarded as "literary," even in the broadest sense of the term, insofar as they do not belong to the Egyptian tradition by which is meant the body of texts intended for reuse or repeated reference.

3. "Poeticity": Formal Devices and Metrics. The basic formal principle in Egyptian literary compositions is semantic recurrence (*LÄ* 4:900–10), combining both continuous units and discontinuous units. The unit or verse corresponds to clauses of normal language, without any specifically poetical accentuation rules. Verse accent is identical with clause accent with the sole restriction that a "verse" may not contain fewer than two and more than three pitches or cola (Fecht *LÄ* 4:1127–54). A carefully written literary manuscript may indicate verse stops by placing red dots above the line. Such verse points may occur in virtually every genre of Egyptian literature. Higher units of text organization, such as verse groups, stanzas, paragraphs, songs, or chapters, are also semantically defined. They may be graphically indicated by rubrics or other signs (Assmann 1983d). "Poeticity" is scalar; poetry differs from prose not in kind but in degree. A measure of poeticity is the recurrence of elements. The number of recurrent elements can be increased or decreased. Especially popular were songs with several short stanzas, each stanza beginning with the same line as a refrain. But the intensified use of imagery may also have been esteemed as a sign of poetical value.

4. Inscriptions and Manuscripts. In ancient Egypt there were two writing systems in use: *hieratic*, the cursive script, and *hieroglyphic*, the monumental script. In spite of the fact that *hieratic* developed out of *hieroglyphic*, they had to be learned separately. The Egyptian scribe was taught the hieratic script. Only artists went further and studied the hieroglyphs as well. A scribe was supposed to possess a reading competence in hieroglyphs; writing them required special training. Significant for hieroglyphic script is its iconicity: hieroglyphs retained (in opposition to almost all other scripts which started as picture writing) their pictorial character and thus belong as much to the sphere of monumental art as to that of writing (Assmann 1988a).

Hieroglyphs are the monumental script. Virtually all Egyptian monuments bear inscriptions. The extraordinary cultural significance of monumentality seems the most prominent feature of ancient Egyptian civilization (Assmann 1988b). The inscribed monument (tomb, statue, stela, offering table) bestows a "body" and a "voice" to the deceased. The hieroglyphic text is thereby always linked to a place and a person; it is "situationally bound" (in opposition to the "situationally neutral" character prerequisite of belles-lettres). All inscriptional literature is "eponymous" (produced in the name of a historical person) and "autothematizing": temple inscriptions refer to a king, tomb inscriptions to a deceased person.

Hieratic is the script for "manuscripts" on portable materials like papyrus, ostraca (limestone and pottery), and (more rarely) leather and wood. The demarcation line between hieroglyphic/monumental and hieratic/mobile communication is rather strict. There are virtually no texts pertaining to belles-lettres in hieroglyphic/monumental form, whereas in some exceptional cases, inscriptions pertaining to official literature were copied in papyrus (the Kadesh poem, the Kamose stela, the Berlin leather roll among others). In the genres of temple and tomb literature, however, the distinction between the monumental and the cursive is blurred, because the decoration of temple and tomb walls was carried out from manuscript prototypes.

There are three functions of recording to be distinguished: eternalization, publication, and storage. *Eternalization* is the function which is linked to the inscriptional form. It keeps a text present at a certain place, regardless of its readability for human eyes. Eternalization belongs to the "monumental sphere" as a sphere of eternal duration (in Egyptian: *ḏt* /djet/ "endurance" "unchangeability") into

which one may enter by erecting a monument. *Publication* is the function that addresses human readers (letters address specific readers), thus implying different kinds of readerships. For publication, either inscriptions or manuscripts may be used. The inscription on a royal stele, for example, addresses visitors to a given place; the manuscript can reach distant readers. *Storage* is a function serving to keep texts and data permanently accessible. It is always linked to the manuscript form.

5. Forms of Transmission. Two kinds of transmission have to be distinguished: *productive* and *reproductive* transmission. Reproductive transmission affects *texts,* which are copied, epitomized, and in exceptional cases even commented on, whereas productive transmission is based on types or genre-specific deep structures (*ÄHG,* 1–94). Type-oriented text production achieves functional identity through being related to a specific situation and by virtue of a corresponding situational competence. Text-oriented reproduction achieves *formal* identity by the techniques of copying. A copyist may acquire the source text by reading it, by dictation, or from memory. Each method can give rise to different kinds of possible mistakes.

The Egyptian scribal culture does not seem to have developed more than very rudimentary methods of philological emendation (text control) and exegesis (sense control). Besides *textual* and *contextual* relationships between texts, there is also the possibility of *intertextual* relationship, which is based on texts (and not types), but in a productive way, producing new texts with (explicit or implicit) recourse to older ones. Intertextuality is most prominent in Wisdom Literature, where references to classical texts (such as the *Teachings of Ptahhotep*) occur even in late Egyptian instructions (like *Amenemope*). The notion of "classical" texts seems also to be restricted to Wisdom Literature. The two different lists of "classical authors" preserved from the Ramesside Periods contain names connected with wisdom texts (Assmann 1985).

A special problem of transmission is addressed by the terms "sacred literature" and "canonization." Sacred texts are texts which not only deal with "sacred" matters but also possess in themselves a kind of sacredness. Sacred texts may thus be regarded as "verbal sanctuaries" of restricted access requiring special qualifications (purity, initiation) in their reciter. Most of the temple and tomb literature belongs to this category. Funerary literature was almost exclusively confined to the inaccessible parts of the tomb. This seems to be the only domain where, beginning perhaps in the Persian period (27th Dyn.), a process of *canonization* developed. At about this time, the body of mortuary spells was compiled within a "book," fixed with respect to outer limits and interior arrangement.

An attempt at canonization in a somewhat different sense may, however, be observed in the transmission of literary texts during the Ramesside period. Only a limited selection of "Great Texts" seem to have been treated in the scribal curriculum and therefore survive in dozens of (mostly very corrupt) copies.

B. Genres

1. Belles-Lettres. a. Wisdom Literature. Wisdom Literature is the earliest and the most important genre of Egyptian belles-lettres and seems to have been considered by the Egyptians themselves as the very quintessence and apex of their literature. (The "encomium of ancient writers" in pChester Beatty IV endeavors to show that a "book" is a far more glorious monument than a pyramid; the examples mentioned are sages appearing in wisdom texts.) There is no Egyptian term corresponding to Heb *ḥokmâ* ("wisdom"). Egyptian wisdom texts employ the word *maᶜat* (hereafter Maat), signifying "truth, justice, righteousness, order." Wisdom Literature consists of two major genres: "teachings" (Eg *sb3jjt*) and lamentations (also comprising dialogues and prophecies). The teachings deal with Maat and the individual, the lamentations with society as a whole vis-à-vis the social and political norms of Maat.

Teachings date back to a time perhaps as early as the OK. Following the Egyptian tradition, the genre of teachings begins with Imhotep, the famous vizier of King Djoser of the 3d Dyn.; the "literary dates" of many preserved teachings point to the OK: *Instruction for Kagemni* (Snofru). *Instruction of Djedefhor* (4th Dyn.), *Instruction of Ptahhotep* (Isesi of the 5th Dyn.). All these dates may be literary fictions, but the possibility of an OK date for at least a part of these texts cannot be entirely excluded. Whereas teachings continue well into Hellenism (Lichtheim 1983; Sanders 1983), lamentations seem to be confined to the MK and to the Late Period. Late examples are: the Moscow Literary letter (Caminos 1977), demotic texts like the *Oracle of the Lamb* and the *Demotic Chronicle,* and the Greek *Oracle of the Potter.* Many of the (presumably) MK texts are, however, preserved on New Kingdom (hereafter: NK) mss (Neferti, Khakheperreseneb [*AEL* 1: 145–49], Admonitions [*AEL* 1: 149–63]).

b. Narratives. (1) Didactic. There are two narratives of the MK which show a very high level of reflection and have therefore been labeled "didactic" pieces (Otto 1966). These are the *Story of Sinuhe* and the *Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor.* Both are situated outside Egypt. Sinuhe flees from Egypt to Palestine, where he achieves wealth, family, and social recognition, but returns to Egypt in order to be buried with royal favors (Loprieno 1988). The story reflects upon problems of intentionality (attributing the figiht to the "plan of some god"), of the relationship between human and divine, commoner and king, individual and the social environment and the individual with the interior self (Eg *jb* "heart"). The story illustrates the basic conviction, typical of ancient Egypt, that there is an indissoluble bond between pharaonic dominion and life beyond death. The shipwrecked sailor (*AEL* 1:211–15) travels east and become stranded, after a shipwreck, as sole survivor on the shore of an exotic island, where he encounters a serpent god. The question which the serpent asks repeatedly and with increasing emphasis, "Who has brought thee to this island?," requires the answer "god," and thus points in the same direction as *Sinuhe:* divine intervention in human life. A special feature of this text is its concentric structure. Not only is there a *frame*-story motivating the main tale and providing it with a setting, but also an interior tale told by the serpent. Both tales have a consolatory and admonatory function. The serpent admonishes the sailor to survive solitude by self-control *(dōr jb),* the sailor admonishes an expedition leader to overcome fear by self-control.

From later tradition, only the report of Wenamun (Helck

LÄ 6: 1215–17; Loprieno 1988: 64; *AEL* 2: 224–30) may be compared with these MK stories. It is most closely related to Sinuhe in its imitation of a nonliterary form: Sinuhe is cast in the shape of a tomb biography, Wenamun in the shape of an official report. Wenamun addresses the same topic: an Egyptian outside Egypt. Wenamun travels to Byblos on an official mission to fetch lumber for the bark of Amun. His lord is none other than Amun himself, for the story takes place in the time of the Theban theocracy (21st Dyn.). The pretention and impotence of this regime are most amusingly ridiculed by the diverse failures of the hero to acquit himself of his commission.

The *Doomed Prince* (pBM 10060 = Harris 500 vso 4.1–8.15; Gardiner 1932: 1–9; *AEL* 2: 200–3) is another NK story dealing with the Egyptian abroad, but in a completely different, fairy tale manner. A prince is doomed to die by one of three destinies: the crocodile, the serpent, or the dog. He emigrates to Syria, marries a princess, and escapes his first destiny by her vigilance (the remainder is lost; pBM 10060 = Harris 500 vso 4.1–8.15). The allegorical story of the *Blinding of Truth* (pBM 10682; Gardiner 1932: 30–36) may be classified as "didactic" because of its strong moralizing tone. "Truth," a man, is falsely accused of theft by his brother "Lie," and blinded. But "Truth" begets a son with "Desire" (the name is only conjectural), who avenges his blind father before the tribunal. The story stresses the two fundamentals of Egyptian ethics: the superiority of truth over lies, and the son as avenger of his father (in which respect the story is an allegorical variant of the myth of Osiris).

(2) Mythological Tales. Contrary to what might be expected in Egypt, mythological tales belong not to religious but to "entertainment" literature, the only exception being the insertion of mythological episodes in magical spells, where they assume the function of mythical precedents. There are no nonmagical examples preserved antedating the NK. The most important text is *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* (*AEL* 2: 214–23) preserved on pChester Beatty 1. In its present form, this text is an attempt at collecting various tales and episodes concerning the struggle of Horus and Seth for the succession to the throne of Osiris within the frame of an endless litigation. Six episodes appear to have originally been autonomous tales: (1) the offending and reconciling of Re (who is offended by Baba's injunction: "Your shrine is empty," and reconciled by Hathor (who shows him her pudenda); (2) the ruse of Isis who, in the guise of a beautiful girl, brings Seth to proclaim his own judgment (an etiology of the claw-footed god Nemti); (3) Horus and Seth's combat as hippopotami (Säve-Söderbergh 1953); (4) the blinding and healing of Horus; and (5) the "homosexual episode" (this portion appears already in a late MK papyrus from Kahun, probably in a medico-magical context [pKahun VI,12 recto; cf. Posener 1951b: 36.]).

Other tales are fragmentarily preserved: an early version of the *Myth of the Solar Eye* (pMoscow 167, ed. Caminos 1956: 40–50) and a story concerning the Syrian goddess Astarte (pAmherst 9; Gardiner 1932: 76–81; see also Helck 1983). The *Story of Isis and Re* (pTurin Pleyte and Rossi pl. 131.10–135.14 and pChester Beatty XI rto. [Gardiner 1935, pl 64]; *ANET*, 12–14) figures in a magical text. Common to these tales is a rather burlesque rendering of the divine characters and actions, a feature also characteristic of Mesopotamian mythology. Very different in its exterior form of presentation is the *Myth of the Heavenly Cow* (Hornung 1982), preserved as an element of wall decoration in royal tombs, perhaps because of its proximity to cosmography. This myth gives an account of the "Fall," or rather of the "Parting," of the world, because it is the separation of heaven and earth, of gods and men, which, according to Egyptian concepts, marks the decline of the "Golden Age." The *Tale of the Two Brothers* (Gardiner 1932: 9–30; *AEL* 2: 203–11; Blumenthal 1973: 1–17) is not a myth but rather a folk tale whose protagonists are gods. (The mythological links point to the 17th–18th nome of Upper Egypt, where Anubis and Bata appear together in cult legends.) The story resembles the biblical story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. Bata, a herdsman, is asked by Anubis, his elder brother and a farmer, to help him with the sowing (in Egypt the seed was stamped into the ground by cattle which were driven over the newly sown fields). Anubis sends Bata home to bring more seed, where the wife of Anubis tries in vain to seduce him. Later, she calumniates him before her husband. In its Egyptian version, the myth has an evident original meaning: the act of sowing puts the herdsman in a suspicious position, because he enters and even "inseminates" the farmer's fields with his cattle. The tale, by its explicit exculpation of the alleged adulterer, helps to disambiguate the situation. On tomb reliefs of the OK there is even a song connected with the scene of sowing which alludes to the myth of Bata, the innocent shepherd (Assmann 1977a; 20–21).

(3) Tales of Kings. Apart from official inscriptions, narratives in which kings appear as protagonists are surprisingly rare: the *Story of Neferkare and the General Sisene* (pChassinat I = Louvre E 25351; Posener 1957) and the *Story of King Djedkare(?) and General Merire* (pVandier = pLille; Posener 1985) are tales situated in the distant past and critical of the pharaoh and his moral stature. In the first tale, Pepi II indulges in nocturnal escapades with homosexual implications and neglects law and order; in the second tale, Pharaoh breaks his promise to protect the widow and orphan of Merire, who has consented to die in his stead. With these tales, we are close to the anecdotes of Egyptian kings which appear in Herodotus' history and reflect the oral tradition of the time. But in the *Tale of the Two Brothers*, the pharaoh also appears as an unprincipled dallier with his wives, courtiers, and appetites (Posener [1960] contrasts the negative image of the king in literary narratives with the elevated representation of divine kingship in official records).

Closer to official literature may have been the fragmentary *Story of Apophis and Seqenenre* (Gardiner 1932: 85–89; Goedicke 1986; *LAE*, 77–80). But here also, one is surprised to find Seqenenre, who to judge by the state of his mummy must have met a heroic death in a battle against the Hyksos, unable to find an adequate answer to the insulting challenge of the Hyksos king, who has complained about the noise of the hippopotami. The narrative contrasts sharply with a contemporary and official document, the stelae of Kamose, which glorifies the deeds of the victorious king.

Related to royal narratives is *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians* (pWestcar [pBerlin 3033]; Blackman 1988;

LÄ 4: 743–45; *AEL* 1: 216–22; *LAE*, 16–30). Various tales about miracles worked by several magicians are followed by an account of the divine origin of the 5th Dyn.: the sun god begets triplets with Rud-djedet, the mortal wife of a provincial priest, and the triplets eventually ascend the throne of Egypt (Brunner-Traut 1988: 31–59). Kheops (Khufu) threatens the newborn future kings with persecution (like Herod in Matt 2), showing the typical unreliability of the "roi des contes" (Posener 1956: 10–13).

(4) Satire. Many of the ostraca and some papyri which contain series of drawings seem to give illustrations of fables (Brunner-Traut 1968) and fabliaux (Omlin 1973) existing only in oral tradition. Some of the fables recur in demotic and Greek texts more than a thousand years later (parallels have been pointed out by E. Brunner-Traut in various articles). Especially conspicuous is the theme of the "world turned upside down," e.g., a mouse pharaoh conquering a town defended by cats (Brunner-Traut 1968: 4 with fig.1) or a hippopotamus collecting figs in a tree (ibid. p.5 with fig. 8). These pictures give an idea of what might have been Egypt's place in the "history of laughter" (see also HUMOR AND WIT [ANCIENT EGYPT]).

(5) The World of the School. Although the school is where most of the belles-lettres were transmitted and perhaps also produced, there are some texts or books which seem connected with this institution in a more particular way. The book *Kmjt* ("the sum"), which dates from the MK and which Posener was able to reconstruct out of hundreds of ostraca (Posener 1951a), has been convincingly identified as a schoolbook containing formulas of salutation, narrative passages, and maxims (Barta 1978). In the NK, the "satirical letter" (pAnastasi I; *ANET*, 475–79) served similar purposes, presenting a great variety of salutation formulas and information about the geography of Palestine and related subjects (Gardiner 1911; Fischer-Elfert 1986). The most characteristic feature of scholastic literature is found in the "miscellanies," papyri containing model letters and literary exercises of all sorts. Miscellanies include eulogies; hymns and prayers; admonitions to the pupil not to become a soldier, or not to get drunk or indulge in similar debaucheries; satires of the trades (after the model of the *Instruction of Kheti*, perhaps the most famous classic of Egyptian literature [see Brunner 1944; Helck 1970]); and lists of commodities (Gardiner 1937; Caminos 1957). Real letters, a fair number of which have been found, exhibit the hallmarks of this scribal training (Bakir 1970), but they cannot be considered "literature" even in the broadest sense of the term. (Letters from the NK were published by J. Černý [1939] and translated by Wente [1967]. Letters to the dead were published by Gardiner and Sethe [1925].)

c. Poetry. (1) Religious Poetry. Hymns and prayers appear in both the genre of belles-lettres and the functional genre of temple literature. In spite of some common aspects, the two categories are distinct. The *Hymn to the Nile* (latest edition: van der Plas 1986), which appears in NK mss as one of the "classics" of MK poetry to be studied in school, is clearly a literary text. The hymn is didactic, depicting a great variety of phenomena from both nature and culture as manifestations and gifts of the Nile. The *Teaching for Merikare* (*AEL* 1: 97–109) closes with a beautiful hymn to the creator god. At the end of a passage, the central theme of which is recompense and retribution, the author shows that god has always given, thus placing all human action in the role of response. The famous Cairo hymn to Amun-Re (*ÄHG* No. 87; *ANET*, 365–67) is a collection of hymns evidently intended more for literary than for liturgical purposes (the number of surviving ostraca indicates that the text was studied in school). Both texts praise "God" as the one and only creator and maintainer of the world, the other gods being merely part of the world, along with men and animals, heaven and earth, trees and plants. The hymns from Tell el-Amarna (*ÄHG* Nos. 91–95), which may well have been composed by King Akhenaten himself, continue in some way this tradition and may, in spite of their liturgical purpose, be placed among religious poetry because of their unusual perfection. The Leiden Papyrus J 350 contains a cycle of hymns to Amun, arranged by numerical puns as in some cycles of love songs. Some of these hymns, e.g., the hymn "200" (*ANET*, 368), mark the summit of Egyptian theological reflection (Assmann 1984: 274–77). These texts achieve a new concept of the oneness of "God," in opposition to the virtually infinite multitude of "gods." Instead of primacy—one divinity ruling others—there emerges the idea of abscondity—God being the hidden unity symbolized by the manifest multitude of divinities—to dominate theological discourse.

An important part of scholarly "miscellanies" is alloted to prayers (*ÄHG* Nos. 174–95) and among the exercises on ostraca are some of the jewels of Egyptian religious poetry (e.g., *AEL* 2: 110–14). These poems share the spirit of personal piety which dominates late Egyptian Wisdom Literature, exemplified in the *Wisdom of Amenemope* (*AEL* 2: 146–63; Assmann 1979).

(2) Banquet Poetry. Banquet or "entertainment" songs are linked with the Egyptian concepts (and customs) of "making holiday" *(jrj hrw nfr)*, "following the heart" *(sms jb)* and "diversion" *(sḫmḥ jb*, lit. "cause the heart to forget" [Fox 1982; Assmann 1989a]). Two genres in particular seem to be connected with the banquet scene: love songs (see the article on EGYPTIAN LOVE SONGS below) and harper's songs.

Some 25 harper's songs have so far been identified (Assmann 1977b). With the exception of one song on papyrus—said to have been copied from the tomb of a king "Antef" (*AEL* 1: 194–97; *ANET*, 467)—all are preserved on tomb walls, accompanying the figure of a harper or lutist. They can be classified into two groups: (1) the "make merry" songs, which combine the motifs of *memento mori* and *carpe diem*, and (2) songs which assume the form and content of funerary liturgies. Only group (1) has preserved—within the context of tomb decoration—the characteristics of its original situation: the festive banquet. The *memento mori* motif—in connection with an exhortation to enjoy life—occurs from the epic of Gilgamesh and the biblical book of Qohelet to late Egyptian festival customs as described by Herodotus (2.78) and in the Roman writers Horace and Petronius.

2. Functional Literature. a. Temple literature. (1) Recitation literature. The most archaic ritual papyrus, the "Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus," discovered in a wooden chest along with literary works (*Sinuhe*, *Eloquent Peasant*, and wisdom texts) and medico-magical texts, con-

tains a ritual for the accession or jubilee of Sesostris I (Sethe 1929; Barta 1976). The papyrus is horizontally divided into a broader zone containing the text (139 lines referring to 47 scenes), beneath which runs a narrow strip with 31 pictures. The text of each scene begins with (1) the title of the scene and (2) its mythical interpretation, followed by (3) a direct speech, which is introduced by an identification of the (always divine) speaker and addressee, and (4) some notes concerning roles, objects, and places. Nos. 2 and 3 typically refer to the divine world, whereas No. 1 and the pictures refer to the cultic sphere, giving the names of priests, objects, and ritual actions. Two elements are very typical of the Egyptian cult: first, cultic communication is divine communication, man addressing the gods in the role of a god (Horus or Thoth) and uttering words which have the magical force of divine speech; second, cultic action is interpreted by the accompanying recitation as a mythical event taking place in the divine world ("sacramental interpretation"). But the myths are never coherently represented in cultic action, only alluded to in a very discontinuous manner. The coherence of the ritual is on the cultic level, not on the level of mythical interpretation (Schott 1945; Otto 1958).

A similar "dramatic text" is preserved on the Shabaka stone in the British Museum and forms the first part of the "Memphite Theology" (*AEL* 1:51–57), but this text refers exclusively to the mythical sphere. It gives an account of the development of the Egyptian kingdom (1st stage: two kingdoms under Horus and Seth; 2d stage: one kingdom under Horus at Memphis; see Junker 1941). Here, coherence is established on the mythical, not the ritual, level. We are dealing here with ritual and even dramatic representation of mythical events; this type of cultic performance seems to be exclusively connected with some of the major festivals, like that of Osiris at Abydos (see Schäfer 1904) or the *Triumph of Horus* as it was performed in Ptolemaic times in Edfu (Fairman 1974) and Philae (Goedicke 1982). The festival of "the birth of the god" (*mswt nṯr*) was performed in the *mammisi* ("birth house," attached to the temples) in the form of a sacred drama consisting of a sequence of scenes and long speeches of gods (Daumas 1958; Sauneron 1962: 185–244). (For the general question of theater in Egypt, see Drioton 1942.)

Several papyri from the early Ptolemaic to the Roman period contain liturgies especially connected with rites and ceremonies of the cult of Osiris in Abydos. Most important among these texts, in terms of lyrical composition, is the *Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys* which exist in several versions (pBerlin 3008 [Faulkner 1935–38; *AEL* 3: 116–21; pBremner Rhind [Faulkner 1933]; pNew York Metropolitan Museum of Art 35.9.21, 38–54). Another important genre of recitation connected with the cult of Osiris is the so-called *glorification (sḫw)*, several liturgical collections of which are preserved (Goyon 1974; Haikal 1972; Möller 1900; Smith 1987). The cultic setting of both lamentations and glorifications is the *Stundenwachen* (hourly vigil), an Osirian rite performed in the temples of Edfu, Dendera, Philae, and elsewhere (Junker 1910; Soukiassian 1982).

The purpose of the daily temple ritual is to tend to the cult image with fumigations, libations, unctions, and adorations (pBerlin 3055 [Moret 1902]), and to feed the god (this aspect of the ritual has been preserved in the ritual for Amenophis I [pChester Beatty IX; Gardiner 1935, pls. 50–58 and pCairo CG 58030 + pTurin CG 54041]). In the Ramesside period, the scene of the offering of Maat, a symbol of truth, justice, and order to be established on earth by the king, gains a prominent place in the ritual. This scene by itself expresses the whole ideology of sacrifice, which, in Egypt, is based not on the idea of a communal meal, where the community of offerers or sacrificers share in the consuming of the victim (as in the Mesopotamian, Israelite, and Greek conception), but on the idea of exchange (in the sense of Mauss 1966), where humans render to the divinities what they have given, in order that they continue to give. Maat is what emanates from god in the form of vivifying and organizing energies, and it is rendered to one "who lives on Maat" as justice and ritual correctness. This idea is expressed in a long recitation, the "Litany of Maat," which accompanies the offering (*ÄHG* No. 125). The Litany originated in the cult of the sun god, but extended to other cults during the NK, especially that of Amun-Re, it is attested in the Ptolemaic period in numerous copies in all the major temples. Another prominent place in the daily as well as the festival ritual was allotted to the recitation of hymns, of which several hundred exist mostly on private (i.e., funerary) monuments. The hymns to the sun god and to Amun-Re show an especially great variety of form and theological evolution during the NK (Oswalt 1968; Assmann 1969; 1983a; 1983b; Daumas and Barucq 1980). The most explicit version of the myth of Osiris is to be found in a hymn to Osiris on a stela of the 18th Dyn. (*AEL* 2: 81–85). Hymns to the king exist on papyri from the MK (cycle of hymns on Sesostris III; pKahun [*ÄHG* Nos. 228–31]) and of the Ramesside period (Condon 1978). The "Loyalist Instruction" (*LAE*, 198–200), a wisdom text of the MK, begins with an elaborate eulogy of the king (Posener 1976).

A special place must be reserved to the (mostly penitential) hymns and prayers subsumed under the rubric *personal piety*. Some forerunners date back to the 18th Dynasty (Posener 1975), but as a literary phenomenon the movement belongs to the age of the Ramessides (13th–11th centuries). Personal calamity, sickness especially, is now interpreted as a case of divine intervention (Borghouts 1982; Griffiths 1988) in punishment for some crime which has to be publicly confessed in order to restore the disturbed relationship between the individual and the offended deity. Many of the texts show remarkable literary qualities in their poetic form and religious content, thus testifying to an oral tradition which may have originated during the Amarna age (14th century B.C.) as a period of persecution, during which the ancient cults were prohibited and adversity was explained as divine wrath and abandonment (Assmann 1984: 258–67).

(2) Theological and Mythological Treatises. Scattered among various genres of temple and even funerary literature (like spells, hymns, and architectural inscriptions), some texts display elements of a coherent theological system. Among the earliest examples are the "Theology of Shu" in Coffin Texts (CT) spells 75–83 (de Buck 1947; Assmann 1984; 209–15; Allen 1988; 13–27), and the "Theodicy" in CT spell 1130 (Assmann 1984: 204–8). CT spell 80 recounts how Atum floated unconscious in the

primeval waters and, in the act of becoming conscious, "becomes three" (CT II 39e). The ancient names of Shu and Tefnut, the twin children of Atum with their cosmic significations "air" and "humidity"(?), are translated in the new theologico-philosophical system as "life" and "truth" (Maat).

Thus, "life" and "truth," together with Atum (whose name expresses both the "totality" and "nonexistence" of being), constitute a primordial trinity foreshadowing similar conceptions in neo-Platonist cosmology. The theodicy of spell 1130 is a monologue in which the creator takes credit for four good deeds which he performed at the time of creation. In listing the four deeds, the god makes two assertions of prime importance: that he created all persons as equals; and that it was not he who taught humanity to do wrong; rather, people do wrong of their own volition (*AEL* 1: 131–33; *ANET,* 7–8).

It has been argued that the theodicy of CT spell 1130 may have been a response to that part of the *Admonitions of Ipu-Wer* (*AEL* 1: 149–63), which Otto has called *The Reproach to God* (Otto 1950; Fecht 1972). The most famous of Egyptian theological treatises is preserved in the second part of the Shabaka inscription (commonly referred to as the "Memphite Theology": Breasted 1901; Sethe 1929: 1–80; Junker 1940; *ANET,* 4–6; *AEL* 1:51–57; Allen 1988: 42–47, 91–93), which recounts how Ptah created the world "through heart and tongue," i.e., by conception and proclamation, and how heart and tongue operate in nature. The text, which had formerly been dated to the OK, is now proved to be, at least in its final state, not earlier than the 13th century B.C. In the stress it lays on conception and speech as means of creation, it comes closest to the biblical account of creation (Koch 1965). Theban theology produced a similar treatise, which centers around the concept of "life": Amun vivifying the cosmos by means of his 10 *Bas*: *Bas* 1–5 are the vivifying elements: the sun, the moon, the air (Shu), the water (Nun), the fire (Tefnut); *Bas* 6–10 are the vivified beings: the royal Ka (humanity), the lion-and-bull (i.e., quadrupeds), the hawk (i.e., birds), the crocodile (i.e., fishes and reptiles) and the serpent (i.e., the dead and all chthonic animals) (*ÄHG* No. 128; Goyon, Parker and Leclant 1979: 69–79).

Many of the great hymns from the Ramesside period onward shows the same systematizing approach and may well be termed treatises (note *ÄHG* Nos. 127–31, 143–45; *AEL* 3: 109–15; Sauneron 1962). Architectural inscriptions of Ptolemaic temples often include very elaborate accounts of the mythical origin of the temple. Obviously, these inscriptions represent a larger body of mytho-theological literature which is otherwise lost.

b. Funerary (Mortuary) Literature. (1) Funerary and Mortuary Service. The funerary ritual exists only in the form of a sequence of pictures (Settgast 1963); the accompanying recitations are lost, except for a great variety of dirges, some of which are very expressive in their treatment of affliction and bereavement (Lüddeckens 1943). Much better preserved is the ritual of "Opening the Mouth," for which we have not only the pictures but also the spells (Otto 1960; Goyon 1972: 85–182). The ritual was originally intended for the "vivification" of statues and was later extended to mummies, objects, and even temples. It contains a very archaic section (scenes 8–21) where the "shape" *(jrw)* of the deceased is captured by the sleeping son in an oneiric vision. (P. Munro [1984] interprets this part as the ancient ritual of regicide). The embalming, which took place in a separate building *(wᶜbt)* during the 70 days between death and burial (see also EMBALMING), was accompanied by the recitation of a collection of spells known as the "Ritual of Embalment" (Sauneron 1952; Goyon 1972: 17–84) as well as of the ceremonies of *Stundenwachen* (hourly vigil) comprising lamentations and glorifications (*LÄ* 6: 104–6). The offering cult in the tomb chapel was also accompanied by recitations, which appear as inscriptions on tomb walls but are also found on papyrus (*LÄ* 6: 998–1006). Many hundreds of these "glorification spells" *(s3ḫw)* exist. They complement the corpus of funerary literature in a fortuitous way, because they belong to a "productive" rather than "reproductive" tradition and thus reflect the development of funerary beliefs far better than the magical spells of funerary literature.

(2) Funerary Literature. The textual equipment of the dead is called "funerary literature" (Sethe *Pyr*). In the OK, it is restricted to the tombs of kings and appears from the end of the 5th Dyn. (e.g., pyramid of Unas: see Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon 1974) in the form of hieroglyphic inscriptions on the walls of the hidden chambers inside the pyramid. More than 2,200 spells are known; together these constitute the so-called "Pyramid Texts" (PT; Sethe *Pyr;* Faulkner 1969), the most ancient corpus of religious texts. After the breakdown of the OK, the institution of funerary literature was extended to nonroyal use (a process called "democratization," or better "demotization"). Many of the PT survived embedded among a great number of new spells, the "Coffin Texts" (CT: de Buck 1935–61; Faulkner 1973–78; Barguet 1986), which were inscribed on the panels of wooden coffins of the MK. In the NK, a selection of these spells reappears together with new spells on papyrus scrolls known as "Books of the Dead" (BD; Naville 1886; Budge 1898, 1910; Faulkner 1985; Hornung 1979). During the NK, and until the Late Period, there is great variation among the individual scrolls: no two of them coincide. Only in the Saite or Persian period does this fluctuation give way to a more strictly canonized form, where the number and sequence of "chapters" become standardized (Lepsius 1842; Allen 1960). In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, new compositions appear which are more adequate to the changed funerary beliefs of the period: the two "books of breathing" (Goyon 1972, 183–317) and the "book of traversing eternity" (Stricker 1950–56). Related documents are the collections of "glorification spells" *(s3ḫw)* which occur on separate scrolls or annexed to Books of the Dead, both in Hieratic and Demotic (Smith 1987) script (Goyon 1974).

The spells of the PT are still close to cultic recitations performed in the process of embalming, the funerary procession, and the mortuary cult. Probably all of them derive from "festival scrolls" *(h3bt)*, though only the spells connected with the ritual of food offering (PT 26–203) can be attributed with any certainty to a cultic context. Many of these sequences of spells remain in liturgical use until the LP, when they reappear, copied not from the pyramids themselves but from other liturgical manuscripts in the temple library (Möller 1900). The principle of "sacramental interpretation" is very prominent in almost

all the spells. For example, in PT 373 the presentation of food is connected with the sacramental ideas of revivification (bodily reintegration) and ascension to heaven.

Spell 273–74, the famous "cannibal hymn," gives a sacramental interpretation of some yet unidentified rite, wherein the king is said to "live on his fathers and to feed on his mothers" (*AEL* 1: 36–38). With the CT, the situation is different. Here one finds liturgical sequences of spells, some of which can be traced back to the PT and downward to liturgical papyri of the Ptolemaic period. Most of the spells serve some magical purpose for the deceased in the hereafter: "transformation spells" to transform him into every shape he desires, "food spells" to provide him with food, every kind of apotropaic spell to ward off dangerous demons, the "Book of the Two Ways" to guide him through the difficult topography of the netherworld (Lesko 1972), as well as the maps of the "field of Hetep," the Egyptian paradise (Lesko 1971–72; Mueller 1972). Titles and postscripts, carefully written in red, give indications as to function, accompanying pictures, objects, actions, and success ("proved efficient, a million times"). This "bookish" layout of the texts contrasts most strikingly with the monumental austerity of the PT. The PT "eternalize" the oral recitations of the funerary and mortuary cult, the CT equip the deceased with all kinds of magical material and knowledge concerning the hereafter. The BD continues this development from funerary liturgy to magical book. The great innovation of the 18th Dyn. are multicolored vignettes, which come into standard use after the Amarna period (Munro 1988). With the *Book of the Dead,* the Egyptian idea of a post-mortem judgment has achieved its classical form (chaps. 30 and 125; see Yoyotte 1961; Brandon 1967; for representations, Seeber 1976, and Grieshammer 1970 for earlier stages). Another remarkable text is chap. 17 (= CT spell 335), which seems to be one of the very few Egyptian texts that received a "philological" treatment in the form of a commentary with numerous glosses written in red ink (Rössler-Köhler 1976).

(3) Books of the Netherworld. Whereas the PT are exclusively royal, the CT and BD are nonroyal. Only with the NK does a new body of texts appear which seem to function as exclusively royal funerary literature. These are the "books" which decorate the walls of the royal tombs. For the most ancient compositions, the "Amduat" and the "Litany of Re," an origin in the solar cult is very probable. But some of the later compositions which do not appear in tombs until after the Amarna period may have been made expressly for the royal hereafter. All of them, however, are centered around the theme of the solar circuit in its nocturnal phase (when the sun god Re passed through the underworld) and may be better understood as codifications of priestly knowledge in connection with the solar cult.

c. Magical Incantations. Magic, following the *Teaching for Merikare* (*AEL* 1:106), was given to humanity as a weapon "to shield off the blow of what might happen." Magic is always directed "against" something: snakes, scorpions, evil demons that might threaten a newborn child, and especially diseases. There is a very strong link between medicine and magic, and most of the preserved texts are medico-magical. But magic can also be directed against political enemies (Sethe 1926) or cosmic foes (pBremner Rhind 22.1–32.12 [Faulkner 1933]) and is therefore not restricted to the private sphere (as opposed to the temple). Catalogs of sacred books mention compositions entitled "Manifestations of Re" *(b3w R'w),* which may well have been magical books of execration and protection. The literary importance of magical literature lies in the fact that it preserves many accounts of mythical episodes in a vivid and often even poetically structured narration (among the most important are "Re and Isis" [*ANET,* 12–14] and the texts on the Metternich stela [Klasens 1952]. For a very useful collection of translated spells, see Borghouts 1978).

d. Codifications of Knowledge. (1) Onomastica. Egypt cannot compete with Mesopotamia in its use of lists and tables for the systematization of knowledge. But this might be due to the scarcity of secular material. The Abusir Papyri from the archives of the funerary temple of Neferirkare Kakai (ca. 2470 B.C.) make ample and very careful use of tabular forms (Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival 1968; Posener-Kriéger 1976). Many of the spells of the CT and some of the chapters in the BD reflect these bureaucratic techniques in their arrangement. They are arranged in the same systematizing manner, listing the parts of the ferry boat (CT 398) or the fowling net (CT 474; see Bidoli 1976) and their mythical counterparts, the members of the body and their divine equivalents (BD 42) and the 42 assessors of the divine tribunal, their places of origin, and the specific sins which the deceased declares not to have committed (BD 125). Especially important is the "list of offerings" which developed during the first five dynasties. The first lists were documents of real funerary possessions and equipment, but soon such lists became standardized and developed into tabular representations of a very complex ritual of funerary offerings (Barta 1963).

The Egyptian Onomastica, catalogs of things arranged by their kind, contain "everything that Ptah has created, what Thoth has written down, heaven with its affairs, earth and what is in it, what the mountains belch forth, what is watered by the flood, all things upon which Re has shone, all that is grown on the back of earth" (Gardiner 1947: Onomasticon of Amenemope). The earliest example of this genre dates back to the MK, but the best-known composition, the onomasticon of Amenope, is from the 21st Dyn. (11th century B.C.). These Egyptian "catalogs of the universe" have been compared with the closing chapters of the book of Job (von Rad 1960; Keel 1978: 24). There are strong connections between the onomastica and the "satirical letter" (pAnastasi I), which may be regarded as just a variant form of presentation for a similar albeit more specialized material. The latest onomasticon, dating from the 1st and 2d centuries A.D., was discovered by J. Osing on a papyrus from Tebtunis. Here, we are dealing with a real vocabulary, because the material is arranged in linguistic categories.

The famous king-lists date from the NK and exist in monumental form at Karnak (Redford 1986: 29–34) and Abydos (ibid: 18–20), as well as on a papyrus (the "Royal Canon of Turin"). The papyrus list is much more complete than the monumental versions and represents the kind of sources on which Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* was based.

King-lists and annals have to be carefully distinguished from historiography; they contain no narration and thence do not attribute any specific meaning or signifi-

cance to the past, but are simply tools of time reckoning and chronological orientation (Redford 1986). Similar attempts at systematization and codification must have been undertaken for other fields of knowledge as well, but these are only indirectly attested. The beautiful reliefs in the solar sanctuary of Niuserre (5th Dyn. [Edel 1961–64]) and the reliefs of Thutmose III known as "Botanical Garden" (Porter Moss 1960–81, 2: 120) show a sophisticated level of biological knowledge. (The Punt reliefs in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari are similar.) A papyrus in Brooklyn with an ophiological treatise is still unpublished. The existence of legal codifications is, however, controversial (Allam 1984).

(2) Medical and Mathematical Manuals. Medical manuscripts exist in great numbers from the MK (pKahun, pRamesseum III, IV and V; and many medico-magical manuscripts) to Roman times (Reymond 1976). The most important manuscripts date from the NK, but may contain much older material (pEbers, pEdwin Smith, pHearst, pMedLondon, pMedBeatty VI, pCarlsberg VIII, and pMedBerlin 3038; a list is given in HO 1/2[2] §36 pp. 212–14). The manuscripts differ very significantly from each other in the extent of magical elements. Some are almost free of magic (pSmith, pEbers, pDemWien), some almost free of technical medicine.

Medicine was the domain of the priests of Sakhmet, who were assigned to the "House of Life" and combined the highest erudition in all fields of science with magical competence (von Känel 1984; Ghalioungui 1983). The medical manuscripts, especially pSmith and pEbers, are excellent examples of "scientific prose." The individual sections follow strict formal patterns and often contain glosses written in red ink which explicate phrases and technical terms, or provide additional information or variant readings.

Mathematical manuals are attested from the MK onward (pRhind = pBM 10057 + 58 from the Hyksos period, copy of an MK original; five MK documents, others of Greco-Roman date). The NK is represented only by a section in pAnastasi I. The title of pRhind is of remarkable solemnity:

> Exact reckoning. The entrance into the knowledge of all that exists, everything obscure, (. . .), every secret. (Peet 1923: 33; Chace et al. 1927: 49)

The manuscripts give collections of mathematical problems arranged in systematic order (Gillings 1972).

(3) Cosmographies. (a) "Funerary" cosmographies in the royal tombs. The "Books of the Netherworld," which appeared as elements of wall decoration in the royal tombs since the reign of Thutmose I, can be viewed in two ways: (1) as the royal equivalent to the Book of the Dead, that is, as funerary literature (Barta 1985), and (2) as cosmographic codifications of knowledge about the netherworld and part of a "sacerdotal science" particularly connected with the solar cult (Assmann 1970). The earliest of these compositions are the *Amduat* (Hornung 1963–67) and the *Litany of Re* (Hornung 1975). The first is more descriptive, being an itinerary of the nocturnal part of the sun's circuit; the second is more liturgical, consisting of laudations in invocations of the sun god. But the *Amduat* also integrates, alongside descriptive passages, a great number of hymns and speeches into its cartography. Word and image are very closely related in this genre, the most striking feature of which perhaps being that it presents a vast amount of knowledge about the unknown in the same clear arrangement as the tables of Egyptian bureaucracy. There are no blanks in these maps of the netherworld.

After the Amarna period, other compositions of this type appear in the royal tombs: first the *Book of Gates* (Hornung 1980) and the *Book of the Heavenly Cow* (since Tutankhamun: Hornung 1982), later also the *Book of the Earth* (Piankoff 1953), the *Book of Caverns* (Piankoff 1946), the *Book of Nut* (Neugebauer and Parker 1960) and lesser documents (Hornung 1984). In these books, the descriptive and iconic parts recede in favor of the recitative parts, a distribution which might be indicative of their function as funerary literature (which is primarily recitation or incantation literature). One of these books, however—the *Book of Day and Night* (Piankoff 1942)—is exclusively descriptive but belongs to a recitative type, a cycle of sun hymns for each hour of the day, which occurs independently in contexts related to the solar cult (Assmann: "hourly ritual," *ÄHG* Nos. 1–12). The whole composition appears only in the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu. This proves the affiliation of the entire genre with the solar cult and its pertinent priestly knowledge. A very prominent feature of this literature is its hermetism. These are texts which, until the end of the NK, virtually never occur outside the royal tombs, which were hermetically sealed.

(b) Geographic manuals of the Late Period. It is only in the Ptolemaic period that comparably exhaustive and systematic codifications of knowledge referring to the terrestrial sphere appear. There must have existed manuals of religious geography comprising all the nomes of Egypt and indicating for each of them its capital, reliquiae, god and goddess, priest and chantress, bark and canal, tree and holy hill, dates of principal feasts, taboo, serpent, cultivated land and swamps. These manuals must have served as sources for the various processions of nomes and related compositions which appear with striking uniformity in many of the great Ptolemaic temples (Osing discovered an exact parallel to parts of the Edfu list on three papyri from Tebtunis, which proves that there existed a uniform and canonized tradition of religious geography for all the temples of Egypt).

There also existed monographs dealing only with particular areas, but in a more comprehensive manner, inserting mythical traditions, illustrations, and the like; the pJumilhac for the 17th and 18th nome of Upper Egypt (Vandier 1962) and the famous papyri of the Fayyum (Lanzone 1896; Botti 1959) are examples. Another document of religious geography in tabular arrangement is the pTanis 2 (Griffith 1889).

Another field of sacerdotal science was time reckoning and astronomy. The dates of most Egyptian feasts were based on astronomical observation and calendaric calculation, which were therefore of prime necessity for the cult and secondarily for the administration. Astronomical tables of the hours of the night occur already in MK coffins (Neugebauer and Parker 1960). Catalogs of temple libraries and Clement of Alexandria mention many titles having to do with astronomy and chronology (Fowden 1986: 58–

59), but very little is preserved (Neugebauer and Parker 1960). Festival calendars, which form a regular part of temple decoration already in the NK, may be extracts from those chronologico-astronomical manuals.

Omen literature consists chiefly of oneiromantic (pChester Beatty III 1–11r; see Sauneron 1959; for Demotic sources, Volten 1942) and calendric manuals (calendric papyri with lists of lucky or unlucky days with mythological explanations: nine calendars, from MK onward [see Bakir 1966]; for Lunar omina, Parker 1959). A very typical example of what might be termed oracular literature are the *Amuletic decrees* of Dyn. 21–22, where the oracular decision of Amun-Re, the supreme deity, is recorded to protect any individual against all possible dangers coming not only from evil spirits, but also from major deities like Ptah, Thoth, Hathor, Sakhmet, and even Amun himself; the genre thus reveals a deep-rooted distrust and anxiety typical for this period, which extends even to the divine sphere (Edwards 1960). Security is only to be found in a supreme and transcendent deity far above the world, a deity whom the texts circumscribe in an elaborate panegyrical letterhead with the titles of the instance which issues the decree (*ÄHG* No. 131).

3. Monumental Literature. a. Royal Inscriptions. Inscriptions recording royal deeds begin with the 11th Dyn. They manifest a new concept of kingship wherein the king is no longer a god but the incumbent in a divine office and therefore under continuous need of legitimation. His legitimation is based less on any dogma that the king is the incarnation or son of a god than on his deeds, which he therefore proclaims by inscriptions erected in public space. But the "publicity" is directed more to a divine than to a human public, because it is the divine world whose acceptance matters most. Thus, the new concept of kingship, inherited as it seems from the nomarchs of the First Intermediate Period (whose autobiographies, characterized by the same need for legitimation, mark the very summit of the genre), lies at the root of a literary genre which soon becomes productive of significant and carefully formed texts.

One of the first examples, a building inscription of Sesostris I, was even copied centuries later because of its literary merits (de Buck 1938; Goedicke 1974). The literary form of this text, which became normative until the Late Period, has been termed "Königsnovelle" (royal novella: Hermann 1938). A royal decision of far-reaching consequences and its successful realization is framed by a scene of consultation between king and councillors, where reasons are given for the royal action and the superior insight and providence of the king are demonstrated. But even inscriptions which are not couched in the form of a royal novella often show the same concern for careful substantiation of royal actions as, e.g., the boundary stelae of Sesostris III at Semna and Uronarti (*AEL* 1: 118–19).

Another prominent feature of royal inscriptions are panegyrical amplifications of the royal "protocol" (the canonical sequence of five names and titles of the pharaoh). The earliest example occurs in the literary autobiography of Sinuhe (*ÄHG* No. 227), and hundreds of such "eulogies" occur in inscriptions of the NK. The eulogies develop two major themes: the king as warrior and as lord of temples and cults. During the NK there was a change in the general pattern of interpreting historical events; in the light of the new "theology of will" underlying the "Personal Piety" movement, events tended to be seen as divine interventions. The most striking examples of this new sense of history are the documents recounting the Battle at Kadesh (van der Way 1984; Goedicke 1985; *AEL* 2: 57–72), where the victory of Ramses II is attributed to a personal intervention of Amun in his favor, and the Israel Stela of Merenptah (*ANET,* 376–78; *AEL* 2: 73–78), where the victory over the Libyans represents the execution of divine judgment in a heavenly tribunal.

The summit of this new theology of history is reached in the inscriptions of Ramses III, perhaps the most pious king on the throne of Egypt, who expressed his piety in a beautiful hymn to Amun-Re (*ÄHG* No. 196; Oswalt 1968: 148–54) and numerous inscriptions in the form of interlocutory speeches between god and king (Görg 1975). It is to the piety of Ramses III that pHarris I refers in a postmortem account of royal actions—especially donations—with lists, invocations, prayers, and a historical review recounting the overcoming of chaos at the turn from the 19th to the 20th Dyn. (Erichsen 1933; *ARE* 4 §§182–412; *ANET,* 260–62). This section is the most elaborate example of an ancient tradition of restoration texts that begins with inscriptions of nomarchs such as Anchtifi of Moalla and Kheti of Herakleopolis, who boast of themselves as having saved their respective territories from starvation and turmoil. The idea of the ruler as savior was adopted in the *Prophecy of Neferty* (*AEL* 1: 139–45) for the royal ideology and subsequently exploited in royal inscriptions, but only when the historical situation actually motivated such an interpretation, as in the expulsion of the Hyksos (Hatshepsut: Speos Artemidos Inscription), the restoration of the cults after the Amarna revolt (Tutankhamen, Haremhab, Seti I), the disturbances at the end of the 19th Dyn. (Sethnakht Stela, Elephantine) and at other turning points (Assmann 1983e).

b. Biography. See the separate article on EGYPTIAN BIOGRAPHIES below.

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JAN ASSMANN

EGYPTIAN BIOGRAPHIES

A. Content and Significance

Older than the Pyramid Texts, biography is the first literary genre known from ancient Egypt and the best attested. This must be attributed to the fact that the Egyptian biography was never a purely secular composition, i.e., a narrative produced for the entertainment or edification of the reader. It was, rather, a religious document and was essential to the preservation of a person's soul. Biographies are always found in holy precincts—either funerary or the temple. Even the "autobiographical" story of Sinuhe, a popular literary narration of extraordinary events in an official's life, uses the standard form of a funerary inscription. (For the way genuine biographies function in their religious settings, see below.)

The earliest known biographical inscription was written by a noble, Metjen, in the 4th Dynasty ca. 2620 B.C.E. (See Goedicke 1966: 1–71 for a somewhat whimsical translation and commentary.) From that time forward, virtually every official who could afford a tomb also dedicated a biographical inscription (van de Walle 1975: 815 provides a general bibliography).

An Egyptian biography opened with the deceased's names and titles to show that he had been a man of standing. Then followed a litany of stereotypical epithets (sometimes richly metaphorical) describing his moral virtues. A few highlights from his career might follow, though many Egyptian biographies omit them entirely. Egyptian biographies, in fact, rarely contain information we would consider historically significant. More typically, they record anything about a life which would demonstrate that the person who lived it was of high position and moral character, possessed temporal power, and served his king or god well.

Since the earliest biographies were inscribed at the entrance to the subject's tomb chapel—with the stated purpose of impressing passersby—an appeal to the living to give offerings, to say offering formulas, or simply to repeat the subject's name quite often followed the biographical passages, "for the breath of the mouth is beneficial to a man" who "lives by the repetition of his name." For a discussion of this idea, and of the accompanying notion that saying a formula costs the sayer nothing, see Spiegelberg 1908: 67–71. On the appeal to the living, see also Garnot 1938.

To an Egyptian, then, biography functioned as the prologue to an appeal, and it seemed most natural to appeal in the first person. This was so even in cases where the text specifically states that a pious son or other near relative had dedicated the monument. In most cases, therefore, it is not possible to say with any certainty whether a biographical inscription was written by its subject, for the vast majority of texts were written in the first person and appear to be autobiographical. In some few cases, such as the biography of Metjen, the inscription is written in the third person. Even more rarely, the author will address the subject of the biography, so that the form used is second person: cf. the Old Kingdom biography of Ptahshepses (Sethe 1904) and the two speeches addressed to Petosiris by his sons (Lefebvre 1923–25: no. 61).

B. Biography as a Record of Ethical and Religious Thought

This general pattern obtained in Egypt throughout the 3,000 years that the Egyptian biography as a genre was in vogue. In addition, Egyptians continued to write these texts in hieroglyphs long after that writing system had been superseded (first by hieratic, then by demotic Egyptian) for all but temple texts or state decrees. Despite the religious function of Egyptian biographies, however, and that people's undeniable respect for tradition, subtle changes crept into them—such as variations in the laudatory epithets or in the choice of deeds recorded. Though small, these modifications reflected the moral and religious climate of the times, making it possible to trace major developments in the intellectual history of ancient Egypt using biographical texts alone.

C. Biographies Inscribed on Tomb Chapel Walls: 2500–1300

Egypt's earliest biographies demonstrate to what degree the state, in the divine person of the king, had power over its subjects. The earliest courtiers were members of the king's own family, yet even the most powerful of them state that they owed everything, including life itself, to royal grace. One Old Kingdom noble proudly records how he was allowed to kiss the king's foot rather than the ground before it (*ANE* 1: 260). Another man relates how he accidentally brushed against the king's scepter during a ceremony, but His Majesty graciously allowed him to live unpunished (Sethe 1904: vol. 1, no. 232). The king is called the "Great God," while other gods are rarely mentioned. Though the troubles which ended the Old Kingdom put an end to such absolute royal power, the religious tenet that the king was the source and guardian of order in the world remained strong and ended only with the fall of the pharaonic system of government.

During the hard times of the First Intermediate period (2134–2040 B.C.E.), local rulers grew powerful in their own right, and their biographies display a whole new range of qualities for nonroyal persons. Nobles now assessed their worth by how well they had acted toward their fellows, and particularly toward their native cities in time of need. Many of the most common epithets with social content originated during the Old Kingdom, but with the coming of the First Intermediate period, a whole range of new laudatory phrases came into use. See Janssen 1952 for a collection of these epithets.

The advent of personal power also brought with it the concept of personal responsibility, and biographies from the Middle Kingdom (2040–1668) laid a new emphasis on the "justification" of a soul in the Judgment which follows death. The newly dead person was led before the Lord of Eternity, where the heart was weighed against the Feather of Truth. If it was found wanting, the heart was devoured by a monstrous beast, but if it balanced true, the person was "justified" and allowed to join the other Excellent Spirits in the hereafter (Yoyotte 1961).

The New Kingdom was a period of empire and wealth for Egypt and shows a new taste for narratives recording historical events. Each man sought to show how his own initiative had brought him favor in the eyes of the king. The fortunes of war also brought a certain democratization to the biographical genre, simple soldiers sometimes becoming wealthy enough to dedicate tombs and inscriptions of their own. One of the most famous early New Kingdom biographies is that of Ahmose, son of Ibana (Vandersleyen 1971). (For biographies from later in the dynasty, see Sandman 1938.)

D. Biographies Inscribed on Statues of Nonroyal Persons and Placed in Temple Courtyards (1350 B.C.E.–50 C.E.)

Toward the end of the New Kingdom, two high officials inscribed statues and placed them in a public courtyard of the Temple of Amun of Karnak. These were the first nonroyal persons whose names and forms were allowed to rest inside a god's house. Crouched like scribes in a public courtyard at the foot of stone images of the kings they had served in life, they urged all who came by to tell them their petitions. These powerful officials would then use their influence with the god (again, as they had done in life) to make sure the petitions were heard. The reward for such service was that those who remained on earth would say offering formulas in their name. The two owners of these statues were the great architect Amenhotep, son of Hapu, who lived during the reign of Amenhotep III (1386–1349 B.C.E.) and the vizier Paramessu, who very likely became King Ramesses I (accession date, 1293). Amenhotep's services were so popular that a deep groove has been worn away by the fingers of the faithful in the hieroglyphic text incised on the stone papyrus unrolled on the statue's lap.

The New Kingdom—like the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom before it—ended in a political fragmentation and social unrest. When the last Ramesses died ca. 1070 B.C.E., Egypt fell prey to outside forces. It was ruled first by Egyptianized Libyans; then by Sudanese, Assyrian, and

Persian invaders; and finally by a Macedonian dynasty, the last "Egyptian" pharaohs. In these troubled times, men could no longer trust in isolated necropolis priests and the occasional passerby to remember their souls. In ever increasing numbers, they consigned their personal inscriptions to the courtyards of temples—courtyards protected by strong walls from the depredations of war and frequented by literate priests and officials. Statues dedicated by private people come down to us in ever increasing numbers from the 22d Dyn. (ca. 945) on. Under Ptolemy II Philadelphus (280–250 B.C.E.), high Egyptian officials were still dedicating statues, sometimes of colossal proportions. Only one monumental statue, however, dates from the reign of his successor, Ptolemy III Euegertes, and it would appear that Philadelphus had effectively put a stop to the practice—if only by replacing Egyptian officials with Macedonians or Greeks. The Late period (1070–30 B.C.E.) biography, therefore, is generally inscribed on a statue of the subject. It addresses the god of the temple that housed the statue and records pious acts the subject carried out on behalf of that god. Egyptians were turning their backs on the realities of political chaos and foreign occupation, preferring to ignore the here and now in favor of the more palatable reality of the hereafter.

Occasionally, however, an Egyptian would mention a battle or a conquest if it impinged directly on his own concerns. One Egyptian doctor, for instance, who had found favor in Darius' court, recorded a dream in which his local god ordered him to hurry home. The dream took place when "the Greeks" (led by Alexander the Great) fought and defeated his Persian hosts. Upon arriving in Egypt, he dedicated an inscription to his god, thanking him with a biblical turn of phrase for his earlier successes abroad and his safe return home. He attributes all his good fortune to this local god, and to his own faithfulness to him:

> I am Your servant, my heart being loyal to You (and) I having filled my heart with You. I care for no city except Your city (and) I never cease putting its renown (about) among all peoples, my heart seeking out truth in Your house every day. On millions of occasions you acted for me as they (his pious acts) were good. . . . You distinguished me before millions (though) You had turned your back on Egypt, putting love of me in the heart of the Ruler [of] Asia (Darius I). . . . You protected me during the battle of the Greeks when you repulsed the Asiatic nation, millions being slain at my sides, yet none raising his arm against me . . . I reached Heracleopolis (his hometown) with not a hair on my head being harmed (Tresson 1930).

E. Personal Accountability and the Judgment after Death

The longest and most revealing biographical texts to come out of Egypt's Late period are those inscribed on tomb walls of the nobleman Petosiris. Petosiris ruled a large portion of the country around the time that Ptolemy I Soter took the throne, founding the Ptolemaic Dynasty, in 305/4 B.C.E. He was also the high priest of the Thoth of Hermopolis Magna, and his tomb is decorated inside and out with carvings of Egyptians wearing Greek garb and colored with an un-Egyptian palette. The biographical inscriptions are written in several locations throughout the tomb, interspersed with strictly religious texts. These texts display a thoroughly Egyptian theology, but—like the drawings in the tomb—are heavily influenced by Greece in form (Lefebvre 1923–25: vol. 3).

Petosiris' little brother, for instance, offers a characteristically Greek lament for his own premature death. "He who hearkens to my story will be saddened on account of it," says Thotrekh. He stresses that he was seized abruptly from among the living "like a man whom sleep has taken" and sent to the City of Eternity, the harbor of the Blessed Souls." Once there, the child had to undergo Judgment like everyone else, and he describes the experience:

> I arrived at it, before the Lord of the Gods, (though) there was no judgment against (?) me. . . . I arrived at this land of privation and the Lord of the Gods brought men to account, but no sin of mine was found (Lefebvre 1923–25: no. 56, lines 2–3, 7–8).

Petosiris, too, describes his own Last Judgment:

> The West (where the dead go) is the harbor for him who has no sin. Praise God for the man who reaches it! Not every man shall reach it, but only when he is scrupulous in doing right. The poor man is no different from the rich there, but only (the man who) is found (to be) without sin. The scales and the plumb bob are before the Lord of Eternity and there is no one without the pronouncement of his reckoning. Thot-as-an-Ape sits upon his place to reckon every man('s Fate) in accordance with what he did upon earth (Lefebvre 1923–25: no. 81, lines 16–22). (Drawings of the Egyptian Judgment after death show a small baboon sitting in the center of the crossbar of the scales.)

The Late period noble was accountable for his acts, but the biographies of this age make it clear that acts toward God counted most in the final accounting. One man, for instance, stresses that he invented a new way to embalm his local god's sacred animal—a feat accomplished under the noses of his Persian overlords. Petosiris' career comes down to us as a litany of services to various temples and gods. The Late period man "adhered to the Path of God," and God rewarded him. (For a discussion of the content of Late period biographies, including personal piety, see Otto 1954.)

Failures in piety, just as surely, led to awful retribution:

> This place, which the wretches were defiling . . . , the trespasser had trespassed upon it so that disturbance was in the entire land, and nothing was good in Egypt on account of it, because the halves of the Primeval Egg (from which all life came) were buried in it (Lefebvre 1923–25: no. 81, lines 63–68).

F. Development of a Personal Relation to God

Through the Egyptian biography, it is possible to trace attitudes from the earliest times, when the king was the supreme god. Later, as individuals seized the initiative, men began to take both credit and responsibility for their

deeds. Both these attitudes carried over into the optimistic narratives of the New Kingdom biography, where a soldier forged his own way beside his king.

By 1070 B.C.E., Egypt was war-torn and chaotic, and neither the state nor the individual was sufficient to hold off invaders or poverty from the land. Men now turned to God and entrusted their biographies to the temples. In this new climate a Late period noble might take credit for his special abilities—like the chief judge and vizier who said he was "piercing of mind like Thoth, so that the laws of the Tribunal were (made) in accordance with his prescriptions" (statue of Ḥr, Staatliche Museen 7737, Berlin, unpublished). He might take credit for his services to society, like the man who claimed he (and his statues) were a cure for snake bite (Sherman 1981). But chiefly, the Egyptian of the Late period sought to show that he had been a pious man, for only the pious were rewarded both in this life and the next:

> For he was one (who adhered) to the Path of God. He carried out his life in happiness, richer than all his peers. He grew old in his city. He was a respected man in his province. All of his limbs were sound—he was like a youth. His children were numerous beside him as rich men among the townsfolk, son inheriting from son. The sight of him was like that of the sun when it sets. Awe of him was in the hearts of men, (while) love of him was in the hearts of women. . . . He was one who was a follower of (the god) Khenty-Imentet, and never was there a complaint of God against him (Lefebvre 1923–25: no. 61c, lines 28–31).

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ELIZABETH J. SHERMAN

EGYPTIAN LOVE SONGS

Some 40 love songs, ranging in length from 4 to 140 stichs, have survived from ancient Egypt. These songs are of interest both for their intrinsic poetic value and for the parallels they offer to the Song of Songs. (All references to love songs here are according to the enumeration in Fox 1985: 5–6.)

A. Dating and Cultural Background
B. Selections
C. Function of the Egyptian Love Songs
D. View of Love
   1. Personae
   2. Sex Roles and Distinctions
   3. Sexual Relations
   4. Concept of Love

A. Dating and Cultural Background

The extant manuscripts of the Egyptian love songs date from the 19th Dyn. (ca. 1305–1200 B.C.E.) and the early part of the 20th (1200–ca. 1150 B.C.E.). The major manuscripts are: Papyrus Harris 500, the earliest of the group (a collection of twenty-one short songs and a short story, "The Predestined Prince"); Papyrus Turin 1965 (a three-stanza song about trees in a garden); The Cairo Love Songs (two songs of seven stanzas each, written on a vase, now broken); Papyrus Chester Beatty I (a seven-stanza song spoken alternately by a girl and a boy who see each other and fall in love, a three-stanza song spoken by a woman waiting anxiously for her lover, one collection of seven songs, as well as the legend of Horus and Seth). Additionally there are a number of ostraca from Deir el-Medineh with short songs or song fragments.

While it is possible that these love songs were composed earlier and transmitted either orally or in writing before being inscribed in the extant manuscripts, it is most likely that their composition too dates from the Ramesside period. The love songs are in literary Late Egyptian, a written literary language taught as a "second language" in the scribal schools at this time.

B. Selections

The following selections from various poems give a sense of the songs' character: playful, tender, erotic. They include some of the favorite themes of love poetry: description of the feelings of love, "lovesickness," the love trap, praise of the beloved. Note that the lovers refer to each other as "brother" and "sister," terms implying intimacy (the Song of Songs too uses "sister" as a term of affection, e.g., 4:9, 10, 12; 5:1, 2).

A maiden tells her lover of her determination:

> My heart is not yet done with your lovemaking,
> my little wolf cub!
> Your liquor is (your) lovemaking.
> I will not abandon it
> until blows drive (me) away
> to spend my days in the marshes. (no. 4)

In "Alba" theme, a lover complains of the breaking of dawn after a night of love. In the following passage, a girl scolds the dove for heralding the dawn:

> The voice of the dove speaks. It says:
> "Day has dawned—
> when are you going (home)?
> Stop it, bird!

You're teasing me.
I found my brother in his bedroom,
and my heart was exceedingly joyful. (no. 14)

Love causes "lovesickness," whose symptoms are lassitude, even a sort of paralysis, and considerable confusion:

When I behold sweet cakes,
(they seem like) salt.
Pomegranate wine, (once) sweet in my mouth—
it is (now) like the gall of birds.
The scent of your nose alone
is what revives my heart.

Compare Cant 2:5; 5:6b. The phrase "scent of your nose" alludes to the practice of nose kissing; cf. Cant 7:9b.

I will lie down inside,
and then I will feign illness.
Then my neighbors will enter to see,
and then my sister will come with them.
She'll put the doctors to shame,
for she will understand my illness. (no. 6, complete)

The following youth is drunk on the liquor of love:

I'll kiss her,
her lips are parted—
I am merry without beer. (no. 20G)

The "love trap" theme speaks of the girl as a trap, or alternatively, a lasso, whose charms ensnare the willing boy (cf. Cant 7:6a). The following selection uses that theme in a riddle: how can it be that the maiden is skilled with the lasso yet catches no cattle?

How skilled is she—my sister—at casting the lasso,
yet she'll pull in no cattle!
With her hair she lassos me,
with her eye she pulls me in,
with her thighs she binds,
with her seal she sets the brand. (no. 43, complete)

The "Praise Song," which describes the beloved part by part, is found in several Egyptian poems and in the Song of Songs (4:1–7; 5:10–16; 7:2–10a). In the following selection, taken from a more complete description, a youth watches a girl walking past his house and says to himself:

One alone is my sister, having no peer:
more gracious than all other women.
Behold her, like Sothis rising
at the beginning of a good year:
shining, precious, white of skin,
lovely of eyes when gazing. (no. 31)

C. Function of the Egyptian Love Songs

We do not know the role the love songs played in Egyptian society, but can only attempt to infer it from their contents. They do not seem to be wedding songs, for they never speak of the couple as presently married or as about to be. Furthermore, none of the songs express the hopes for the couple's future that would be appropriate in wedding festivities. Nor do they show any signs of a religious-cultic function, such as a Sacred Marriage liturgy, which, as the Mesopotamian Sacred Marriage songs show, can be expected to emphasize strongly the connection between the divine sexual union and the fertility of the land. The Egyptian songs show no interest in fertility.

The Egyptian love songs were probably meant simply for entertainment. The headings to three groups state their purpose as "entertainment," lit., "diverting the heart." The same phrase labels scenes of banquets in Egyptian tombs, scenes that frequently include musicians and singers. While no love songs have been found in such scenes, the type of occasion they portray—banquets on both holidays and ordinary days, when family and friends would come together to eat, drink (sometimes to excess), and enjoy musicians and dancers—would be most suitable for listening to songs about love.

D. View of Love

The extant love songs come from different times and places. They do not present a unified concept of love. It is, nevertheless, possible to summarize the main attitudes and concepts they share and to sketch the way love and lovers appeared to the ancient Egyptian poets. We should keep in mind that the love songs present an ideal of love and not necessarily a social reality.

1. Personae. The lovers portrayed seem to be quite young and all unmarried. While many of the songs do not give hints about the lovers' age and social situations, those that do show us young people living with their parents and under their supervision. Since marriage in Egypt probably took place in the late teens for males and the early or middle teens for females, we may surmise that the love songs show us young people in the short time between childhood and marriage.

2. Sex Roles and Distinctions. The relationship portrayed in the Egyptian love songs is essentially egalitarian. The songs do not show a rigid conception or strict stereotype of the ways the sexes behave. The behavior of the sexes differs from one song to another, with males being the more active and assertive in some, females in others.

For the most part, however, the girls are more intent on love and more sexually assertive than the boys. In poems with the love trap theme, which compare falling in love to being trapped or lassoed (e.g., no. 43, above), the girl is always the trap or trapper. On the other hand, the love trap theme does not embrace a "femme fatale" stereotype (although the "femme fatale" is prominent in Egyptian stories). In general, the boys are awed by the powerful effect their girls have on them, but they do not try to affect them in return. They see themselves as "captured," their hearts as "taken."

3. Sexual Relations. The Egyptian love songs are deeply erotic without dwelling on the details of sexual activity. The songs treat sexual intercourse with restraint and indirection, but not with embarrassment, coyness, or apology. The sex act is never described, even euphemistically, though certain motifs allude to genitals or intercourse, such as the "cave" of the beloved (nos. 40, 41) or the "seal" with which she "brands" him (no. 43, see above).

Although sexual intercourse, in the view of the Egyptian

love songs, is not restricted to marriage, the lovers often look forward to marriage, and their relation is almost never a mere dalliance. (One poem, in contrast [nos. 41–42], seems to describe activities in a brothel). The lovers sometimes say that they will possess each other forever. In the following, their lying together is the start of a life together:

> How lovely is my hour (with you)!
> This hour flows forth for me forever—
> it began when I lay with you.
> In sorrow and in joy,
> you have exalted my heart.
> Do not (leave) me. (no. 17)

In general, the intensity of the lovers makes us feel that they are intent on a lifetime together, even when this is not said explicitly. Yet marriage is never the focal point of the songs. The lovers concentrate on their immediate experience, which, when it is a happy one, they expect to continue throughout their lives.

4. Concept of Love. The love poets show young love as a great force that creates a moral order of its own, for love demands—and engenders—total commitment. Obedience to its demands overrides other considerations. One stakes all for it and shares in its power, or hesitates to obey its dictates and so feels the pangs of hopeless desire.

The effects of love's power are shown as diverse and paradoxical. Love is the dominant force in a lover's life, giving illness or health, weakness or power, pain or pleasure. In fulfillment, love gives a delight that only a concatenation of sweet images can even start to convey. In the absence of the beloved, love's power agitates and disturbs, confusing tastes and nullifying normal pleasures. The presence of the beloved restores life and health. The imagery of the Egyptian love songs thus implies a general state of being: love fulfilled is harmony, wholeness, health, life.

Much of the energy of the poems goes into a description of love's feelings. This concern gives the Egyptian love poems an introspective focus. Moreover, none of the Egyptian love poems are dialogues. In poems where two lovers speak in alternating stanzas, they do not speak to each other, but to an indefinite audience, or in their hearts, in two separate soliloquies. This absence of communication distinguishes the Egyptian poems from the Song of Songs, which is largely composed of interlocking dialogue. The Egyptian poets create a variety of personalities and study each one in isolation, painting a picture of love as a state of emotion more than a relationship between individuals. It seems important to the lovers (and the poets behind them) to communicate just what is going on inside. In contrast, the urgency of the lovers in Canticles is to tell what they see in each other. They display their emotions rather than reporting on them, for it is the relationship that arises from the emotions of love, more than the emotions themselves, that concern the poet of the Song.

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MICHAEL V. FOX

EGYPTIAN WISDOM LITERATURE

Egypt's reputation for wisdom was extolled by biblical writers (1 Kgs 4:30—Heb 5:10; Acts 7:22) as well as classical authors. Nevertheless, the designation "wisdom literature" was borrowed from OT scholars, who coined the term for those books which dealt primarily with the personified figure of the preexistent Wisdom so intimately associated with the "fear of God." The Egyptian expressions for "wisdom" lack this connotation of the Hebrew word *ḥokmâ*. The central concept in the Wisdom Literature of Egypt was *maᶜat*, a word variously rendered as "truth," "righteousness" or "justice," but also meaning "order," especially the divinely ordained cosmic order.

Egypt shared with her neighbors in the cultural continuum of the Near East. Like them, her understanding of the nature of the universe found expression in mythology; like them, she enshrined the experience of generations in sentential sayings or proverbs. Her reflections on life—its meaning and the ways by which its demands might be met—eventually became what we call "wisdom literature." However, there is no unanimity on a fixed body of texts comprised under this heading. The "wisdom" tradition is an attitude to life and conduct, and may be found to permeate many works which are not properly regarded as wisdom texts, e.g. biographical inscriptions and the Coffin Texts.

The mistaken view that Egyptian wisdom was predominantly nonreligious and utilitarian, especially in its early stages, has been conclusively refuted (de Buck 1932). Throughout its history, this literature had a religious basis, although there is a steady and significant development perceptible (Schmid 1966: 8–84).

A. Instructions
  1. Old Kingdom Texts
  2. First Intermediate Period Texts
  3. Middle Kingdom Texts
  4. New Kingdom Texts
  5. Late Period Texts
B. Speculative Works
C. Scribal Literature
D. Fables

A. Instructions

The earliest known wisdom compositions were compiled by high court officials for the training of the young who were being groomed for government service in scribal schools. The writer addresses his son (i.e. pupil), offering advice regarding such topics as courteous behavior, moral conduct, obedience, and felicitous and effective speech. These treatises were entitled *sbōyet*, a term which has the twofold sense of instruction, both mental and moral, as well as chastisement.

1. Old Kingdom Texts. In the Old Kingdom (ca. 2686–2181 B.C.) such writings were attributed to royal persons or viziers, and were intended for the children of the aristocracy. The earliest, according to later tradition, was the work of Imhotep, the illustrious vizier of Djoser, but no trace of it has survived. The *Teaching of Hordjedef*, a son of the 4th Dyn. ruler Cheops, was also renowned in later ages. This has been partially reconstructed from 17 ostraca of Ramesside date (Dyn. 19–20) and a much later wooden writing board (Dyn. 26). Only the beginning has so far been recovered (*AEL* 1: 58–59).

The concluding portion alone of the *Teaching for Kagemni* (*AEL* 1: 59–61) is preserved on a single manuscript of Middle Kingdom date, so that the author is unknown. We are informed that the recipient, Kagemni, was appointed vizier under Huni and Sneferu, rulers of Dynasties 3 and 4 respectively. However, the only vizier of this name served under Teti of the 6th Dyn. Scholars are inclined to regard the work as pseudonymous, originating in the 6th Dyn. or slightly later. The writer advises against gluttony and urges self-control.

The first complete example of this type occupies the same manuscript as the preceding work. This is the *Teaching of Ptahhotep* (*AEL* 1: 61–80), described as vizier under Isesi of the 5th Dyn., although no evidence for such a historical person has been found. This treatise too may be pseudonymous, and arguments for a date in the 6th Dyn. have been made. A lengthy prologue is followed by 37 maxims and an epilogue. The sage counsels proper conduct on all occasions and recommends such virtues as obedience, self-control, honesty, patience, and generosity. Copies of the text on three other fragmentary papyri, one writing board, and three ostraca dating from both Middle and New Kingdoms reveal that at least two editions were extant. The enduring popularity of this composition is evident from both allusions and citations in later texts, some perhaps as late as the 7th century B.C.

2. First Intermediate Period Texts. The collapse of the Old Kingdom was followed by a series of weak, ephemeral rulers during the First Intermediate Period (ca. 2181–2040 B.C.). Rival dynasties arose at Heracleopolis and Thebes. The *Teaching for Merykare* (*AEL* 1: 97–109) is represented by three 18th Dyn. papyri, but the beginning is damaged. Ostensibly composed by a ruler of the 10th Dyn. at Heracleopolis, probably Achthoes III, for his son and successor, Merykare, it is likely to have been commissioned by Merykare as a work of political propaganda in the form of a royal testament (Williams 1964: 15–19) and ascribed to his deceased father. Advice is given concerning the appropriate attitude toward subjects and enemies and how to select adherents and foster their loyalty. The earlier confidence in material success as a reward for good conduct had been severely shaken and such recompense is now projected into the afterlife. The whole text maintains a high moral tone and lauds the beneficence of the creator god in a hymn.

3. Middle Kingdom Texts. The reunification of Egypt by Mentuhotpe II inaugurated the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2040–1786 B.C.). All the instructions from this period have political overtones. The *Teaching of Ammenemes* (*AEL* 1: 135–39), like the previous document, is cast in the form of a royal testament. In it Ammenemes I of the 12th Dyn. vividly describes an attempt on his life and warns his son, who will succeed him as Sesostris I, to beware of court conspiracies. The view of many scholars that this too is a pseudepigraph written after the assassination of Ammenemes to legitimize the accession of Sesostris is supported by ostraca which have recently come to light (Foster 1981). An encomium on ancient authors written 500 years later identifies the revered scribe Khety as the author of this tractate. The complete text is provided by 6 scrolls, 3 writing boards, and 197 ostraca, all of New Kingdom date. A tiny scrap of papyrus from the 26th Dyn. or later testifying to yet another copy shows that the work was read and copied for fourteen or more centuries.

Another example of a political document has been given the modern title of the *Loyalist Teaching* (*AEL* 1: 128). It probably originated early in the Middle Kingdom and contains a panegyric of the ruler, followed by an exhortation to be loyal subjects. An abbreviated version of the first part of the text was later incorporated in the biographical stela of Sehetepibre, an official of Ammenemes III. Later New Kingdom copies on three papyri, one writing board, and sixty-five ostraca have assisted in the restoration of the second half of the text, which describes the conduct a master should exhibit toward his serfs (Posener 1976, with complete translation). The author's name is not preserved.

The *Teaching of a Man for His Son* is the anonymous title of a similar composition which is still being pieced together from fragments of one leather roll, five papyri, and some eighty ostraca, all from the New Kingdom. It is clearly of Middle Kingdom origin, and begins with a long prologue, followed by a section devoted to the same theme of loyalty to the sovereign (translation in Kitchen 1969). A further section treats the subject of daily conduct between individuals (Posener 1979; translation of part in Kitchen 1970). A writing board contains what appears to be an excerpt from another Middle Kingdom production on the theme of allegiance to the king (Barns 1968). The copy dates from the late 16th century B.C.

4. New Kingdom Texts. The didactic treatises of the New Kingdom (ca. 1567–1085 B.C.) were no longer concerned with political affairs, nor were they written by or for members of the aristocracy. The 18th Dyn. witnessed the establishment of an extensive Egyptian empire which may have aided the rise of the national god Amon-Re to universal status. Although polytheism continued, a certain tendency toward syncretism was developing and moving in the direction of henotheism. The period also witnessed a gradual growth of personal piety. In the Old and Middle Kingdoms the concept of the ideal person as "silent," i.e. self-controlled, disciplined, and modest, became increasingly prominent, and by the New Kingdom also implied an inner calm and repose.

A minor official was responsible for the *Teaching of Any* (*AEL* 2: 135–46) which was probably composed in the 18th Dyn. Five papyri (none complete) and nine ostraca preserve this text, but the introduction has been lost. However, a writing board bears the opening title in both Middle and Late Egyptian. The work consists of a prologue, some thirty maxims, and an epilogue which takes the form of an argument between Any and his "son" over the varying abilities of persons to comprehend instruction. A manu-

script from the 19th or 20th Dyn. exhibits a later recension of the composition.

It is likely that the *Teaching of Amennakhte* is contemporary with the preceding text. The beginning alone remains, partially reconstructed from 6 ostraca. The writer addresses his apprentice Harmin, urging him to pursue his scribal studies. It has been suggested that the contents of Papyrus Chester Beatty IV, verso, 1:1–7:2, may be a later part of this work (translation of the latter in Gardiner 1935: 37–43).

Another New Kingdom text has been restored in part from 7 ostraca. It is unique in consisting only of prohibitions and appears to be an anthology. A limestone flake bears the words: "Instructive teaching . . . according to ancient writings," which could be the title of this intriguing collection.

The *Teaching of Amenemope* (*AEL* 2: 146–63) is the best-known representative of this period because of the likelihood that it was the inspiration for Prov 22:17–23:14 and Jer 17:5–8 (see Bryce 1979). It has survived complete on a papyrus of the 26th Dyn. with excerpts on three equally late writing boards. One sheet of a papyrus duplicate from the 21st or 22d Dyn. and a single ostracon of the same date (which is a schoolboy copy) imply, however, that the original must go back at least to the 12th century B.C. A long prologue is followed by 30 numbered chapters, the last of which serves as an epilogue. Great emphasis is laid on honesty and concern for the disadvantaged, and personal piety is stressed. The dominant theme is that of the "silent" man who is self-controlled and, above all, modest. He is contrasted with the "passionate," i.e., quick-tempered man.

5. Late Period Texts. From the Late Period the earliest work of this type so far known is written on a long and very fragmentary papyrus, probably of the 4th century B.C., although the original may well have been older (Posener and Garnot 1963). When published by Dr. R. Jasnow, valuable light may be shed on this obscure period. A novel feature of the text is the high regard expressed for the farmer and his importance to the economy.

Some insight into the pervasiveness of wisdom thought in this period, however, may be gleaned from some passages occurring in the biographical texts on the walls of the family tomb of Petosiris, who served as high priest of Thoth at Hermopolis during the late 4th century B.C. The priest now appears as a sage. For instance, the conventional appeal to passersby to make funerary offerings to the deceased also requests them to profit from the words of advice (Barucq 1961). Expressions like "way of God," "fear of God" and "will of God" are frequent. The close kinship between these texts and the biblical Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes is a noteworthy feature.

Beginning in the mid 7th century B.C. the vernacular form of the Egyptian language was written in a simplified, cursive script called by Herodotus "Demotic." The didactic treatise still continued to flourish in the Demotic era, but with a significant structural difference: the couplet used in the maxims of earlier ages has given way to the "aphoristic monostich" (Lichtheim 1983: 1–12), a short prose sentence of one line. Another important feature is the impact on Egyptian sages of other cultures, notably Aramaic and Hellenistic.

The *Teaching of Ankhsheshonqy* (*AEL* 3: 159–84) was discovered on a long papyrus scroll written in the late 1st century B.C. The beginning of the text and the top lines of all twenty-eight columns are lost. The citation of lines, some in sequence, on two papyri of 2d century B.C. date suggests that the original goes back to the early Ptolemaic period. The maxims are embedded in a narrative framework which recounts Ankhsheshonqy's imprisonment on a charge of plotting against the pharaoh's life. This recalls the story of the wise Ahiqar which was current in Egypt not only in a 5th century B.C. Aramaic text from Elephantine, but also in a Demotic version (Zauzich 1976). There are striking parallels between some maxims in the two compositions (Lichtheim 1983: 13–65). The most significant themes concerning the wise man versus the fool and the certainty of retribution, together with two formulations of the Golden Rule.

A papyrus of the 2d century B.C., now in the Louvre, contains a short work of only three columns: the *Teaching of Pordjel.* This is one of the texts which quotes lines from Ankhsheshonqy; it appears to be a collection of aphorisms with no thematic arrangement (translation in Lichtheim 1983: 94–98). Such random compilations are known from several fragmentary papyri and an ostracon of similar or slightly later date.

The most familiar document is *Papyrus Insinger* (*AEL* 3: 184–217) which preserves thirty-four columns virtually intact. However, a number of papyrus fragments belonging to the missing first nine or so columns are dispersed in several museums and still await publication. This manuscript is to be dated to the 1st century A.D. Five more papyri, all incomplete, provide further copies and are also of Roman date. These show great variation in wording and in the order of lines and sections. The maxims are divided into twenty-five numbered "teachings" arranged by subjects. Some of the topics dealt with are: the wise or godly man versus the fool or impious man; moderation in all things; Fate and Fortune, now clearly in the developed Hellenistic sense of *anankē* and *tychē* (Lichtheim 1983: 107–96). The author's name is lost, unless the mention of Phibhor at the end of the text is a reference to him.

Still more Demotic treatises are known, e.g., a text of considerable length in Berlin is now being prepared for publication by Dr. U. Kaplony-Heckel.

B. Speculative Works

Under this heading are included those compositions which display a reflective attitude toward life and the universe. They may take the form of a discourse or a prophecy by a sage, or occasionally a dialogue. Frequently pessimistic and skeptical, they question accepted beliefs and customs. Many include the theme of national disaster which was to become a mere literary topos (*AEL* 1: 149–50; Junge 1977).

The *Admonitions of Ipuwer* (*AEL* 1: 149–63) occupy a single manuscript of 19th Dyn. date. The beginning and, therefore, the setting are lost. In its present form it can be no earlier than the late 13th Dyn. (Van Seters 1964). A penetrating study suggests that the main body of the work was produced probably between 2180–2130 B.C. (Fecht 1972). The first half of this may be the "Prophecy of the Court" referred to in *Merykare* (line 71); the second part

takes the form of a dialogue between the sage Ipuwer and the creator god. The deity is held responsible for the current ills of the land. A later editor is credited with additions which reflect the conditions of the 17th century B.C.

The *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (*AEL* 1: 169–84) survives on four fragmentary papyri of the late Middle Kingdom. Between them they render the text virtually complete. The scene is set in the reign of Achthoes II (ca. 2100–2050 B.C.). A humble oasis dweller (not a "peasant") is robbed on a flimsy pretext by a tenant farmer. When he complains to the high steward, the latter is so impressed by his eloquence that he contrives to delay the sufferer's defense until he has made nine long speeches of complaint full of wit and extravagant metaphor. In this work the Egyptian love of fine speech is apparent, but of far greater importance is the cry for the rights of the common man which is the focal point.

For the *Prophecies of Neferty* (*AEL* 1: 139–45) we possess one papyrus and two writing boards, all from the 18th Dyn., as well as twenty-one ostraca. The composition is attributed to a lector priest during the reign of Sneferu in the 4th Dyn. Summoned to display his rhetorical abilities before the ruler, he foretells the accession of Ameny, who will restore the troubled land to order. This Ameny is none other than Ammenemes I, who inaugurated the 12th Dyn. Clearly we have yet another tractate designed as propaganda to give divine approval to this king who was a usurper.

Only one 18th Dyn. writing board and one ostracon represent the *Lament of Khakheperresonb* (*AEL* 1: 145–49). This priest of Heliopolis strives for original and novel expressions with which to decry the lamentable state of the nation. No purpose other than a display of rhetoric is apparent, but this may be only the beginning of a longer work. It was produced during or soon after the reign of Sesostris II.

The *Dispute of a Man with His Ba* (*AEL* 1: 163–69) is known only from one 12th Dyn. papyrus for which the beginning is lacking. The text is unique in depicting an argument between a man and his *ba*. This term, usually rendered as "soul," actually designates the vital forces, both mental and physical, which are released at death and by means of which the deceased continues his existence. The work is a vigorous assault on the traditional costly material provision for the afterlife (see EGYPTIAN RELIGION).

One very fragmentary Middle Kingdom papyrus is the only source for the *Discourses of Sisobk*. The beginning and ending are lost. The speaker in the narrative, a scribe named Sisobk, is apparently a prisoner. His release is announced and he delivers a series of counsels. The text is too damaged for connected translation (Barns 1956: 1–10).

The *Harpers' Songs*, carved on tomb walls and funerary stelae and depicted as sung by a blind harpist, number about two dozen. A few may fittingly be grouped with these reflective compositions. The best known one is introduced by the words: "A song which is in the tomb of (King) Inyotef," most likely referring to one of the rulers of the 11th Dyn. It was discovered complete on a papyrus of the 19th Dyn. as well as in a damaged duplicate on the wall of an 18th Dyn. tomb at Saqqara. Like the *Dispute of a Man with His Ba*, this text expresses skepticism with respect to expensive mortuary preparations and advocates a hedonistic attitude to life. In a Theban tomb of the 18th Dyn., two other songs are inscribed, one attacking the skepticism of the earlier song and the other attempting to moderate its hedonistic and unorthodox views (translations in *AEL* 1: 194–97; *AEL* 2: 115–16).

C. Scribal Literature

Teachers produced a rich and variegated literature for the edification of their pupils. In addition to providing models of correct speech and patterns for letter writing, they emphasized the development of character and social behavior.

Kemyt, "compendium," is not strictly a title, but rather the description of a manual produced during the early Middle Kingdom for the use of beginning students. Its contents include a selection of epistolary formulae, a model letter, and an assortment of suitable sentences. It was widely used in New Kingdom schools, as the great number of copies attest. The introduction was found on an 18th Dyn. writing board; the remainder was reconstructed from a large mass of later ostraca. Despite the date of these copies, the pupils were taught to write the text in vertical columns in accordance with the Middle Kingdom custom.

This work was later quoted in the *Satire on the Trades*, the creation of the famous scribe Khety early in the 12th Dyn. pseudonymously attributed to an unknown minor official. Attested by 4 papyri, 2 writing boards, and some 250 ostraca, it clearly outstripped all other texts in popularity. Its theme was new: a glorification of the scribal craft to the disparagement of any other occupations (translation in *AEL* 1: 184–92). Later centuries saw a flood of variations on this topic, and citations from the original work appeared as late as 264 B.C. The theme also inspired Jesus ben Sira, ca. 190 B.C., to compose Sir 38:24–39:11.

Papyrus Lansing is a 20th Dyn. manuscript of one of a dozen or more "miscellanies" which were compiled by teachers. This example includes model letters, a pupil's eulogy of his teacher, praise of the scribal profession, and echoes of the *Satire on the Trades*, with advice to the pupil regarding work habits (translation in *AEL* 2: 168–75).

The so-called *Scribal Controversy* or *Satirical Letter* has been preserved virtually intact on Papyrus Anastasi I and in fragments or excerpts on four other papyri and seventy-three ostraca, all of Ramesside date. The original was probably composed during the reign of Ramesses II. In it a military scribe is mockingly interrogated on his knowledge of subjects such as mathematics, geometry, geography, and military logistics (translated in Erman 1927: 214–34).

Lexicographical lists which we call *Onomastica* were produced in Egypt as in Mesopotamia, differing mainly in their order. They were compiled during the period from the late Middle Kingdom down to the Ptolemaic era, and included meteorological and geographical terms, plants, animals, titles, professions, etc. A New Kingdom example bears the title: "The teaching in order to enlarge the mind and instruct the ignorant to know all that exists." It has

been suggested that these lists lay behind biblical passages such as Job 38–39 or Prov 30:24–31 (von Rad 1955).

D. Fables

Literary evidence of fables in Egypt, unlike Mesopotamia, is lacking until the New Kingdom. It is probable that, since fables were primarily an element of folklore, they were transmitted orally and only later began to assume a written form. Support for this view derives from the numerous sketches on papyri and ostraca which depict animals acting as humans, often in satirical situations. These probably represent both beast fables and animal epics. The earliest pictorial evidence begins just before the start of the 3d millennium. Fables were an important medium of entertainment and instruction (Williams 1956; Brunner-Traut 1959).

A wooden label of the 18th Dyn. belonging to a lost papyrus roll bears the legend: "Book of the Sycamore and Moringa." From this we may deduce that plant or tree fables of the contest type were current in Egypt as in Mesopotamia. However, the earliest written fable from Egypt is that of the *Dispute between the Head and the Stomach.* It appears on a very fragmentary writing board of the 22d Dyn. and was clearly for schoolboy use. The protagonists argue their respective merits before a tribunal of thirty judges (see Brunner-Traut 1963: 126, 278–79).

The *Tale of Truth and Falsehood* is inscribed on a 19th Dyn. papyrus. This work, which lacks its introduction, was doubtless originally in oral form. It is an allegorical folktale, and this is the first time that personified abstract concepts were thus employed in Egyptian literature. Truth is blinded by his younger brother Falsehood as the result of a quarrel. Eventually, through the efforts of Truth's son, Falsehood is convicted by a tribunal, blinded, and sentenced to servitude. Thus good triumphs over evil (translation in *AEL* 2: 211–14).

The *Myth of the Sun's Eye* is a lengthy Demotic text with both beginning and ending lost. For it we are dependent on three papyri, one still unpublished, all from the 2d century A.D. An ostracon of the 14th century B.C. offers an unmistakable illustration of the contents and shows that the original form of the work was much earlier. Indeed, after it was rendered into Demotic there must have been several versions or editions, for the scribe provides variant readings and editorial glosses. The mythological framestory recounts the search for the Eye of Re (i.e. his daughter Tefnut) who had fled south to Nubia. Re's envoy is Thoth, in the guise of a baboon, whose task is to persuade the goddess to return to Egypt. This he does by a series of arguments and blandishments, in the course of which he relates six fables. Two of these turn up in the Aesopic corpus (translation of two fables in *AEL* 3: 156–59; of all in Williams 1956: 19–23). A papyrus of the 3d century A.D. preserves a Greek version of the Demotic text.

A few other Demotic fables survive on scraps of papyrus and potsherds as school exercises. One pottery jar of the 1st or 2d century A.D. records the fable of the *Swallow and the Sea* which has a parallel in Sanskrit literature (translation in Williams 1956: 18–19).

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RONALD J. WILLIAMS

EGYPTIAN ORACLES.

See ORACLE (ANCIENT EGYPT).

EGYPTIAN RELATIONS WITH CANAAN.

The following article is a presentation of the relation of

Egypt with Canaan between the Early Bronze Age and the Persian Conquest.

A. Introduction
B. The Early Bronze Age (ca. 3200–2000 B.C.E.)
C. The Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000–1550 B.C.E.)
D. The Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1200 B.C.E.)
E. The Iron Age up to the Persian Conquest (ca. 1200–525 B.C.E.)

A. Introduction

"Canaan" is used here in its broadest sense to include the Levantine coast as far north as Ugarit (modern Latakia), southern Syria, and all of Lebanon and Palestine. Throughout its ancient history, the normal political structure within Canaan was the city-state, an autonomous unit with its own government, based on an agricultural economy. There were scores of such city-states in Canaan, political unity among them being achieved only by military conquest, usually be foreign powers. Some cities became larger and more powerful than others through trade, treaties, or cultural domination, but the essentially independent city-state remained the rule. Egyptian political structure was the opposite. Forced into cooperation by a single water source, Egypt maintained a united state from the Mediterranean south to Aswan, down the narrow corridor of rich agricultural land fertilized annually by the Nile Flood. The deserts to the east and west of the Nile Valley were, like Canaan, foreign territory. Political unity in Egypt collapsed from time to time, but by and large, the united state existed through most of its ancient history.

Cultural, economic, and political contacts were thus between a united Egypt and the individual independent city-states of Canaan. When the time came, around 1550 B.C.E., for Egypt to create an Asiatic empire, it was created swiftly. The city-states of Canaan had little stomach for unity; the very independence they craved made them easy prey to a whole series of conquerors who came from all directions. Before 1550 B.C.E., however, relations between the two regions were largely commercial. Egypt normally had an excess of foodstuffs, which Canaan did not. Egypt also had control of the gold mines of the eastern mountains and of the land and sea routes to the Sudan and Ethiopia whence came ebony, spices, and other luxuries. Canaan supplied raw materials Egypt did not possess and, through the Levantine cities, made possible Egyptian participation in international trade.

The chronology of these relations must be given in general terms until the early 1st millennium B.C.E., when written documents are numerous enough to correlate more than isolated events or rulers. Egyptian chronology, upon which that of Canaan depends, is less certain before 2000 B.C.E. than after. At the beginning of the 3d millennium B.C.E., the margin for error is rather large (Hassan 1980; Shaw 1984) but grows much smaller as one approaches the 2d millennium. The Egyptian chronology adopted here is generally that of Trigger et al. (1983).

B. The Early Bronze Age (ca. 3200–2000 B.C.E.)

Contacts between Egypt and Canaan can be discerned in the Chalcolithic Age but were too few and sporadic to be meaningful (Ben-Tor 1982: 4; Kantor 1965: 6–7). Reliable evidence begins to appear in the Egyptian Late Predynastic period and 1st Dyn. (ca. 3200–2890 B.C.E.), contemporary to the Canaanite EB I Age. At this time, there was a rather sudden change only recently defined by new excavations.

Egyptian material, mainly pottery, has been found at several EB I–II sites in southern Palestine, and Palestinian pottery of this period has long been known from Egyptian tombs (Ben-Tor 1982: 4–6; Helck 1971: 33). Of special interest is the site of ʿEn Besor (Gophna 1976), where Egyptian material is more abundant than Canaanite and includes a substantial number of Egyptian Protodynastic cylinder seal impressions (Schulman 1976; 1980). Also new is a series of sites along the northern coast of Sinai, where again Egyptian material is dominant (Oren 1973). Since the Egyptian pottery at both ʿEn Besor and the Sinai sites includes ordinary household ware, it is generally felt that Egyptians resided there.

The interpretation of this and related material varies between Egyptian domination and control over southern Canaan and northern Sinai and the more moderate claim that this is evidence of trade. The much-discussed theory of an Egyptian invasion of Canaan at the beginning of the 1st Dyn. does not seem likely (literature in Ben-Tor 1982: 9). But some kind of military activity against Asiatics in this period is evidenced by small ivory labels portraying Asiatic prisoners and the entry "smiting the Asiatics" for two 1st Dyn. kings on the Palermo Stone (Helck 1971: 15–16; Drower and Bottéro 1971: 357). The location of this military activity was within the Delta itself (Smith 1967) or anywhere east of the Delta. The word *st.tyw*, "Asiatics," used in these texts may be derived from *St.t*, an old border town of the Delta, so that the term could mean all foreigners beyond Egypt's eastern Delta frontier, not specifically Canaan. At any rate, it is tempting to relate this Egyptian material to the swift growth of the numerous settlements in northern Sinai noted above.

It is difficult to say what products were involved in this early commercial contact. The seal impressions from ʿEn Besor were used to seal sacks, indicating that Egypt was already exporting grain and other dry products. The Canaanite pottery found in Egypt is of a kind used for transporting liquids, perhaps wine and oil. As for technology, metallurgy must have been brought into Egypt from the metal industry of the Wadi Arabah, active already before the Early Bronze Age (Rothenberg 1972). The long-held view that at least some agricultural techniques were also imported is given support by Conti's study (1978) of Egyptian agricultural terms, many of which are loanwords from Semitic.

The close commercial ties with Palestine during the Protodynastic period apparently ceased before the beginning of the Old Kingdom (ca. 2700–2185 B.C.E.), and, on present evidence, were not resumed during that period (Ward 1963: 20, 25–26; Ben-Tor 1982: 6). The only Old Kingdom contacts with Palestine now suggested are a few military incursions of a temporary nature (Helck 1971: 17–21), and even these may rather have taken place in the eastern Delta or the Sinai coast (Goedicke 1963). This rather surprising situation can be explained by the shift of Egyptian commercial interests during the Old Kingdom to Byblos and southern Sinai, where valuable raw materials could be obtained.

Byblos, already in contact with Egypt before this time, became the focus of Egyptian trade in western Asia from the Old Kingdom on (Helck 1971: 21–24). From here came the coniferous woods of the Lebanese mountains as well as the oils and resins they produced. The wood itself was in great demand as building timber and for making coffins, chests, statues, and the like. The oils and resins were used in mummification, for perfumes, and in medicine. Through Byblos, Egyptian commercial interests spread indirectly to inland Syria and the Aegean world.

The copper and turquoise deposits of southern Sinai provided another source of wealth not available in the Nile Valley. These mines were first worked by colonists from southern Canaan from the Chalcolithic period to EB II times (Amiran, Beit Arieh, and Glass 1973) and were then exploited by Egyptian mining expeditions from the early 3d to the mid-6th Dyn. (Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1955). The primary Egyptian interest in Sinai was turquoise, there being no evidence that they ever worked the copper mines there. They may well have traded for copper ingots with the local inhabitants, who had long experience in that industry, but copper was more readily available in the Eastern Desert both in Egypt and Nubia. The latter may have been exploited as early as the Old Kingdom, but this remains uncertain. The mines of the Wadi Arabah were not exploited by anyone after the Chalcolithic period until the late 2d millennium B.C.E.

Hence, the apparent cessation of contact with Palestine seems largely due to the need for raw materials by a swiftly expanding and wealthier Egyptian economy. Palestine, with far less to offer, could not compete and was thus seemingly ignored. But in spite of the lack of direct evidence, it is difficult to believe that all trade contacts were broken. At the very least, Egyptian grain and other foodstuffs must still have been imported since Palestine was a natural market for such products all through Egyptian history.

By the late Old Kingdom, however, most commercial contacts were terminated for some time, due to far-reaching events that overtook both Egypt and Canaan in the period ca. 2300–2000 B.C.E. This period, traditionally designated EB IV and MB I, is being intensively studied through the wealth of new discoveries in Palestine and Syria (Dever 1970; 1980; Gerstenblith 1983).

In Egypt, the gradual transfer of power from the state to the provincial governors and an increasing economic strain brought on the collapse of the central government (Trigger et al. 1983: 175–77). Symbolic of this decline is the fact that the last datable Old Kingdom inscription in Sinai is ca. 2250 B.C.E. By the end of the 6th Dyn., the disintegration of the Egyptian state was complete. There followed a period of over a century of internal strife and competing dynasties until ca. 2050 B.C.E. when unity was again established under the Middle Kingdom. During this same general period, all the known towns and cities of Palestine were destroyed or abandoned. Urban culture disappeared and was replaced by a kind of modified nomadism for over two centuries. Then, roughly contemporary with the rise of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, urbanism slowly revived in the early Middle Bronze Age. A similar disruption occurred in coastal Syria, though to a lesser degree. There is some evidence that at least a sporadic trade contact was maintained between Byblos and the western Delta (Ward 1971: 49–58).

Until recently, it was generally felt that these events were historically related, the catalyst being an Amorite invasion that brought a new culture to Palestine and coastal Syria and was partially responsible for the fall of the Egyptian Old Kingdom. Both the Egyptian and Canaanite evidence for this hypothesis has been challenged and the whole theory of an Amorite invasion seriously undermined (Dever 1980; Liverani 1973; Ward 1971). The breakdown of urban culture in Canaan is now seen more as a result of climatic change, which brought on a period of desiccation from ca. 2300 to ca. 2000 B.C.E. (Crown 1972). This also affected Egypt, though to a lesser extent (Trigger et al. 1983: 179–83), internal political and economic weakness being the prime causes for the collapse of the Old Kingdom.

C. The Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000–1550 B.C.E.)

For the period of the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2050–1650 B.C.E.) there is considerable evidence of extensive contacts between Egypt and western Asia, though this is largely restricted to the 12th Dyn., 1991–1785 B.C.E. (Posener 1971; Helck 1971: chaps. 5–10). Both archaeological and textual material of this dynasty attest to Egyptian exploitation of the Sinai mines, a strong cultural and commercial presence at Byblos, and a growing Asiatic population resident in Egypt in various capacities. Egyptian objects, from royal statues to amulets, have been found throughout Canaan, including statuettes and seals of several Egyptian officials. The archaeological documentation is far more extensive than before, and it is evident that Egypt was very much a part of the east Mediterranean world.

But the nature of the role Egypt played eludes us. The evidence, which is extensive and includes datable texts and objects, remains inconclusive. There is still a wide difference of opinion as to whether Egypt actually ruled Canaan during the 12th Dyn. or only had a commercial interest there. The cautious assessment of Kemp (Trigger et al. 1983: 137–47) is perhaps the best approach.

The problem is both chronological and interpretive. The end of the Middle Bronze Age is fixed by the initial military moves of the 18th Dyn. into western Asia around the middle of the 16th century B.C.E. (Weinstein 1981). But the dates for the beginning of this period and the transitions from one archaeological phase to another are still debated. Lacking a generally accepted solution, the position adopted here is that of Dever, Yadin, and others. The key date in the present context—the transition from MB IIA to IIB—occurred ca. 1800 B.C.E., though different scholars propose this date for different reasons. Thus, the MB IIA period, characterized by small unfortified settlements in Palestine and large urban centers in Syria, was contemporary with the 12th Dyn. The MB IIB period, characterized by large fortified towns in Palestine and major Syrian cities such as Ebla and Mari, falls roughly contemporary with the Egyptian 13th Dyn. (ca. 1785–1650 B.C.E.).

Egyptian literary evidence tends to confirm this. The wanderings of the fugitive Sinuhe in Palestine and southern Syria toward the beginning of the 12th Dyn. finds him among seminomadic tribes in regions which were at least

partially sedentary (Posener 1971: 553–54). The Execration Texts, which divide into two collections of the later 12th and early 13th Dyn., are often interpreted as representing political changes in Palestine. The earlier group names only one-third as many Palestinian towns as the later, and this may reflect growing Egyptian trade interests as well as the increasing number of fortified settlements in the late MB IIA and early MB IIB periods (Weinstein 1975: 13). While the import of these texts is still uncertain, they at least prove that Egypt was well aware of events in Palestine and kept rather close track of its northern neighbors.

The interpretive aspect of the problem centers around the statuary and scarabs naming kings of the 12th and 13th Dyn. found in Canaan. There are half a dozen royal monuments, mostly from Syrian sites; half a dozen inscribed private statuettes, mostly from Palestine (Helck 1971: 68); and a little over a dozen scarabs each of kings and officials of these dynasties (Tufnell 1984: pls. 51–53). Very little of this material can be proved to have arrived in western Asia at its time of manufacture: a multiple seal impression of Senwosret I from Gezer (Giveon 1967: 31), possibly scarabs of Senwosret I and II from Ruweisé near Sidon (Tufnell 1984: 152), and three pieces of statuary from Ugarit (Ward 1979). Opinion is divided as to whether all this material should be considered positive evidence of Egyptian control or at least contact during the Middle Kingdom or whether it arrived in Asia at a later date as booty or *objets d'art* (Helck 1976). At present, neither position can be adopted without question. Indeed, far too much has been made of certain of these objects, such as the statuette of the Nomarch Thuthotep found at Megiddo. This, like all other statuary found in Palestine, was discovered in a later archaeological context and is therefore of no use in interpreting foreign relations of the Middle Kingdom.

In spite of modern attempts to defend an Egyptian empire in Canaan at this time, the only hint of military activity is the long known statement of Khusebek that he raided in the district of Shechem in the reign of Senwosret III. The military activity of Nesumontu in the reign of Amenemhēt I is not specifically located but was probably in the desert region east of the Delta (Helck 1971: 42–43). A recently published text (Farag 1980) said to describe Asiatic wars of 12th Dyn. kings is instead a donation stela of the Empire period. Royal annals, the major source for this kind of information, either never existed or have disappeared owing to the dismantling of buildings for later construction. The lack of information on military actions in the north may therefore be due to accidents of preservation.

In attempting to define the relations between the 15th or "Hyksos" Dyn. (ca. 1650–1550 B.C.E.) and the contemporary Canaanite MB IIC Age, one meets similar problems (general survey: Kempinski 1983). There is ample evidence of contact, though the nature of this contact is obscure: was it basically commercial, or was a strong political element involved? Even the origin of the Hyksos rulers is still debated. Some 18th Dyn. texts and the 3d century B.C.E. Egyptian historian Manetho preserve the tradition of a barbaric invasion of Egypt by northerners at the end of the Middle Kingdom, a view maintained by some modern historians (Helck 1971: 93–94; Giveon 1974; Weinstein 1981: 8–10). However, an alternate view is gaining more general support. The gradual increase in the Asiatic population in the east Delta during the Middle Kingdom created a foreign community of some size. With the weakening of central authority toward the end of the 13th Dyn., these Egyptianized Asiatics usurped political power in the east Delta—as did their 17th Dyn. contemporaries at Thebes—and established the "Hyksos" 15th Dyn. (Van Seters 1966: 121–26; von Beckerath 1964: 123–29; Bietak 1977: cols. 93–94; the 14th and 16th Dyn. never existed). As should be expected, this event was not entirely peaceful, and related groups from southern Palestine may have joined forces with the Asiatics already in Egypt. There is some destruction at Middle Kingdom sites in the eastern Delta, followed by settlements along the Nile fringe with substantial Canaanite MB II Age influence (Bietak 1977: cols. 98–99). In the south, there are hints in contemporary texts of trouble at Thebes (Vernus 1982: 134–35) though this was local and unconnected with events in the Delta.

The geographical extent of 15th Dyn. domination is unknown. Various theories propose anything from an empire stretching from Nubia to Syria to a small east Delta kingdom with vassal states. A contemporary text, if taken literally, places the boundary between the 15th and 17th Dyn. at Cusae, near Assiut. Less sure is the idea that the 15th Dyn. ruled over southern Palestine, a theory supported principally by the numerous scarabs of Hyksos-period kings and officials discovered there (Giveon 1974; Weinstein 1981). These scarabs have a chronological value, but there are many explanations as to why they and hundreds of ordinary ones should find their way to Palestine; they need not be political documents. However, it seems logical that Egyptian rulers of Asiatic origin might find natural allies in Canaan. The character of this alliance remains to be determined.

One factor is significant. Apart from the MB II material along the east Delta fringe, Egyptian culture remained Egyptian and Canaanite culture remained Canaanite. The term "Hyksos" applies only to the 15th Dyn. kings and the contemporary kinglets with Semitic names. There was no "Hyksos people" nor a "Hyksos culture," even though the word is often used in this manner. The "Hyksos period" means only the time of the 15th Dyn. in Egypt and the MB IIC Age in Canaan; the phrase has no ethnic, political, or cultural connotations. A large amount of Egyptian material has been found in Canaan, in particular the ubiquitous scarab, and Canaanite material other than that from the east Delta sites has been found in Egypt (Kantor 1965: 22–23); all this, however, represents only the normal residue of trade.

The major items said to have been imported into Egypt are the Canaanite fortifications typical of the period, the so-called Tell el-Yahudiyeh pottery style, and the horse and chariot. Though statements are still made to this effect, the theory was effectively challenged over thirty-five years ago (Säve-Söderbergh 1951). It is now generally felt, though not without some opposition, that the "Hyksos fortifications" at Tell el-Yahudiyeh and Heliopolis are temple foundations, the Yahudiyeh pottery was introduced before the 15th Dyn., and the horse and chariot do not appear in Egypt until the very end of this period (Helck

1971: 102; Van Seters 1966: 184; Dever 1985). The only really new element in Egypt at this time is the introduction of Semitic deities, chiefly Baal, who was identified with the Egyptian god Seth (Van Seters 1966: chap. 12). Other than this and their Semitic personal names (Ward 1976), the Hyksos rulers maintained the native Egyptian civilization. It has been proposed that a new political form standard in western Asia, the overlord and vassal, was introduced into Egypt at this time (Van Seters 1966: 162–70). However, hints of this political pattern always appeared in Egypt in times of disunity, so it seems more a natural process, dictated by historical necessity, than one that needed foreign inspiration (see HYKSOS).

It is around this time that many scholars place the biblical Patriarchs, though this problem is still being intensively examined and argued with no consensus of opinion. Three recent works which have analyzed the evidence all conclude that the historical setting of the patriarchal narratives is the 1st millennium B.C.E. rather than the 2d as commonly believed (Redford 1970: 241–43; Thompson 1974: 324–26; Van Seters 1975: 309–12). But this is still not a solution, since this does not place the Patriarchs themselves in a specific historical context, only the postexilic version of their lives.

A third chronological possibility is based on a significant point which seems to have been obscured by the very mass of literature on the OT: Joseph lived to see his great-grandchildren (Gen 50:23), and Moses was the great-grandson of Joseph's brother Levi (Gen 46:11; Num 26:58–59). Hence, Joseph could still have been alive when Moses was born, an event which occurred in the fifth generation after Abraham. Now the Hebrews are said to have been associated with construction at Pithom and Ramesses, which Uphill (1968–69) has plausibly identified with Heliopolis and Pi-Ramesse, the latter a new city in the eastern Delta (modern Tell ed-Dabʿa–Qantîr) built primarily by Ramesses II (1289–1224 B.C.E.). It would thus appear that Moses lived during the reign of that king and that the lives of the Patriarchs from Abraham to Joseph spanned the 14th century B.C.E. Again, there is no consensus.

Unfortunately, there is not one unequivocal episode, event, or detail in these narratives which proves when the Patriarchs lived, when Joseph served in the Egyptian court, or when Moses led his followers out of Egypt. Nonbiblical sources provide no certain point of reference prior to the period of the divided monarchy. Even Egypt, with which the Joseph and Moses traditions are so intimately connected, is totally mute with regard to the existence of the Hebrews or any event in which they were involved. The earliest clear Egyptian reference to biblical history is the mention of "the land of the Hebrews" in a Demotic papyrus of the mid-1st millennium B.C.E. (Redford 1970: 201). The appearance of "Israelites" on a stela of Merneptah is almost universally accepted as the sole Egyptian reference to earlier biblical events, but this translation of the term involved is debatable.

On the other hand, there is no reason not to accept an underlying historicity in these narratives. Much has been written, for example, concerning the Egyptian background of the Joseph stories (Vergote 1959; Redford 1970; etc.), and it is quite clear that this background is accurate. The names of Joseph's wife and father-in-law are good Egyptian names. The ring, linen garments, and gold collar given to Joseph when he took office (Gen 41:42) are precisely the gifts bestowed by Egyptian kings on deserving officials, and his approximate Egyptian titulary as Minister of Agriculture can be reconstructed (Ward 1960). That foreigners, even those of low station, could ultimately achieve important positions is confirmed by other documents. Dream omina are well known in Egyptian texts, Joseph's age of 110 when he died is an Egyptian idiom meaning a ripe old age (Gen 50:22), and the embalming and mourning periods of forty and seventy days (Gen 50:3) conform to Egyptian custom. The basic issue, then, is not whether the Patriarchs lived, but when. In spite of decades of intense scholarly endeavor, the question still remains to be answered.

D. The Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1200 B.C.E.)

Two new features characterize Egyptian relations with Canaan during the Empire period (1552–1069 B.C.E.): Egypt's political and military domination of the area, and the confrontation with the Hittite and Mitanni Empires. Furthermore, we need to depend less on archaeological material since written records are abundant, including Egyptian royal annals and archives from several Asiatic capitals. While the old commercial ties between Canaan and Egypt continued, the connection is now more a political one, with Canaan of the Late Bronze Age caught between the imperial aspirations of its neighbors.

From the beginning of the 18th Dyn. to the battle of Megiddo (ca. 1468 B.C.E.), Egyptian policy in Canaan was twofold. The initial thrust into Palestine in the mid-16th century was to break the power of the Hyksos allies in that area (Weinstein 1981; Vandersleyen 1971: 30–41), and the succeeding campaigns of Ahmose, Amenhotep I, and Thutmose I in the Byblos area must have been to secure the old center of Asiatic trade (Redford 1979: 274–77). Probing expeditions went down the Orontes Valley and toward the Euphrates, but little territory was actually held. These initial military moves into Syria took place in a period when momentous events were reshaping the historical orientation of that area.

The catalyst was probably the Syrian campaign of the Hittite king Muršiliš I, who, sometime in the 16th century B.C.E., destroyed the important city of Aleppo and went on to sack Babylon as an ally of the Kassites. The latter, tribal groups from the Zagros Mountains, then established their own rule over Mesopotamia which would last over four centuries. This was not the first Hittite incursion into north Syria, but certainly the most decisive (Gurney 1973: 243–51). Internal troubles forced the Hittites off the stage for another century, but the north Syrian kingdom of Yamḫad and the 1st Dyn. of Babylon had disappeared. The new political power in north Syria became the Hurrians, a people originating in the Caucasus who had been filtering into the region for centuries. By the 16th century, the Hurrians formed a large population group from east of the Tigris to the Mediterranean. Under the rule of an Indo-Aryan aristocracy, they were a dominant element in the Mitanni Empire (Drower 1973: 417–23). The western border of the latter reached to the upper bend of the

Euphrates; from there to the sea stood the allied kingdom of Mukiš with its capital at Alalaḫ.

The relation between the campaign of Muršiliš I, the subsequent events in north Syria, and the Egyptian move into western Asia is bound up in the long-standing controversy over the chronology of the period. According to the "middle chronology" adopted in the latest edition of *CAH*, the Hittite campaign took place in 1595 B.C.E., contemporary with the Egyptian 15th Dyn. By the "low chronology," Muršiliš' campaign was in 1531 B.C.E., which would place this major disturbance in north Syria at about the time the kings of the early 18th Dyn. were gaining their foothold in the Byblos region (Helck 1971: 111; Redford 1979: 277–79). The latter date is the more attractive but cannot be proved.

The true beginning of the Egyptian Empire in western Asia came with the reign of Thutmose III (1490–1436 B.C.E.). Having finally thrown aside the "regency" of his mother-in-law Hatshepsut, this king led his army northward, defeated a large coalition of Canaanite cities at Megiddo (1468 B.C.E.), and effectively took control of Palestine. This and subsequent campaigns established Egyptian rule in western Asia up to the borders of the Hurrian states of north Syria and the Mitanni Empire. This Egyptian Empire remained more or less intact until the reign of Ramesses III (1184–1153 B.C.E.). Even during the troubled times described in the Amarna letters of the second half of the 14th century B.C.E., when a new Hittite move into Syria fomented rebellion among Egyptian vassals, only the northern provinces were lost. The Egyptian military response was not negligible (Redford 1973a) and Egyptian garrisons were still maintained at important towns (Pintore 1972).

During the Amarna period (1364–1333 B.C.E.), the aggressive policies of the Hittite king Šupiluliumaš brought about the end of the Mitanni Empire and the rise of Hittite sovereignty in northwest Syria. This policy was continued by his successors so that until the mid-13th century the major power with which Egypt had to contend in the north was Hatti (Spalinger 1979b). Much of the Empire was regained by Sety I (1303–1289 B.C.E.) in a series of campaigns which consolidated Egyptian rule once again throughout Palestine and southern Syria. He fought at least one war with the Hittites but did not achieve his goal of dislodging Hittite forces from the key fortress city of Kadesh. This city roughly marked the boundary between the two powers (Faulkner 1975: 218–21; Spalinger 1979a).

The troubles with Hatti came to a head in the 21st year of the reign of Ramesses II (1289–1224 B.C.E.) when, after sixteen years of warfare, the two powers fought their last battle at Kadesh. The result was a draw, and both nations realized there was little use in further hostilities. A long nonaggression and mutual assistance pact was agreed to, and Egypt and Hatti remained allies until the fall of the latter around 1200 B.C.E. (Faulkner 1975: 226–29; Kestemont 1981).

Still, Ramesses II had to subdue revolts among his Palestinian vassals, as did his successor Merneptah (1224–1204 B.C.E.), indicating that the Asiatic provinces were less easy to control than before. This was but symptomatic of a slowly gathering unrest around the east Mediterranean. Both kings had to repel Libyan tribes attempting to force their way into the western Delta. And at the battle of Kadesh the Egyptian and Hittite armies included mercenaries from the west, the vanguard of a storm which would end both empires and the Late Bronze Age in Canaan.

This was a group of tribes known as the Peoples of the Sea in Egyptian records, though only some were actual seafarers (Sandars 1978). Originating in western Anatolia, the Greek Islands, and perhaps as far away as Sardinia, these tribes moved eastward into the Levant, destroying every state in their path. Their move across Anatolia and the final collapse of the Hittite Empire is described in the archives from Boghazköy. They then moved through Syria and into Palestine and, in the reign of Ramesses III (1184–1153 B.C.E.), they tried but failed to invade Egypt. From Cilicia to Gaza these invaders destroyed the coastal cities, some tribes settling there. The last documents written at Ugarit, actually found in the baking ovens, describe the land and sea war in which that city was engaged just before its fall (Astour 1965). Cyprus fell to these invaders, and one group, the Pelset, settled on the coast of Palestine, thus giving this region its modern name.

Ramesses III, the last Egyptian conqueror, may have had to deal with a successful rebellion in the Asiatic provinces which had occurred just prior to his reign (Goedicke 1979). He made a valiant effort to delay the inevitable by military campaigns in Palestine and by reinforcing or establishing garrisons there. The pressure from the new invaders and the collapse of effective resistance in the north left Egypt as the only major power to contend with the situation. But internal problems had weakened the state so that with the reign of Ramesses III Egypt ceased to be an international power, its Asiatic empire gone (Faulkner 1975: 244–47).

Weinstein (1981: 12–22) has shown that Egyptian administration in the Asiatic provinces differed somewhat after the Amarna Age from what had been before. During the 18th Dyn., it was sufficient to maintain small token garrisons and resident ambassadors in key cities. In the 19th and 20th Dyn., military occupation was much more evident, and Egyptian temples may have been built at various sites. Royal and private monuments of the Ramesside age are far more numerous than previously. The reason for this change in policy may have been the rise of Hittite power in the north. The 18th Dyn. had had to contend with the Mitanni Empire and its allies, but this was not a difficult problem to overcome. With the Hittite invasion of north Syria during the Amarna period and constant Hittite interference within the boundaries of Egyptian vassals, a stronger Egyptian presence among those vassals was necessary.

Throughout the Empire period there was an intense commercial and cultural exchange. Foreigners came to Egypt in large numbers in many capacities: merchants, prisoners of war, mercenaries, etc. From the time of Horemheb at the end of the 18th Dyn., Egyptian kings often appointed foreigners to high government posts. Children of vassal princes were brought to Egypt to live at court and be educated in Egyptian culture. Temples to foreign deities appeared in Egypt, and a few of these deities gained minor positions in the Egyptian pantheon. A large number of foreign words were borrowed into the Egyptian language, and Egyptian scribes had to learn Akkadian, the interna-

tional language of the time. Translations were made of Canaanite literary works, and there is some Asiatic influence in art and in craft work.

Contacts went the other way too, of course. Egyptian expeditions regularly went to the turquoise mines of Sinai and the copper mines of the Wadi Arabah, now worked again for the first time since the Chalcolithic period (Rothenberg 1972 chap. 3). The craft of ivory carving, a well-developed industry in Canaan, was strongly influenced by Egyptian originals (Kantor 1956) and Canaanite artists may even have studied in Egypt. Numerous Egyptian words were borrowed into the Canaanite languages, and Egyptian influence has been suggested in the Proto-Sinaitic and Byblos syllabic scripts (Lambdin 1952; Albright 1966; Mendenhall 1985).

E. The Iron Age up to the Persian Conquest (ca. 1200–525 B.C.E.)

From the collapse of the Egyptian Empire in Asia ca. 1150 B.C.E. to the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C.E., the precise political relations between Egypt and Canaan are difficult to define. In Canaan itself, the Lebanese maritime cities maintained a semi-independence though they paid tribute to Assyria and Babylonia from the 9th century on. Coastal Philistia under its Indo-European rulers, the Hebrew state in the hill country, and the kingdoms of Edom and Moab in Transjordan represent the new political structure in Palestine. All these states were subject to conquest from the east and, to one degree or another, were absorbed into the Neo-Assyrian Empire (early 9th century to 605 B.C.E.) and the Neo-Babylonian Empire (605–539 B.C.E.). While the Egyptian state was not passive, for much of this period it was internally divided and played a minor political role in Canaan. Egypt itself was subject to invasion by both the eastern empires as well as its powerful new southern neighbor, the kingdom of Napata in Nubia. At those times when Egypt was a united sovereign state, its foreign policy was basically defensive, and there was an increasing dependence on allies among the Greek cities (Trigger et al. 1983: 337–43).

The old ties between Egypt and Byblos seem to have been greatly weakened. Around 1065 B.C.E., the Egyptian official Wenamon went to Byblos to purchase timber and the rude treatment given him by the Byblian ruler is symbolic of a new attitude toward Egypt (Leclant 1968). Datable Egyptian objects of the period are rare at Byblos, the most notable being statues of three 22d Dyn. kings who ruled in the period 950–850 B.C.E., two of which were further inscribed with Phoenician texts by local kings. Whether these statues represent political, cultural, or commercial relations is still debated (Kitchen 1973: 292, 308–9, 324; Redford 1973b: 15–16).

Egyptian ties elsewhere in Canaan were characterized by interference in local affairs rather than direct action. The only successful military campaigns in Canaan were temporary ventures prior to the appearance of the Assyrians on the scene. From then on, the few Egyptian military raids in the north ended mostly in defeat. It is of interest that the sparse Egyptian records are concerned with Philistia and ignore the Hebrew states. Egyptian connections with the latter are noted only in Assyro-Babylonian and biblical sources, with less trustworthy statements by classical authors.

Egyptian policy toward the Hebrew monarchy vacillated as the situation required. When King David (ca. 1010–970 B.C.E.) conquered Edom, Hadad, the crown prince of that kingdom, sought refuge in Egypt, where he was welcomed and eventually married to a member of the royal family (1 Kgs 11:14–22). This gave Egypt an ally east of the new Hebrew state. Early in the reign of Solomon (970–930 B.C.E.), the Egyptian king Siamon invaded Philistia, sacked Gezer, and gave that city as the dowry of his daughter, whom he married to Solomon (1 Kgs 9:16). Such diplomatic marriages sanctioned treaties between states so that the Hebrew kingdom, now at its strongest, became an Egyptian ally. Toward the end of Solomon's reign, Jeroboam, another fugitive from Hebrew justice, took refuge in the court of Shoshenq I of Egypt (945–924 B.C.E.), the first of the new line of Libyan kings of the 22d Dyn. Like Hadad of Edom, Jeroboam was welcomed and eventually returned to his country to lead a rebellion against Solomon's successor (1 Kgs 11:26–40). This turnabout in Egypt's policy toward Solomon was due to the long militaristic tradition of the Libyans and their desire to help break up the strongest state in Palestine.

In spite of his gesture of friendship to Jeroboam, shortly after the Hebrew monarchy was replaced by the smaller states of Israel and Judah, Shoshenq I embarked on the first major invasion of Canaan in over two centuries (1 Kgs 14:25–26; Kitchen 1973: 294–300). The biblical statement and Shoshenq's own record of this campaign show that his armies went through Philistia, Israel, and Judah. Jerusalem was not taken, as often stated, but paid heavy tribute, including the temple treasury.

During the following two centuries, Egypt was torn by the internal divisions of the 22d to 24th Dyn. and the domination of the kingdom of Napata which placed the Nubian 25th Dyn. on the throne (780–656 B.C.E.). Most of western Asia was absorbed into the Assyrian Empire. Some events of this period—about which Egyptian records are silent—are found in Assyrian and biblical sources. A minor Egyptian campaign into Canaan in 897 B.C.E. was defeated by King Asa of Judah (2 Chr 14:8–14—Eng 14:9–15); a small Egyptian contingent joined the coalition defeated by the Assyrians in 853 at Qarqar; in 726 B.C.E., Hoshea of Israel attempted an alliance with "So, king of Egypt" against Assyria (2 Kgs 17:4; Kitchen 1973: 372–75); and in 701 B.C.E., Egypt and Hezekiah of Judah were again defeated by the Assyrians (Kitchen 1973: 385).

For the next fifty years, Assyria and Napata waged war for control of Egypt (Spalinger 1974). The Assyrians invaded Egypt twice with the intent of crushing Nubian control over Egypt, not to occupy the land themselves. These troubles were the impetus for the rise of a native dynasty, the 26th (663–528 B.C.E.), which ceased sending tribute to Assyria, now more concerned with the growing power of the Babylonians and Medes. Egypt regained a measure of influence over Philistia for a while and allied itself with Assyria against Babylon (Spalinger 1977). In the later 7th century B.C.E., with Assyrian power waning, Egyptian campaigns in the upper Euphrates region were beaten back by Babylonian forces. After the campaign of 610 B.C.E., Necho of Egypt was confronted by Josiah of Judah,

who was enlarging his territory by absorbing the towns of Samaria. At the resulting battle of Megiddo, Josiah was killed (2 Kgs 23:29). Necho's final Euphrates campaign ended in another defeat in 605 B.C.E. at Carchemish (Jeremiah 46; 2 Chr 35:20), which opened the way for Babylonian moves into Canaan. Ezek 29:19–20 and later sources record Babylonian invasions of Egypt, but the one contemporary cuneiform source which notes an encounter between Babylonians and Egyptians is ambiguous as to the location of these hostilities (Spalinger 1977: 237–38). It is possible that the Babylonians were unable to actually invade the Nile Valley.

Two major events effectively ended Egyptian-Canaanite relations at the political level: the disastrous invasions of Canaan by the Babylonians in the earlier 6th century B.C.E., and the subsequent takeover by Persia, which invaded and annexed Egypt in 525 B.C.E. While the Phoenician cities continued to thrive under Persian rule (Elayi 1980), much of Palestine had been laid waste and, save for a brief period in the early 4th century B.C.E., pharaonic Egypt was finished as an independent power.

Throughout the Iron Age, trade and commerce played a major role in the political and military policies of the larger powers. The cities of the Levantine coast were in the geographical center of the sea and land routes which tied the ancient world together commercially from Europe to Persia and Arabia. As kingdoms and empires were formed, the growing demands of these states required more luxury products and raw materials. The empires came into being to protect these trade routes, capture the sources of raw materials, and collect extensive tribute from conquered territories.

Through all these centuries, the coastal cities of Syria and Palestine were the middlemen between East and West. By the 9th century B.C.E., Phoenician fleets opened up the routes to the west, the ultimate goal being the tin mines of Spain and the rich new markets of western Europe. As the focal point in the international trade between East and West, these cities were a rich prize for whatever empire controlled them. Just as important were their merchant fleets and navies and their expertise as shipbuilders and sailors. None of the oriental empires were really seafaring nations. Control of the trade cities thus meant indirect control of the whole Mediterranean trade structure, as well as experienced naval fleets when war at sea was necessary.

Even though Egypt was a weaker state in the Iron Age, it still attempted to maintain some contacts with the Phoenician harbor cities to the extent that the Assyrians forbade the latter to trade with Egypt. At the same time, Assyria, whose policy was to plunder rather than occupy foreign territories, maintained regular trade connections with Egypt. A desert separated Egypt from Assyrian vassals in Canaan, so the Philistine cities and the nomad sheiks of northern Sinai became the channel through which much-desired Egyptian exports—gold, linen, grain, papyrus—flowed into Assyrian hands (Tadmor 1966; Elat 1978).

Egyptian political influence in Canaan may have been sporadic during the Iron Age, but its artistic influence remained strong. This represents both the continuation of artistic influences begun much earlier and new contemporary ones. The ivory-carving tradition, already prominent in the Late Bronze Age, maintained its Egyptianizing character and was far more widespread (Barnett 1957). Scarabs and seals—imported or copied locally—were still common but with some differences. For example, hard stone was used far more often than previously, and new designs appear: scenes from the Osiris legend on seals made throughout the Mediterranean, and four-winged serpents on a small group of Hebrew seals, both designs of Egyptian inspiration. Such Egyptian or Egyptianizing objects spread from the Levant to Spain via Phoenician trade as well as from as yet unspecified manufacturing centers in Europe (Culican 1968: 50–54). Furthermore, a case can be made for the plundering of Egyptian cemeteries and temples in antiquity with the result that many objects were taken abroad outside the normal channels of trade. Also of Egyptian inspiration are the designs on Phoenician metal bowls, which were likewise a popular item of export to the whole ancient world.

A great deal of study has gone into the search for Egyptian parallels or origins for OT ideas and literary motifs. For example, Psalm 104 is said to be related to the Amarna sun hymns. Further parallels with Egyptian thought are claimed for Job, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles. Some aspects of the Hebrew kingship, including the coronation ritual, the position of the king relative to the temple, and the titles of Hebrew court officials are thought to be of Egyptian inspiration (Grieshammer 1972–73 cols. 163–66). However, such parallels are often illusory. Hymns and prayers to different deities may express similar ideas not through cultural borrowing but because of basic religious patterns common to all ancient cultures. And as Redford (1970: 191–92) has observed, one need look no further than Palestine itself for the origin of the titles of court officials of the monarchy. That there are Egyptian terms in the OT indicates nothing more than the fact that Hebrew shared in the general linguistic interchange of the age. The long-held view that Hebrew monotheism was somehow influenced by Egyptian ideas is incorrect since monotheism was never part of Egyptian religious thinking until the advent of Christianity. In short, the Egyptian influence in the OT is not nearly as extensive as has been supposed.

Foreigners had long come to Egypt for various reasons, largely economic, but the foreign population was larger and more varied in the Iron Age. A main reason for this was the use of mercenaries in the Egyptian armed forces. This practice began in the 3d millennium B.C.E. and grew proportionately more pronounced as the army expanded. Libyans, Nubians, and Asiatics, many captured in war, provided the bulk of the mercenary forces, but in the Iron Age, Anatolians, Carians, and Greeks were also hired. Many of these foreigners were garrisoned in national groups within Egypt and, on retirement from active service, settled there permanently (Helck 1980).

Greeks were especially welcome and established a large trading colony at Naukratis in the Delta. When Egypt came under Persian rule, a Jewish military colony was set up on the island of Elephantine, opposite modern Aswan. This colony included a temple to Yahweh, the god of the OT. This growing foreign population, centered in the major cities especially in the Delta, helped set the stage for the cosmopolitan age which followed the taking of Egypt by

Alexander of Macedon. This event brought on the Ptolemaic period, when Egypt once again became a world power, but that is part of a different story.

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WILLIAM A. WARD

EGYPTIAN RELIGION. The religion of ancient Egypt may be viewed in terms of the following categories:

A. Polytheism
B. Communal Ritual
C. Divine Revelation
D. Personal Piety
E. Myth and Sacrament
F. Ethics
G. Afterlife
H. Anthropology of "The Soul"

A. Polytheism

Though there have been repeated attempts to discern an underlying belief in a monotheistic god behind Egypt's pantheon, the worship of many gods was, with the exception of Akhenaten's reformation (ca. 1350 B.C.E.), never abrogated until the pagan culture ended with the gradual spread of Christianity and the final closing of the Isis temple at Philae in the 6th century C.E. While Egyptian texts occasionally appear to describe a monotheistic god, such instances belong to the phenomenon of henotheism, i.e., reliance is placed on a particular deity. Already at an early date, wisdom texts speak of "the god," thereby creating the impression that there was a sole god; but since these same texts may also name more than one deity, the term "the god" must be understood as an attempt by the writer to make the "instructions" acceptable to a broad audience in various parts of Egypt, where the identity of the major god varied from one locale to the next. Thus the neutral designation "the god" was used, permitting readers to supply for themselves the name of the particular deity whom they deemed supreme (Hornung 1982: 33–65).

The Egyptians organized their deities hierarchically, with the creator assuming the role of king of the gods. According to the Heliopolitan, or solar, version of creation, the Sun God emerged on the primal mound from Nūn, the abyss, and by masturbation or spewing forth created the first pair of deities, Shu and Tefnut (air and moisture). In turn this couple produced Geb and Nūt (earth and sky), from whom issued two pairs of deities, Osiris and Isis, and Seth and Nephthys, whose natures were less elemental and more political-cultural. At Memphis the role of creator was assigned to Ptah, and a spiritual mode of creation by thought (heart) and word (tongue) was stressed. A further elaboration of the solar version was developed at Hermopolis, where attention was given to four pairs of primordial elements that, lying dormant in Nūn, were activated in the production of the Sun God, who emerged on a lotus.

In the New Kingdom, Amon of Thebes was the king of the gods par excellence by virtue of the prominence of this city that gave rise to the 18th Dyn. line of pharaohs. In order to substantiate Amon's primary position, it was customary to link his name with that of the Sun God Re in the syncretistic form Amon-Re. Such "hyphenated" names express the notion that one god was in the other without conveying true unity, since the independent existence of each deity was still maintained. Throughout Egyptian history there was a tendency to produce syncretic deities like Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, but this in no way led to monotheism. There are texts, however, that occasionally treat lesser deities as hypostases of the creator.

In discussing Egyptian religion, some scholars (e.g., Morenz 1964; Assmann 1979) have often distinguished between the immanent and the transcendent in attempting to trace a trend away from the immanence of a god toward an emphasis on the god's transcendence, a trend believed to have come into prominence after the Amarna period (14th century B.C.E.). However, this dichotomy is very much a modern construct and does not necessarily correspond to the realities of a religion which was primarily a cult, not a book, religion (Hornung 1982: 194–96; Finnestad 1985: 104–07, 143–45). If there was anything that provided unity to Egyptian religion, it was not a set of written dogmas but rather the actions of ritual, for basically identical rituals were celebrated daily in temples throughout the land as we know from papyri, scenes, and texts of the ritual in various temples. These rituals, concerned with the care and feeding of images of the gods in the temple cellae, survived to the end of the pagan religion. The primary emphasis on the action of ritual is graphically conveyed in scenes of ritual activity where the

liturgist precedes the lector priest, whose recitations accompanied the ritual (Morenz 1973: 224–25).

B. Communal Ritual

An important characteristic of Egyptian religion was its communal nature, which allowed very little room for the convictions of an individual (with the exception of Akhenaten) to affect the faith. In this connection the distinction between a state religion of the temples and popular religion (e.g., David 1982: 143), as though the common people did not participate in the same religion as the elite, deserves reconsideration. The notion that the temple bore only a loose connection with the populace has been fostered by the survival of large temples, such as Karnak and Luxor, without proper recognition that the Egyptian landscape was dotted with myriads of small temples, often only of mud brick, which have largely disappeared in the Nile alluvium and whose existence is only attested by their names recorded in papyri. In small village temples, the cult was performed daily by officiants who had a closer relationship to the community than did the clergy of a huge temple like Karnak. Any Egyptian temple, large or small, housed an image of the deity in whose honor the temple was built, while in the larger temples additional chapels for associated deities provided a sort of family residence. The sanctuary, called "the doors of heaven," frequently was said to rest on the primal mound of creation. Indeed the temple was the image of the cosmos, and what took place within its walls was of cosmic import. According to the dedicatory inscriptions of the New Kingdom, even a king's mortuary temple served as a place of community worship and prayer.

In theory the pharaoh was the sole liturgist in all temples, but in practice this role was delegated to priests functioning as royal deputies. In depictions of cultic activities it is the king who is universally shown officiating, and it is to him alone that the recorded speeches of the gods are directed. As the theoretical high priest, the king acted as the corporate personality of the society. The purpose of the ritual was to ensure the god's continued presence on earth, thus guaranteeing the bounty of the land and success in state endeavors, both at home and abroad. Tutankhamen's (Amemophis IV) restoration inscription claims that, under Akhenaten, when the cult images were destroyed, neither gods nor goddesses could respond to people's prayers and even the army could achieve no success abroad.

The actual performance of the cult in the holy of holies, to which only the initiated had access, did not involve large segments of the community, except insofar as subordinate personnel of the temple estates provided a continual supply of foodstuffs for the offerings. Once these provisions had been ritually offered to the deity, they were consumed by the priests and temple staff. A provision in the ritual sanctioned this form of remuneration. Whereas men of the community had their secular occupations to perform, their wives often served as chantresses, singing hymns at the temple service each day. Women's participation in religion and religious education at home was perhaps more significant than the average man's, for the doxology of the hymns they sang served to define the nature of the deity.

During the New Kingdom there was a trend away from traditional hymns that expressed the god's activities in highly symbolic language (such as the daily course of the Sun God and his vanquishing the demon of chaos, Apophis) toward hymns that describe the deity in more rational terms as an almost transcendent creator and sustainer of the world. After the Amarna period, greater stress was placed on the supreme god as a controller of time and human destiny. Nonetheless, the older liturgical hymns, full of imagery, continued to be used in conjunction with the celebration of the cult. There was no either/or proposition demanding that a decision be made in favor of the god's transcendent or immanent nature.

C. Divine Revelation

For the New Kingdom there is considerable information on the participation of the community in temple religion. The Egyptian week was of ten days' duration, with the last day being the day off from work, thus providing the opportunity for people to participate in religion at the temple. On this feast day, as well as on other designated festivals of the year, the populace assembled either in the area before the temple pylon or within the courtyard of large temples to witness the public epiphany of the deity, whose image was housed in a shrine on board a portable bark or in a palanquin provided with carrying poles. The lavishly embellished bark of the god, who for nine days had rested in his dark sanctuary, was carried forth into the forepart of the temple in an "appearance." It is significant that the Coptic Christian word for religious feast, *ša*, was identical to the ancient word for this divine epiphany. While the bark was in procession, people rendered adoration to the god. The decade feast was also the occasion when individuals submitted petitions to the divine bark demanding positive or negative responses, which were indicated by motions of the bark as it was borne on the priests' shoulders. In such oracular proceedings a broad range of issues were decided, including the divine appointment of the king at Karnak, as well as judicial and even mundane economic matters, such as the purchase of a goat. What is important to note about this divine intervention into the human world is that the proceedings took place within the context of community and not in the inner sanctum of the temple. Indeed the priests who carried the god's bark were not professional priests but lay priests, men of the community who periodically served a tour of duty in the temple for one month each of the three seasons.

Another, more personal, manner in which the divine might become manifest was through the medium of a dream. From several surviving accounts of such dreams, the deity seems to appear in the form of a cult image, who issues commands to carry out some project. In the pharaonic period these dreams occurred by chance, but in the Greco-Roman period people would sleep within the temple compound in order that a deity might appear to them in a dream.

D. Personal Piety

Although Egyptian religion was strongly communal, a degree of personal piety is attested at a very early period, when personal names like "He whom I have begged for"

and "Praised be Ptah" bear testimony to a deity's response to a person's prayer for a healthy child (Brunner 1983: 105). Shortly before the Amarna period there is increased evidence for human submission to a god as a controller of destiny in requests for divine aid, and the Ramesside Age provides abundant testimony for the ethical instant when individuals acknowledge to a deity that their bodily suffering is due to a transgression against the god, to whom they beg for mercy. While it has been surmised that this brand of personal piety owed its origin to the presence of Canaanites in Egypt (Vandier 1949: 215, 233), it is more plausibly linked with indigenous developments regarding the nature of god and human dependence on the god's will.

E. Myth and Sacrament

The position of narrative or epic myth in ancient Egypt is somewhat peculiar. For the pharaonic period, the rarity of mythos in the strict sense of a narrative account and the unmythological nature of many of the deities is striking. In contrast to ancient Mesopotamia and Greece, mythical events were rarely depicted in art, and the ancient Greek historian Herodotus dwells more on Egyptian festivals than mythos. In fact, mythos appears to be a latecomer into Egyptian religion, not really taking form until the collapse of the Old Kingdom and the weakening of the divine kingship, at a time when the concept of a mythical past developed. To narrate the actions of gods demands a linear concept of the past, whereas divine time in Egyptian thought was predominantly cyclic. The oldest body of religious texts, the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, are not myth, nor do they even need be considered as based on underlying narrative myths. Rather, they are sacramental in nature, in that the ritual actions were, through the accompanying words, identified with actions in the divine world. There was thus an ontological, not temporal, distinction between the human realm and the realm of gods. This sacramental quality of religious ritual continued to remain important even after narrative myth made its appearance at a time when a deterioration of social conditions enabled one to view the past as distinct from an altered present. The germs for the development of a narrative myth such as that of Horus and Osiris, can be discerned in the Pyramid Texts; with the end of the Old Kingdom the formulation of episodes of a mythical story was taking place. For a good part of Egyptian history, myth remained in the realm of what was orally related about the gods, as distinct from what was written down. When we do find stories about the gods, especially from the New Kingdom, the accounts are episodic and lack clear, consistent motivation of character. In the pharaonic period, myth tended to be more closely associated with the world of the sorcerer's curative spells, which were based on mythological precedent, than with temple religion (Assmann 1977; 1982).

Much of what is loosely described as myth in ancient Egypt is really more a mode of iconic thought, not involving mythical events set in the past but ever repeating cosmic events, where beginning and end concur ad infinitum. Such is the nature of the Sun God's diurnal voyage by boat across the sky and through the underworld, where his daily death results in a union with Osiris, god of the dead, to achieve revivification and rebirth. Scenes and texts in the New Kingdom royal tombs dwell at length upon the activities of the Sun God in the twelve hours of the night.

F. Ethics

While Egyptian religion was very much a nationalistic one with no attempt made to proselytize, there existed a tolerant attitude toward foreign deities. Despite repeated assertions in royal inscriptions concerning foreigners being ignorant of god, in actuality Asiatic deities, such as Astarte, Baal, Rešep, and Anat, were accepted in Egypt in the course of the New Kingdom. An image of the goddess Astarte of Nineveh was sent to aid the ailing king Amenhotep III, and full testimony to the power of Asiatic deities is evident in Rameses II's treaty with the Hittites. In Egypt, Asiatic deities were worshiped by Egyptians in accordance with Egyptian cult practices. In the New Kingdom a universal concern for the well-being of foreigners is ascribed to gods like Amun-Rē or Akhenaten's Aton, and quite remarkable is the blessed afterlife granted to Egypt's traditional enemies in the Book of Gates, a theological composition inscribed in royal tombs after the Amarna period.

In considering the problem of ethics in ancient Egypt, it should be stressed that the wisdom texts were not regarded as sacred literature. Although portions of the biblical Proverbs betray the influence of the Wisdom of Amenemōpe, the Egyptians did not include Wisdom Literature in the category of "god's word." What they regarded as divine in the ethical realm was the concept of Maat, which encompassed the notions of truth, harmony, and world order as it should be. A principle of cosmic dimensions, regulating the functioning of nature, society, and an individual's life, Maat was the daughter of the Sun God and, being a goddess, even possessed a cult. The king's offering of the icon of Maat to the creator was a symbolic expression of the king's role in preserving the harmony of nature and society. Imbued with Maat, writers of wisdom texts articulated a principle that gave rise less to laws than to the resolution of contention.

Ethical behavior entered into the judgment of the dead, where one's good qualities were assessed against one's wrongs. In the Book of the Dead, the heart is shown being weighed against the feather of Maat, while a negative confession was recited by the deceased before a tribunal of netherworld judges. The heart scarab, placed on the deceased's chest, was designed to prevent the heart from adducing adverse testimony or, in other words, to prevent one from being overburdened by a heavy sense of guilt. It would be wrong to reduce Egyptian religion to the realm of ethics or to magical practices designed to circumvent the consequences of sin, for Maat was a gift of the god, instilled in people's hearts to enable them to lead a good life. Participation in religion by the community on the last day of the ten-day week and during other feasts that stressed renewal was one means whereby Maat was revealed, as hymns expressed the god's triumph over the forces of evil and chaos that menaced the world order.

G. Afterlife

A remarkable feature of Egyptian religion was its complex system of beliefs regarding the afterlife. Since Egyptians gods were themselves subject to death and rebirth,

and some even possessed cemeteries in the parts of Egypt, the fate of humanity had a powerful precedent. One aspect of the afterlife was the simple continuation of existence in the tomb. Already in archaic times natural dehydration of the body in a shallow grave suggested the permanent existence of the deceased, but as tombs became more elaborate and natural desiccation of the corpse ceased to be effective, mummification was developed as a means of preserving the body. Initially only the king and elite had their bodies mummified, but after the Old Kingdom mummification was gradually extended. The superstructure of the tomb contained a cult place where offerings could be made to the deceased's spirit, which was believed to emerge from below through a false door. Sometimes elaborate contracts were drawn up with mortuary priests to ensure the perpetuity of the cult. In the absence of real offerings, the recitation of an invocation offering was considered a valid means for satisfying the deceased's needs.

But there was more to the afterlife than continued existence in the tomb. In the Old Kingdom the king's afterlife involved his spiritual participation in cosmic processes such as the course of the Sun God or the motion of the stars. At first only the dead king became identified with Osiris, lord of the netherworld; but with the collapse of the Old Kingdom, royal funerary prerogatives were gradually extended to deceased commoners, whose names were preceded by the epithet Osiris. Funerary texts that had been for the dead king's use now became the domain of a broader segment of the population. Many new spells were composed, inscribed in the interior of coffins or, later, on rolls of papyrus, known as the Book of the Dead. Included in this funerary literature were spells effecting the deceased's identification with some of the highest gods, such as Rē, Atum, and Horus. The myth of Osiris's murder, the finding of his body and revivification by Isis, and the posthumous procreation of their son Horus had an especial appeal. At Abydos, the burial place of archaic kings and Osiris, cenotaphs were erected along the processional route of the god Osiris, enabling the commoner to participate in the celebration of the god's triumph and renewal.

H. Anthropology of "The Soul"

The anthropology of the deceased's being was complex. Besides the mummy resting permanently in the tomb, there were several spiritual elements. The *ka* was a dynamic vital force, formed at one's birth. After death it rejoined the body in the tomb and emerged through a false door to receive offerings. It was that element of the personality that related to society, for statues of the deceased in tomb chapels or even temples served to invoke within the beholder's mind the *ka*-image of the deceased. The *ba* was a manifestation of power, sometimes rendered by "soul," which seems to have existed in one's lifetime but after death became that portion of the psyche capable of participating in broad cosmic processes. As a human-headed bird it flew up the burial shaft from the mummy to enjoy the little garden pool outside the tomb, or it could ascend to the sky and travel with the Sun God. The *akh* was a spirit, something like a ghost, that came into being only after death and could exert influence upon a living person. In response to malevolent actions by an *akh*, the Egyptians frequently wrote letters to the *akh* of a deceased person urging it to desist. The netherworld tribunal was composed of many *akh*s presided over by a high god like Rē, and legal action against an offending *akh* could be taken in such a court.

The question arises why the Egyptians, who were keenly aware of the plundering of tombs and the destruction of mummies, continued the practice of mummifying the dead. Since mummification and interment were ritual acts, it may be that the performance of the rites of embalming was of paramount importance in making the deceased person an Osiris and that what eventually happened to the mummy in the context of human linear time was of secondary consequence. The deceased Egyptian, from the religious point of view, survived less in human time than in two types of divine time: the *ba* in divine cyclic time and the corpse in the realm of *djet*-eternity, a sort of area of timelessness and no change.

It has generally been maintained that the religion of pharaonic Egypt lacked the mystical element discernible in Hellenized Egyptian cults. However, there are certain indications that at least some spells of the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead were available to the living for their use. The theological texts from the New Kingdom royal tombs contain indications that knowledge of these texts permitted the living person to participate in the Sun God's journey through the netherworld (Wente 1982). Such evidence together with the probability that priestly initiation did exist in pharaonic Egypt suggests that there may be a genuine Egyptian basis for the later Hellenistic mystery cults.

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EDWARD F. WENTE

EGYPTIAN THEOLOGY. See MEMPHITE THEOLOGY.

EGYPTIAN, THE (PERSON). A revolutionary leader for whom the Apostle Paul was mistakenly identified (Acts 21:37–39). This person is mentioned only once in the NT, and twice by Josephus. Although the man's name remains unknown, it is noteworthy that the Roman tribune interrogating Paul—Claudius Lysias (Acts 23:26)—recalls "the Egyptian" as the man "who recently stirred up a revolt and led the four thousand men of the Assassins out into the wilderness" (Acts 21:38). Doubtless reflecting a Roman view of the Egyptian's activities, Lysias' comment about him is coupled with Paul's request that he be allowed to address those who had just been trying to kill him (Acts 21:30–32). The tribune's response, "Do you know Greek?" (v 37), indicates that at least in his estimate the Egyptian was uneducated and therefore to be reckoned among barbarians.

Whatever his native tongue, the Egyptian could evidently communicate with the common people in Palestine since he had aroused interest to such a pitch that at least 4,000 followed him into the desert. An allied issue is whether he was really a person whose home was Egypt or whether he was a native of Palestine who had returned to stir up trouble. While the matter cannot be settled conclusively either way, it is noteworthy that, on the whole, Jews from Egypt lived either in Alexandria or in one of the other major Hellenistic cities and thus were not limited to speaking the common Egyptian dialect. Whatever his national home, the man must have been a Jew, since it is highly unlikely that contemporary Judeans would have given ear to a non-Jew. Further, Paul's insistence that he himself was "a Jew from Tarsus" (v 39), as distinct from Egypt, may support the notion that the Egyptian was also Jewish.

Of equal interest is the association—at least in Lysias' view—of the Egyptian with the Sicarii or "knife men," so called because of the Latin term (*sica*) for the knife that they used in assassinations (Foakes-Jackson and Lake 1933: 277). In a relevant passage in which Josephus discusses not only the rise of the Sicarii before the Jewish War (A.D. 66–70) but also the flourishing of false prophets and the activities of an unnamed Egyptian (*JW* 2.13.3–5 §254–263), there is no connection made between the "Egyptian false prophet" and the knife men. However, Josephus' description is sufficiently close to the one of Lysias reported in Acts to allow the rather firm conclusion that the same Egyptian was meant. In this connection, it is necessary to discount assessments that have deduced a dependency of the Acts account on Josephus' report (Foakes-Jackson and Lake 1922: 357–59).

It is essential to note the points of agreement between Acts and the *Jewish War* passage of Josephus: these include references to (1) the Egyptian himself, (2) the insurrection which he led, (3) the Sicarii within the context of the discussion, and (4) the desert. To be sure, not all details agree, and Josephus offers more information. For instance, in Acts, Lysias mentions 4,000 followers of the man; Josephus puts the umber at 30,000 (possibly explained by the difference between the Greek letters *delta* [=4] and *lambda* [=30]). In addition, the account in Acts says that the Egyptian led his adherents "into the desert" whereas the report in the *Jewish War* claims that he led them "out of the desert." Josephus alone recorded that they ascended the Mount of Olives, evidently traveling through the Judean wilderness and climbing the hill from the east. Moreover, he recounted that this host was about to attack Jerusalem and subdue it, liberating it from the Romans. He then explained that the procurator Felix (A.D. 52–60 [?]), anticipating the Egyptian's moves, sent a contingent of infantry which scattered and slaughtered his followers, although allowing him to escape.

Josephus wrote another narrative about this Egyptian and his activities approximately 20 years later (*Ant* 20.8.6 §169–72). In this report, Josephus adds that, rather than taking Jerusalem by storm from the Mount of Olives, the Egyptian's followers were supposed to enter the city after their leader had miraculously brought down its walls at his command. Even though this detail is not mentioned in either Acts or the *Jewish War*, it fits with what is implied in both: namely, that the insurrection instigated by the Egyptian had strong ties to religious motives (Horsley and Hanson 1985: 160–72). First, the mention of the desert as the region of the man's operations conforms to the widely shared notion that the desert was a place of spiritual renewal and manifestation. Second, in both passages from Josephus, the immediate context is formed by notations about the rise of "deceptive" prophets in the years just before the war with Rome. While Josephus' obvious purpose was to discredit these persons as panderers of false and misleading hopes to the Jewish populace, it is significant that he used the Egyptian as his principal illustration of the practical failures of this sort of prophetic movement. Third, the belief of the Egyptian's followers that he could miraculously bring down the walls of Jerusalem—much as Joshua and the Israelites had done at Jericho (Joshua 6)—exhibits a further link to religious sentiments. Fourth, according to Josephus, one of the major purposes of such prophetic pretenders was to demonstrate to believing followers the "tokens of deliverance" from Roman rule (*JW* 2.13.4 §259) which had grown in its oppressive character under Felix. These signs or tokens of freedom were doubtless understood to have come about by divine assistance (cf. the mention of "marvels and signs that would be wrought in harmony with God's design" in *Ant* 20.8.6 §168). Sixth, the spiritual roots of this concept of deliverance were likely planted in their most enduring form by Judas the Galilean, whose principal rallying cries were those of freedom and zeal, ideas based in the Bible and promulgated by him in the aftermath of the taxation census conducted by Quirinius in A.D. 6 or 7 (*HJP*^{2} 1: 381–83; 2: 602–6; Hengel, 229–50).

It is clear, then, that the unnamed Egyptian Jew had won a wide following among Judeans, who believed him to have prophetic powers, had led followers from the desert to the top of the Mount of Olives with the intent of capturing

Jerusalem, and had then been driven into hiding by Felix's troops, who crushed his army. Following this defeat, the tribune Lysias apparently mistook Paul for this Egyptian revolutionary who, seeming to have returned to the scene of his activities, had been seized by people who knew him and were bent on killing him to avenge the deaths of his followers.

At this point, one final issue must be addressed: why did the author of Acts believe it necessary to record the dialogue between Lysias and Paul? Would it not have been sufficient merely to narrate Paul's rescue from the mob? The answer doubtless lies in Luke's interest in dissociating Christians from Jews and Judaism, especially in the aftermath of the Jewish War (Hänchen *Acts* MeyerK, 622). He took great pains both throughout his gospel and in Acts to demonstrate that anyone associated with the movement inaugurated by Jesus was a strict adherent to social and religious norms and, moreover, was never an instigator of public or political disorder, as were many Jews both inside and outside Palestine (Luke 1:6; 2:22, 24, 39, 51; etc.; Acts 13:45, 50; 14:2, 19; 17:5–8; etc.). The fact that Paul was absolved of charges against him (Acts 23:29; 25:25–27; 26:31–32) serves to buttress this point. Furthermore, in contrast to those who participated in the Jewish War against Rome, this last observation implicitly affirmed Paul's loyalty as a Roman citizen. Additionally, Paul was to be distinguished from the Egyptian, whose character was insinuated by Lysias to be uncivilized, underscoring the implied compatibilities of Christian norms with Roman law and society, particularly as they were personified in Paul. Moreover, as every Christian reader of Acts was aware, Paul was the true representative of the Lord; others who represented different spiritual interests, including the Egyptian, were to be understood as somehow misled and misleading.

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S. KENT BROWN

EGYPTIANS, GOSPEL OF THE (NHC III,2 and IV,2). This gnostic tractate bears no relationship to the encratite *Gospel of the Egyptians*, of which a few quotations survive in the writings of Clement of Alexandria. The gnostic *Gos. Eg.* is extant in two independent Coptic translations from Greek found among the Nag Hammadi codices (see NAG HAMMADI [CODICES]). Both versions survive only in fragmentary form. The one in NHC III originally comprised pp. 40,12 to 69,20, but pp. 45–48 are now lacking while others in the first part of the tractate suffered lacunae. NHC IV,2 covers pp. 50–81, which are all in a poor state of preservation. Its value lies in supplementing NHC III,2 where it is fragmentary or corrupted. More than 90 percent of *Gos. Eg.* survives in one or the other version. Both versions are preceded by a copy of *The Apocryphon of John* (NHC III,1 and IV,1).

There are no indications that the Gk text behind the two Coptic versions differed significantly, but IV,2 appears to reflect the original Greek more accurately than III,2. Both are written in Sahidic with IV,2 conforming more closely to the standardized form of this Upper Egyptian dialect. See also LANGUAGES (COPTIC).

The title *Gos. Eg.*, by which the tractate has become known, is taken from the colophon which is attached to III,2 but absent in IV,2. More appropriate is the title found in the subscript and at the end of the colophon: *The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit*. This title was derived from the opening line of the tractate. The colophon existed already in Greek. Its author, a scribe whose spiritual name was Eugnostos and fleshly name Gongessos, Christianized the title using the word "gospel" for holy book. It appears that the Egyptian attribution was also based on the opening line; the uncertainty is due to a lacuna. The colophon is far more Christian in character than the tractate and appears to have a monastic setting.

Gos. Eg. does not conform to any established literary genre. It is an esoteric writing which treats themes typical for mythological Gnosticism. Its content can be divided into four parts. The first (III 40,12–55,16 = IV 50,1–67,1) presents the origin of the heavenly world. From the great invisible spirit emanate a trinity of powers—the Father, the Mother Barbelo, and the Son. To each of these an ogdoad of powers is attached. Then follows a description of the Doxomedon aeon, the heavenly throne room, in which the thrice-male child of the great Christ resides. Other prominent figures in the Pleroma are the male virgin Youel, Adamas, the great Seth, and the four lights Harmozel, Oroiael, Davithe and Eleleth.

The second part (III 55,16–66,8 = IV 67,2–78,10) describes the origin, preservation, and salvation of the race of Seth. Because of the hostility of Saklas and his evil archons, Seth comes from heaven and puts on Jesus as a garment in order to save his race. Baptism has a prominent place in the salvation of the gnostics.

The third part (III 66,8–67,26 = IV 78,10–80,15) is hymnic in character; it is followed by a brief section (III 68,1–69,17 = IV 80,15–81,end) which tells how the book was written by Seth and was hidden in the mountain Charaxio until the time of the latter-day gnostics.

Gos. Eg. bears obvious similarities to such other representatives of mythological Gnosticism as *Ap. John*, *The Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II,4), *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II,5), *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* (NHC III,4), *The Three Steles of Seth* (NHC VII,5), and *Trimorphic Protennoia* (NHC XIII,1). Though these writings share various themes and mythologumena, the very different use they make of these makes it doubtful that they come from the same sectarian background. The assumption of the ancient heresiologists that such writings represent the teachings of gnostic sects can no longer be taken for granted. It is more likely that they are part of a literary rather than a sectarian phenomenon. Such speculative literature is best placed on the fringes of Christianity among heterodox ascetics who long remained outside of the control of orthodoxy.

The scholarly interest in *Gos. Eg.* focuses on the hymnic material scattered throughout the document and on the role of baptism. This has given rise to the claim that it

represents a gnostic "baptismal service book" (Layton 1987: 101). However, there is no hint in the text that it was meant for cultic purposes and it is hard to imagine that it would lend itself to this. The references to baptism and the use of hymns and glossolalia are not out of place in such an esoteric, mystical writing. There is no need to pose a sectarian, cultic setting for which there is no corroborating evidence.

Since III,2 and IV,2 are to be dated shortly before 350 C.E., and are copies of Coptic archetypes, the Gk text is most likely earlier than 300 C.E. Certain traditions incorporated in *Gos. Eg.* were known already to Irenaeus in the late 2d century. Nothing in the tractate betrays its actual author and original provenance.

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FREDERIK WISSE

EHI (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēḥî*]. The sixth in a list of ten sons of Benjamin, according to one Benjaminite genealogy (Gen 46:21). It is widely agreed that the four names "Ehi, Rosh, Muppim, and Huppim" evidence a mechanical corruption of "AHIRAM, Shephupham, and Huppim," the third, fourth, and fifth sons of Benjamin in Num 26:38–39 (e.g., Speiser *Genesis* AB, 343).

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

EHUD (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēhûd; ʾēḥûd*]. **1.** Second of the "saviors" or "major judges" in the book of Judges (3:12–30; 4:1; see also 1 Chr 8:6). The narrative portrays Ehud as a military man, trained in left-handed combat (Judg 3:15; 20:16; cf. 1 Chr 12:2), who escorts Israel's tribute to EGLON, the corpulent Moabite king, at Jericho. Dismissing his detachment after one such payment, Ehud sneaks back to the court and promises Eglon a confidential revelation. Eglon in turn dismisses his attendants, who leave him alone with Ehud in the audience hall. Thereupon, Ehud springs up the steps of Eglon's throne-platform (*ʾăliyyat hammĕqêrâ,* "the chamber atop the joists," 3:20), and he locks its double doors behind him. From his right thigh, not his left, where the retinue and the king would normally expect to see it, Ehud plucks a sinister shaft—short, without a crossbar, tailored to his task. Declaring that his revelation is in fact a divine one, he punches the dagger into the king's ample belly. The fat enfolds the haft (v 22). Death is instantaneous; no blood seeps out. And the king's anal sphincter releases the contents of his intestines onto the floor (v 22).

Ehud escapes from the locked throne-platform by some extraordinary route, denoted by the *hapax legomenon, misdĕrôn.* Possibly, this is the loggia of the throne-platform; more likely, it is the space *beneath* the joists (cf. Ar *sadira,* "to blind"). In the latter case, his egress would have been the hole, used for excretion, that led to the space below the throne-platform. Ehud then negotiates his way back into the area of the vacant audience hall that lies outside the throne-platform and its structure. His emergence through the doors of this chamber signals to the retinue that the audience is at an end. They resume their stations in the hall while Ehud makes for the hills. (For this reconstruction see Halpern 1988a: 45ff. or 1988b: 37ff.) Other translations of *misdĕrôn* favor an architectural term meaning simply "porch," "portico," or "vestibule" (see, e.g., Moore *Judges* ICC, 99; Kraeling 1935: 208).

Eglon's courtiers deduce from the fact that the throne-platform doors are locked (from inside) that the king must be relieving himself. The odor of his excrement perhaps encourages them in their conviction; they wait, at all events, a considerable time (vv 24–25). Eglon's overlong occupation, however, engenders consternation. In the end, they fetch the keys to the throne-platform, and discover their liege, expired on the floor. Meanwhile, Ehud has had time to rally Israel's forces, seize the fords of the Jordan, and engage the Moabites. The latter, fleeing homeward across the river, are cut down to a man.

The name Ehud ("where is the glory?") follows the pattern of Ichabod ("where is the glory?" 1 Sam 4:21), Jezebel ("where is the exalted [one]?" if this is not a collapsed form of Ish-zebel, "the exalted one is present!"), and perhaps Ayyah (2 Sam 3:7; Gen 36:24). Names compounded with the element *-hûd* are common in the Benjaminite genealogies (1 Chr 7–8). The patronym Gera is in fact the name of a clan (1 Chr 8:3, 5, 7). Indeed, one Benjaminite clan may have taken its name from Ehud himself (1 Chr 7:10). If so, this was presumably the community in which the memory of his exploits was most conscientiously preserved.

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BARUCH HALPERN

2. Son of Bilhan and a descendant of Benjamin through Jediael (1 Chr 7:10). The description of the Jediael clans as skilled in warfare (v 11) may indicate a connection between this Ehud and the famous judge (see #1 above). The inclusion of the Benjaminite genealogy in vv 6–12 appears out of place considering its fuller treatment in chap. 8. In addition, the exclusion of Zebulun and Dan from the genealogies in 1 Chr 2:1–9:1 has led to the suggestion that their omission is due to textual corruption, having perhaps originally occupied the place of Benjamin's list in chap. 7. (See the discussion in Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 47–8, 77–8.)

JOHN KUTSKO

EIN EL-JARBA. See JARBA, ʿEIN EL-.

EIN YAEL PROJECT. See REPHAIM, VALLEY OF.

EKER (PERSON) [Heb *ʿeqer*]. The son of Ram, the grandson of Jerahmeel, and a direct linear descendant of the patriarch Judah by some five generations (1 Chr 2:27). Noth (*IPN*) has suggested that the solitary noun form may suggest "offshoot" or "member" of a stranger's (*ger*) family (Lev 25:47), and therefore the proper name should reflect something of the social debasement discoverable in such names as Jathom (orphan), Machir (sold), Acubah (forsaken), and Jerushah (adopted). It is true that both Hebrew and Sumero-Akkadian names (Holma 1914; Rasmussen 1981: 435, 479–80; Stamm 1939: 248, 264–68) embrace those that reflect a demeaning social rank or physical liability, but the case is less than clear in interpreting the meaning of the name Eker. Nothing suggests anything irregular in his genealogy except a contested etymology of the Hebrew root *ʿqr*.

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EDWARD R. DALGLISH

EKRON (PLACE) [Heb *ʿeqrôn*]. A site in the Shephelah on the border between the Israelites and the Philistines, which was important in several episodes in the Bible.

A. Biblical and Extrabiblical Sources
B. Identification
C. Excavations
1. Chalcolithic through Middle Bronze Age
2. Late Bronze Age
3. Iron Age IA–B
4. Iron Age IC–II

A. Biblical and Extrabiblical Sources

Ekron was one of the capital cities of the Philistine Pentapolis, and is first mentioned in the Bible as part of "the land that yet remains" to be captured by the Israelites (Josh 13:2–3). Subsequently, Ekron is cited as defining the N border of the territory of Judah (Josh 15:11) and as one of its cities (15:45–46). In Judges (1:18), Judah is accredited with taking the areas awarded it in Joshua, including Ekron and its territory. However, it is also stated in Judges (1:19) that "Judah took possession of the hill country, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the plain, because they had chariots of iron." Apparently, based on this later verse, the LXX of Judg 1:18 makes the correction that Judah did *not* conquer the Philistine cities. The assignment of Ekron to Judah may indicate a late addendum in the time of Hezekiah. Another source lists Ekron in the territories of the tribe of Dan as marking its S boundary (Josh 19:43). This may reflect the tribal boundary system of the time of David and Solomon. After the ark of the covenant was captured by the Philistines, they passed it through the Pentapolis members, including Ekron (1 Samuel 5–6). Israel later recaptured the cities which the Philistines had taken (1 Sam 7:14); it also was part of the battle scene following the David and Goliath epic (1 Sam 17:52). In the 9th century B.C.E., Ahaziah, king of Israel, sent ambassadors to "Baalzebub the god of Ekron" to inquire regarding the prospects of recovery from his illness (2 Kgs 1:2–3). In the 8th century B.C.E., the prophet Amos threatened Ekron and its sister cities with destruction (1:8).

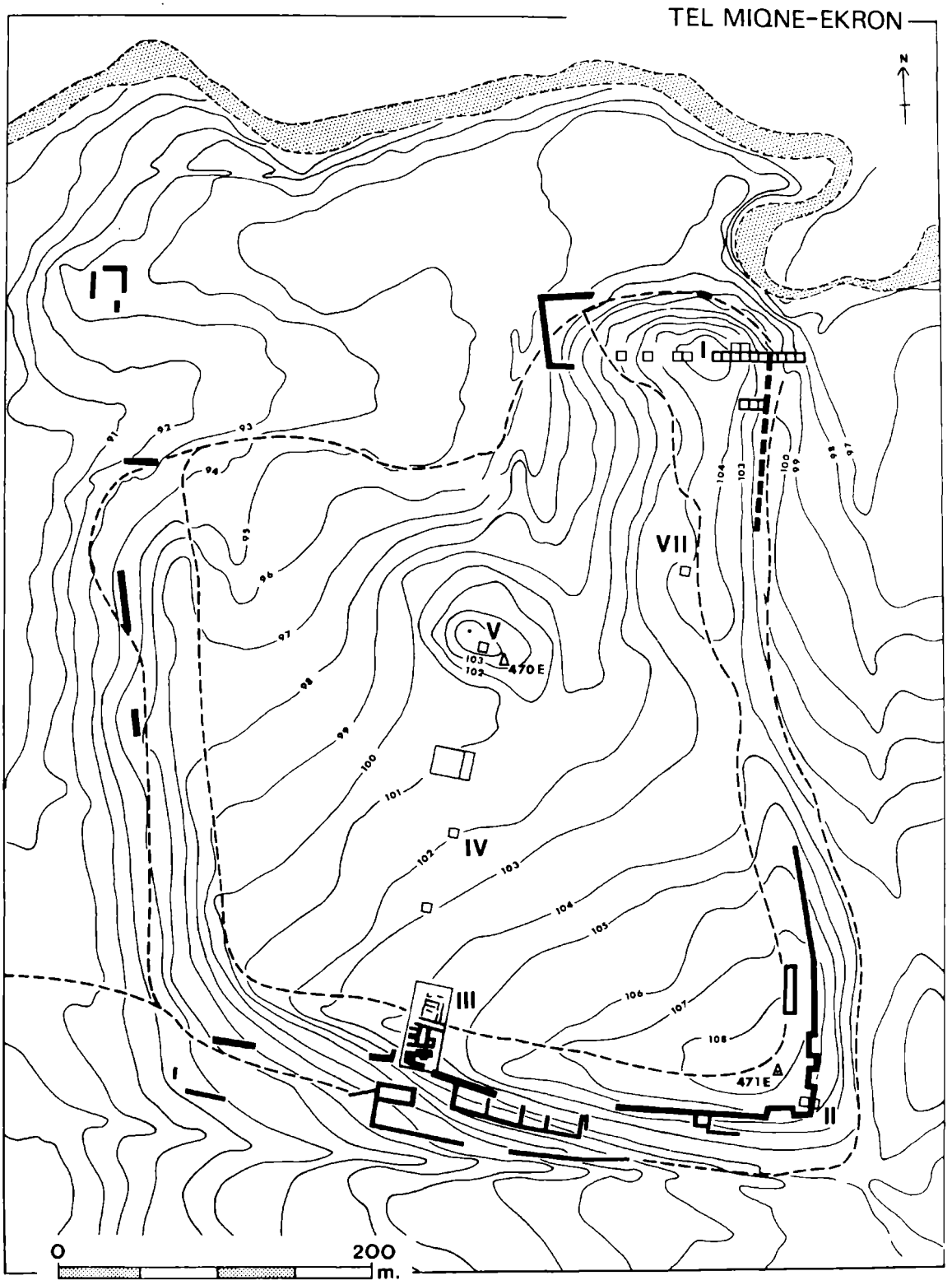
Extrabiblical references to Ekron—*ʾam-qa-(ar)ru-(na)*—first appear in the 8th–7th century B.C.E. records of the Neo-Assyrian kings. Sargon II's 712 B.C.E. siege of Ekron is depicted on a wall relief in his palace at Khorsabad. The royal annals describe the capture of Ekron and the restoration of Padi as king of Ekron in 701, in the course of Sennacherib's suppression of the rebellion led by Hezekiah, king of Judah. In the first half of the 7th century B.C.E., the annals mention Esarhaddon calling upon Ikausu, king of Ekron, together with his other vassals, to provide building materials and their transport to construct his palace in Nineveh. In 667 B.C.E., Assurbanipal required his vassal Ikausu, king of Ekron, among others, to support his military campaign against Egypt and Ethiopia.

Apparently, in the second half of the 7th century B.C.E., the Philistine Pentapolis became a Tetrapolis, as inferred from the prophetic forecast of the destruction of Ekron together with Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Gaza (Gath is no longer mentioned; Jer 25:20; Zeph 2:4; Zech 9:5–7). This imminent destruction of the Philistine cities is supported by the late-7th-century Aramaic Saqqarah Papyrus or Adon Letter, in which Adon, the king of one of the Philistine city-states, appeals to the Egyptian pharaoh for military aid against the forces of Babylon. A recent interpretation of a demotic line on the letter suggests that Adon was king of Ekron (Porten 1981). The actual destruction of Ekron may be indicated in the Babylonian chronicle that describes a 603 B.C.E. campaign by Nebuchadnezzar against a city in Philistia.

Ekron is not mentioned again until the Hellenistic period, when, in 147 B.C.E., Alexander Balas grants Ekron (Accaron) and its toparchy to Jonathan the Hasmonean as a reward for his loyalty (1 Macc 10:89; *Ant* 13.4.4). The toparchy of Ekron is also cited as being torn from Ashdod (1 Macc 14:34). The latest references to Ekron are in the 4th century C.E. by Eusebius, who records a village of Gallai near Accaron (*Onomast.* 11.6–7) and a large village of Jews who lived at Accaron near Azotus (*Onomast.* 11.9–10).

B. Identification

Ekron is identified with Tel Miqne (Khirbet el-Muqanna^{c}; M.R. 135131) 35 km SW of Jerusalem and 4.5 km E of Kibbutz Revadim. The tel is situated on the W edge of the inner Coastal Plain, the natural and historical frontier zone that separated Philistia and Judah, overlooking the ancient network of highways leading NE from ASHDOD to GEZER and inland via the Nahal Soreq to BETH-SHEMESH. One of the largest Iron Age sites in Israel, Tel Miqne is composed of a 40-acre lower tel and a 10-acre upper tel. See Fig. EKR.01. The lower tel is flat, almost square, and at its N end has a 2.5-acre mound-shaped acropolis. A 10-acre settlement exists off its NW slope. The tel's low profile rises 108.25 m above sea level, only 7 m above the surrounding plain. The true height of the tel is masked by a heavy buildup at its base of post-Byzantine alluvium from the downflow of the Nahal Soreq.



EKR.01. Site plan of Tel Miqne-Ekron, showing Fields I–V and VII. *(Drawing by D. Hully, by permission, Tel Miqne-Ekron Project)*

Khirbet el-Muqanna^{c}, probably deriving its name from the nearby wadi, first appears in Conder and Kitchener's survey (*SWP* 2: 425) as Khirbet el-Mekenna^{c}, and in Ch. Clermont-Ganneau's *Archaeological Researches in Palestine* (1896: 195) as el-Mukna^{c}. In 1924, W. F. Albright (1924: 8; 1925: 5–6), the first to survey the site in modern times, identified Muqanna^{c} with biblical Eltekeh in the territory of Dan, based on his view of the site as a small ruin. In 1951, the Circle for Historical Geography reaffirmed Albright's identification. As a result, in 1953 the Israel Government Names Committee officially designated the site as Tel Eltekeh. In 1964, the same committee changed the name to Tel Miqne, a neutral designation in which the consonants of the Arabic Muqanna^{c} were transcribed into Hebrew letters. This was done in the light of new evidence from J. Naveh's 1957 survey of Muqanna^{c}, and his conclusion that its identification as Eltekeh, one of the less important towns in the region, was inconsistent with the large size of the site, which included the previously unrecognized 40-acre lower section of the tel. Also, in the same year, B. Mazar identified Eltekeh with Tel esh-Shalaf, based on the survey of that site by J. Kaplan. Naveh's survey of Muqanna^{c}, and his analysis of the architectural, ceramic, biblical, extrabiblical, and topographical evidence, led him to conclude that Muqanna^{c} should be identified as Ekron. Subsequent discussion in the literature and the recent excavations support Naveh's conclusion.

C. Excavations

In 1981, a long-term joint American-Israeli interdisciplinary research project was initiated at Tel Miqne under the direction of T. Dothan and S. Gitin. The main focus is on the process of urbanization and the interaction between Philistines and Israelites during the Iron Age.

To establish the stratigraphic profile of the site, two pilot seasons of excavation were conducted in 1981 and 1982. From 1984, when the first of the five major seasons of the Phase I excavations was initiated, through 1988, the major emphasis was on the investigation of the Iron Age town plan, its fortifications, industrial zones, and inner city. In 1985, a survey of industrial installations and architectural remains was conducted by D. Eitam and N. Aidlin.

1. Chalcolithic through Middle Bronze Age. The Chalcolithic, EB I–II, and MB I–III periods are only attested by ceramic evidence in mixed fills and mud bricks from occupation phases of the LB and Iron Ages. MB I sherds form the largest group within this sample. While sherds from all of these periods were found in every field of excavation, the majority were from the sondage on the NE acropolis, which has provided the most complete stratified profile of the tel (Field I).

2. Late Bronze Age. A sequence of three LB strata was exposed only in the sondage on the NE acropolis. As a result, the extent of the LB city has yet to be determined. However, LB sherds have been recovered from every field of excavation, suggesting that the city may have extended over most of the tel.

The earliest stratified remains, stratum IX, are dated to the 15th–14th centuries B.C.E., based on the high percentage of imported wares, including Base Ring I, Monochrome, and White Slip II. A two-room structure, containing a substantial industrial installation in the final phase of this stratum, was destroyed by fire. Above it, stratum VIIIB of the 14th–13th centuries B.C.E. produced domestic areas with a large plastered vat and a burial site with a faience seal, an Egyptian 19th Dyn. scarab, and an Egyptian-style calacite tazza (footed goblet). The pottery, in addition to local Canaanite wares, included Mycenaean IIIB and Cypriot imports, and an Egyptian-style "beer bottle" and bowl.

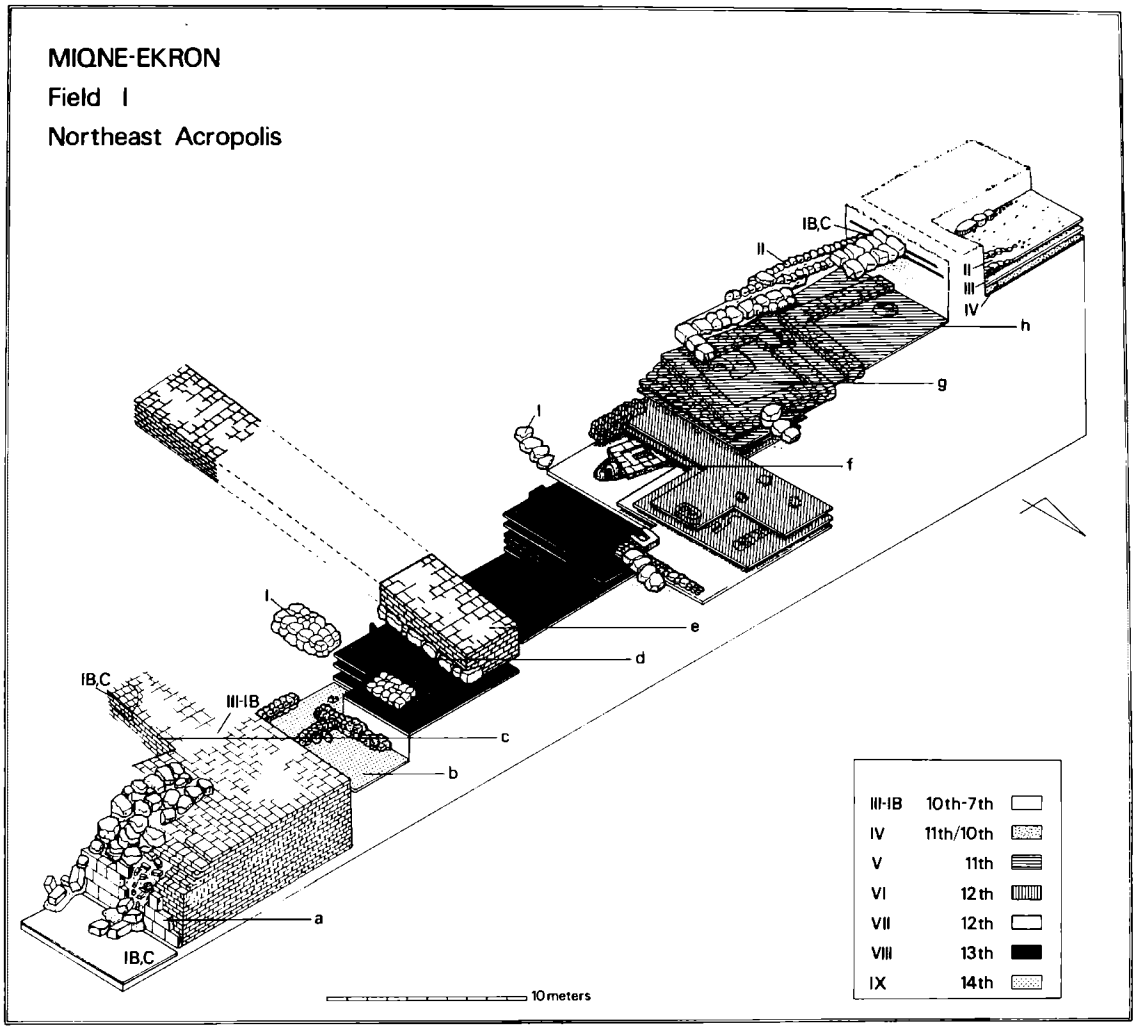
Stratum VIIIA included a sequence of four mud-brick structures which are associated with the culmination of the LB at the end of the 13th century B.C.E. The main room of one of the structures contained tuyeres, indicating industrial bronze activity. Krater fragments of Anatolian Grey Polished ware were found in this area. This ware hints at the establishment of new cultural connections at the end of the LB. The international character and wide-ranging trade and cultural contacts of the Canaanite city during the LB are indicated by the diverse group of ceramic imports found in these strata.

3. Iron Age IA–B. *Field I.* See Fig. EKR.02. In the first third of the 12th century B.C.E., an abrupt transition occurred in stratum VII. Fortifications, industrial and elite areas, and new material culture elements appear, the latter suggesting a new ethnic element—the Philistines, one of the Sea Peoples—with an inclination to recreate the environment of their Aegean home.

The stratum VII city was fortified by a 3.25-m-thick mud-brick wall, found along the slope of the NE acropolis. Adjacent to it were a number of different types of kilns, of which the best preserved had a unique square shape. Associated with it was a large quantity of locally made Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery and several Aegean-type figurines. The Myceneaen IIIC:1b pottery assemblage, which made up at least 50 percent of the ceramic sample, included monochrome decorated bell-shaped bowls, kraters, stirrup jars, beer jugs, and the plain-ware kalathos.

The dating of the stratum VII city wall is based on a chain of stratigraphic and ceramic evidence. The wall, cut into the last LB phases, was built of mud bricks and the latest pottery in evidence was LB II. The earliest possible floors that could be associated with the wall, although the connections were disturbed, were those of stratum VII, dated by the Myceneaen IIIC:1b pottery to the first quarter of the 12th century B.C.E. The latest pottery of the stratum VI revetment, built up against the city wall, was Philistine Bichrome ware. The slope wash from the stratum VI revetment, in which the Iron II strata III–I mud-brick city wall was founded, contained no post–Iron I pottery.

Stratum VI, in which the first Philistine Bichrome ware appeared, is dated to the last two thirds of the 12th century B.C.E. New kilns appeared, and next to one was an ivory iron-knife handle with a ring-shaped pommel, one of four found on the site. A new building complex was built, remaining essentially unchanged through the next stratum. One of the rooms had an architectural plan associated with cultic traditions, including a stone pillar base, a pit with a large kalathos, and a bovine scapula. This room, which was on the periphery of the city, may have been one of the first shrines to be established in Philistia by the Sea Peoples/Philistines. In stratum V, the first half of the 11th century B.C.E., the shrine room had a plastered floor with



EKR.02. Isometric plan of Field I at Tel Miqne-Ekron—Upper City. *a*, ashlar-faced mudbrick tower (Iron II); *b*, room with industrial installation (LB II); *c*, mudbrick city wall (Iron II); *d*, burial (LB II); *e*, mudbrick city wall (Iron I); *f*, square kiln (Iron I); *g*, shrine (Iron I); *h*, citadel towers (Iron II). *(Drawing by D. Hully, by permission, Tel Miqne-Ekron Project)*

installations, votive vessels, kernoi, and several incised bovine scapulae, known from contemporary shrines in Cyprus. An adjacent area yielded Ashdoda-type figurines and a lion-headed rhyton. Stratum IV was identified by floor fragments and red-slipped-pottery forms of the 11/10th century B.C.E.

Field III. In stratum VI, the mud-brick city wall was extended to the S crest of the tel as part of a massive fortification system which included an offset platform and revetment. The latest pottery from the mud bricks of the city wall and on the floors which ran up to the inside face of the city wall was Philistine Bichrome ware, dating the fortifications like the revetment in Field I to the last two thirds of the 12th century B.C.E. The fortifications continued in use in stratum V, and one room built up against the city wall produced a spiral gold ring. The thick white plaster which covered the fortifications and the rooms built behind them was typical of all the buildings on the tel of the late 12th century through the 11th century B.C.E. No doubt in this period the Iron I city covered the entire 50 acres of the site. In stratum IV, the 11/10th century B.C.E., the fortifications were strengthened with stone towers. The city wall was cut back, and a new series of rooms were built up against it. One of these, containing a crucible with traces of silver, was found in a large installation lined with *hamra*, a red, sandy plaster, suggesting the existence of a metal industry on the periphery of the city. An ivory knife-handle with a ring-shaped pommel, similar to the one in Field I, was found in the debris above this installation.

Field IV. In stratum VI, a large, well-planned mud-brick building (4112) was constructed, dated by its Philistine Bichrome pottery to the 12th century B.C.E. In stratum V (the first half of the 11th century), another monumental building (4111) was built on huge stone foundations, 1–2 m in height, and was set into building 4112. Possibly a palace with two shrine rooms, it measured 15 m × 16 m

and was part of a larger complex. The building's plastered mud-brick walls were preserved to a height of 3 m and a width of 1.20 m. The main entrance from the N led into a large, partially covered hall (D), with benches along its S wall and two stone pillar bases flanking a round, well-constructed hearth with a pebble base. Hearths are an important feature in the Aegean and on Cyprus, particularly in the megaron plan, in which they are central architectural elements. They are rare, however, in Canaan. The only other hearth of this type was found at Tel Qasile, also a Philistine site with Aegean connections.

Three rooms of approximately equal size opened onto the hall (D). The northern room (A) contained three superimposed floors, the upper with a plaster installation, the middle with a wall bench and round, conical, and pinch-shaped unperforated loom weights, and the lower with a gold-leaf object and an ivory earplug. The central room (B) seems to have been the focus of the building. Opposite the entrance was a plastered mud-brick *bamah* (altar), which continued in use throughout all phases of the building until it was abandoned at the end of stratum IV. The room contained a rich assemblage of Philistine Bichrome pottery, an ivory knife-handle similar to the ones in Fields I and III, three bronze eight-spoked wheels, and a frame fragment originally belonging to a wheeled stand of the type known from Cyprus in the 12/11th century B.C.E. The southern room (C) had a small mud-brick *bamah*, on which was found a large iron implement, 16.5 cm in length. The associated floor contained Philistine Bichrome pottery, and a complete iron knife with bronze rivets and an ivory handle with a ring-shaped pommel similar to the ones in room B and in Fields I and III. The knife has cultic connotations and Aegean and Cypriot parallels (Dothan 1989: 154–63). It is part of an assemblage of iron objects found throughout the site in the Iron Age I period that represents the largest concentration of iron objects at any one site in Philistia. On the floor of room C there were also an Aegean-type bronze cauldron handle, a bronze spear butt, and a unique, double-human-headed bronze peg. The cultic character of rooms B and C reflects a continuation of the local Canaanite tradition and also the tradition known from Cyprus at Enkomi and Kition, and in the Aegean at Phylakopi and Mycenae.

In stratum IV, the architectural plan of building 4111 continued in use with some minor changes. The floors of the building's final phase were covered with red-slipped bowls stacked one upon the other, flasks, chalices, and miniature vessels of a votive character, including pomegranate-shaped vessels and kernos fragments. The Philistine ceramic tradition is represented only by debased bichrome decoration and forms, accompanied by red-slipped and Cypro-Phoenician wares of the late 11th/early 10th centuries B.C.E. In room A, a cache of unique objects, including a stone baboon statuette, earplugs, faience pendants and rings, a decorated ivory lid, and a beautifully carved human head of ivory, link Ekron to the 21st Egyptian Dyn. The peak of the early Iron Age city, reached in stratum IV, was accompanied by the loss of the uniqueness of its material culture, as Egyptian and Phoenician influences had their effect on art and cult practices. In the last phase of stratum IV, the large well-planned and well-fortified urban center of Ekron, featuring industrial and elite areas, and a material culture with international affinities, came to a sudden end. With it also came an end to the early period of Philistine occupation. Afterwards, most of the city was abandoned and not settled again until the 7th century B.C.E. The reasons for this abrupt transition probably relate to Egyptian and Israelite military campaigns, which drastically affected the geopolitics of the region and altered the occupation pattern of Philistia.

4. Iron Age IC–II. *Fields I and VII.* At the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.E., Ekron shrank from 50 to 10 acres and was restricted to the upper city, leaving the lower city unoccupied. This radical change reflects the United Monarchy's ascendancy over the Philistines in the 10th century B.C.E. and Ekron's diminished status in the Iron IC and IIA periods. The reduction in size of the city is supported by extensive stratigraphic data from the upper and lower cities. However, the evidence for the upper city from the 10th through 8th centuries B.C.E. is based on a limited sample from the sondage on the NE acropolis. Thus, while the excavated data are secure, the following conclusions based on that data are only tentative.

In accordance with the city's smaller dimensions in the post–stratum IV, 11th/10th century B.C.E. period, perhaps as early as the 10th century, a new mud-brick city wall was built at the bottom of the slope of the acropolis. Attached to the wall was a 7-m-wide mud-brick tower faced with large blocks of ashlar masonry, in a header-and-stretcher construction. On top of the acropolis, a stratified sequence of floors and ceramic evidence assigned to strata III–IIA seems to indicate continuous occupation from the 9th through the 8th centuries B.C.E. The main ceramic forms are coastal, with some typical Judean types, like the late shallow cooking pot, the everted-rim bowl, and the plain-rim small hole-mouth jar. In stratum IIA, which may be dated to the second half of the 8th century B.C.E., a citadel tower built of boulder-sized stones and a stone-lined drain were constructed. Two *lmlk*-stamped jar handles that were found on the slope—one with the inscription *lmlk hbrn*, "belonging to the king of Hebron"—can be ascribed to stratum IIA, the period during which Hezekiah, king of Judah, probably took control of Ekron.

It was only at the very end of the 8th century B.C.E., when Philistia came under the control of the Neo-Assyrian empire, that Ekron experienced new physical growth and again became an important city-state. At the beginning of the 7th century B.C.E. in stratum IC, the mud-brick city wall was rebuilt and a new citadel tower was constructed, as well as an industrial zone of olive oil installations. The upper city continued to be occupied through stratum IB until the end of the 7th century B.C.E., when it was destroyed and abandoned.

Fields II, III, IV, and V. In the lower city, the broad sample of evidence and identical stratigraphic profile in all fields of excavation provide a sound basis for the conclusions that follow. In stratum I, in addition to occupying the upper city, Ekron expanded onto the lower city and beyond the limits of the mound itself. After a long gap in occupation of ca. 270 years, stratum IC, a fortified urban industrial center, was founded in the 7th century B.C.E. directly on the Iron Age I fortifications and buildings of stratum IV. Stratum IB, continuing the general plan of

stratum IC, had an enormous quantity of restorable pottery, sealed below a massive destruction debris. It was distinguished from stratum IC by architectural alterations, the narrowing of the city gate entrance, and superimposed floors. This stratigraphic division is further defined by the reuse of elements of stratum IC oil installations, by large perforated stone weights, in the construction of stratum IB buildings, and by the discarding in stratum IB of stratum IC industrial equipment. For example, a huge olive-crushing basin and an olive press were buried in a pit beneath a stratum IB olive oil installation. These phenomena, which also indicate some reduction in oil production in stratum IB, can be associated with the end of Assyrian rule and the reinstatement in Philistia of Egyptian hegemony at about 630 B.C.E., the date suggested for the division between strata IB and IC. It is assumed that the diminution in oil production was caused by the transition in political authority, resulting in a loss of Assyrian and Assyrian-controlled Phoenician markets and their extensive distribution system. The dating of the stratum IB destruction to the 603 B.C.E. campaign of Nebuchadnezzar to Philistia is supported by ceramic evidence, which includes the En Gedi V metallic ware and Mesad Hashavyahu types of cooking pots, the flat-based mortarium, the balloon bottle, and the East Greek skyphoi, which first appeared in the last quarter of the 7th century B.C.E. Stratum IA, found only in the lower city, was built in part over the destruction debris of stratum IB and also coexisted with its exposed remnants. It was a random, unfortified settlement with at least one structure similar to an "Assyrian" open-courtyard building. Stratum IA is dated to the early 6th century B.C.E., based on the ceramic evidence which continued the stratum IB coastal tradition and exhibited post–7th century forms, like the cyma-shaped, pointed-base sausage jars. Following stratum IA, the entire tel was abandoned until the Roman period. Evidence for the Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic periods was found only in the small, mound-shaped acropolis isolated at the N end of the lower city (Field V). This acropolis was formed solely by the occupation levels from these periods, the earliest of which was built directly over the stratum IB 7th century B.C.E. destruction.

The town plan of the 7th century strata IB-C city was well conceived and well constructed in a system of stepped-down terraces. Its best-preserved features belong to stratum IB. Designed in four zones, the city had specific districts for fortifications (Fields II, III), industry (Field III), and domestic and elite living areas (Fields IV, V).

The fortifications include a double stone-wall system—the upper wall on the crest of the slope and the lower wall at its base—with a long line of stables running between them. In the SE corner of the tel, a series of insets/offsets were connected to the upper wall, apparently the foundation for a bastion. The city gate, located in the center of the S face of the tel, consisted of a tower, three piers, and two cells, and was protected by a large gatehouse. The gate has much in common with Judean examples from Gezer and Lachish, as well as Philistine Ashdod.

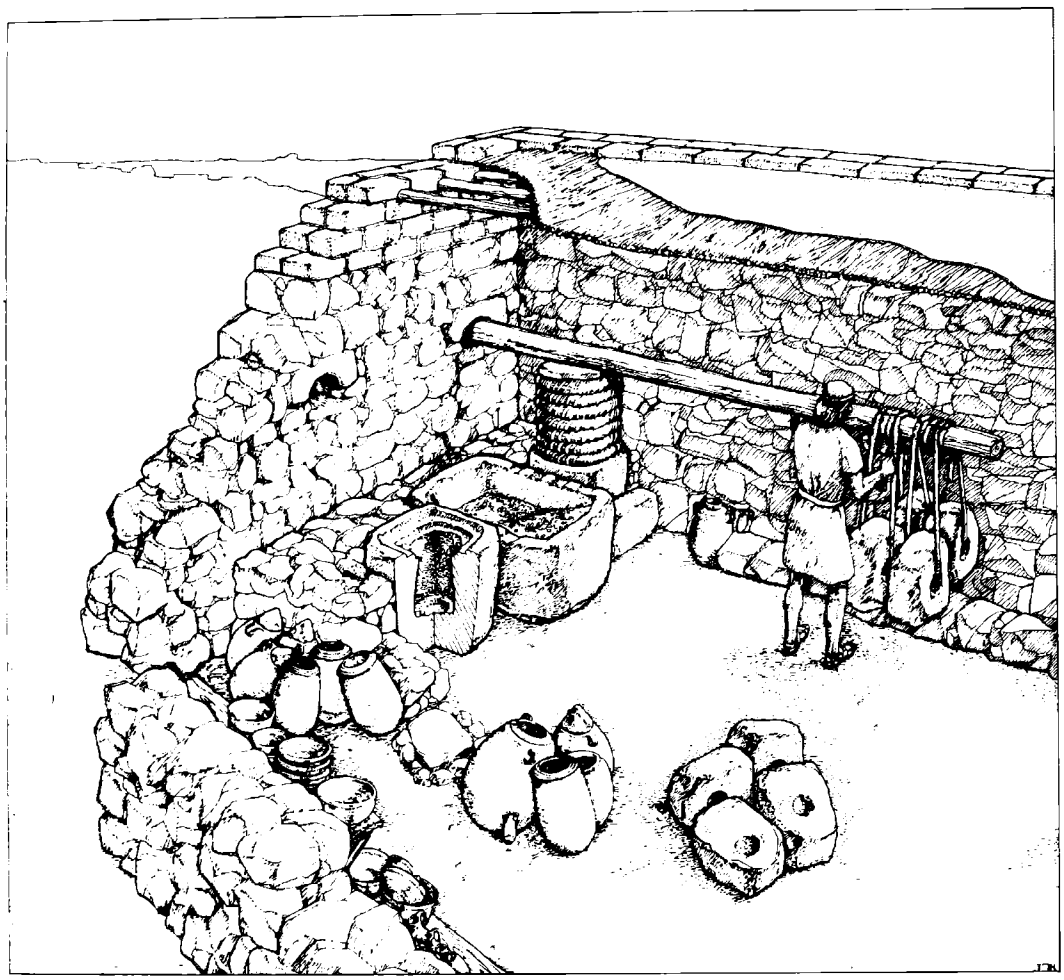
The industrial zone, used primarily for olive oil production, was composed of a series of buildings located in a belt extending around most of the tel behind the fortifications and in an area off the NW slope of the tel. In the main excavation area (Field III), this zone had two major subdivisions located on either side of a well-constructed street. The rectangular-shaped industrial buildings had a tripart division with an olive oil production room, a storage/work room, and an anteroom which opened onto the street. The most complete building, immediately adjacent to the gate, contained in the oil production room an olive oil installation with a large, rectangular crushing basin, two pressing vats, carbonized remnants of a woodbeam, eight perforated stone weights, 108 restored pottery vessels, and 34 conical ceramic storejar lids, as well as a bronze juglet, a cosmetic palette, and a Phoenician-type figurine. See Fig. EKR.03 The work/storage room of this building contained 88 restored vessels, among which were large jars with circular holes used in the olive oil separation process. A storejar hidden below the floor contained a cache of eight large, well-preserved iron agricultural tools. This room also had a stone niche with a four-horned altar. The anteroom contained a large number of loom weights and pottery vessels for food preparation. In the industrial zone, more than 600 vessels have thus far been restored from the excavated areas, and at least one four-horned altar has been found in each industrial building.

The olive oil industry was the dominant feature and the chief stimulus for the phenomenal physical and economic growth of Ekron in the 7th century B.C.E. Initially established in stratum IC, the oil industry was probably created as a direct result of the stability produced by the *Pax Assyriaca* and the commercial interests of the expanding Assyrian empire. The 102 olive oil installation units thus far excavated or found on the surface of the tel, and associated with stratum IB, indicate that in antiquity Ekron was the largest olive oil industrial center in the ancient Near East. These installations, representing only a part of the potential sample, had the capacity of producing at least 1,000 tons of olive oil annually, one fifth of Israel's current level of export production (see Eitam and Shomroni 1987).

The extensive evidence of loom weights found throughout the industrial zone suggests that a second industry existed at Ekron for the production of textiles. Since olives could be pressed for only four months a year, a second industry probably existed to make efficient use of the large industrial plant during the remaining eight months of the year.

The domestic district was just N of the industrial zone. Here, buildings, courtyards and floors produced installations and pottery associated with domestic activities. The elite zone, continuing the Iron Age I tradition, was located in the center of the lower city (Field IV). It consisted of a large complex of at least four buildings, with a different plan than that of the industrial zone. So far, fifteen rooms have been excavated, including courtyards, storage areas, and living quarters, with no indication of industrial activity. Only this zone had Assyrian ceramic forms and East Greek skyphoi, as well as the highest percentage of decorated vessels and small closed and open ceramic forms. It also contained two unique large caches of silver jewelry and two small, well-worked four-horned altars.

The material culture of Ekron in the 7th century B.C.E.



EKR.03. Reconstruction of olive oil installation room—Field III, Stratum IB (7th century B.C.E.). Located in S industrial zone adjacent to city gate. Note crushing basin flanked by presses and straw baskets with olive pulp stacked on top of one press being pressed by lever and stone weights. *(Drawing by E. Cohen, by permission, Tel Miqne-Ekron Project)*

belongs primarily to the Philistine coastal tradition. Just over 83 percent of the ceramic evidence is coastal, 7 percent is Judean, 9 percent is common to the entire S, and 0.5 percent represents N ceramic forms. Typical of the coastal tradition are pointed-base juglets, hammerhead rim kraters, and small, incised and carinated bowls. The ceramic assemblage also includes twelve chalices—three with painted, triangle decoration, only paralleled at Tel Batash–Timnah, a daughter city of Ekron—and nine chalices with relief leaf decoration, not usually found in Judah. Another type of artifact, the four-horned incense altar, usually associated with Israelite religious practice of the Iron IC–IIA period, is unique to Ekron in the 7th century B.C.E. Ten examples have thus far been found. They do not exist elsewhere in Philistia, nor in Judah in the 7th century B.C.E. (Gitin 1989: 52–67). The three inscribed stone *shekel* and *bekah* weights from Ekron, while characteristic of Judah, are also known in Philistia. The same is true of the two words in paleo-Hebrew letters found on two storejars in the elite zone: *bt,* indicating volume, and *dbl,* possibly referring to figs. Only two Judean-type female figurines were found in stratum IB. Among the rich assemblage of small objects of ivory, faience and shell amulets, and figurines, many were Egyptian or showed Egyptian influence. Especially significant are the inscribed limestone sistrum (a musical instrument) and a scarab of the 26th Egyptian Dyn. This phenomenon is consistent with the coastal tradition in this period when Philistia was under Egyptian control.

The current excavations at Tel Miqne have demonstrated that the site was settled before the founding of Philistine Ekron at the beginning of the Iron Age; the urban center of Ekron evolved through a four-stage process of growth, contraction, regeneration, and partial abandonment, reflecting its changing role as a border city on the frontier separating Philistia and Judah; and the

material culture of the Philistine coastal tradition was maintained throughout Ekron's 600-year history.

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TRUDE DOTHAN
SEYMOUR GITIN

EL (DEITY). See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

EL-AREINI. See AREINI, TELL EL-.

EL-ʿAJJUL, TELL. See ʿAJJUL, TELL EL-.

EL-BATASHI. See BATASHI, TELL EL-.

EL-BERITH (DEITY). [Heb *ʾēl bĕrît*]. See BAAL-BERITH (DEITY).

EL-EMIR, ʿIRAQ. See ʿIRAQ EL-EMIR.

EL-GHASSUL. See GHASSUL, TULEILAT EL-.

EL-HESI, TELL. See HESI, TELL EL-.

EL-HIRI, RUJM. See RUJM EL-HIRI.

EL-HUSN. See HUSN, EL-.

EL-JARBA, ʿEIN. See JARBA, ʿEIN EL-.

EL-JIB (PLACE). See GIBEON (PLACE).

EL-KHALIL, RAMAT. See RAMAT EL-KHALIL.

EL-KHELEIFEH, TELL. See KHELEIFEH, TELL EL-.

EL-KOM, KHIRBET. See KOM, KHIRBET EL- articles.

EL-MARJAMEH, KHIRBET. See MARJAMEH, KHIRBET EL-.

EL-MASKHUTA, TELL. See MASKHUTA, TELL EL-.

EL-MAZAR, TELL. See MAZAR, TELL EL-.

EL-MESHASH, KHIRBET. See MESHASH, KHIRBET EL-.

EL-MILH, TELL. See MALHATA, TEL.

EL-OLAM (DEITY). See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

EL-PARAN (PLACE) [Heb *ʾêl pāʾrān*]. Place "on the border of the wilderness" reached by Chedorlaomer and his allies after they crossed (from the N) Mount Seir (Gen 14:6). From there they turned back and came to "En-Mishpat, that is, Kadesh" (Gen 14:7). These data make it certain that El-Paran corresponds to Elath on the Gulf of Aqabah (Sinus Aelaniticus) in the southernmost point of Edom (Seir) bordering on the wilderness of Paran. This leg of the itinerary of the four kings reproduces, in reverse order, the route of the Israelites from Kadesh to Moab according to Num 20:22; 21:4, 10–13; and Deut 1:46–2:8 (note "in the direction of the Red Sea," 2:1, "turn northward," 2:3, and "away from the Arabah road from Elath and Ezion-geber"). The term *ʾêl (ʾyl)* in the composite name El-Paran—QL Gen Apocryphon, *ʾyl prn*—is a masculine variant of *ʾêlāh* or *ʾêlat* and means a large tree, like an oak or a terebinth, often a landmark and an object or reverence. LXX translated it *tereminthos tu pharan* "the terebinth of Paran." Because of Jewish opposition to the adoration of sacred trees, Targum Onkelos rendered *ʾêl bāʾrān* by *mêšar pāʾrān* "the plain of Paran," and the Palestinian Targum (Cod. Neofiti) by *gbwlʾ dprʾn* "the border of Paran." This was followed by Vg: *campestria Pharan.*

MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

EL-QEDAH, TELL. See HAZOR.

EL-QOM, KHIRBET. See KOM, KHIRBET EL-.

EL-UMEIRI, TELL. See ʿUMEIRI, TELL EL-.

ELA (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēlāʾ*]. The father of Shimei, the governor appointed by Solomon over the administrative district of Benjamin (1 Kgs 4:18). The name Ela, which is also found in the Samaria Ostraca (Reisner, Fischer and Lyon 1924: 236), is formed from the common Semitic term for deity *(ʾēl)* with a vocalic ending, perhaps serving as a vocative (*IPN,* 38). The Massorah Parva on 1 Kgs 4:18 is keen to point out that this is the sole instance in the Bible where *ʾēlāʾ* appears with a final *ʾalep.* The homonymous name written with a final *he* (RSV Elah) probably has a different etymology.

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DAVID A. GLATT

ELAH (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēlâ*]. One of the eleven "tribal chiefs" *(ʾallûpîm)* of Esau/Edom (Gen 36:41; 1 Chr 1:52). This list of chiefs is probably an addition originating with the Priestly source, while the 1 Chr 1:51b–54 list represents a shortened version of it. Six out of the eleven (Timna, Alvah, Jetheth, Oholibamah, Kenaz, and Teman) are already recorded in the older geneological tradition of Genesis 36 prior to the list of vv 40–43 (cf. 1 Chr 1:36–41). Although the names Magdiel and Iram cannot be classified with certainty, Pinon and Mibzar are likely place names. Elah may, of course, be understood as a hypocoristic personal or tribal name, but it is more probable that it is a place name analogous to Pinon and Mibzar. It is probably identical to Elath and ought to be sought near present-day ʿAqaba.

ULRICH HÜBNER

ELAH, VALLEY OF (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēmeq hāʾēlâ*]. The place where the Israelites under the command of Saul were encamped in the face-off with the Philistines which resulted in David's slaying of Goliath. This event is recorded in 1 Samuel 17, and the place name is mentioned in 17:2 and 17:19. The valley of Elah is later recalled as the place where these events occurred in 1 Sam 21:9, when David is fleeing from Saul and requests help from Ahimelech, the priest of the city of Nob. At David's request, Ahimelech gives him the Bread of the Presence and Goliath's sword. That these mentions of the valley of Elah, along with David's first display of heroism, occur at the beginning of David's relationship with Saul and as David is fleeing Saul, is an example of the artistry of the compiler of these stories about the rise of David and the early days of kingship in Israel. The name Elah means "Terebinth," a kind of deciduous tree noted for its longevity (*BDB* 18). It is often translated as "oak" (so RSV, Gen 35:4, for instance). The name of the place where David slew Goliath, then, is "the Valley of the Terebinth." It is identified with modern Wadi es-Sant ("Valley of the Acacia"), about 15 miles WSW of Bethlehem (see *IDB* 2: 70; McCarter *I Samuel* AB, 290).

JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

ELAM (PERSON) [Heb *ʿêlām*]. **1.** The first of five "sons" of Shem (Gen 10:22). Elam appears as a personification of the land of Elam in the Table of Nations. See ELAM (PLACE). The appearance of the name Elam among Israelites in the following occurrences may be related to the international nature of the periods when the name is used, the time of David (if occurrence 2 is to be dated from that time) and that of the return from the Exile. Especially for the latter, it might not be surprising to find figures bearing the name of their place of Exile (cf. however Clines *Ezra Nehemiah Esther* NCBC, 49).

2. Fifth son of Meshelemiah of the Korahites, one of the gatekeepers appointed by David (1 Chr 26:3).

3. A son of Shashak, son of Elpaal, son of Shaharaim and Hushim in Moab, of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:24). This Elam may be identified with Elam (4) below. Rudolph (*Chronicles* HAT, 77) has suggested 1 Chronicles 8 to be a list of various families of Benjamin dating from the reign of Josiah or from the postexilic period.

4. The head of a clan from which 1,254 people returned from the Exile to Jersualem with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:7; Neh 7:12; 1 Esdr 5:12). A group of seventy males from this clan returned with Ezra under the leadership of Jeshaiah son of Athaliah (Ezra 8:7; cf. 1 Esdr 8:33, where Jeshaiah is the son of Gotholios). A member of this family, Shecaniah son of Jehiel, was the first to confess to the sin of marrying foreign wives after Ezra's speech and a group

of six men from the family of Elam are named among those who made sacrifice and expelled their foreign wives (Ezra 10:2, 26; 1 Esdr 9:27). Elam is also named among the heads of the people who make covenant with God (Neh 10:15—Eng 10:14).

5. The head of a clan from which 1,254 people returned from the Exile to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:31; Neh 7:34). Described as the "other Elam" to distinguish him from the Elam of Ezra 2:7 and Neh 7:12; the fact that the number of returnees is the same for both families has led to the identification of the two figures (Gunneweg *Ezra* KAT, 60). However, the combined number of returnees from the families of both (the other) Elam and Ono is 725 in 1 Esdr 5:22.

6. One of the priests involved with Nehemiah in the thanksgiving celebration at the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 12:42).

RICHARD S. HESS

ELAM (PLACE) [*ʿêlam*]. ELAMITES. The Elamites called their country *Haltamti* (or *Hatamti*), a word that means "the country (of the) lord," from which is derived the Akkadian word *Elamtu*. The Sumerians designated this region by the ideogram NIM, which means "high" or "raised." This name is rendered in Hebrew by *ʿêlām* and in Greek by *aylam*, whereas in Achaemenid inscriptions composed in Old Persian, this province is called *Hūja* (or *Huvja*), that is to say Susiana. It is mentioned in several late biblical texts (Isa 21:2; Jer 25:25; 49:34–39; Ezek 32:24; Dan 8:2; Ezra 4:9; Acts 2:9).

A. Geography
B. History
1. Proto-Elamite Period
2. Old Elamite Period
3. *Sukkalmah* Dynasty
4. Middle Elamite Period
5. Neo-Elamite Period
6. Achaemenid Period
C. Language

A. Geography

The site of Susa, in the modern Iranian province of Khuzistan, furnishes the major part of our documentation of the Elamite civilization; Elam was thus for a long time confused with Susiana. Today recent research permits us to better define the geography of this country, whose boundaries varied over the course of the three millennia of its history. This confusion was even easier, given that the word Elam had for the ancients two different meanings. In the strict meaning of the term, Elam corresponded more or less to the present province of Fars and had Anšan (Tell-i Malyân, in the area of Persepolis) for its capital. In a larger sense, the word designated a large part of the Iranian plateau to which Susiana had been politically attached during certain epochs. At the end of the 3d millennium and at the beginning of the 2d, when cuneiform inscriptions (found for the most part in Mesopotamia and in Susiana) become explicit, Elam appears as a federation of different geopolitical entities that successively assume domination over the whole (Awan, Šimaški, Anšan). At this time, Elam stretched to the E of Mesopotamia from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf, and seemed to have for its eastern limits the great deserts of Kavir and Lut. It is only in the 1st millennium, when Medes and Persians invaded the Plateau and when the autochthonous population took refuge in Susiana, that this latter region took the name of Elam. It is to this later situation that the Assyrian annals, the Achaemenid inscriptions, and the biblical books allude.

B. History

Today, the history of Elam remains one of the least known of the ancient Near East despite real progress made during the last decades. And it is still the Mesopotamian texts that give us the principal points of reference for an absolute chronology. The three millennia of its history are characterized, in our written documentation, by constant contacts, friendly or aggressive, with Mesopotamia, because Elam, with its natural riches (metals, stone, wood, etc.) and by its position en route toward the sources of certain highly sought-after materials (lapis lazuli, tin, etc.) was often indispensable to the Mesopotamian economy. But it is only from archaeological finds that one discovers the contacts that the Elamites had with their oriental neighbors, whether from the N (Central Asia), from the E (Afghanistan, Sistan, Pakistan) or from the S (the Persian Gulf, Arabia). However, this history, which begins around 3200 B.C.E. when the first Proto-Elamite documents appear, and ends arbitrarily in 331 B.C.E. when Alexander the Great put an end to the Achaemenid Empire, can be divided into five distinct periods.

1. Proto-Elamite Period (ca. 3200–2700 B.C.E.). When Elam enters into history around 3200 B.C.E. with the appearance of the first written documents, the country is heir to a long tradition. The Iranian Plateau's prehistory was already closely associated with Mesopotamia's and Susa's. Since its foundation around 4000 B.C.E., the city oscillated between its two large neighbors, sometimes dependent on the Plateau and sometimes under the influence of the Mesopotamians. Thus, in the first half of the 4th millennium Susianan ceramics, of a remarkable aesthetic quality, have no equal in Mesopotamia; whereas, in the second half of this millennium, the archaeological material discovered on Susa's acropolis is interchangeable with that of Uruk, the Mesopotamian site of reference.

It is at the end of this period (called the Uruk period in Mesopotamia) that the Susians employed a system of reckoning by means of clay tokens enclosed in a clay envelope upon which cylinder seals were rolled. There arose at a later stage the idea of symbolizing, on the surface of the bulla, by means of different circles and notches, the tokens that the envelope contained. These last became *ipso facto* useless. Thus only the part inscribed on the bulla was conserved. This was the birth of the clay tablet, which became the graphic medium for a large part of the ancient Near East for several millennia. During this early period, only the quantities of merchandise exchanged were noted, not the nature of the goods. The creation of ideograms called Proto-Elamite—which despite all attempts have remained undeciphered—were probably the work of people from the Iranian Plateau. They were used in Elam until about 2700 B.C.E. Susa during this period lived under the

influence of the Plateau. Similar tablets have been found at Sialk near Kachan, at Anšan in the Fars, at Tepe Yahya in the Kerman, and as far as Shakr-i Sukhte in the present province of Sistan, on the Afghanistan border. And it is during a still obscure period from 2700 to 2400 that there is the first mention of Elam (NIM) in an inscription by the Sumerian King of Kiš, Enmebaragesi. But it is only at the beginning of the Agade period that Susa and Elam truly enter into history, thanks to cuneiform texts that make numerous allusions to the relationship that existed between these two countries.

2. Old Elamite Period (ca. 2400–1500 B.C.E.). This period sees three dynasties succeed each other in Elam, that of Awan, that of Šimaški and that of the *sukkalmah*, corresponding in Mesopotamia to the Agade, Ur III, Old Babylonian, and the beginning of the Kassite periods. Constant conflicts arose between the two great rivals, conflicts that alternated occasionally with matrimonial alliances created by economic exchanges.

During the Awan period (ca. 2400–2100), the Mesopotamian sovereigns of the Agade dynasty made Susiana one of their provinces. It was governed by their representatives of whom Ešpum and Ilišmani are the best known. It is even likely that they wielded, for a certain time, their power over Anšan as their title leads one to suppose. With the forays by Sargon (2334–2279) and his successor Rimuš into the Plateau as far as the Kerman, the kings of Awan, Luh-išan and Hišiprasini became rivals. But these expeditions seem more like raids than real conquests. Naram-Sin even had to sign a treaty with one of the Awanite rulers. This document is the first text drawn up in Elamite and written in cuneiform characters.

But it is the last king of the Awan dynasty, Puzur-Inšušinak—a contemporary of Ur-Nammu (2112–2095), the founder of the 3d dynasty of Ur, according to a text recently found at Isin—who seems to have realized the first historic unification of Elam. King of Awan, he first subjugated the whole of the Plateau, then conquered Susiana. But this unity illustrated by the title "King of Awan," vice-king of the country of Elam, governor of Susa, did not last long. It is, however, in Susa that monuments by Puzur-Inšušinak have been found that have the oddity of carrying bilingual dedicatory inscriptions, in Akkadian and in linear Elamite whose symbols are the heirs of the older Proto-Elamite script.

While the Šimaški dynasties (2050–1860) were in power on the Plateau, Susiana once again became a Mesopotamian province dependent on the kings of the 3d dynasty of Ur. With the military forays into Elam came dynastic marriages between Mesopotamian princesses and Elamite princes against a background of commercial exchange. But in 2004, under the conduct of Kindattu, the 6th king of the Šimaški dynasty, Elamites and Susianans invaded Mesopotamia and put an end to the prestigious empire of Ur. Its last king, Ibbi-Sin (2028–2004) was even taken prisoner in Elam where he died. During several decades after this Elamite victory—victory which will long leave marks in the memories of Mesopotamians, as is seen in the *Lamentations of Ur*—the situation remained confused and it was not until around 1970 that the Elamites were definitively installed in Susiana.

It is interesting to note that it is at the end of the 3d millennium and at the beginning of the 2d, and particularly during the Šimaški period, that the Elamites maintained extremely tight ties with their oriental neighbors. No text makes mention of the fact, but the archaeological material shows that certain cultural themes were diffused over a vast area including the N of Iran, from Turkmenia to Afghanistan, Pakistan to the Baluchistan and the Persian Gulf. In each of these regions identical documents to those found in Susa, in Anšan, or in Shahdad bordering the Lut, probably ancient Šimaški, are vouched for. One can also mention the axes, the staff, the disk, symbols of power, the clothing for the kaunakes, the representations of snakes (sometimes androcephalic, sometimes with dragon heads), the ceramics, different objects out of steatite or metal, buildings with different levels or their representations, etc.

3. *Sukkalmah* Dynasty (1970–1500 B.C.E.). When Ebarat or Eparti, the 9th king of Šimaški came to power in Susiana, he gave himself the title of "King of Anšan and of Susa" that his immediate successors will abandon for that of *sukkalmah*, a word that can be translated as "Grand Regent," a legacy from the empire of Ur III. The *sukkalmah* was sometimes helped by two *sukkal*, "regents," the *sukkal* of Elam and of Šimaški who oversaw the oriental part of the empire while the *sukkalmah* spent the winter in Susa, and the *sukkal* of Susa (sometimes called *šarru*, "king") who had the responsibility for Susiana when the *sukkalmah* lived in either Anšan or Šimaški. With respect to the division of power in Elam, it is henceforth appropriate to renounce the theory according to which the king's nephew was associated with the management of affairs. This interpretation results from the incorrect translation of the expression "son of the sister" that one should understand to be "son that the king had with his own sister"—an illustration of royal Elamite incest—and not "nephew."

This definitive installation of people of the Plateau does not accompany any important changes in the civilization of Susa which then became the principal capital. The Elamite kings—no more than they imposed their title—did not impose their language or their religion. Thus economic and judicial texts, those of daily life, were always drawn up in Akkadian. The few royal inscriptions written in Elamite scarcely pass the half-dozen mark and not all of them come from Susiana. As to the pantheon, it remained essentially Suso-Mesopotamian with Inšušinak at its head. Šamas and Išmekarab continued to be influential. The *sukkalmahs* constructed or restored the temples of the acropolis which were all dedicated to non-Elamite deities. They seemed thus to have "semitized" themselves. This period is relatively well documented by several hundred tablets and dedicatory documents found at Susa and by some precious synchronisms with Mesopotamian history. The oldest concerns Attahušu, contemporary of Idadunapir, 11th king of Šimaški and of Sumuabum (1894–1881), first sovereign of the 1st Babylonian dynasty. This synchronism permits first of all, to suppose that the reign of Attahušu truly began following a raid that Gungunum, 5th king of Larsa (1932–1906), led in Susiana around 1927. It then implies that the reign of Ebarat, 9th king of Šimaški and founder of the new dynasty, must be dated around 1970. In fact, between Attahušu and Šilhaha, son of Ebarat, one can henceforth place different *sukkalmahs*

and *sukkals:* Palaiššan, Kuk-sanit, Kuk-Kirmaš, Tem-sanit, Kuk-Nahundi and Kuk-Našur I.

Next, we know that the *sukkalmah* Širuktuh was a contemporary of Šamši-adad I of Assyria (1813–1781). His name is cited in a letter to the Assyrian king, a letter which explains the presence of an Elamite army in the S Zab region. Later, the Mari tablets mention Siwepalarhuppak (sometimes under the name of Šeplarpak) and Kuduzuluš: they show that during the years 7 and 8 of Zimri-Lim, ties that were at first amicable and perhaps founded on the tin commerce, disintegrated rapidly and Zimri-Lim allied himself with Hammurabi (1792–1750) against the Elamites. Finally, a last synchronism with Mesopotamia, the Babylonian king Ammi-ṣaduqa (1646–1626) probably reigned at the same time as the *sukkalmah* Kuk-Našur III. Between these two chronological points of reference, there are twelve *sukkals* and *sukkalmahs* who succeed each other in Susa and among them, the most important are, in order: Kutir-Nahhunte I, Temti-agun, Kuk-Našur II, Kuduzuluš II, Tan-Uli and Temti-halki. We know little about the successors of Kuk-Našur III. This dynasty died out under unknown conditions at the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 15th century.

4. Middle Elamite Period (ca. 1500–1100 B.C.E.). This period had three successive dynasties: The Kidinuides, the Igihalkides, and the Šutrukides. It seems to be one of the most brilliant in Elamite history and is characterized by a progressive "Elamitization" of Susiana.

The period of the Kidinuides is still poorly known and the term dynasty is probably improper since the different rulers do not seem to be linked by ties of parentage: the mention of a father is never documented in the titles which, however, come from the old tradition of the "kings of Susa and of Anšan" in the Akkadian texts, an expression which will transform itself into "king of Anšan and of Susa" in Elamite texts. It is to these kings that we owe the great period of Haft Tépé, the former Kabnak located 20 km to the SE of Susa. The texts found on this site show that the king Tepti-Ahar had partially abandoned Susa. It seems that an end was put to this dynasty at the very beginning of the 14th century by a military campaign of Kurigalzu I. And it is likely that from the disorder created by this war, a new dynasty was born, that of the Igihalkides who adopted with respect to the Kassites, new political alliances. A recently published text puts into question the image that we have had of this dynasty. It consists of a letter probably sent by the king Šutruk-Nahhunte to the Kassite court to demand sovereignty over Babylonia, the throne to which it claimed the right through matrimonial ties. The Elamite ruler thus enumerates a series of marriages between kings of Elam and Kassite princesses. Pahir-iššan, son of Igihalki, married the daughter of Kurigalzu I whereas Untaš-Napiriša took for his spouse, the daughter of Burnaburiaš II (1359–1333), which leads one to believe that this Elamite dynasty reigned much earlier than had previously been thought.

The Elamitization of Susiana during this period is marked by two facts: the Elamite language replaced Akkadian and the pantheon of the Plateau imposed itself over Suso-Mesopotamian divinities. This political change is particularly well illustrated by the politico-religious complex of Tchogha Zanbil. In fact, Untaš-Napiriša, at an earlier time, constructed a temple surrounding a square tower associated with a little ziggurat. The whole thing was dedicated to the great god of Susa, Inšušinak. But later, the king took down the first ziggurat and, using as a base the temple that surrounded the courtyard, built a large ziggurat which has come down to us. He dedicated it conjointly to Napiriša, the principal divinity of the Elamite pantheon and to Inšušinak. It is thus with Untaš-Napiriša, that the Elamite gods (Awanites, Šimaškians, or Anšanites) profited for the first time in Susiana from a cult on a grand scale. All, or almost all, had a temple in the *Siyan kuk* (sacred area) of Tchogha Zanbil. Timidly introduced by the Kidinuides, the Elamite gods henceforth enjoyed in Susiana the same prerogatives as the Suso-Mesopotamian deities. The construction of the Tchogha Zanbil ziggurat, the temples, and palaces that surround the interior of the three concentric enclosures illustrate the mastery of Elamite architects; the reservoir which brings water to the site from over 40 km away gives an idea of the technical abilities of the Elamites which were often superior to those of the Mesopotamians.

But relations with Kassite Mesopotamia worsened and a great-grandson of Untaš-Napiriša, Kidin-Hutran III, revolted against Enlil-nadin-šumi (1224) and then against Adad-šuma-iddina (1222–1217) whom he deposed after having sacked Der, Nippur, Isin, and Marad. And once again the dynasty died amidst what seemed to be general confusion since Tukulti-Ninurta I was assassinated in Assyria during this same period.

With the reign of Šutruk-Nahhunte, son of the founder of the new dynasty, that of the Šutrukides, relations with Kassite Mesopotamia deteriorated even further. It is possible that he is the author of the letter in the Berlin Museum which demands the Babylonian throne. His attitude toward his neighbors makes it likely. He had, in effect, led many campaigns into Mesopotamia where he put an end to the reign of Zababa-šuma-iddina (1158) and from where he brought back to Susa numerous trophies, among which one must mention the Naram-Sin stele, the statue of Maništušu, and above all the famous Code of Hammurabi. On each monument, he had engraved an inscription that reminded one that it was indeed he who had brought back these works as spoils of war. It is perhaps also the riches that these raids procured for him that permitted him to acquire the fortune necessary to build the temples that he had constructed on Susa's acropolis. He even claimed to have been the first to have used enamaled brick, a very costly building material, in the building of certain monumental doorways.

His son Kutir-Nahhunte continued the same politics of conflict with Mesopotamia. By deposing Enlil-nadin-ahi (1157–1155), he put an end to the Kassite dynasty. His reign does not seem to have lasted very long. For some, it is possible that the biblical episode of CHEDORLAOMER, in Elamite Kudur-Lagamar (Genesis 14) can be attributed to him. This hypothesis would suggest confusion between two Elamite divinities: Lagamar and Nahhunte. For others, the incident would be contemporary with Hammurabi. It is, however, probable that he occupied, for a short time, the Babylonian throne. After his death, of which we do not know the circumstances, he is replaced by his brother Šilhak-Inšušinak who appears as one of the major figures

in Elamite history. His reign can be characterized by two essential points: the construction and restoration of temples and the pursuit of war against Mesopotamia. Šilhak-Inšušinak left us numerous dedicatory inscriptions of which the greater part report that the temples, all over the empire (constructed out of raw brick), were torn down and rebuilt with fired brick. In his restorations, he does not forget to mention his predecessors who had left their own dedicatory inscriptions in the foundations. One stele recounts the reconstruction of more than twenty temples all over Susiana. The other aspect of his reign is equally illustrated by a stele which narrates numerous campaigns to the W. Some of these expeditions (against Akkad, Nippur, and Sippar) are also related in recently discovered inscriptions which are still unpublished.

His successor, Hutelutuš-Inšušinak followed an identical policy but with less success since he found himself opposed by a powerful ruler, Nebuchadnezzar I (1125–1104). This king, in fact, handed a defeat to Hutelutuš-Inšušinak, but a defeat less severe than had been thought, due to the incorrect interpretation of a text. It appears that after having taken refuge in Anšan where he profited from his brief exile by building a temple, he came back to Susa where he continued to build. However, his reign marked the end of a great Elamite period. Two kings succeeded him before our sources dry up for almost four centuries.

One cannot, however, omit mention of the most surprising personage of this dynasty; the queen Nahhunte-utu whose destiny seems out of the ordinary. Daughter of Šutruk-Nahhunte, she married successively two brothers, Kutir-Nahhunte then Šilhak-Inšušinak, and it seems probable that Hutelutuš-Inšušinak was born from a union between Šutruk-Nahhunte and Nahhunte-utu, his own daughter. This would explain the strange title Hutelutuš-Inšušinak adopted, when he called himself son of Šutruk-Nahhunte, Kutir-Nahhunte and Šilhak-Inšušinak. Rarely in Elamite history will a queen be so closely linked to royal power and she is the only woman to be so often cited by name in inscriptions.

5. Neo-Elamite Period (ca. 1000–539 B.C.E.). The slow disintegration of the Elamite Empire which characterized this period had essentially two causes: to the W, the interference of Elam in the interminable conflict between the Assyrians and the Babylonians; to the N and E, the continued pressure of the Indo-Europeans, Medes and Persians who inhabited the Plateau, pushing the indigenous Elamites toward the Low-Country.

Of the first Neo-Elamite period, which began at the beginning of the 1st millennium and continued up until the reign of Šutruk-Nahhunte II, we know almost nothing, if only that an Elamite king, Mar-biti-apla-usar, reigned over Mesopotamia from 984–979. And it is possible that the economic tablets discovered at Tell-i Malyan, the former Anšan, date from this period. The written sources are silent until 743, the date beginning with which the Neo-Babylonian chronicles begin to give us abundant information of the participation of Elam in the Assyrio-Babylonian conflict. One must note, however, that for this period the archaeological material is relatively plentiful and numerous tombs have been found, mostly in Susa.

In 720, the first king of this second phase, Humban-nikaš (743–717) confronted Sargon II (721–705) near Der. The Elamites went to help the Chaldean Merodach-Baladan, who will ask later still for the help of Šutruk-Nahhunte II (716–699) against the same Sargon. The Assyrian king finally conquered the N and W of Elam and his son Sennacherib (704–681) finished by dethroning Merodach-Baladan and installing his own son on the Babylonian throne. The defeat of the Elamites provoked the fall of Šutruk-Nahhunte II who was deposed by his brother Hallušu-Inšušinak (698–693). He occupied Babylonia for a very short time before he, too, was killed and replaced by Kudur-Nahhunte (693–692). The latter did not reign in Susa but in Madaktu, the second of the three Elamite capitals (with Susa and Hidalu) of this troubled period. He also seems to have suffered a violent death. His successor Humban-nimena (692–689), despite the setbacks of his predecessors, recruited a new army to give help to the Babylonians and in 691 the uncertain battle of Halule took place that saw a true coalition of Babylonians, Elamites, and Persians confront the Assyrians, who ended up losing Babylonia in 689. Humban-haltaš I (688–681 and Humban-haltaš II (680–675) took part in the internal struggles in Babylonia and Assyria, struggles that ended with the assassination of Sennacherib and the assumption of the throne by his son Esarhaddon (680–669). Curiously, Esarhaddon kept up good relations with the new Elamite ruler Urtak (674–665). This relative calm lasted just until the reign of Assurbanipal (668–627). But in 665, after an attack against Babylonia, Urtak was pushed back by Assurbanipal into Elam where he died. Tepti-Humban-Inšušinak (664–653) who appears in Assyrian under the name Te-umman, son of Šilhak-Inšušinak II, succeeded him. After a period of calm, Assurbanipal undertook a campaign against Elam in 653 and confronted Te-umman on the river Ulaï. The latter was killed after having been betrayed by the Elamites. Assurbanipal thus installed the sons of Urtak on the Elamite throne, who, after the assassination of their father, had taken refuge at the Assyrian court: Humban-nikaš in Madaktu and Tammaritu in Hidalu. Susa was perhaps still in the hands of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak.

After a confused period in which the Elamites took the side of Šamaš-šum-ukin and then Nabu-bel-šumati against Assurbanipal, in 647, the Assyrian troops invaded Elam where puppet kings succeeded each other, but it was in 640 that the city fell into Assyrian hands. In the narration of this campaign, Assurbanipal gives forceful details of the ferocity with which he avenged generations of Mesopotamians: the treasure is pillaged, the tombs are violated in the sacred groves, the kings' ashes are thrown to the winds, statues of gods are brought back to Mesopotamia and Susa and destroyed. Some of the inhabitants are even deported to Samaria (Ezra 4:9–10). The reality must have been a little different since after this terrible sack, a new royalty was installed in Susa (the Neo-Elamite III Period) where the Elamite element was clearly predominant. In a documentation henceforth exclusively Elamite, even Akkadian proper names are rare. The Elamites of the Plateau, pushed back by the Medes and the Persians, flourish in Susiana.

6. Achaemenid Period (539–331 B.C.E.). While the Susianans were mixed up with Mesopotamian problems, the Medes and the Persians discretely took root on the Plateau

that had thus become Iranian. On his cylinder, Cyrus the Great (559–530) demanded the prestigious royalty of Anšan, not only for himself but also for his predecessors Cambyse, Cyrus I, and even Teispes, which implies that the double kingdom of Anšan and Susa had existed for a long time. Whatever it may be, it is likely that Susiana, in turn, fell into Persian hands when Cyrus prepared to conquer Babylonia in 539. There were still several vague impulses toward independence that Darius put down, in particular against Ummanuš and Hašina. But since this time, Elam, under the name of Susiana in inscriptions written in Old-Persian, is no more than a province of the empire, an important province to be sure, since the Achaemenids inherited many characteristic traits of the Elamite civilization.

With Darius (521–486), Susa regained its faded greatness, becoming one of the principal capitals of the Achaemenids, if not the most important. It is, in fact, curious to note on the economic tablets found at Persepolis, voyages of long distances toward Arachosia, Greece, or Egypt, were begun and completed in Susa, and not in Persepolis where these documents were found. Whatever it may be, from the beginning of his reign, Darius undertook the construction of a palace of which certain important details were only recently discovered. Thus, the excavations that have allowed the unearthing of the palace complex, have not permitted, for example, the tracing of Esther's itinerary, who, from the doorway where Mordecai stood, would go join Ahasuerus. This doorway, for which a generation of archaeologists had searched to the S of the palace, was finally discovered to the E of the palace complex. Since then, the book of Esther took on new meaning and one can be practically certain that the writer or writers had visited if not lived in Susa. Darius was not content with just reconstructing Susa or with building a new capital at Persepolis, this one, more symbolic, was linked, it seems, with the celebration of the Iranian New Year (March 21). He succeeded in affirming an empire which stretched "from India to Sardis, the Saces who are further than Sogdiana, to Egypt" according to his own expression. He organized a remarkable chancellery, heir of a long Elamite tradition, of which the Bible is an echo.

In Darius' trilingual inscriptions (Old-Persian, Elamite and Akkadian), one can note an interesting peculiarity. When the king enumerates the countries he has conquered, the province called Elam in Elamite and Akkadian texts, has the same Susiana (*Huja* or *Huvja*) in versions written in Old-Persian. The Bible thus inherited the Akkadian tradition as the book of Daniel indicates (8:2): ". . . I was in Susa, the capital, which is in the province of Elam . . ." or the book of Ezra (4:9): "The men of Erech, the Babylonians, the men of Susa, that is, the Elamites, . . ." Elsewhere the bible confirms an organized chancellery. It is again in the book of Esther (6:1) that one reads: "On that night, the king could not sleep; and he gave orders to bring the book of memorable deeds, the chronicles, and they were read before the king." The book of Nehemiah (7:64) talks of people who do research in geneological registers, while Ezra (6:1) gives other details: "Then Darius the king made a decree, and search was made in Babylonia, in the house of the archives where the documents were stored. And in Ecbatana, the capital which is in the province of Media, a scroll was found on which this was written . . ." But the clearest summary of the administration of Elamite origin, is again given in Esther (8:9): "The king's secretaries were summoned at that time, . . . and an edict was written according to all that Mordecai commanded concerning the Jews to the satraps and the governors and the princes of the provinces from India to Ethiopia, 127 provinces, to every province in its own script and to every people in its own language, and also to the Jews in their script and their language."

At this period when Aramean replaced Akkadian in international exchanges, it is interesting to note that almost all the tablets found at Persepolis were written in Elamite (two are in Akkadian and one in Greek, a few rare documents are in Aramean), legacy of the "kings of Anšan and Susa."

Under the Achaemenids, the province of Elam, tightly associated with Persia, Persian avatars would live. And, *in fine,* Susa, like Persepolis, would see Alexander and his generals within her walls. During the Seleucid, Parthian and Sassanid periods, neither Elam (under the name of Elymaïde), nor Susa would recapture its past grandeur. It is with difficulty that at the beginning of the Islamic period, Susa becomes a center of some importance. A mosque and a conventual building adjoin the bazaar. But the commercial centers are displaced and in the 14th century C.E. the city fell into oblivion, until archaeologists from the 19th and 20th centuries discovered a part of its history that is several millennia old. Thus Elam, son of Shem (Genesis 10:22), saw, on several occasions, Jeremiah's prophecies come to pass (49:35–39).

C. Language

The Elamite language does not belong to any known linguistic group. It is an agglutinate language that uses prefixes on mono- or dissyllabic roots. Its evolution can be traced from the Paleo-Elamite period up to the Achaemenid period.

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FRANÇOIS VALLAT
Trans. Stephen Rosoff

ELASA (PLACE) [Gk *Elasa*]. The site of Judas Maccabeus' last stand against the army of Bacchides in the year 160 B.C.E. (1 Macc 9:5). The major proposals for identifying the site have located it either at Khirbet Il'asa (Loewenstamm *EncMiqr* 1: 371–72), which lies between Upper and Lower Beth-horon, or at Khirbet el-'Aššì (M.R. 169144), by modern Ramallah. Although both identifications have been questioned on strategic grounds, each of them lies in close proximity to el-Bireh (M.R. 170146), the most likely location of Bacchides' encampment. However, significant complications still remain. One is the possibility, based on a tradition in Josephus, that the Seleucid army may have been stationed not at el-Bireh, but at Birzeit (M.R. 168152), about seven km to the NW. In such a case, one would expect the Jewish camp to have assembled further N as well, unless Birzeit is mentioned only as the starting point for Seleucid troop movements. A further complication is prompted by another remark of Josephus, namely that Judas met his death not at Elasa but at Akedasa. This discrepancy might reflect a confusion with the site of Judas' previous victory over Nicanor, namely Adasa between Jerusalem and el-Bireh (1 Macc 7:39–45). For a text-critical explanation, see Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 374.

DAVID A. GLATT

ELASAH (PERSON) [Heb *'el'āśâ*]. The name Elasah consists of the common Semitic term for deity (*'ēl*) and the root *'śh*, forming the nominal sentence "God has made, wrought."

1. A Judean diplomat in the time of Jeremiah (Jer 29:3). Along with Gemariah son of Hilkiah, Elasah was sent by the Judean king Zedekiah on a mission to Babylon, at which time the two messengers carried a letter written by Jeremiah to the Judean exiles. Elasah was the son of Shaphan, a well known scribe in the days of Josiah (1 Kgs 22:8). Shaphan's offspring maintained close ties with Jeremiah (cf. Jer 26:24; 36:25), and evidently sided with his preaching of nonresistance toward the Babylonians (cf. Jer 40:5).

2. One of six descendants of the priestly family of Pashhur who were implicated at the time of Ezra's purge of foreign wives (Ezra 10:22). The variant Greek forms of the name found in the versions of 1 Esdr 9:22, Salthas and Saloas, appear to be corruptions.

DAVID A. GLATT

ELATH (PLACE) [Heb *'êlat*]. Var. ELOTH. A settlement on the N coast of the Gulf of Aqaba, closely associated with Ezion-geber, and a port for trade with Arabia, Africa, and India (1 Kgs 9:26).

The origins of the settlement are obscure. It may be the El-paran mentioned in Gen 14:6 as the southernmost point reached by the four kings of the East on their raid through Canaan (*LBHG*, 55, 140, 142), though this is disputed (Simons *GTTOT*, 214). Elath may be connected with Elah, listed as one of the chiefs of Edom in Gen 36:40 and 1 Chr 1:51. Elah here is probably a region as it appears in the list immediately before Pinon, probably the Punon in the Arabah (Num 33:42–43). The Israelites departed from Elath in order to circle around Edom and not violate its territory (Deut 2:8). Egyptian mining expeditions to Timna continued at least into the reign of Rameses III (ca. 1150; Rothenberg *EAEHL*, 1188–1201). Since these expeditions probably came by ship, it is possible that Elath's origin was as a transshipment point for the Egyptian copper industry.

Elath stood at the end of two important land routes. It was the terminus for the S extension of the King's Highway which ran the length of Jordan's inland plateau (*LBHG*, 56), and also for travelers journeying S along the Arabah, the biblical Way of the Red Sea (Num 14:25; 21:4; Deut 1:40; 2:1; *LBHG*, 36, 58).

After David's crushing victory over the Edomites (2 Sam 8:13–14; 1 Chr 18:12–13) Solomon built his fleet of ships for trade with Ophir at Ezion-geber, "which is near Eloth on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom" (1 Kgs 9:26; 2 Chr 8:17). If Ezion-geber can still be identified with Tell el-Kheleifeh (M.R. 147884; Pratico 1985: 1–32), it is as a fortress guarding Israelite interests on the gulf by keeping a watchful eye on predominantly Edomite Elath, and perhaps by providing temporary storage facilities.

It is unknown how often Solomon and his successors dispatched fleets from Elath/Ezion-geber. Jehoshaphat lost the ships which he sent to Ophir (1 Kgs 22:48). During the reign of his son Joram, Edom revolted and Elath was lost to Judah (2 Kgs 8:21–22). Amaziah defeated Edom (2 Kgs 14:7), and his son Azariah/Uzziah was able to rebuild Elath (2 Kgs 14:22; 2 Chr 26:2). Though no reason for this is given, Uzziah probably intended to revive the Red Sea trade. Elath was finally lost to Judean control during the reign of Ahaz when the king of Edom recovered it after Judah was weakened by a war with Aram and Israel (2 Kgs 16:5–6).

Elath's history does not end with its loss to Edom. Under the name Aila it is mentioned in many classical sources when it was an important port for trade with India, the home of *Legio X Fretensis*, a bishop's seat, and the residence of an at least partially Jewish population (Robinson and Smith 1841: 251–253, and *GP* 2: 311 summarize these sources). After the Moslem conquest it was an important stopping point for pilgrims from Cairo on their way to Mecca and Medineh (Robinson and Smith 1841: 252). The Crusaders held it briefly before it was regained by the Moslems. After A.D. 1300 it dwindled until it was largely deserted by the 19th century (ibid.).

Most commentators (Robinson and Smith 1841: 241; *GTTOT*, 342; *GP* 2: 311; *LBHG*, 434) locate Elath/Aila about 1 km NE of Aqaba (M.R. 150882), about 4 km from Tell el-Kheleifeh.

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

ELCHASAITES. An early Jewish–Christian sect with gnostic traits.

A. The Sect and Its Founder
B. Sacred Book of the Elchasaites
C. Significance of the Elchasaites

A. The Sect and Its Founder

The Elchasaites were named for their founder Elchasai, whose name is found in the following variants: *Ēlchasai* (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.13.1 and elsewhere), *Ēlxai* (Epiphanius *haer.* 19.1.4 and elsewhere), *Ēlxaios* (Epiphanius *haer.* 30.3.2; 53.1.2, and elsewhere), *Ēlchasaios* (Methodius, *symp.* 8.10), *Ēlkesai* (Theodoretus *haer.* 2.7), and *Ēlkesaios* (Methodius *symp.* 8.10, v 1). He was active primarily between A.D. 100 and 115: the first date stems from Hippolytus' comment (*Haer.* 9.13.1) that Elchasai appeared in the third year of the reign of Trajan (98–117); the second is based on a quotation from the *Book of the Elchasaites,* in which Elchasai predicted that an apocalyptic war between the Angels of the North would take place in the third year after the subjugation of the Parthians by Emperor Trajan (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.16.4). This prediction would have been recorded in 115 when significant areas of the empire were freed from Parthian control. Elchasai presumably was active in the border regions between Syria and Parthia. Apart from the aforementioned prophesy, Hippolytus' comment that Elchasai received the sacred book "from the Seraeans in Parthia" (*Haer.* 9.13.1) points to this region. His bilingual facility and the fact that Elchasaites were living in Syrian Apameia as early as 200 (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.13.1) make the border area of Hellenistic Syria more likely than Parthia itself.

In subsequent centuries the sect spread in all directions. Not only Hippolytus, as described above, but also the Ps.-Clementine source *Kerygmata Petrou* (*Ps.-Clem.*, Cont., 2.1; 4:1), which contains Elchasaitic material, indicates the presence of Elchasaites in Greek-speaking Syria ca. 200. Furthermore Hippolytus was aware of the appearance in Rome of the Elchasaite Alcibiades from Apameia (*Haer.* 9.13.1), indicating that the group tried to establish in Rome as early as 220.

The missionary efforts of the sect in the vicinity of Caesarea in Palestine are apparent from a comment by Origen in his exposition of Psalm 82, written ca. 247. East of the Jordan and the Dead Sea (in Peraea/Moab) Elchasaites lived under the name "Sampsaeians" ("People of the Sun"; Brandt 1912: 120–23) in the middle of the 4th century, as Epiphanius reports (*haer.* 53). Epiphanius' comment that Jewish Essenes had joined the Sampsaeians (*haer.* 20.3.2–4), is doubtful—apparently Epiphanius' inclination to describe expansively the extent of Elchasaite activity led him to transfer Sampsaeian information to the Essenes. Connections between Elchasaites and Nazarenes, Nazorenes, and Ebionites must likewise be viewed as secondary relationships (particular references in Strecker, *RAC* 4: 1174–76).

On the other hand the existence of a group of Elchasaite Sabaeans is conceivable. The personal name *Sobiai* appears in Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.13.2. It is probably a Gk circumlocution for the Aram *sebî'ayyâ'*, meaning "the bathed ones" (Brandt 1912: 42) and referring to the original Elchasaite community. Finally, Sabaeans are mentioned in the Qu'ran (Sûrah 2.59, 5.73, 22.17) and by the bibliographer Ibn an-Nadîm, who, in his *Kitâb al-Fihrst* (987/988), was aware of the "Sabaeans of the Swamp-Regions" as a group of Mugtasila living on the lower Euphrates and Tigris. This group cannot simply be taken as identical with the original Elchasaites, but, besides the name "Sabaeans," such practices as ablutions and worship of the stars make a connection to the older Elchasaites likely. The Cologne Mani Codex offers a parallel—Manichaeanism undoubtedly had Elchasaite roots (cf. Cirillo 1984: 85ff.). See also MANDAEISM and MANICHEANS AND MANICHAEISM.

B. Sacred Book of the Elchasaites

The Elchasaites derived their doctrine from a sacred book that has not survived. Its contents are in large part discernible in the quotations transmitted by Hippolytus and Epiphanius, although the organization and scope of the work as a whole can no longer be reconstructed. The book was presumably available to these Church Fathers in Greek; only the secret phrase included by Epiphanius (Epiphanius *haer.* 19.4.3) and the personal names Elchasai and Sobiai, not the work as a whole, might hint at the existence of an Aramaic original.

The source of the teaching, according to the sacred book, was a revelation to Elchasai in the form of a masculine being (called "Son of God"; "Christus") and his feminine companion (referred to as the "Holy Spirit"), both assuming gigantic proportions (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.13.2–3; Epiphanius *haer.* 19.4.1–2; 30.17.6–7; 53.1.9). Presumably this is an example of the metamorphosis motif, according to which Christ was repeatedly born and, in the process, exchanged births and bodies (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.14.1; cf. 10.29.2). Revealed to Elchasai was the possibility of a new forgiveness of sins through a second baptism in the name of the highest and greatest God and in the name of his Son, the great king (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.13.1; 9.15.1–2). Besides baptism, frequent ritual ablutions to bring healing from diseases were encouraged (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.15.5–6). In general, Jewish law was valued. Prayer offered in the direction of Jerusalem (Epiphanius *haer.* 19.3.5–6) and circumcision (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.14.1) were expressly required, and vows and Sabbath observance were encouraged. On the other hand, sacrifices were rejected (Epiphanius *haer.* 19.3.7). Indeed, the book warned against fire in general. Recantation under persecution was to be viewed as an indifferent matter, when it occurred "with the mouth rather than with the heart" (Epiphanius, *haer.* 19.1.8; Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.*, 6.38). Moreover, an imminent war of apocalyptic dimensions between the godless Angels of the North was predicted; one could escape this endtime event only with the aid of a secret phrase. Transliterated from the Aramaic original into Greek (all but the last word), *Selam,* must be translated from the middle back-

wards in both directions) it reads: *abar anid mōib nōchile daasim anē daasim nōchile mōib anid abar selam* (Epiphanius *haer.* 19.4.3), meaning, "I shall be a witness over you on this great (judgment) day" (Levy 1858: 712). The book was not to be read to everyone. Further instructions, e.g., abstinence from eating meat and praise for marriage, are, to be sure, not found explicitly in Hippolytus' and Epiphanius' literal quotations, but may have been taken by them from the sacred book.

C. Significance of the Elchasaites

Elchasaitism had Judaeo-Christian origins. To Judaism it owed its requirements based on Mosaic law (circumcision, Sabbath); from Christianity it derived its expectation of an imminent eschatology and the metamorphosis motif, including the virgin birth theme. Above all the Elchasaite view of baptism as a second act of repentance through which major sins are forgiven assumes as a prerequisite Christian baptism as a rite of initiation. Additional Jewish characteristics are Scripture criticism and rejection of Pauline teachings.

Alongside these, such characteristics as the metamorphosis motif and worship of the "greatest and highest God" point to gnostic influences. Thus Elchasaitism is best characterized as "syncretistic–gnostic Jewish Christianity" (Uhlhorn *RE,* 314).

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GEORG STRECKER
Trans. Dennis Martin

ELDAAH (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēldāʿâ*]. A son of Midian (Gen 25:4; 1 Chr 1:33). Midian's five "sons" as listed in Gen 25:4 comprise the clans, tribes, or people inhabiting the country of Midian. The list antedates 716 B.C. (Knauf 1988: 84–86). Eldaah means "God called." The verb *daʿâ* "to call" is specific to Arabic and ancient S Arabian. Eldaah belongs to the large group of clan or tribal names that are structured like personal names (Knauf 1988: 84).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

ELDAD (PERSON) [Heb *ʾeldād*]. One of the seventy elders chosen to assist Moses in administration in the wilderness of Sinai (Num 11:26–27). These elders were appointed to alleviate Moses' burden in judicial and spiritual matters relating to the nation. At the request of Moses, the elders assembled before the door of the tabernacle. There they received the spirit of prophecy from God to validate their appointment. Eldad and Medad received the same gift, although they were not with the others in the tabernacle court, but in the camp. Although the nature of this prophecy is unknown, three primary views are held. Gordon Wenham (*Numbers* TOTC, 109) maintains that the prophetic element was an unintelligible ecstatic utterance. George Gray (*Numbers* ICC, 113–14) concludes that the utterance was a prophetic frenzy or excitement, which he considered to be a common feature of Semitic religions; however, he offers no explanation as to whether the prophecy was intelligible or not. Leon Wood (1970: 157), on the other hand, points out that 1 Chr 25:1–3 presents "praise" as the meaning of Heb *wayyitnabbĕʾû*. The seventy had joined in a chorus of praise to God, and these two elders, Eldad and Medad, had moved their praises as far as the camp. Whatever the case, according to the MT it is clear that prophecy did not continue, as indicated by the phrase in Num 11:25, Heb *wĕlōʾ yāsāpû* (root *ysp*), "they did not add" or "continue," which is supported by the LXX (see Budd *Numbers* WBC, 130). The Targum of this text *(psqjn)* reflects an alternate pointing from the Heb *wĕlōʾ yāsupû,* "they did not cease" (from the Heb root *swp*). In this translation, the prophecy did continue, as is exemplified by Eldad and Medad in the following verses. A pseudepigraphon purporting to be the prophecy of Eldad and Medad is cited in the 2d century C.E. text *Herm. Vis.* 2.3.4. See also ELDAD AND MODAD.

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JOEL C. SLAYTON

ELDAD AND MODAD. Sometime prior to the compilation of the Mishnah, around 200 C.E., someone, probably a Jew, composed an apocryphal story about Eldad and Modad, the two prophets who prophesied in the camp during the wanderings in the wilderness after the Exodus (Num 11:26–29; MT Medad). The biblical text does not indicate the content of their prophecies, but the apocryphal book, which according to the Stichometry of Nicephorus contained 400 lines, filled in the missing details. The only extant part of this lost pseudepigraphon is a short quotation in the mid-2d century work titled the *Shepherd of Hermas* (*Vis.* 2.3.4): " 'The Lord is near to those who turn (to him),' as it is written in the (Book of) Eldad and Modad (var. Modat), who prophesied to the people in the wilderness." Although possibly only an allusion to the biblical account, it is likely that *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Num 11:26 also quotes from the pseudepigraphon, because the excerpt quoted is similar to the one found in Hermas: "The Lord is near to those in distress." This Targum also indicates that Eldad and Modad predicted the attack upon Jerusalem, and that at the endtime there would be a war in which the royal Messiah would defeat all evil. See also *OTP* 2: 463–65.

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JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH

ELDER. See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (POST-EXILIC JUDEAN OFFICIALS); FAMILY.

ELDERS, TRADITION OF THE. See TRADITION OF THE ELDERS.

ELEAD (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelĕʿād*]. Elead was a son or descendant of Ephraim. According to 1 Chr 7:21, Elead and Ezer were killed by the men of Gath in an attack upon that city (further discussion on Gath, see Mazar 1954: 227–35). The usual designation for "his son" is missing with Elead and Ezer, suggesting that they were not sons but descendants. Perhaps the narrative dealing with Elead and Ezer (vv 21b–23) is an independent fragment. Its location in the middle of the Joshua genealogy (v 27) has led some to combine it with Exod 13:17 and Ps 78:9 and suggest a reference to an early and unsuccessful Ephraimite exodus from Egypt (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 80). However, the incident could be an etiological explanation of Beriah (v 23) since affixing the Hebrew preposition "in" to *rāʿaʿ*, "evil," approximates the sound of Beriah (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 115).

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M. STEPHEN DAVIS

ELEADAH (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelʿādâ*]. Son or descendant of Ephraim (1 Chr 7:20) whose name means "El has adorned." The phrase "sons of Ephraim" in this passage is best understood as descendants. 1 Chr 7:20–27 gives a vertical genealogy of Joshua, the son of Nun, v 27, the hero of the Conquest. Eleadah is found nowhere else in the OT. Numbers 26 contains the only other listing of the Ephraimite clan but makes no mention of Eleadah. It lists three sons of Ephraim, namely Shuthelah, Becher, and Tahan who compare favorably to Shuthelah, Bered, and Tahath of 1 Chr 7:20. The omission of Eleadah from the Numbers passage and its similarity to other names in the Chronicles list, i.e., Elead (v 21) and Ladan (v 26), would suggest that the Chronicles list is a combination of other lists and that Eleadah is a later addition to the Ephraimite genealogy (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 114).

M. STEPHEN DAVIS

ELEALEH (PLACE) [Heb *ʾelʿālēh, ʾelʿālē*ʾ]. A town in Transjordan's tableland, always mentioned with Heshbon in the OT. Elealeh was rebuilt by the Reubenites and assigned to their territory (Num 32:3, 37). Although it is not named in the Mesha inscription among towns taken by Mesha, Elealeh, along with other settlements in the tableland, fell under Moabite control. Isaiah (15:4; 16:9) and Jeremiah (48:34) included Elealeh in their oracles against Moab. Ancient Elealeh is usually identified with Khirbet el-ʿÂl (M.R. 228136), located 1.5 miles NE of Tell Hesban (ancient Heshbon?). Excavations at both sites have demonstrated that their occupational histories were similar, with neither yielding significant remains antedating Iron Age I.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

ELEASAH (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelĕʿāśâ*]. A Benjaminite listed among the descendants of Saul and Jonathan (1 Chr 8:37; 9:43). The name seems to derive from the verb *ʿāśâ*, "to make," and the divine component *ʾēl*, "God," thus, "God has made." Eleasah represents the 10th generation after Saul, included in a list (1 Chr 8:29–38) which continues for fully twelve generations after Saul. This family list is repeated almost exactly in 1 Chr 9:35–44. Peter Ackroyd (*Chronicles Ezra Nehemiah* TBC, 42) has suggested that the continued knowledge of Saul's line might indicate the existence of support for Saul's descendants well into the monarchical period. He suggests that, while this support is largely obscured in the biblical narrative due to its focus on the legitimacy of the Davidic line, this preservation of such a family list could hint at traditions which assigned a greater importance to the Saulide line. H. G. M. Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 93) sees no reason to attach any such inference to this remembrance of Saul's line. He suggests that the Chronicler's inclusion of these lists in no way negates his concern to show that "Saul's dynasty was judged, and was therefore to all intents and purposes at an end. Its death-throes were in irrelevance, as was the fact that part of the family survived."

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

ELEAZAR (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelʿāzār*]. Eleven persons in the Bible bear this name, which means "God has helped."

1. Third son of Aaron and Elisheba (Exod 6:23), the husband of a daughter of Putiel (Exod 6:25) and the father of Phinehas (Exod 6:25), consecrated as priest (Exod 28:1; Num 3:3–4) and designated as Aaron's heir (20:25–28; Deut 10:6) after the deaths of Nadab and Abihu (Leviticus 10; see ITHAMAR). He is the supreme chief of the tribe of Levi (Num 3:32), in charge of all affairs pertaining to the transportation of the tabernacle (Num 4:16). The Zadokite priests of Jerusalem traced their descent from Aaron through Eleazar (Ezra 7:1–5; 1 Chr 5:29–41 [—Eng 6:3–15]; 6:35–38 [—Eng 6:50–53]; 24:3). In the story of Korah (Numbers 16–17), which legitimates the primacy of the priesthood of Jerusalem, Eleazar gathers up the censers of the slain Levites and plates the altar with them as a warning against future Levitic usurpers (Num 17:1–5). Subsequently he performs the newly instituted red heifer rite (Numbers 19), perhaps to purify the camp after the events of Numbers 16–17. Eleazar assumes an important role in the administration of the nation, especially in the enumeration of the clans of Israel in preparation for the apportioning of Canaan (Numbers 26). Between the deaths of Aaron and Moses the people are led by Moses and Eleazar (Num 27:1–11; 31:12, 13, 25–31); Joshua is elevated to be Moses' successor, but under the supervision of Eleazar (Num 27:18–23). To Eleazar are attributed certain ordinances pertaining to purification of the spoils of war (so Num 31:21–24 in the

MT, but the Samaritan Pentateuch attributes these laws to Moses). Using the priestly lots, Eleazar later presides at Shiloh over the settlement of the Israelite tribes (Num 34:17; Josh 14:1; 19:51; 21:1). Eleazar's grave was believed to be in Gibeath Phinehas in the hills of Ephraim. Since Benjamin and Ephraim shared these hills, it may be that Eleazar's tomb was near Gibeon, Geba, Anathoth or Almon/Alemeth, cities assigned to the house of Aaron (Josh 21:17–18; 1 Chr 6:45 [—Eng 6:60]). According to the Chronicler, in David's time there were sixteen families of the house of Eleazar (1 Chr 24:4, 7–14).

The name Eleazar resembles that of Eliezer, the son of Moses (cf. the similarity of Gershom and Gershon), and it is possible that the clan of Eleazar/Eliezer was split between the descendants of Moses and Aaron, though ordinarily this would have been expressed by making Eleazar/Eliezer the father of Moses and Aaron.

2. Son of Abinadab of Kiriath-jearim, or perhaps Gibeah (1 Sam 7:1; 2 Sam 6:3–4), custodian of the ark and presumably the ancestor of Uzzah and Ahio (unless *ʾḥyw* is to be interpreted "his brothers"), who surrender it to David (2 Sam 6:2–7).

3. Son of Dodo the Ahohite, one of the Three, an elite category of David's warriors (2 Sam 23:9; 1 Chr 11:12). He earned this rank with persistence in battle against the Philistines even though weary from fighting (2 Sam 23:9–10). 1 Chr 11:12 refers to his participation in a battle in a barley field at Pas-dammim, called Ephes-dammim in 1 Sam 17:1, where the Israelites under Saul faced the Philistines. The Three are said to have made a raid upon Bethlehem when the Philistines occupied it and brought water from its well to David in the cave of Adullam (2 Sam 23:13–17; 1 Chr 11:15–19). See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

4. Levite of the house of Mahli in David's time who had no sons, and so his daughters married the sons of his brother Kish (1 Chr 23:21–22; 24:28).

5. Son of Phinehas, a Levite of Ezra's day, a custodian of the treasures contributed to the second temple (Ezra 8:33). He might be the same as No. 6 below.

6. Temple singer of Nehemiah's day (Neh 12:42).

7. Israelite, a descendant of Parosh, who put away a foreign wife at Ezra's instigation (Ezra 10:25).

8. Senior scribe tortured to death under Antiochus IV Epiphanes (2 Macc 6:18–31) for refusing to eat sacrificial pork or to even pretend to do so.

9. The 4th son of Mattathias, also called by the nickname of Auaran (1 Macc 2:5), perhaps meaning "paleface" (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 231). He was crushed to death at Beth-zechariah by the corpse of an elephant which he slew in battle against Lysias (1 Macc 6:43–47). See AVARAN.

10. The father of Jason, Judas Maccabeus' emissary to Rome (1 Macc 8:17).

In addition, 1 Esdr 8:43; 9:19 refer to individuals called Eleazar, but MT has Eliezer (Ezra 8:16; 10:18). The former is an envoy sent to Casiphia to fetch some Levites, and the latter is a priest who had married a foreigner.

WILLIAM H. PROPP

11. The son of Eliud and father of Matthan, according to Matthew's genealogy tying Joseph, the husband of Mary, to the house of David and Solomon (Matt 1:15). The name does not appear in any other genealogy or list of Jesus' ancestors, although Albright and Mann (*Matthew* AB, 4–5) believe the name is characteristic of names used in the last two centuries B.C. Gundry (1982: 17) posits that Eliezer in the similar place in Luke's genealogy (3:29) "reminded Matthew of the well-known high priest Eleazar. As a result, the evangelist's thoughts turned to the priestly genealogy" of 1 Chr 6:3–14 (MT 5:29ff.). According to Gundry, changes which Matthew makes can be accounted for by his intention not to give physical descent and by his lack of interest in priestly Christology. Gundry's theory is intriguing but difficult to prove, since Matthew's dependence on 1 Chr 1:13–15 is difficult to establish.

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STANLEY E. PORTER

ELECT LADY [Gk *eklektē kyria*]. The phrase "Elect Lady" is found only in the salutation of 2 John 1 as the designation of the addressees (cf. v 5 where *kyria* recurs). There has been considerable debate whether "elect lady" should be taken literally of an individual, or figuratively of a particular Johannine church.

The literal interpretation partly assumes that since 3 John is addressed to a specific individual (Gaius), so is 2 John. Clement of Alexandria *(Hypotyposes)* assumed that the addressee was a Babylonian woman named Electa, hence "lady Electa." However there is insufficient evidence to assume that *electa* was a proper name. Clement is probably not dependent upon historical tradition, but instead on 2 John 1 in light of 1 Pet 5:13 where he found reference to a *syneklektē* ("chosen together") in Babylon. The concluding greeting from the children of an elect sister (2 John 13) would necessitate that the supposed Electa had a sister by the same name.

Athanasius called the addressee "noble Kyria." *Kyria* is attested as a personal name and there are early Christian examples of *eklektē* modifying a proper name (Rom 16:13; Ign. *Philad.* 11.1). A related proposal suggests that the identity of the woman is unknown, "elect lady" being equivalent to the expression of courtesy "dear lady." Ruling against literal interpretations is the fact that if it is a name, the phrase would be *kyria tē eklektē*, not *eklektē kyria* (cf. v 13; 3 John 1; Rom 16:13).

The figurative interpretation assumes that the "Elect Lady" is a personification, possibly of the Church universal (Jerome, Oecumenius). The lack of a definite article preceding the address is inferred to indicate that 2 John is a Catholic letter. However this leads to the implausibility of the children of an elect sister (v 13) greeting the Church universal. This implausibility can be circumvented if the broader church context is limited to a group of Johannine churches which is greeted by an individual Johannine church.

By far the most widely held view is that the Elect Lady is a personification of an individual Johannine church whose identity is unknown. Groups of believers are described as the elect (Matt 24:22; Rom 8:33; 16:13; Col 3:12; 2 Tim 2:10; Titus 1:1; 1 Pet 1:1; Rev 17:14). In the

body of the letter the alternation from singular to the plural with reference to the addressees is more easily explained if a collectivity is involved. The content of the letter is more appropriate to a church than an individual (esp. vv 1–3, 5–6, 8). The admonition (v 10) suggests a house church, and the greeting (v 13) is best thought to be from a Johannine church from which the Elder is writing, rather than a sister's children greeting their aunt.

As personification, "Elect Lady" stands in the Jewish–Christian tradition of referring to the covenant people of God using feminine imagery. Israel and Jerusalem are portrayed as Yahweh's bride (Isa 54:1–8; 62:4–5; Jer 2:2; Hos 1–3) and as mothers (Isa 54:1–3; Bar 4:5–5:9; Gal 4:26–27). The Church is portrayed as a woman (1 Pet 5:13), the bride of Christ (2 Cor 11:2; Eph 5:21–33; Rev 19:6–8; 21:2), and as a mother (1 Pet 5:13; Rev 12:1–2, 17). This feminine imagery is carried through 2 John with the address of the church members as children (vv 1, 4) and the sending church as sister (v 13). For further discussion see *Epistles of John* AB.

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DUANE F. WATSON

ELECTION. This term is used in biblical and theological discourse to refer to the idea that God chooses a people or individuals to belong to him in a unique way.

OLD TESTAMENT

In the Hebrew Scriptures, it is the people of Israel that is the object of God's choice, and groups and individuals within this people.

A. Scholarly Discussion
B. The Classical Formulation
  1. The Term *bḥr* in Hebrew Usage
  2. The Rhetorical Purpose of the Deuteronomic Formulation
C. Election in the Acts of the Biblical Drama
  1. The Call of Abraham
  2. The Exodus from Egypt
  3. The Conquest of the Land
D. The Distinctive Identity of Israel
E. Election in the Message of the Prophets of Judgment
F. Election in Prophetic Promises of Salvation
  1. The Expansion of Election
  2. The Division of the People into Elect and Reprobate
  3. Fencing Off the People of God
G. Election and the Canonization of Scripture

A. Scholarly Discussion

The concept of election has had its stock rise and fall in 20th century biblical interpretation. The generation of OT scholars which set the agenda of the discipline before, during, and after WW II was virtually unanimous in according it an essential role in the conceptual structure of the OT. It was the subject of several monographs—by H. H. Rowley (1950), T. C. Vriezen (1953), and H. Wildberger (1959)—and was discussed in every OT theology written during the era. One of the leaders of the "biblical theology movement" in America, G. E. Wright (1952: 55) spoke for the generation when he declared that "the chief inference from this view of history as revelation was the mediated nature of God's action in history: that is, his election of a special people through whom he would accomplish his purposes."

The theological constructions of that generation came under severe criticism in the 1960s. The most telling criticism was of the concept of "revelation in history." J. Barr (1966) demonstrated that both "revelation" and "history" were used equivocally in virtually all biblical theologies of the era, and that concentration on "history" (by whatever definition) distorted the witness of the OT. Since the concept of election was an inference from and interpretation of Israel's history with YHWH, this critique of the slogan "revelation in history" undercut the importance of election as an organizing concept for biblical theology.

Barr (1961; 1966) also subjected the presuppositions of Bible dictionaries to serious scrutiny. His thesis, simply stated, is that words are not concepts. The actual meaning of a word in a given passage is as dependent upon the context as it is on its general semantic value. It is, therefore, highly misleading to construct a developed concept or doctrine from the various uses of a word, then import this concept into any passage in which the word is found.

In the aftermath of the assault on the "biblical theology movement" by Barr, Childs (1974), and others, it became common to deny that any comprehensive, synthetic concept like election, covenant, or kingdom of God was ubiquitous in Scripture. One must restrict the study of such concepts to their explicit appearance in specific texts. The witness of the OT is radically pluralistic, and to generalize a concept from one text to others is to impose an essentially alien conceptual framework on the latter.

A salutary effect of the demise of the biblical theology movement was the revival of interest in OT texts and traditions which were not "history." Wisdom, in particular, had been pushed to the margin of Scripture by the theologians who located its center in the "sacred history"; the 1960s and 1970s saw an explosion of creative work on this body of literature. This interest in wisdom further undercut the theological claims of such a synthetic theologoumenon as election, because the wisdom tradition built upon the universals of human experience and belonged to an international culture; the particularism of election was not only inapplicable to it, but in opposition.

Another trend in biblical interpretation began to gain momentum in this period. There was a turn toward the poetics and rhetoric of biblical narrative and poetry. During the earlier era, much of this literature would have come under the rubric, "revelation in history." This new set of methodologies, however, ignores both "revelation" and "history" and eschews subsuming texts under comprehensive theologoumena like election and covenant. These scholars desire to give the text, which usually means the extant text rather than the reconstructed "core," a close reading—a reading more concerned with the text's artful features and effect upon an audience than on any doctrine which might be abstracted from it.

This sketch of the last 75 years of OT scholarship and theology is decidedly impressionistic. It is intended only to give the reader a sense of where we have come from and where we are at on the discussion of "election." As one may surmise, after a period in which election was the center of theological discussion, it has fallen to a relatively minor subject within OT studies. Articles have appeared now and then in scholarly and theological journals, but the last three decades has seen nothing of great significance or interest. The relatively few attempts at theological synthesis in this period have found their center elsewhere (e.g., Terrien 1978).

Despite the demotion of the concept of election within the guild of biblical scholars and theologians, it has burst upon the theological scene with renewed vigor in recent years. The theological movements among Black and Latin American theologians (e.g., Cone 1975; Gutierrez 1973; Miranda 1974) have offered a new, bold interpretation and application of the concept of election: the God of Israel identifies with the poor and oppressed against the rich and powerful. This God is known solely by his will for justice (Miranda 1974), and he proposes to achieve justice through the empowerment of the powerless.

The reading of the Scriptures by liberation theology deserves the serious attention of biblical theologians. The Bible is *not* the property of academic scholars, but the Holy Book of Jews and Christians. It has become an effective text, a text with transforming power, within these radical movements, and biblical interpreters should appropriate as well as criticize these transactions between text and reader. Significant insights are to be gained by listening in on them (see especially Gottwald 1979 and 1985; on election, see Patrick 1976).

Of course, biblical scholars and theologians cannot allow movements in the religious communities or secular culture to dictate their agenda. Any rehabilitation of the synthetic concept of election must answer the criticisms of synthesis and proceed in a chastened manner. Barr's criticism of the creation of concepts from vocabulary items is valid. It is imperative that the study of election *not* import a complete concept into every passage in which a term or even several associated terms occur. Particular Hebrew words may be an index of a theological concept only when they occur in conjunction with other words and phrases which together enunciate the concept or some aspect of it.

The emphasis on the diversity of Scripture, though initially liberating, has become too nominalistic. The wisdom tradition, for example, was in fact incorporated into a canon in which YHWH's history with Israel is the center (Torah and Prophets). The shape of the canon should be a necessary, if not sufficient, component in the interpretation of particular texts (see Goldingay 1987); especially since the authors and editors of Scripture intended that their works be interpreted synoptically (see Patrick and Scult 1989).

Consequently, it is not necessary to limit the discussion of the concept of election to those passages which assuredly communicate it. It should be possible to work out its "fit" with narratives and utterances of various sorts. Let the interpreter admit that the concept, in such cases, is being used to synthesize the diverse texts of Scripture. The concept was not necessarily in the mind of the author, but what was in the mind of the author (as articulated in the text itself) fits within the conceptual scheme.

Another way to state this position is to reflect on the logical status of concepts. Election is a concept which was implicit in the stories Israel told of its origins and vocation. When a story does not answer all the questions that it raises, discursive thought begins to raise its implicit concepts and principles to consciousness. Election is an abstract concept meant to account for and justify the story of YHWH, the one Creator and Sovereign, and Israel. What explains and justifies the narrowing of the story, after the primeval period, to the people of Israel? How can Israel claim to know the universal God when no other people does? Why was Israel the beneficiary of such marvelous events? What distinctive identity must Israel maintain to be the people the text portrays? (See also Jacob 1958: 201–209; *IDB* 1: 76–82; *TDNT* 4: 145–68; *ROTT*; Zimmerli 1978: 43–48.)

In the rest of this essay, we proceed from explicit statements of the concept of election to texts which can be read productively within its framework. We begin with the rather late document, Deuteronomy, which gives the concept its classical formulation. Then we trace applications of the concept from Deuteronomy back into the narrative traditions. The narrative order is followed, disregarding the purported date of the sources. After treating the narratives we venture into the prophetic applications of the concept, and conclude with the effect of the concept in the canonization of Scripture.

B. The Classical Formulation

The credit goes to the author of Deuteronomy for the classical formulation of the concept of election. Pondering the story of Israel's origins and calling, and the mounting crisis to its existence produced by the prophetic word and the course of human events, this author portrays Moses as defining its essential identity for all time. "For a holy people are you to YHWH your God; in you chose YHWH your God to be to him a people of treasured possession out of all the peoples which are upon the surface of the earth" (Deut 7:6). The Hebrew word *bḥr* is the key word for our concept; YHWH chose out" *(bḥr)* this one people from all the peoples and "set it apart" *(qdwš)* as his own, bestowing upon it a "unique value" *(sgl̲h)*. According to Deuteronomy, there was nothing about Israel that made it more worthy of YHWH's favor than other nations; it was hardly impressive in size (7:7) so that YHWH might symbolize his power by being represented by a mighty nation. Asshur had elected Assyria so that his rule might be extended over the earth by conquest, but YHWH showed forth his power in weakness. Under the power of YHWH's blessing, Israel would multiply in numbers and increase in might, but this too would manifest YHWH's power in weakness. Nor was Israel of superior moral character, for their disposition is in fact recalcitrant (9:4, 6); if they do show forth his righteousness nevertheless, it will be a sign of YHWH's power to transform the human heart. The only reason for Israel's being chosen is to be found in YHWH's own will, in his incomprehensible "love" *(ʾhb)* for this people.

1. The Term *bḥr* in Hebrew Usage. At the time when Deuteronomy was composed, the word *bḥr* had currency

in everyday Hebrew for the human act of choosing or selecting. It could be used of the mundane act of selecting an object for use (1 Sam 17:40; 1 Kgs 18:23, 25) or a place to reside (Gen 13:11; Deut 23:16). The criterion for choice appears to be fitness for the chooser's purposes. The verb could also be used of possible courses of action (2 Sam 15:15) and suffering (2 Sam 24:12). Persons, too, could be chosen for the purposes of the chooser: men are selected for military service (1 Sam 13:2; 2 Sam 10:4; 17:1), and individuals for leadership (Exod 18:25; 1 Sam 8:18; 12:13). When Saul charges Jonathan with choosing David (1 Sam 20:30), this may indicate that it was normal to speak of *bḥr* in the context of friendship, but given the general tenor of the evidence one should probably hear overtones of a political alliance. (See *TDOT* 2: 78–87; *THAT* 1: 275–300.)

The term *bḥr* was used of human decisions within the moral and religious discourse of ancient Israel as well. Isaiah describes a child's attaining the age of discretion as learning to "refuse the evil and choose the good" (Isa 7:15–16). It is noteworthy that one does not choose *between* evil and good; one always chooses *something*. Deut 30:19 sets out two modes of existence, obedience leading to life and disobedience leading to death, and urges Israel to "choose life." The deity—either YHWH or other gods—could also be the object of choice (Josh 24:15, 22; Judg 5:8; 10:14). To choose a deity means to rely upon (Judg 10:14) and serve that god (Josh 24:15, 22).

The term *bḥr* could be employed theologically. Long before Israel stepped upon the stage of history, the idea of a god choosing a human was in circulation. Within Hebrew Scripture, YHWH is the subject of *bḥr* with both persons and places as objects. As in the case of human choices, YHWH's choice of individuals is for official positions: he chose Saul to be king (1 Sam 10:24), then David to take Saul's place (1 Sam 16:8–10, 12; 2 Sam 6:21). Perhaps by chance, we do not find David's dynasty as an object of *bḥr*, though there are numerous passages which speak of it as "established," "covenanted," etc. (e.g., Ps 89:19–37; 2 Sam 7:11–16; 23:1–7). On the other hand, there are a number of references to chosen priestly dynasties (1 Sam 2:28; Deut 18:5; Ps 105:26). Finally, YHWH is said to have chosen Zion, or Jerusalem, as his dwelling place (Ps 132:13); the Deuteronomic tradition prefers to describe the holy place as the dwelling place of the name (Deut 12:5, 11, etc.; and 1 Kgs 14:21).

2. The Rhetorical Purpose of the Deuteronomic Formulation. Whether or not the author of Deuteronomy was the first to speak of YHWH's choice of the people of Israel, this work contains the most thorough and penetrating reflection on the concept of election within Scripture. In Moses' preaching, YHWH's free act of choosing this people accounts for the divine favor they have experienced, and the vocation and destiny they have inherited. The purpose of his homilies was to recapitulate the events of sacred history in an explicitly persuasive mode in order to enlist the identification of the audience with the "Israel" which was created and governed by the only God the people had ever "known" (Deut 13:2, 6, 13). The concept of divine election made explicit the unique value of belonging to this people. No other nation had been so favored by the one universal God (Deut 10:14–15, etc.); thus, it would be foolish, even suicidal, to renounce one's obligations to the relationship.

C. Election in the Acts of the Biblical Drama

Aspects of the concept of election can be drawn out of reflection on each act of the biblical drama. The creation of the world establishes YHWH's claim upon all creatures: "Behold, to YHWH your God belong heaven and the heaven of heavens, the earth with all that is in it" (Deut 10:14). Yet, among all the creatures under heaven this universal Lord selected one family to belong to him in a special way: "Yet YHWH set his heart in love upon your forebears and close their descendants after them—in you—above all peoples" (10:15). Belonging to YHWH is a great gift which can only be explained by reference to his mysterious will. YHWH had simply "fallen in love" with Israel's ancestors, choosing them over every other people.

1. The Call of Abraham. This special favor for one family is by no means a form of favoritism inappropriate to a just God! God, our author affirms, plays no favorites: "For YHWH your God is God of gods and Lord of lords, the great, mighty and terrible God, who is not partial and takes no bribes. He executes justice for the orphan and widow, and loves the sojourner . . ." (10:17–18). The favor shown Israel is an unfair favoritism because the people are called to embody in their life the very divine justice that justifies YHWH's favor toward them: "You shall love the sojourner, for you were sojourners in the land of Egypt" (10:19). The passage then enunciates the underlying principle of election, that the God who has shown them favor expects not only justice toward those who are below them, but devotion and obedience to the One who raised them from below: "YHWH your God you shall fear; him you shall serve and to him you shall cleave, and by his name you shall swear; he it is who is your praise and he it is who is your God, the very one who has done you these great and wonderful deeds which your eyes have seen" (10:20–21). It is not so much that Israel pays back God's concern by showing gratitude as it is that Israel fulfills the purpose of election by embodying a God-centered life.

Why did the universal God not show the same favor to other peoples? Why did he not fall in love with their forebears as well as with Israel's? To answer this question, we must go back to the Genesis narrative recounting the choice of Abraham. While the promise given to Abraham (Gen 12:2–3) and repeated to him (18:18; 22:18), to Isaac (26:4), and to Jacob (28:14) does not use the word "to choose," it does depict YHWH's singling out one person and people for a special destiny. The key word in these passages is "blessing" *(brk)*, which is the receiving of supernatural favor or power to achieve that which makes life worth living. Abraham and his descendants are promised the power of fecundity and renown (12:2) and divine support in their competition with other peoples for existence (12:3a). These blessings might be said to equip Abraham and his descendants to fulfill their destiny. The nature of that destiny is stated in the cryptic expression, *wnbrkw bk kl mšpḥt hʾdmh* (12:3b), which can be translated either, "all the families of the earth will bless themselves by you," or, "in you all the families of the earth will be blessed." The first of these would mean simply that other families and nations would be so impressed by Israel's

success and happiness that they would say, "May you be blessed like Abraham/Israel." The second would mean that Israel's very existence would mediate a "blessing" to all the families on earth. While both are linguistically and conceptually possible, as elsewhere in the Bible, the ambiguity of the text may be there for a reason. However, we prefer the latter because it provides the most comprehensive, consistent, and cogent possible interpretation (see Dworkin 1985 for a discussion of the criteria employed here). In it we have an explanation of how the story of the universal God can be narrowed from universal history (Genesis 1–11) to the history of one people (from Genesis 12 to the end of history): God is achieving a universal purpose in Israel's history. How that purpose is to be achieved, and how all peoples will receive a blessing through Israel, is left for the future to unfold.

There is a passage within the Abrahamic narrative which does chart the direction of election history: Gen 18:17–21. YHWH is pondering whether he should reveal his impending judgment of Sodom and Gomorrah. He decides to tell him "because I have known (Heb *yd*ᶜ) him in order that he may command his children and his household after him to keep the way of YHWH by doing righteousness and justice in order that YHWH might bestow on Abraham all that he promised" (18:19). While this enunciation of the reason for election does not explain how the attainment of righteousness and justice by Israel will benefit the world, it does indicate how Israel is expected to fulfill its role. It must be remembered that election does not imply proselytizing other peoples; thus, the text leaves open how other peoples will benefit from Israel. In the story that follows, one way is exemplified: Abraham intercedes for them.

2. The Exodus from Egypt. YHWH's election of Abraham and his descendants is manifested in his great deeds for them, particularly his deliverance of Israel from Egyptian bondage. Deut 7:7–8 draws out this connection: "It was not because you were more in number . . . that YHWH became attached to you and chose you . . . but out of YHWH's love for you and his fidelity to his oath which he swore to your forebears he brought you out with a mighty hand, freed you from the house of slaves, from the power of Pharaoh king of Egypt." YHWH was true to the solemn promise he had made to the patriarchs, confirming his election by a great deliverance. The Exodus was the moment in Israel's history in which God's loyalty to the people he had attached to himself coincided with his justice for the oppressed. "I have witnessed the affliction of my people who are in Egypt, and their cry I have heard in the face of their slave drivers, so I know their pains, and I have come down to deliver them out from under the power of Egypt . . ." (Exod 3:7–8). YHWH owns this suffering mass of slaves and enters sympathetically into their condition, and is thereby moved to rectify the injustice they have experienced. Since YHWH is the Creator and Lord of history, one could logically infer that the power structures which produce injustice are the creation of his providence, but here in the Exodus we see that his power is manifested in overturning unjust power. It is precisely because all human power derives from God that he has the authority and capacity to empower the powerless.

3. The Conquest of the Land. YHWH's military support of Israel in their conquest of Canaan has a similar logic. Deut 7:17–24 makes this connection: "If you say in your heart, 'These nations are greater than I; how can I dispossess them?' you shall not be afraid of them, but you shall remember what YHWH your God did to Pharaoh and to all Egypt . . ." (v 17). YHWH will overturn the odds in Israel's struggles against enemies of superior strength, just as he did in Egypt. The same theme reappears numerous times in Hebrew Scripture. For example, Ps 44:3 confesses that

> Not by their own sword did (our fathers) gain
> possession of the land,
> nor did their own arm give them victory;
> but thy right hand, and thy arm,
> and the light of thy countenance;
> for thou didst delight in them.

The term "delight" *(rṣh)* carries the same weight as "love" and "choose" in Deuteronomy. The power to conquer the land was a gift of the God who had graciously taken it under his care.

The justice of this love is less clear in the Conquest than in the Exodus. In the accounts of the book of Judges, we do hear of the oppression of Israel by its enemies (3:8–9, 12–15; 4:1–3; etc.). This theme is not only present in these rather late frameworks of the deliverances, but in the stories themselves—even in the very old Song of Deborah (Judg 5:6–8). One has to admit, however, that these peoples were defending their own territory against the encroachment of land-grabbers. The old narratives simply do not justify YHWH's decision to dispossess the peoples of Canaan in order to give Israel a land. Of course, one could appeal to YHWH's ownership of the land (e.g., Lev 25:23) and his right to dispose of it however he pleases (cf. Exod 19:5). This arbitrariness, however, endangers YHWH's claim to be a just God of all nations. The author of Deuteronomy sensed the need to provide an additional justification: "It is because of the wickedness of these nations that YHWH is driving them out before you" (Deut 9:4, 5, etc.). The fate of nations depends upon the character of their common life; this is a warning to Israel that they should obey the divine law by which they shall attain righteousness in the eyes of the universal Judge (Deut 6:24–25), or they will go the way of the nations that preceded them (Deut 8:17–20; 28:1–68, and *passim*).

D. The Distinctive Identity of Israel

YHWH's election of Israel is manifested in the people's distinctive identity as well as God's deeds. This distinctive identity is articulated in two allusive expressions in Deut 7:6: "you are a *people holy* to YHWH your God"—". . . a *people of unique value* to Him." In the phrase "holy to Yahweh," one hears allusions to cultic personnel, places and utensils which are set apart from the everyday to be in the immediate vicinity of the divine and to perform mediating functions. Israel itself, the expression suggests, is to be a people with God in its midst, called to witness and perform his works. Moses once prays at Sinai: "If now I have found favor in thy sight, O Lord, let the Lord . . . go in the midst of us, although it is a stiff-necked people, and pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for thy

inheritance" (Exod 34:9). To which YHWH replies: "Behold, I strike a covenant. Before all your people I will do marvels, such as have not been wrought in all the earth or any nation; and all the people . . . shall see the work of YHWH; for it is an awesome thing I will do with you" (Exod 34:10). Israel will stand out from other nations by the marvel-working presence of the holy God in its midst.

The other expression derives from the language of ownership. The distinctive word *sglh* is used outside of our formula for the private wealth of a king, in distinction from wealth held in trust for the people (see 1 Chr 29:3; Eccl 2:8). From this we can infer that Israel is YHWH's private treasure, in distinction from the peoples of the earth; it is, as suggested in the translation (above), a "unique value" to him. Other texts use another word from the semantic field of "ownership," *nḥlh* ("inheritance"), for Israel's unique position of belonging to YHWH (so Exod 34:9; Deut 4:20; 32:8–9, etc.). Israel is being compared to a plot of land that belongs to a family in perpetuity, passed on from generation to generation by inheritance. Perhaps this is meant to intimate that Israel is YHWH's "stake" in the world, his inalienable parcel of territory among the nations.

When the covenant is offered to Israel on Mount Horeb/Sinai, YHWH initially recalls his demonstrations of power and concern for Israel in the deliverance from Egypt (Exod 19:4), then offers them the opportunity to choose to be a "holy nation" and "unique value" to YHWH by agreeing to "obey my voice and keep my covenant" (19:5). The best interpretation of the conditional structure of this passage is to construe it as a condition that can be met in the course of the ritual, for the covenant arrangement is put in force in this very event. That is to say, Israel *becomes* YHWH's people by formally pledging to obey him (as they do in 19:8 and 24:3, 7–8). Of course, if they go back on their pledge to recognize YHWH as the focus of loyalty and locus of authority in Israel, the stated condition could come into force as judgment; but then it would be judgment of the *chosen* people.

Exod 19:5–6 uses the expressions found in Deut 7:6. There is a slight difference in wording, however, for in Exod 19:6 Israel is called a holy *nation,* and this is paired with "kingdom of priests." A nation, unlike a people, is a political entity, and the matching term *kingdom* reinforces this political import. Both phrases combine a political and a religious term, suggesting the idea of theocracy: a nation ruled by God. The election, it would seem, establishes Israel as a political state with a divine sovereign. This is in fact simply the reverse side of the pledge to obey YHWH, for sovereignty is defined as the authority to command and the duty of the sovereign's subjects to obey.

The use of the term "priests" in the one phrase may allude to a role of mediation between God and the nations. The priesthood performed such a role within Israel, so by analogy Israel as a priesthood would perform this role for the nations. Such an allusion is justified by its nice fit with the promise to Abraham that he and his offspring will be a blessing to the nations.

In these passages, election is so bound up with COVENANT that the conceptual structure associated with the one can be transferred to the other. Hence, Israel's unique status entails the obligation to obey YHWH's will; that will is enunciated in the commandments and laws which are delivered to the people (in Exodus 20–23) as a part of the act of covenant making, and which the people agree to obey in the ritual ratifying it (24:3–8). It is quite understandable, then, that virtually every passage in Deuteronomy which speaks of YHWH's choice of Israel is juxtaposed to admonitions to obey him (7:6–8, 9–11; 10:12–13, 14–15, 16, 17–18, 19–20; 14:1, 2; 28:1a, 1b; cf. 26:17–19).

E. Election in the Message of the Prophets of Judgment

Amos 3:1–2 constitutes a powerful commentary on the responsibility entailed in being YHWH's elect: "You only have I known among all the families of the earth; therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities." This passage does not contain the key word *bḥr,* yet it does speak of a unique relationship established at YHWH's initiative. Being "known" (*yd*ʿ) by YHWH is indeed tantamount to having been chosen (see Gen 18:19, and for an individual, Jer 1:5). Amos here appears to be refuting a natural, but spurious, extrapolation from the concept of election: YHWH will side with his people in their conflicts with enemies and show indulgence toward their iniquities. To the contrary, YHWH says through Amos, since I have chosen you and revealed my law by which my people can preserve a righteous and just community, I will especially hold you responsible for your corruption. Other nations could plead for mercy because of their ignorance, but Israel could not. In another passage (Amos 9:7), Amos actually denies that Israel is special to YHWH: The Ethiopians are equal to God's concern, and his providence has been demonstrated in the history of other nations as well as Israel's. To square this with Amos 3:2 is difficult because they appear to be contradictory, but it is noteworthy that both argue to the same conclusion: Israel is at least as vulnerable to judgment as any other nation.

Although biblical scholars find virtually no other references to election in the preexilic prophets, a close reading of the texts does turn up passages which resonate with election ideas. For example, the name of Hosea's third child, Lo Ami ("Not my people," 1:9), negates the unique status election claims for Israel. Israel's apostasy has violated the mutually exclusive relationship between the people and YHWH, so the bond is nullified. The very identity of this people was defined by the relationship, so when the relationship was ruptured, the people "lost" that which distinguished them from other peoples. Likewise, when they pursue the game of international power politics, "Ephraim mixed itself with the peoples . . . Aliens devour its strength" (7:8–9); "Israel is swallowed up; already they are among the peoples like a useless vessel" (8:8). They must undergo the suffering consequent upon their deeds (2:2, 9, 10–13; 8:9–10; etc.) before they can be reconstituted as YHWH's people and reverse the negation in the name (2:14–23).

The book of Deuteronomy was in all probability composed after the 8th century prophets and was responding to their message. The author seeks to motivate the people to practice justice and be loyal to their God in order to avoid the dire consequences of injustice and apostasy announced by the prophets. The Conquest of Canaan is a

central symbol in the author's presentation. The previous inhabitants were being driven out because of their wickedness, particularly their religious and cultic abominations. It is imperative, Moses says, that these peoples and their religion be eradicated to avoid their corrupting Israel (e.g., 7:1–5, 25–26). Moreover, once the people of Israel are in control of the land, they must be on guard to purge their own people when they "revert" to the religion of their predecessors or anything like it (12:29–31; 13:2–19; etc.). A similar viewpoint is expressed elsewhere in the Torah; for example, the portion of Leviticus known as the Holiness Code has admonitions like: "And you shall not walk in the customs of the nation which I am casting out before you; for they did all these things and I abhorred them" (Lev 20:23).

In the history of Israel, movements to purge the people of polytheism broke out now and then. Probably the most violent outburst occurred during Jehu's rise to power (2 Kgs 9–10). He not only killed the king, Joram, and his Judean ally, Ahaziah, and the hated queen mother, Jezebel, but every member of the royal family and its political allies and, in addition, several thousand worshippers of Baal whom he had assembled under false pretenses. The narrative approves of this massive bloodletting in the service of national purgation (2 Kgs 10:28, 30). However, about a century later Hosea condemned the house of Jehu for this butchery (Hos 1:4–5). He offers no explanation for YHWH's change of mind, but his overall message would support the idea that the political enforcement of orthodoxy held no prospect of transforming the people, and simply masked the will-to-power of rulers. Hosea saw no redemptive possibilities in power politics, only violence, betrayal, and self-salvation (cf. 14:3; 5:8–6:6; 7:1–7, 8–10, 11–13, and *passim*). To use a somewhat anachronistic expression, Israel could come to its true identity only by a "conversion of the heart" after power politics and lust had brought them to ruin.

F. Election in Prophetic Promises of Salvation

The classical prophets, beginning with Hosea, not only pronounced judgment on the people of God, but promised that the passage through divine judgment would prepare the people for a new beginning. This new period would not be like the history that resulted in judgment, it would break out of the self-aggrandizement, violence, and suffering which had characterized human existence hitherto. Some of the depictions of the new age involved the breakdown of national distinctions, including the division between Israel and the nations. Others looked forward to the eternal separation of the righteous and the wicked, the result of which would be the cessation of the victimization of the righteous by the wicked. Alongside these transcendent hopes we find more practical policies of communal leaders designed to preserve the identity of the people of YHWH amid the exigencies of history.

1. The Expansion of Election. Occasionally we receive hints in the classical prophets and in anonymous prophecies within their books that the distinction between Israel and the nations is only provisional, and that at the denouement of history the nations will be incorporated into the people of God. One such passage (Isa 19:19–25) speaks of the conversion of Egypt and by implication Assyria, the two great powers of Isaiah's day, to YHWH, concluding with an explicit reference to election language: "In that day Israel will be the third with Egypt and Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth, whom YHWH of hosts has blessed, saying, 'Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel my heritage' " (19:24–25). The language once used to set Israel apart from the nations will be addressed to them; the election of Israel reaches its true end in the election of all nations.

The anonymous prophet of the Babylonian exile, known as Second Isaiah, also announces the conversion and incorporation of all peoples into Israel in Isa 45:20–25. In Cyrus' conquest of all the known world, the nations will discover that their gods are impotent and that it is YHWH who rules human destiny (vv 20–21). Once YHWH wins his "debate" with the gods of the nations, he offers his salvation to the peoples and insists that they will all accept it (vv 22–23). They will become the "offspring of Israel" (vv 24–25).

Some scholars maintain that Second Isaiah envisages the subordination of all nations to Israel. There are, for example, promises that the nations will give their wealth to Israel and serve them (e.g., 45:14). However, the interpretation of our text that renders the most comprehensive, consistent, and cogent message (see Dworkin 1985) would find a genuinely universalistic message in it. There is no hint in Isaiah 40–55 that Israel will become a world power in any but a religious sense, so the references to receiving the wealth and service of the nations are best understood as freely given gifts to YHWH's sanctuary.

The language of election is repeated frequently in Isaiah 40–55. The exiled people of YHWH are called his chosen (*bḥr* in verb and adjective forms) no less than seven times (41:8, 9; 43:10, 20; 44:1–2; 45:4). Of these, all but 43:20 pair it with the term "servant." Israel has been chosen out by YHWH to be his servant. Their suffering is due to their failure to "walk in his ways and obey his law" (42:24, cf. v 21; also 43:24), in a word, to serve YHWH. However, he intends to revive them and make them messengers (42:19) and witnesses (43:10) to the nations. Alongside these passages designating Israel as YHWH's chosen servant are several which speak of an individual in that role (42:1; 49:7). Of course, there is an unresolved debate among scholars as to whether the Servant Songs (42:1–4 [5–9]; 49:1–6 [7–13]; 50:4–9 [10–11]; 52:13–53:12) depict a real or ideal individual or a corporate figure representing Israel. In any case, they give the servant a rather specific task, to "bring forth justice from the nations" (42:1, cf. v 4) without the use of force; the performance of this prophetic task (49:1–6; 50:4–9) leads to suffering, and finally to a sacrificial death (52:13–53:12). Here we have one answer to the question of how Abraham and his seed will be a blessing to the nations.

2. The Division of the People into Elect and Reprobate. When Israel was chosen out from the nations to be YHWH's people, the other nations were not so much rejected as simply passed over, to be the beneficiaries of election at the denouement of history. Only once in the OT is it actually said that YHWH chose Israel and rejected someone else (Esau/Edom in Mal 1:2–3). As seen in the Isaiah passages, the very logic of election tends toward universalism.

However, there is a countervailing development in postexilic prophetic literature: the people of God themselves are divided between righteous and wicked, the elect and the reprobate. In a number of passages deriving from Second Isaiah's disciples, known as Third Isaiah, we find the beginnings of the reconception of election on a nonnational basis. Isaiah 65 thrice speaks of a group within Israel as "my chosen" (vv 9, 15, 22), parallel with another title of election, "my servants" (vv 8, 9, 13–15). Over against this group is another which has proven faithless and arrogant (65:1–7); the entire chapter threatens the latter group with judgment, while promising salvation to the elect. The chosen servants will "inherit" YHWH's land and be blessed with the blessings promised Abraham, while the rejected "shall leave your name to my chosen people for a curse, and Lord YHWH will kill you, but his servants he will call by a different name" (v 15). It is within such passages, which grew out of concrete conflicts within the restoration community (see Hanson 1975), that the beginnings can be found of the eschatological drama of a great day of judgment when some are saved, and some damned (as, for example, we find in Dan 12:1–3).

3. Fencing Off the People of God. It should not be concluded from the above that the concept of Israel's own election ceased to play a central role in Israelite thought after the Exile. At the very time when prophets were envisioning the opening up of Israel to the peoples of the earth, the reformers Ezra and Nehemiah were demanding a strict separation of the "holy seed" (Ezra 9:2) from the peoples of the land. Intermarriage would result in apostasy and "pollution" (Ezra 9:10–12), so these men exacted pledges from the people to marry only other Jews and to divorce their foreign wives (Ezra 10; Nehemiah 10, 13). Coupled with ritual laws which reinforced segregation, the postexilic Jewish community provided for the maintenance of its distinct identity and traditions among the peoples of the ancient world. While this "fencing off" the people of God ran counter to the universalistic visions of the prophets, and provoked their protest, it was a sober, realistic policy for life within the bounds of history.

G. Election and the Canonization of Scripture

The concept of election played a largely hidden, but very active role in the emergence of the doctrine of divine revelation in Scripture. Before the concept of election was formulated by the author of Deuteronomy, those who passed on Yahwistic traditions were apologists for a view of Israel defined by the calling of YHWH. The Deuteronomic Moses raised this calling to a full-fledged theologoumenon. Israel has been called out from the nations to know the true and living God and to be his obedient subject among the peoples of the world. The story told by the Yahwists was not a national record, but an account of events and communications which constituted Israel as a holy people, and of the course of the history lived under this regimen. This history reached a certain closure in the Exile of Judah. The religious community that survived and was reconstituted after the Exile, shaped its identity around the texts deriving from the time when the people of God was originally constituted—the Torah—and lived under that regimen—the Prophets. Other tokens of its life as the people of God were finally incorporated in the sacred text.

It may be that a version of the hermeneutical circle exists at the basis of this doctrine of Scripture. The literature that recounted the story of Israel, the people of YHWH, is revelation because the people were chosen to be his own possession, his holy people, among the nations, and Israel is the people of God because the story—now in text form—so constituted it. To belong to this people is to appropriate this text as one's own story, and to recognize this text as true is to enter into the community for whom it was written. The text and its interpretive community are in symbiotic relationship: the meaning of the text is to be found in its power to constitute the community in its true identity, which in turn is to be measured by its faithfulness to the text which constitutes it.

There is a temporal aspect to the interaction of text and community. The community lives in a specific moment in political and cultural history. For the text to perform its function of community formation, it must be interpreted to meet the exigencies in the life of the community. To use the contemporary expression, the text must be "relevant" to the community, translated into its forms of thought and applied to its modes of life. There is a reverse process as well: the text must challenge the community's forms of thought and modes of life. While the text legitimates the community simply by being read within it, the text must call the community out from the "world" to be revelation. There will remain a permanent conflict within the interpretive community regarding how the community should be distinguished from those outside: by its eschatological passion, by its ritual separation, by its theological doctrine, or by some dialectical synthesis of these divergent readings.

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DALE PATRICK

NEW TESTAMENT

Election in the NT is understood as God's selection in the distant past of those (whether angels or human beings) who will form the eschatological community of the holy. It is also God's choice of those who will serve him in special ways.

A. Terminology
B. God's Choice of Individuals for Special Service
C. Jesus as the Elect Servant
D. The Elect Angels
E. The Corporate Election of Israel
F. The Corporate Election of the Church
G. The Election of Individuals to Salvation
  1. "The Elect" in the Synoptic Tradition
  2. Election in Pauline Theology
  3. Election in the Gospel of John
  4. Election in Other NT Literature
  5. Individual Election in Christian Theology
  6. Summary

A. Terminology

A range of terms is used in the NT to describe divine election. Common are *eklogē* ("election") and *eklektos* ("elect," it denotes being the object of God's choice, except for Rom 16:13); there are also *eklegomai* ("to choose"), *suneklektos* ("likewise chosen," only in 1 Pet 5:13). Three verbs which are used one time each for election are *hairetizo* ("to choose," in Matt 12:18), *haireo* ("to choose," in 2 Thess 2:13), and *tasso* ("to ordain," in Acts 13:48).

B. God's Choice of Individuals for Special Service

There are a handful of NT references of God choosing an individual for a particular ministry. This choice for ministry has a rich OT background; God would show his choice for leaders (Num 16:5; Hag 2:23), priests (Deut 18:5; 21:15), kings (1 Sam 15:28), and prophets (Jer 1:5).

The apostle Paul had a firm sense of God's choice of him to be the apostle to the gentiles (Acts 9:15; 13:47).

C. Jesus as the Elect Servant

According to the NT, Jesus was chosen to fulfill the divine plan, that the Messiah would suffer and die, rise again, and rule over creation (e.g., see Acts 3:20; Eph 1:9–10; 1 Pet 1:20; Rev 13:8). 1 Peter 2:4 refers to Christ as the Stone rejected by men, but "in God's sight chosen and precious." Some mss of the Gospels refer to Christ as the "Chosen One" *(eklektos)* in connection with God's approval of him as the "beloved Son" (in John 1:34 and Luke 9:35); this change probably reflects the link between election and the language of kingship in the early Church. Jesus' taunters accused him of claiming to be "the Christ of God, his Chosen One" according to Luke 23:35.

The title derives either directly from the servant passages of Isaiah 41–42 or indirectly through other sources, such as the *Similitudes of Enoch,* in *1 En.* 39:6 and 48:6, one who is variously called the Son of Man and the Righteous One is also designated the Elect One. The work plainly reflects traditional terminology, regardless of the possible Christian theological influence.

It is more likely that the Chosen Servant motif stems directly from Isaiah. The Servant Songs contain language of election and calling when speaking of the Servant Israel and of an individual servant (cf. Isa 41:8–9 with Isa 42:1). Matthew 12:18 contains the Christian paraphrase of Isa 42:1: "This was to fulfill what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah: 'Behold, my servant whom I have chosen, my beloved with whom my soul is well pleased.' " The early Church read the Servant Songs as predictions of Jesus (Cullmann 1963: 51–82); their conviction that God had ordained him as the servant is found in Matt 8:17; Isa 53:7–8; and Acts 3:13; 4:25, 27, 30; 8:32–33.

D. The Elect Angels

Only in 1 Tim 5:21 does the NT speak of elect angels. *"Eklektos"* here means "chosen," not "elite" or "choice," since Paul was calling on all angels to witness. The designation of "elect angels" is quite rare. Schrenk and Quell *TDNT* 4: 144–92 cite *1 En.* 39:1 and Tob 8:15 (contra the RSV) as parallels, but neither reference is unambiguous (*TDNT* 4: 185). This election is not to service (since again that would limit the number of angelic witnesses to Paul's oath) but to retain their holy status. The elect angels contrast with those who fell from their first estate (Jude 6). The elect and holy angels will participate in the judgment (Matt 24:31; 25:31; 2 Thess 1:2–8), while the wicked angels will be judged (1 Cor 6:3).

E. The Corporate Election of Israel

Particularly in Deuteronomy, Israel as a national whole is the "chosen" people of God, as in Deut 7:6 "For you are a people holy to the Lord your God; the Lord your God has chosen you to be a people for his own possession, out

of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth" (see Deut 10:15; 14:2; Ps 105:6, 43; Isa 41:8). Election is coupled with the demand for holiness, since the elect nation must reflect the divine character.

It is an oversimplification to say that the older idea of corporate election gives way to individual election in NT theology. In the OT too, there is progression toward a doctrine of individual election for members of the "remnant" (*ROTT* 2: 21–22). Even in the days of the prophets it was clear that "not all Israel is Israel." The doctrine of individual election developed out of the hope of the holy and elect remnant. In Isa 65:9, "my chosen" form a distinct group within greater Israel who will find eschatological blessing (cf. also Isa 10:20–23 and Isa 14:1—God "will again choose Israel").

Paul bases his pivotal discussion in Romans 9–11 on the dismissal of the Gospel by the majority of Jews. Paul has to explain why the "chosen people" are rejecting Jesus Christ. He thus reaches back to the remnant concept: history and revelation disclose that within the nation Israel there exist two classes: the unbelieving descendants of Abraham, and the elect believing remnant which God spares from downfall. Paul argues that the remnant of Israel (of which he is a part, Rom 11:1–2) is now turning to Christ in belief through the preaching of the Gospel (Rom 11:7). This remnant is "chosen by grace" (Rom 11:5) and was foreknown (Rom 11:2).

Paul asserts that after the gentile elect enter into salvation, "all Israel will be saved" (Rom 11:26). His quotation from Isa 59:20–21 indicates that he is thinking of the eschatological redemption (see the commentaries, esp. Cranfield *Romans II* ICC, 574–77). Paul is following the line of reasoning found in the OT that salvation is for the elect remnant. Probably the best interpretation of Rom 11:26 is that the "natural branches" of the end time will be beloved and thus elect for the sake of their fathers (Rom 11:28–29). Alternatively, he is enunciating that all believers are elect, whether Jew or gentile, and all the elect shall be saved.

In Pauline thought, the OT doctrine of the remnant points to personal election, that God has elected both Jews and gentiles to be saved. One may therefore adduce the statements of Romans 9–11 as data for the doctrine of individual election.

F. The Corporate Election of the Church

The NT does not thoroughly expound the corporate election of the Church, but the idea is not absent. In 1 Pet 2:9 the Church is called "a chosen race . . . a holy nation, God's own people," reminiscent of biblical titles for the nation of Israel. The connection between God's choice, holiness, and corporate mission is unmistakable.

Although "the elect" are spoken of collectively, emphasis is usually placed on the sum total of elect individuals, the *eklogoi,* not on the Church as a chosen group.

Christian congregations are possibly called "elect" in 2 John: the "elect lady" of 2 John 1 and "elect sister" in 2 John 13 (see the commentaries). These are isolated occurrences, but cf. the inscription to Ignatius' *Epistle to the Ephesians* in which he speaks of the "elect" church of Ephesus.

G. The Election of Individuals to Salvation

In the apocalyptic literature and the literature of the Qumran community (especially CD) individual election comes to the fore more than it does in the OT; this was in order to distinguish the true saints from "false" Israel (*TNDT* 4: 170–71). But in the NT there is a bridge to the new nation, composed of Jews and gentiles. The election of gentiles is only broadly foreshadowed in the OT (see Amos 9:12, in which the "nations" are called by God's name).

1. "The Elect" in the Synoptic Tradition. There are a cluster of references in which Jesus speaks of "the elect" (from *eklektos*), usually in connection with the tribulation (Matt 24:22, 24, 31; Mark 13:20, 22, 27; Luke 18:7). In its present setting, Luke 18:7 claims God's general protection of his own. Nevertheless, eschatological events uncover whether an individual is elect (Pannenberg 1977: 55): although "many will fall away" (Matt 24:10) the elect will not be deceived by false Christs and false prophets (Matt 24:24). Then at his coming, the Son of Man will "gather his elect" (Matt 24:31). The fact of being elect is eschatologically revealed: "For many are called, but few are chosen" (Matt 22:14).

2. Election in Pauline Theology. In the Synoptic Gospels it is seldom explicit that it is God who chooses individuals. But Paul (with the Fourth Evangelist) develops the concept of election from a more theocentric standpoint. Here *eklegomai* and its synonyms have God as their subject: "God chose you from the beginning to be saved through sanctification by the spirit and belief in the truth" (2 Thess 2:13).

In 1 Cor 1:27–28, Paul analyzes the composition of the Church and makes it clear that the appeal of the Gospel to the lower classes is not merely sociologically defined. While this passage could be taken to refer to corporate election (*TDNT* 4: 174), individual election is logically demanded in 1:24, 26. The fact that the socioeconomic makeup of the Church is under God's control, is not accidental. And control over the Church's composition demands control over its parts.

Paul develops the doctrine of election further in Rom 8:28–38. God's choice of the individual is typically underscored in times of persecution. In 8:29–30 Paul sets forth an *ordo salutis,* and illustrates graphically and grammatically that God does not lose any men or women between his choice in eternity past to their glorification (the "elect" first appear in 8:33). He seems to make election synonymous with "foreknew" in 8:29. Meanwhile, predestination is the next logical step, God's determination that the elect shall be Christlike. Paul speaks of "us" as those who are truly elect, not those who merely profess faith and then tend to fall away from Christ, but those who persevere through tribulation to the end. Paul's emphasis on perseverance as well as preservation by God dovetails nicely with the promise of Matt 24:24.

The modern trend is to read Romans 9–11 as a treatise on the nature of Israel rather than a theology of election (Kümmel 1973: 232). But the passage must be read in the light of its two connects, both with the issue of Jewish salvation, and with his treatment of soteriological election in Rom 8:28–38. Far from being limited to one idea in

Romans 9–11, the context indicates that Paul is speaking both of Israel's destiny and election to salvation.

Paul seldom theologizes out of context. So following his description of God's election, he applies the doctrine to the problem of Jewish unbelief. He shows that the reason Jews are not turning to Christ as a nation is that God has not elected all the Jews to belief in Christ (Rom 9:11). The Scriptures teach that God's choice is prior to one's own existence (Rom 9:1–18) and that election is divine prerogative (Rom 9:19–24). With the prophets, Paul defines Israel as the sum of elect Jews (for him, the Jews elect in Christ), who with the elect gentiles share the blessings of Abraham. While divine election is chronologically prior to faith in Christ, the apostle Paul emphasizes the vital importance of justification by faith—the elect come to light only as they believe in Christ (Romans 10).

When Paul speaks of the basis for God's election, he refers to divine grace (Rom 11:5; according to 2 Tim 1:9 Christians are called by God's purpose and grace determined "ages ago"). He clearly spells out that election cannot be attained either through sincere effort (Rom 9:30) nor through works (Rom 11:6) nor through high social status (1 Cor 1:27–28).

Ephesians 1:4 and Col 3:12 both indicate that the end of election is holiness (see Rom 8:29); in fact, Ephesians is in part a treatise on the destiny of the Church from prehistory to its eternal witness to the love of God.

Paul's theology of election was not developed in a vacuum; it was shaped by his own experiences. He was aware of his own unworthiness as a former persecutor of the Church (Phil 3:2–7; 1 Tim 1:15–16). Thus in Gal 1:13–16 he must say that "he who had set me apart before I was born, and had called me through his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son to me." So also in Acts 22:14: "And he said, 'The God of our fathers appointed you to know his will, to see the Just One and to hear a voice from his mouth.' " These two passages cannot be reduced to a mere "missionary call," since his call to faith and his call to mission cannot be separated (see also Acts 13:47). Paul knew he was given both salvation and apostleship through God's gracious purpose.

Paul's missionary experiences also reinforced the theology of divine sovereignty. This fact may be the reason why he closely links election to the "call" of God (evidenced by conversion). He tells the Thessalonians that the evidence for their election (1 Thess 1:4) is the fact that the Spirit powerfully called them from idols to God (1 Thess 1:5–10).

Paul links election with God's foreknowing *(proginosko)* in Rom 8:29 and 11:2 (cf. 1 Pet 1:2). While Arminian theologians take foreknowledge as prescience of individual faith, it is significant that the object of divine foreknowledge is never specified. It is perhaps the person himself who is foreknown (Rom 8:29 "whom he did foreknow"). Foreknowledge as attributed to God has the flavor of ordaining the future rather than merely knowing the future (*TDNT* 1: 715); this is the meaning it most certainly has in regard to Christ in 1 Pet 1:20. Thus 1 Pet 1:2, which in the original speaks of election "according to the foreknowledge of God," is well rendered as "chosen and destined by God the Father."

3. Election in the Gospel of John. John emphasizes the Son's role in election. The Father is said to have "given" the elect to the Son (John 6:37; 17:2, 6, 9), and Jesus states in John 6:44 that the Father "draws" them to eternal life. The latter concept seems to be equivalent to the Pauline idea of the "call" of God to saving faith.

In John 15:16 Jesus contends: "You did not choose me, but I chose you and appointed you that you should go and bear fruit . . ." (see also 15:19). While this might be read as the call to apostleship, the previous context indicates that he is speaking of "bearing fruit" with those who abide in the True Vine (see the commentaries). This choosing is therefore soteriological and makes the Son the chooser of the elect along with the Father.

4. Election in Other NT Literature. Acts 13:48 contains the striking statement, that "as many as were ordained to eternal life believed." Grammatically it is next to impossible to make the foreordination contingent upon individual faith; rather, Acts postulates with Paul (as in 2 Thess 2:13) that the decision to believe the Gospel follows from God's choice of the elect.

While Jas 2:5 gives a clear picture of election based on the Beatitudes of Jesus, it is remarkably similar to 1 Cor 2:27–28: "Has not God chosen those who are poor in the world to be rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom . . . ?"

1 Peter mentions the concept of individual election in 1:2: "chosen and destined by God the Father and sanctified by the Spirit for obedience to Jesus Christ and for sprinkling with his blood."

In Rev 17:14 Christ's people are said to be "called and chosen and faithful." Prominent, too, is the traditional Book of Life, containing the names of the true saints (Rev 3:5; 13:8; 17:8; 20:12, 15; cf. Luke 10:20).

In all these references to individual election, it is particularly noteworthy that election and faith or faithfulness are linked together. Election is known through its fruit of conversion and perseverance.

5. Individual Election in Christian Theology. Biblically distinct, election and predestination are often interchangeable terms in theological parlance. The meaning of the biblical doctrine of election has been disputed throughout history, particularly in the clashes over Pelagianism in the 5th and 6th centuries and during the Reformation (Berkhouwer 1960: 28–52; Jewett 1985: 5–23). The common denominator is an anthropological question: does fallen humankind yet possess the freedom to turn to salvation apart from elective grace and an efficacious call of the Spirit, or does natural depravity preclude such "freedom of the will"?

Pelagianism taught that the human will was not fatally damaged, and that whatever God commanded, humankind must be free to fulfill. This enabled people to be righteous apart from God's grace, and removed the need for election. The Council of Orange (529) condemned Pelagianism and semi-Pelagianism, according to which the human decision to choose Christ preceded God's special grace. Election was understood as divine prescience of belief, which led to the predestination to Christlikeness. The western Church generally followed a version of Augustine's doctrine of double predestination—of the elect to salvation and of the reprobate to damnation. Election is based solely on God's own grace and will.

The Reformation brought about a reassessment of elec-

tion within Protestant circles, and defined the terms of the debate to this day. The Reformers seem to have universally held to unconditional election (inexactly known as the "Calvinist" view). In accordance with an Augustinian anthropology, God's choice of individuals to salvation was the first step in salvation, and not contingent upon any faith or work in the elect: "God once established by his eternal and unchangeable plan those whom he long before determined once [and] for all to receive into salvation, and those whom, on the other hand, he would devote to destruction. We assert that, with respect to the elect, this plan was founded upon his freely given mercy, without regard to human worth" (Calvin 1960, 2: 931).

Arminianism turned out to be the major reaction to unconditional election. Being semi-Pelagianism, it taught that election was conditional, i.e., it was God's choice of those whom he saw would respond to the Spirit's general call. Conditional election has been widely disseminated through the Wesleyan movement. The Five Points of Calvinism highlight differences with Arminianism on the points of depravity, election, the scope of the atonement, calling grace, and the perseverance of saints.

A third alternative is Universalism, according to which all are elect and will be saved in the end.

Karl Barth's theology of election is the most important recent development. It is his position that election is christological, that is, that not a group of individuals but Christ himself is the elect one, and that he is the only man rejected by God. Thus reprobation, being predestined to damnation, falls only on Christ, while election to salvation goes to man.

6. Summary. Christians have long felt the tension between calling on people to believe and at the same time harboring the thought that only the elect will believe and be saved. The doctrine of unconditional election might lead one to fatalism, but it seeks to do justice to the sovereign freedom of God to choose whom he wills. Conditional election might lead to anthropocentricity, since divine choice is conditioned by God's foresight of faith in the individual; while this system by definition deprives God of actual choice, it seeks to approach election pastorally, knowing that without repentance and faith there is no salvation.

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GARY S. SHOGREN

ELEMENT, ELEMENTAL SPIRIT [Gk *stoicheion; stoicheion tou kosmou*]. In most of its uses, element denoted an elementary or fundamental principle in a subject or discipline. Thus, it could designate a letter of the alphabet, a part of speech, a geometrical proposition, or a basic mathematical unit, such as a point or line. Heb 5:12 aptly displays this typical usage when it refers to rudimentary Christian teachings as the "first principles" of God's words.

An important term in Greek philosophy, the plural elements denoted the four basic components thought to constitute the entire physical world: earth, air, fire, and water. So widespread was this usage that all three occurrences in the OT apocrypha reflect this understanding. According to Wisdom of Solomon, part of the wisdom that God imparts is knowledge of what exists in the world. Insight into the cosmic order includes knowing "the structure of the world and the activity of the elements" (7:17), evidently a reference to the four fundamental constituents of the universe. The author of Wisdom of Solomon is also aware of the Greek philosophical notion that the four elements underwent alteration and exchanged properties; as the book closes he describes the miraculous events of Exodus in terms of change in the properties of earth, water, and fire (19:18–21). *4 Maccabees,* too, shows acquaintance with the philosophical usage of the term. According to 12:13, cruelty to one's fellow creatures has no justification because both torturer and victim share the same human feelings and are composed of the same elements.

Except for Heb 5:12, the meaning of elements in the NT is debated. When, in the closing chapter of 2 Peter, the author assures his readers that the day of universal destruction and renewal will inevitably come, he relates the fate in store for the distinguishing features of the cosmos: the heavens will pass away, the elements will be dissolved with fire, and the earth consumed (3:10, 12). The destruction of the cosmos would entail the dissolution of the four basic constituents of the physical world, an event detailed in Stoic eschatology. But since he mentions the heavens and the earth, the author might be referring instead to other essential features of the universe, namely, the stars or planets. By the 3d century C.E. and possibly as early as the composition of 2 Peter, the elements were associated with such celestial bodies. The 3d-century writer Diogenes Laertius, for example, applies the term to the signs of the zodiac (6.102).

Especially controverted are references to the elements in Galatians. Paul introduces the phrase "elements of the world" in drawing a contrast between those under the yoke of the Law and those free in Christ (3:19–4:31). He argues that custodianship under the Law is little more than enslavement to the elements of the world (4:3), so that by conforming to the Law (specifically, by adopting the Jewish legal calendar), Gentile Christians surrender their freedom to the elements (4:9–10). In doing so, they return to their former condition; as pagans they worshiped the elements as gods (4:8). Given the relationship Paul sees between the Law and the elements and his description of both as weak (4:9; cf. Rom 8:3), a plausible case could be made for understanding the elements as rudimentary religious observances and ordinances (presumably both Jewish and pagan). Detracting from this reading, however, is v 8, where Paul acknowledges that some mistake the elements for gods, an unlikely statement if the elements are mere regulations.

The importance of astral determinism in Greco–Roman piety has promoted two other interpretations of the ele-

ments of the world in Galatians: (1) the elements are celestial bodies that dictate a sacred calendar and inspire worship; and (2) the elements are the demons or spirits, often connected with the stars and planets, that control human destiny and demand human devotion. The latter interpretation is reflected in the RSV's translation of the phrase as "elemental spirits of the universe" (Gal 4:3). Encumbering both these readings is the relatively late date at which the term elements came to have either astral or demonic associations. Even though the *Testament of Solomon* (3d century C.E.?) links the elements with demons, spirits, and stars (8:1–4) the identification falls well after the composition of Galatians.

A fourth interpretation is least susceptible to criticism; here, the elements are understood as the four constituents of the universe. In Gal 4:8, where Paul chastises his readers for their spiritual ignorance, he depends upon the Hellenistic Jewish critique of idolatry as the misguided worship of air, fire, and water as gods (Wis 12:2–3). By ascribing enslaving power to the elements (Gal 4:3, 9), Paul understands them to be active cosmic forces, which was the contemporary understanding of the four elements. Philo, for example, regarded the four elements as forces (*dynameis; Aet* 21.107–8), while the early Christian writer Hermas noted that they governed the world (*Herm. Vis.* 3.13.3). Paul's placement of the four elements among the powers of the present age led him to view them in a negative light.

The two occurrences of the elements of the world in Colossians have produced interpretations similar to those in Galatians: (1) the elements of the world are principles or rudimentary teachings of the human tradition adhered to by the philosophy (2:8; cf. 2:22) or they are its regulations (2:20); (2) they are the elemental spirits of the universe who rule as the principalities and powers of this world (*archai kai exousiai;* 1:16; 2:10, 15) and whom the philosophers at Colossae identified as angels and worshiped (2:18); or (3) they are the four cosmological forces that define the world (2:20) and provide the bases or guiding principles of the philosophy (2:8). This third reading in particular allows the interpreter to grasp the meaning of Col 2:20—especially the sense of the prepositions in it—in which the letter writer describes death with Christ as parting *from* the elements. The cosmic elements appear to define a sphere of existence or arena of activity that one can part *from* or live *in*. Believing that they still live *in* the world (2:20), the philosophers live according to its key principles (2:8) (see Lohse *Colossians* Hermeneia, 96–98).

The first of these interpretations would be more attractive had the letter writer used the word elements without elaboration. In that case, rudimentary teachings or regulations would very likely have been denoted by Colossians. But the use of the phrase elements *of the world* in 2:8 and the repetition of it in v 20 emphasize the importance of this qualification, an emphasis which should not be ignored. When Philo attached that qualification to the term elements, for example, he referred invariably to the four constituents of the world.

The second interpretation suffers, like its counterpart in Galatians, from the relatively late date of the evidence connecting elements with celestial bodies and with cosmic spirits or demons. It may be anachronistic to equate the elements with angels and conclude that the philosophers of Colossae worshiped them (2:18).

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RICHARD E. DEMARIS

ELEPH. See HA-ELEPH (PLACE).

ELEPHANT. See ZOOLOGY.

ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI. A group of papyrus documents and fragments written in Aramaic during the 5th century B.C.E. and discovered by chance finds and archaeological excavation during the 19th and 20th centuries. The papyri originate at or near Elephantine, a site in Upper Egypt.

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A. Introduction

Elephantine (Aram *yb;* Eg *ʾibw, ʾbw;* Gk *ieb*) is an island in the Nile opposite Aswan (ancient Syene = Aram and Eg *swn*) just N of (= downstream from) the first cataract. It has yielded papyri in Egyptian (Zauzich 1971), Aramaic, and Greek (Rubensohn 1907). It is the Aramaic material which is of direct interest for biblical studies and Jewish history. They are listed first according to their year of discovery and publication and then studied according to their category. Other sites besides Elephantine have yielded papyri and are also noted. Sigla used to designate the papyri are those employed by Porten and Yardeni (*TAD* A; *TAD* B; *TAD* C).

Throughout the 19th century, isolated pieces of papyrus were discovered at intervals and frequently not published

until years later, if at all. The earliest recorded acquisition was made by Giovan Battista Belzoni at Elephantine between 1815 and 1819. It consisted of two letters (*TAD* A3.3–4) and fragments of a third, housed now in the Museo Civico di Padova (Padua) and first published by Edda Bresciani (1960). The 3d decade of the 19th century yielded five pieces, none of which is known to have come from Elephantine: (1) a fragment of a letter (*TAD* A5.3) acquired by the Museo Egiziano di Torino (Turin) as part of the first Bernardino Drovetti collection (1824), first noted by Michelangelo Lanci (1827: 20) and only understood by Adelbert Merx (1868); (2) a fragment of a literary text that may be designated "The Tale of Ḥor, Son of Punesh" bought by the Duc de Blacas in 1825, published by Lanci (1827: 7–26) and later acquired by the British Museum (*TAD* C1.2 = *CAP* 71); (3) a fragment of wine accounts (*TAD* C3.12 = *CAP* 72) acquired by the Louvre in 1826 as part of the second Drovetti collection and published by Jean Joseph Bargès (1862); (4) a fragmentary list acquired by Stefano Borgia, first noted by Lanci (1827: 20), published by E. Ledrain (1884: 30–32), and later acquired by the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (*TAD* C4.9 = *CAP* 74); (5) and a fragmentary sheet of accounts (*TAD* C3.19 = *CAP* 73) stemming perhaps from the Salt collection acquired by the Museo Egizio Vaticano, first noted by Lanci (1827: 20), and published by Charles Jean Melchior de Vogüé (1869: 25–31). These five pieces came to be known by their Latin designations indicating either the private collector (Papyri Blacasiani, Papyrus Borgianus) or the museum or library where they were housed (Papyrus Taurinensis, Papyrus Luparensis, Papyrus Vaticanus). Ten pieces are known to have been acquired during the second half of the 19th century before 1893, though the circumstances of acquisition sometimes remain obscure. Seven of these are held by the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, one by the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, one by the Harrow School Museum in London, and one by the Niedersächische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen. Three of the seven Cairo pieces were found by François Auguste Mariette at the Memphis Serapeum and published by Julius Euting (1885: 670+Pl.VI; 1887: 408–9+Pl.VII); two are letter fragments (*TAD* A5.4; *CAP* 77) and one is a fragment of accounts (*TAD* C3.21 = *CAP* 75). Two fragments were discovered in 1888 at Abusir near Saqqarah but were never properly published (Ricci 1906: nos. 13 and 14). One fragment of accounts from an unknown site was published as No. 153 in the monumental *Corpus Inscriptionum semiticarum* (1893; *TAD* C3.25 = *CAP* 78); the final piece, a fragment of accounts, was said to have been found near the tomb of Ptahhotep at Saqqarah and was published by Mark Lidzbarski (*Ephem* 3: 128–29). The one text (*TAD* B8.5) acquired by the Staatliche Museen, a record of legal proceedings, was published only with photograph by Karl Richard Lepsius (1859: pl. 124). A sheet of accounts was part of the Gardner Wilkinson collection acquired by the Harrow School Museum, cataloged by E. A. Wallis Budge (1887: 79), and published without photograph by Arthur Ernest Cowley (1903; *TAD* C3.27 = *CAP* 83). Finally, there is a fragment (of accounts?) given by Prof. Wilhelm Fröhner of Paris to the Niedersächische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen in 1884, transcribed by T. Nöldeke in 1894, and published 80 years later by Rainer Degen (1974a).

All told, then, eighteen items came to light during eight and one-half decades of the 19th century and none was a wholly intact piece. Only three (the Padua papyri) were from Elephantine; most, and probably all, of the others were from Memphis-Saqqarah. The Elephantine papyri clearly concerned Jews; the others concerned only non-Jews. Ten of the eighteen were brought together in *CIS* (1889 [Nos. 144–48]; 1893 [Nos. 149–53]), which marked the end of almost a century of random discovery.

It was during the next quarter century (1893–1917), ending during World War I, that the great finds were made, mostly at Elephantine but also at Saqqarah. In the very year that *CIS* II/1 fascicle 2 appeared, the American Egyptologist Charles Edwin Wilbour acquired at Aswan as many items as had been acquired during the preceding eight and one-half decades. These waited sixty years before their publication by Emil G. Kraeling (*BMAP* 1953). This Brooklyn Museum collection included four unrelated fragmentary texts, among which were two letters (*TAD* A3.9; *BMAP* 16), a document of wifehood (*TAD* B6.1), and one of accounts (*BMAP* 17). But the prize was a family archive of a dozen documents, most of which were fully intact with cord and seal (*TAD* B3.2–13). In 1898, Wilhelm Spiegelberg acquired for the (now-named) Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire of Strasbourg a fragmentary letter (*TAD* A4.5) published by Euting (1903). The Bodleian Library in Oxford soon came into possession of three papyri acquired by Archibald Henry Sayce and published by him and/or Cowley—an almost fully intact loan contract (*TAD* B4.2) rescued from the hands of diggers for *sebakh* at Elephantine in 1901 and published in 1903; a multicolumn roll of accounts (*TAD* C3.29 = *CAP* 81) acquired at Luxor in January, 1906 and published in 1907 (by Sayce and Cowley); and a fragmentary letter (?) acquired at the same time and published in 1915 (by Cowley = *CAP* 82). A fourth papyrus acquired by the Bodleian is the first of a ten-document family archive. The other nine contracts, all intact but two (*TAD* B2.4,6), were acquired at Aswan in 1904 by Lady William Cecil (*TAD* B2.2, 6, 7, 11) and Mr. (later Sir) Robert Mond (*TAD* B2.3, 4, 6, 8–10) and at the insistence of Howard Carter, Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, made over to the Egyptian Museum of Cairo. They were published by Sayce and Cowley (1906). Stimulated by the random finds and dealer acquisitions, French and then German archaeological teams undertook excavation of the mound at Elephantine with the specific goal of discovering papyri. On January 1, 1902, Gaston Maspero found several fragments, which were deposited with the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris and published by Melchior de Vogüé (*RES* 1. 246–47 = *CAP* 79–80) and Bezalel Porten (1986; *TAD* A5.5). That same year Maspero found some fragments at Saqqarah that were published in stages by Charles Clermont-Ganneau (1905: 255–60; 1917), Maurice Sznycer (1971) and Porten (1983; *TAD* A5.1). The greatest discovery was made in 1906–1908 by Otto Rubensohn. In addition to the significant Greek and demotic papyri he uncovered, he unearthed the largest collection of Aramaic papyri ever found. These included nineteen letters (*TAD* A3.1–2, 5–8, 10; 4.1–4, 6–10; 5.2; 6.1–2), among which were nine that belonged to

the communal archive of Jedaniah b. Gemariah (*TAD* A4.1–4, 6–10); eighteen contracts (*TAD* B3.1; 4.1, 3–6; 5.1–2, 4–5; 6.2–4; 7.1–4; 8.5); nine lists and accounts (*TAD* C3.3, 13–15; 4.4–8); the Darius Bisitun inscription (*TAD* C2.1), the Words of Ahiqar (*TAD* C1.1) as well as numerous fragments and inscriptions on potshards, wood, and stone. Following the preliminary publication of a few items (Sachau 1907; 1908 = *TAD* A4.7–9; Sachau 1909 = *TAD* B4.6), this remarkable find was soon published in elegant fashion by Eduard Sachau (1911). A few major pieces and some thirty fragments waited decades for their publication—by Zuhair Shunnar (1970; *TAD* A3.10), Rainer Degen (1974b, 1978), and Porten (1988; *TAD* C3.15). Most of these documents were deposited in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and only a few were kept by the Staatliche Museen zu (East) Berlin (*TAD* A4.1, 4, 7, 9; B3.1; 4.4, 6; 5.1–3; 6.4; 7.1–4; 8.5; C1.1; 2.1; 3.13, 15). Those documents published in the 1970s and '80s are held by the Agyptisches Museum in (West) Berlin while one fragmentary contract held by the Staatliche Museen (P. 13607) was published by Porten and Ada Yardeni (*TAD* B5.3). Finally, from Saqqarah there came two pieces, a fragmentary list found by James E. Quibell in December, 1913 (*TAD* C4.1) and a fragment of accounts found by him on May 27, 1917 (*TAD* C3.5). Both were published by Noel Aimé-Giron (1921) and are held by the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Some hundred years after the discovery of the first Aramaic papyri almost all the published pieces were brought together in a small volume by one of the main contributors to the decipherment and publication of these texts, A. E. Cowley (CAP). For thirty years, until the publication of the Brooklyn Museum Aramaic papyri (BMAP), the name of Cowley was virtually synonymous with Aramaic papyri.

All but one of the following five decades saw the discovery, uncovery, or acquisition of Aramaic accounts, letters, and a contract. They are associated with the names of Aimé-Giron, Bauer and Meissner, Bresciani and Kamil, Driver, Dupont-Sommer, and Segal. None was found at Elephantine. In 1924–25 Gustave Jéquier found three fragments of accounts at Maṣṭabat-Fara^{c}un in S Saqqarah (*TAD* C3.26) while the following year (1926) Cecil M. Firth uncovered at Saqqarah some seventy fragments from the Memphis arsenal (see *TAD* C3.7; 4.3). These were deposited in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and published by Aimé-Giron along with several fragments of unknown origin (1931). About the same time Giorgio Levi Della Vida received as a gift from Giulio Farina a papyrus of accounts of unknown origin (*TAD* C3.28), later published by Edda Bresciani (1962). It is now in the Museo dell'Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente, Università di Roma. One and possibly two pieces came from el-Hibeh. The first was a fragmentary letter (*TAD* A3.11) discovered in excavations by Evaristo Breccia (1934–1935), published by Bresciani (1959) and held by the Museo Archeologico di Firenze (Florence). The second, allegedly from el-Hibeh, was a joint venture agreement, acquired by Bruno Meissner, published by him and Hans Bauer (1936), and now held by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Two discoveries by Zaki Saad at Saqqarah in 1940 and 1942 were turned over to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The first consisted of a few fragments later published by Bresciani (1971). The second was a letter appealing for military assistance addressed to Pharaoh by King Adon, probably of Ekron. It was published by André Dupont-Sommer (1948) and received expanded treatment by Porten (1981a), who was the first to notice a demotic line on its verso. The most exciting finds of this period were two collections of letters. The first was an acquisition from a dealer in 1933 by Ludwig Borchardt of a batch of intact official letters on parchment (*TAD* A6.3–16) which passed into the hands of the Bodleian Library in Oxford in 1943–44; thirteen letters and twelve fragments were published by Godfrey Rolles Driver (1954; 3d ed., 1965). The second was a discovery made by Sami Gabra in 1945 of eight private letters (seven intact with cord and seal [*TAD* A2.1–7]) destined for Luxor and Syene but left deposited in an ibis jar at Tuna el-Gebel (West Hermopolis). They were deposited in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Cairo and published by Edda Bresciani and Murad Kamil (BK). At that time Walter Bryan Emery (1966–67) discovered numerous fragments in the course of excavations at N Saqqarah. Further discoveries there were made by Geoffrey Thorndike Martin in 1971–72 and 1972–73. These fragments are now held by the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and 202 items were published by Judah Benzion Segal (1983; see *TAD* B4.7; 5.6; 8.1–4, 6–12; C3.6, 18, 21–24; 4.2).

If the first hundred years of discovery could be condensed in the small volume by Cowley, the next fifty years had yielded texts scattered in some ten different publications. New collations and a new corpus were in order. A preliminary edition of fifty-one texts including contracts, letters and lists, bringing together the major Cowley texts and all the Kraeling documents, was put out by Bezalel Porten (1974). A new edition of the Bisitun Inscription was published by Greenfield and Porten (1982). A four-volume *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt, Newly Copied, Edited and Translated into Hebrew and English* is being produced by B. Porten and A. Yardeni (*TAD* A–D) with the support of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. It includes letters (vol. 1), contracts (vol. 2), literature and lists (vol. 3), fragments and inscriptions on potshard, stone, and wood (vol. 4).

B. Letters

Aramaic letters on papyrus number 35, not all fully intact, and many fragments. Twenty-eight belong to Elephantine (*TAD* A3.1–10; 4.1–10; 5.2, 5; 6.1, 2) or Syene (*TAD* A2.1–4) and seven elsewhere (el-Hibeh [*TAD* A3.11], Luxor [*TAD* A2.5–7], Saqqarah [*TAD* A5.1], unknown [*TAD* A5.3, 4]). Almost all were written by persons resident at Elephantine–Syene who were away from home. Four are drafts of letters sent from outside of Elephantine (*TAD* A4.5, 7, 8, 10) and one is strictly speaking a memorandum, probably written in Judah or Samaria (*TAD* A4.9). Like the contracts, the letters span the 5th century, perhaps extending back to the late 6th (*TAD* A2.1–4) and down into the early 4th (*TAD* A3.10, 11). Unlike contracts, they were usually written on both sides of the papyrus (except *TAD* A3.4, 9; 4.4; 5.2), the scribe writing first on the side perpendicular to the fibers, turning the piece bottoms-up and concluding on the side parallel to the fibers. Occasionally, the piece was turned sideways (*TAD* A3.9). One unique

piece, unfortunately fragmentary, contains a letter written on the side parallel to the fibers and to the join, with the reply begun on the other side, parallel to the fibers and perpendicular to the join, and concluding in the right and left margins of the first letter (*TAD* A3.1). Unlike contracts which were rolled up and folded in thirds, letters were rolled up and folded in half, addressed on one of the exposed bands with the name of the sender and the recipient (and sometimes the destination [*TAD* A2.1–7]), and then tied and sealed just like the contracts. Two official letters have a second entry on the other exposed band recording scribe and date (*TAD* A6.1, 2). Evidence of tears and folds shows that some letters may have been (secondarily, after having been opened and read?) folded in quarters (*TAD* A3.4–11; 4.3–4; 5.2; 6.1–2; Porten 1980). Contracts were meant to be stored for an extended period and so a top blank sheet was insurance against external damage obliterating any part of the opening lines. Letters were meant to be opened and read immediately and so there was no need for an upper blank sheet. Curiously, one fragmentary draft of a letter was written, like literary texts and lists, in two parallel columns on the recto and then concluded on the verso, being turned only 90°, i.e. again parallel to the fibers (*TAD* A4.5). Two other brief pieces, one a draft and the second a memorandum, were written parallel to the fibers, vertically (*TAD* A4.9, 10). A letter was shorter than a contract, running between five lines (*TAD* A2.7; 3.11) and fifteen or so (*TAD* A2.1–4; 3.2, 3, 8; 4.2) with the average length being ten or so lines (*TAD* A2.5, 6; 3.5, 9, 10; 4.1, 3, 4). Official letters dealing with matters of weighty importance (*TAD* A4.7–8) or requiring detailed enumeration (*TAD* A6.2) would run to 23 or 29–30 lines.

The letter began, not with a date like the contract, but with an address. If the two parties were peers or if the recipient was the superior the usual formula would be "To my brother/sister/mother/lord PN_1 (from) your brother/son/servant PN_2" (*TAD* A2.1–7; 3.1, 4–11; 4.1–4, 7–8; 5.3; 6.1). If the sender was the superior, the formula would be "From PN_1 to PN_2" (*TAD* A6.2–16). Four private letters prefaced the address with a greeting to a local temple, whether of Bethel, the Queen of Heaven, Nabu or Banit at Syene or YHW at Elephantine (*TAD* A2.1–4; 3.3). Following the address there usually appeared a blessing or greeting. The more important the recipient and/or the more serious the matter at hand, the weightier would be the greetings (cf. *TAD* A4.3, 7–8; 5.3). The writer dispatched wishes for welfare, strength, and life (*TAD* A2.7; 3.3, 4, 8; 6.3–7). The usual greetings used the name of the deity and took the form, "May DN/(all) the gods seek after the welfare of my brother/lord (abundantly) at all times" (*TAD* A3.5–7, 9–11; 4.1–4, 7–8; 6.1). The blessing used repeatedly by the scribe of the Hermopolis letters was "I have blessed you by Ptaḥ that he may show me your face in peace" (*TAD* A2.1–6). The greetings or blessings might also mark an inclusio to the letter as the writer concluded with the statement "I have sent this letter (to inquire) about your welfare" (*TAD* A2.1–7; 3.4) or something like "Greetings to your house and your children until deity shows me [your face in peace]" (*TAD* A4.4; cf. A3.5). The letter occasionally bore a date, and this came either on the outer band as noted above (*TAD* A6.1,2) or at the end of the letter itself (*TAD* A3.3, 8, 9; 4.7, 8; 5.1). The structure and internal formula of the letters as well as parallels in the Bible, West-Semitic, Babylonian, Egyptian and Greek epistolography have been intensively studied (Fitzmyer 1962; 1974; Whitehead 1974; Porten 1978; 1982; Alexander 1978; Dion 1979; 1982a; 1982b; 1982c; see also LETTERS [ARAMAIC]).

1. Private. At least eighteen letters may be assigned to this category (*TAD* A2.1–7; 3.1–11). Of the parcel of family letters discovered at Hermopolis, probably dispatched from Memphis, the center of worship of Ptaḥ, four were destined for Syene, three for Luxor (*TAD* A2.5–7). Six were written for the Aramean stepbrothers Nabushezib and Makkibanit by the same scribe, probably one after the other on the same papyrus roll, sealed with the same Egyptian seal and addressed to different women all designated as "sister" and to Psami designated by Makkibanit alternately as "my lord" and "my father" (*TAD* A2.3, 4). No letter is addressed to a wife; it is likely that one or another of the "sisters" was a wife of the senders. The letters communicate items of personal interest to the parties concerned. They request the dispatch of objects such as castor oil, containers, and garments and they report upon the purchase of oil and cloth, awaiting a reliable traveler for dispatch. They issue instructions about the management of affairs and the arrangement of purchases, e.g., receiving wool and buying beams. They are particularly fulsome in sending greetings and showing interest in other individuals' personal welfare. A letter sent to Luxor complains passionately, "And what is this that you have not sent a letter to me?! And as for me, a snake had bit me and I was dying and you did not send (to inquire) if I was alive or if I was dead." It then concludes with the standard formula, "I have sent this letter (to inquire) about your welfare" (*TAD* A2.5). The only intimation as to the occupation of these Arameans located at Memphis, Luxor, and Syene is the statement, "And now behold, salary *(prs)* has been given to them here and it will be taken ahead of them at Syene" (*TAD* A2.3). This statement recalls the complaint of the Jew Osea writing from Migdol to his son Shelomam at Elephantine, "Now, from the day that you left (Lower) Egypt, salary *(prs)* has not been g[iven *to us/you here.* And when we] complained to the officials about your salary *(prskm)* here in Migdol we were told thus, saying: 'About this [*you must complain* before] the scribes and it will be given to you' " (*TAD* A3.3). Salary is clearly government allocation (*TAD* B4.2:6) and the Jew based in Migdol and traveling to Elephantine and the Arameans moving between Memphis, Luxor, and Syene were doubtlessly soldiers.

In their personal concerns and preoccupation with household affairs and the sending and receiving of objects, the Elephantine letters of the Jews are no different from the Syenian letters of the Arameans. The letter writers are Hoshaiah b. Nathan (*TAD* A3.6), perhaps the same as Hosea b. [PN] (*TAD* A3.7–8), and, judging from the handwriting, the scribe Mauziah b. Nathan (*TAD* A3.5), perhaps the brother of Hoshaiah. A sample of the economic activity of these soldiers may be found in the letter of Hosea to Ḥaggus, "And write for them (= the creditors) a document about them (= the money). And if they will not [*give*] *all* [*the*] silver at interest or will not [*gi*]ve it to you,

saying: 'Give a pledge' (i.e., a loan on security), sell the house of Zaccur and the house of *Aśn.* [And] if they (i.e., Zaccur and *Aśn*) will not sell them, seek a man who will buy the [b]ig house of Hodo and give it to him for the silver that is fixed upon it" (*TAD* A3.8). Persians and Egyptians also wrote to each other in Aramaic. Spentadata and Armantidata owned a boat which was being run by Ḥori and the former wrote to instruct the latter about loading, purchasing, and hauling (*TAD* A3.10; Porten 1988). Occasionally a private letter contains a significant piece of historical information such as the succession to the throne of Nepherites in Epiph (Sept 27–Oct 6, 399 B.C.E.) reported to "my lord Islaḥ" from "your servant Shewa b. Zechariah" (*TAD* A3.9).

2. Jedaniah Communal Archive. Historically, these ten documents (*TAD* A4.1–10) are the most significant of the Elephantine texts. The leading personality is the communal leader and perhaps chief priest Jedaniah b. Gemariah. In 419/18 he received a letter, now fragmentary, from Hananiah b. [PN] informing him of a directive (now lost) from Darius II to the Egyptian satrap Arsames and instructing him on the observance of the Passover. In addition to provisions known from the Torah, such as abstention from work on Nisan 15 and 21 and abstention from the consumption of leaven during the seven days of the feast, the letter announces regulations that may have been part of the developing oral law, e.g., obligation of purity during the week, prohibition of fermented drink, and authorization of the storage of leaven in sealed chambers during the festal week (*TAD* A4.1; Porten 1979: 88–92). Hananiah's identity and the thrust of Darius' directive may only be conjectured. But it is clear from another letter that the arrival of Hananiah in Egypt aroused the animosity of the Khnum priests of Elephantine against the Jews. That second letter is a recommendation by the scribe and communal leader Mauziah b. Nathan writing from Abydos to Jedaniah that he look after two Egyptian servants of the scribe and chancellor Anani; those servants had secured his release from arrest in the matter of a stolen dyer's stone (*TAD* A4.3). A third letter, only the right half of which is preserved, shows the Egyptians offering bribes and acting "thievishly" while the Jews appear in conflict with the Persian authorities in Memphis (*TAD* A4.2). In a fourth letter, Islaḥ b. Nathan, perhaps the recipient of the news on Nepherites, informs [PN] b. Gaddul of the arrest at the gate in Thebes of Jedaniah and other communal leaders as well as of several women. If correctly restored, the letter reported that the Jews were withdrawing from the houses which they had occupied and plundered. There was also talk of a heavy fine of 120 karsh (= 1200 shekels) (*TAD* A4.4).

These four letters are preliminary (though the last may be subsequent) to the destruction of the Jewish temple by the Khnum priests in connivance with the local Persian governor Vidranga in the summer of 410 B.C.E. when the satrap Arsames had left the country to report to King Darius. Of the six documents that deal with that crisis four are fragmentary (*TAD* A4.5, 6, 8, 10) and they obscure certain details. The first is a petition to a high official designated "our lord," perhaps Arsames himself, reporting the Egyptian bribe to Vidranga allowing them to destroy a royal storehouse and erect a wall. The priests also stopped up a well used to supply the garrison's needs. The missing part of the letter must have reported the destruction of the Jewish temple because the verso of the document appears to be a petition for its reconstruction (*TAD* A4.5). The second text is pieced together from a half dozen fragments and reports the names of two Egyptians, the enchainment of the petitioners' colleagues, and something "prior to Cambyses" (*TAD* A4.6). As the next letter reports, it is Cambyses on whom the Jews relied for the legitimacy of their temple. It was built under the Egyptian pharaohs and when Cambyses "entered Egypt" he reportedly destroyed all the native temples but did not harm the Jewish temple. The document makes it plain that the temple was a handsome structure (cedar roof, stone pillars, five great gateways of hewn stone) wherein animal sacrifices, meal offerings, and incense were regularly offered. Upon its destruction the Jews went into mourning. They eventually saw the punishment of their enemies but permission to rebuild the temple was not granted. An earlier petition to the Jerusalem authorities, the governor Bagohi, the high priest Jehohanan and Ostanes of the nobility, went unanswered. The present petition was written on November 25, 407 B.C.E. to Bagohi with a copy to the sons of Sanballat governor of Samaria. It opened with a fourfold blessing and concluded with a threefold promise of spiritual benefits if he would write a letter interceding on their behalf for the reconstruction of the temple (*TAD* A4.7). A stylistically revised version of this letter is also preserved (*TAD* A4.8). Not wanting to say no but unable to say yes to their earlier petition, the Jerusalem authorities remained silent. The second petition evoked not a written but an oral response, given jointly by Bagohi and Delaiah b. Sanballat, recorded in a memorandum. It accepted the Jewish version of the event, condemning Vidranga as "wicked," and authorized reconstruction of the temple "on its site as it was formerly," but omitted permission to offer animal sacrifices (*TAD* A4.9). Blood on the altar was to be the exclusive prerogative of Jerusalem. The Jews at Elephantine accepted the limitation and in a further petition to "our lord," perhaps Arsames, offered him rich reward if he would allow reconstruction of the temple (*TAD* A4.9). It is from the last contract of the Anani archive, dated December 13, 402 B.C.E., that we learn of the continued presence of the temple of YHW (*TAD* B3.12:18–19), indicating that if it had not yet been rebuilt, its place had not been taken by another structure (see Porten 1978, 1982).

3. Official. All five letters in this category are fragmentary (*TAD* A5.1–5). Only two are from Elephantine and both concern a hereditary land lease, in one case held by the garrison (*TAD* A5.5) and in the other perhaps by a military detachment *(dgl),* between 441 and 434 B.C.E. (*TAD* A5.2). The latter names various administrative and judicial officials and seeks rectification of an "injustice." The former is an order from a Persian official Mithradates to the judges concerning rebels (Porten and Szubin 1985).

4. Arsames Correspondence. He was the satrap of Egypt in the last quarter of the 5th century B.C.E. and over a dozen letters on leather were found in Egypt at an unknown site, written by him and other Persian senior officials (*TAD* A6.3–16). Two letters of his on papyrus turned up at Elephantine, one addressed to him by a long string of officials—heralds, judges and scribes (*TAD*

A6.1)—and the other sent by him to the Egyptian Waḥpremaḥi of unknown title (*TAD* A6.2). Both were dated on the outside band of the folded roll, the first to November 6, 427 B.C.E. and the second to January 12, 411 B.C.E. The first concerns a "share" (*mnṯ*), probably of land, and its unusually long external address allows for clarification of the address formula in two of the Aramaic letters in the book of Ezra (4:8–11, 17; Porten 1983b). The second, originally 23 lines long, is a masterful illustration of the bureaucratic procedure necessary to repair a boat held in hereditary lease by two Egyptian "boatholders of the Carians." They reported the matter to the Persian boatholder Mithradates. He ordered an inspection by the treasury accountants, the foremen headed by Shamashshillech and the carpenters headed by the Egyptian Shamou. They drew up a precise inventory of all the materials necessary for repair. All this information must have been sent to Arsames (in Memphis?) and turned over to his chancellor, the Jew Anani, who instructed his scribe Nabuaqab to write the long letter at hand. It recorded all the procedures followed and the inventory of materials to be used and instructed Waḥpremaḥi to act "as order has been issued." Upon receipt, he scribbled something at the bottom in a nearly illegible Aramaic script and then further notations were made in demotic.

C. Contracts

Elephantine has yielded forty-three items, most intact, and numerous fragments. These span the period from 495 to 400 B.C.E. They are written usually on only one side of the papyrus with the writing running perpendicular to the fibers and parallel to the joins. Only rarely was a piece written on both sides (*TAD* B2.3, 4; 4.4) or an additional entry made on the verso (*TAD* B3.3). Four pieces from the end of the century were written parallel to the fibers and perpendicular to the join (*TAD* B4.6; 7.1–3). In the vertically written pieces, the height varied according to the number of lines and whether or not the scribe had left a blank sheet at the top and cut off too much from the original scroll so that there was also a blank space at the bottom. Thus a small-sized document of 14–15 lines with no blank space at the top or bottom would measure between 27.5 (*TAD* B3.3) and 32.7 cm (*TAD* B3.2) while a long document of 45 lines with blank space at the top and bottom would be almost a meter tall (*TAD* B3.8). Upon conclusion, the scribe usually rolled his document bottoms-up to just below the top, turned down a fold or two, wrote a single-line summary on the exposed band ("endorsement"), folded the roll in thirds, tied and sealed it. The few preserved epigraphic bullae are Egyptian or Persian. On occasion, the document was rolled from the top down (*TAD* B2.7; 5.1 and perhaps 3.7). The horizontally indited documents were folded from left to right and no endorsement has been preserved on these. During the course of the 5th century, there appears to have been an increase in the size of the rolls. In a dozen dated documents written by eight different scribes from the 1st half of the century, the width of the scroll is 25.5–28.5 cm and the mean height of the individual sheets is ca. 10 cm (*TAD* B1.1; 2.1–6; 3.1–2; 4.2–4). Eighteen documents from the 2d half of the century, also written by eight different scribes, show an increased width of 28.5–34 cm with the mean height of the individual sheets rising to ca. 14 cm (*TAD* B2.7–11; 3.3–13; 6.1, 4).

Like other legal documents, the Aramaic contracts have been studied according to their schema (Yaron 1957; *ArchEleph*, 189–99, 334–43; Porten 1981b). The most common document in our collection is the conveyance (*TAD* B2.1–4, 7–11; 3.2, 4–7, 9–12; 5.1–6) and it follows a seven-paragraph structure wherein the central paragraph asserts the purpose of the contract—affirmation of the recipient's right to the object. The opening and closing paragraphs are objectively formulated; the central paragraphs are subjectively formulated. The order of elements is:

1. Date
2. Parties (and place: optional)
3. Transaction: Past
4. Investiture: Present and Future
5. Guarantees: Future
6. Scribe (and place: optional)
7. Witnesses

Prior to 483, contracts bore only an Egyptian date (*TAD* B4.3–4; 5.1; cf. B4.2) and after 413 most contracts again bore only an Egyptian date (*TAD* B3.12–13; 4.5–6; 5.5; 7.1–2). In the seventy-year interval, and occasionally thereafter (*TAD* B3.10–11), all documents bore a double, synchronous Babylonian–Egyptian date. Of the twenty-two double dates, only eight have exact synchronisms (*TAD* B2.1, 6 [restored], 9 [only month]; 3.5, 6, 8 [only month], 11; B6.1 [restored]). In seven documents, the Babylonian date is one day later than the Egyptian date, probably due to the fact that the contract was drawn up at night (*TAD* B2.2, 8, 10, 11; 3.2, 4, 10). In seven documents the deviation is greater—two days (*TAD* B2.7; 3.3), four days (*TAD* B3.1), a month (*TAD* B3.9), fifty days (*TAD* B2.3, 4), or a year (*TAD* B3.7). Various explanations have been offered for these incongruous synchronisms (Horn and Wood 1954; Parker 1955; Porten 1990).

The parties regularly (except for Egyptians), and witnesses and neighbors occasionally, were identified by ethnicon (Aramean, Babylonian, Caspian, Jew, Khwarezmian), occupation ([member] of [a military] detachment, builder, boatman, [temple] servitor), and usually by residence (Elephantine, Syene) as well. One of the parties (alienor) was presented as speaking to the other (alienee), e.g., "Eshor son of Ṣeha, a builder of the king, said to Mahseiah, an Aramean of the detachment of Varyazata" (*TAD* B2.6:2–3). The document was drawn up by a scribe skilled in legal terminology "upon/at the instruction of" the alienor and occasionally of the alienee as well when he or she was one of the speakers (*TAD* B3.8; 6.3–4). There are thirteen known scribes at Elephantine, six with Hebrew names and seven with non-Hebrew ("Aramean") names. Jewish scribes, with but one exception (*TAD* B7.1), drew up their documents at Elephantine (*TAD* B2.9–10; 3.6, 8, 10–12) while Aramean scribes, with but one exception (*TAD* B2.11), drew up theirs at Syene (*TAD* B2.2–4; 3.9, 13).

Witnesses usually appeared in groups of four (*TAD* B2.6, 8–9, 11; 3.1, 4–6, 12–13; 4.2, 6; 5.5; 6.4), eight (*TAD* B2.1–2, 10; 3.2, 9–11; 5.1[?], 3; 6.3) or twelve (*TAD* B2.3–4), though occasionally there are multiples of three (*TAD*

B3.3), six (*TAD* B2.7; 3.8 [though last line is torn]), and nine (*TAD* B3.3–4). In most cases the witnesses signed themselves and in one case a party to the contract also signed as a witness (*TAD* B2.7:17–18).

The subjective clauses in the center proceed in chronological order. The transaction paragraph recalls an act that has taken place; the investiture paragraph confirms ownership/possession and future right of transfer; the guarantee paragraph promises not to interfere with the new owner/possessor's rights. To paraphrase: I sold you a house; it is yours and you may give it to whomever you wish; I shall not be able to sue you regarding that house. The transaction paragraph contains subclauses, sometimes as many as four. A sale or bequest, for example, would include reference to title (previous owners), description, measurements, and boundaries (*TAD* B3.10, 12). The guarantee paragraph is always threefold, a main clause and two subclauses: waiver, penalty in case of violation of promise, and reaffirmation of the original investiture ("clausula salvatoria"). Variations in terminology and formula characterize the investiture and guarantee paragraphs and certain terms or phrases were favored by a particular scribe. The investiture clause had two variant formulas: "It is yours (from this day) (forever)" (*TAD* B2.1, 3) and "You have right over it from this day (and) forever" (*TAD* B3.7; cf. B2.4). Certain clauses occur only on occasion. The "document validity" paragraph appears also in deeds of obligation and affirms the power of "this document" to ward off suit or complaint (*TAD* B2.3; 3.1) and its priority over any other ancient or recent document (*TAD* B2.3, 7; 3.10–11; cf. B3.12). When a prior document was available to reinforce title, the alienor passed it on to the alienee and added a "document transfer" paragraph (*TAD* B2.3, 7; 3:12).

1. Mibtahiah Archive. It contains eleven documents and spans three generations (471–410 B.C.E.). The first four documents constitute a small archive concerning a house-plot bequeathed by Mahseiah to his daughter Mibtahiah. The first of these deals with a wall built on the property by a neighbor Konaiah. "That wall is yours," he says to Mahseiah, and "I shall not be able to restrain you from building upon that wall of yours" (*TAD* B2.1:4–6). The wall ran along Konaiah's own wall and may have been intended to give him the necessary two-wall thickness to erect an upper story. But in 464 Mahseiah's possession was challenged by his Khwarezmian neighbor and a judicial oath was imposed upon him by the court. He, his son, and wife swear by YHW the God "that it was not the land of Dargamana, mine, behold I," whereupon the plaintiff was obliged to draw up a document of withdrawal (*TAD* B2.2:4–7). Indeed, in the deed of bequest to his daughter at the time of her marriage (460/59 B.C.E.), Mahseiah omits mention of pedigree but identifies himself as *mhḥsn*, "hereditary property-holder" (*TAD* B2.3:2; Szubin and Porten 1982: 4). The fourth document, written on both sides and made out by Mahseiah simultaneously with the third, grants her husband Jezaniah, also a neighbor to the property, a life estate of usufruct to the house in exchange for his building it up (*TAD* B2.4; Szubin and Porten 1987: 47–48).

The second set of four documents introduces Mibtahiah's spouse(s), presents her Egyptian connection, and shows her property expanded. A fragment of a betrothal contract drawn up by an unknown groom with Mahseiah may have been for Mibtahiah (*TAD* B2.5). The damaged date in the document of wifehood drawn up between her father and her second husband, Eshor b. Ṣeḥa, may have been either October 27, 458 B.C.E. or November 2, 445 B.C.E. (*TAD* B2.6). Eshor presents Mahseiah with a modest *mohar* (bride-price) of 5 shekels which he incorporates into her handsome dowry of 65½ shekels. As was the practice at Elephantine both parties have equal rights of divorce. In case of death, however, if there are no children, Eshor *inherits* Mibtahiah's property, but she only has right *(šlyth)* over his. Three special clauses, reinforced by heavy penalties, protect her rights to his property, both during his lifetime and after his death, and make provision for their children (*TAD* B2.6). In 446 Mahseiah granted Mibtahiah a house in exchange for fifty shekels worth of goods she had earlier given to him. The fourth deed in this set is a document of withdrawal drawn up in 440 by the Egyptian Pia in settlement of a "litigation *nprt* about silver and grain and raiment and bronze and iron—all goods and property—and the wifehood document" (*TAD* B2.8:3–4). The newly hypothesized chronology for *TAD* B2.6 excludes the possibility that the wifehood document had been drawn up by Pia and that he was Mibtahiah's husband prior to Eshor. The document referred to must have been her contract with Eshor. The litigation was not a divorce settlement but probably a dispute over deposited property including the document (Porten 1989b: 534–35).

The last three documents in the archive cover a decade (420–410 B.C.E.) and deal with problems arising out of the estate of the deceased parents. The brothers Menahem and Anani drew up a document of withdrawal for Jezaniah and Mahseiah from goods allegedly deposited by the formers' grandfather Shelomam with Eshor but never returned (*TAD* B2.9). Similarly Jedaniah, the nephew of Mibtahiah's first husband Jezaniah, probably as part of a probate procedure, drew up a document of withdrawal from Jezaniah's house (416 B.C.E.) which must have passed to Mibtahiah upon the death of Jezaniah and to her sons upon her death (*TAD* B2.10; Porten and Szubin 1982a: 654). Finally, the two brothers divide between themselves ownership of two of their mother's four slaves, leaving the other two, mother and child, for future allocation (*TAD* B2.11).

2. Anani Archive. It contains thirteen documents, touches upon two interrelated families, and spans two generations (456–402 B.C.E.). It may be presumed that the four shekel loan taken by the woman Jehoḥen from Meshullam b. Zaccur (456 B.C.E.; see *TAD* B, 53–57) was never repaid and that he simply seized part of her property as security in accordance with the provisions of the contract (*TAD* B3.1) and he or his son Zaccur subsequently passed the seized property and contract on to Anani son of Azariah or his daughter Jehoishma. In 449 Anani drew up a document of wifehood for Meshullam's handmaiden Tamet (*TAD* B3.3). The erasures and corrections in the document are evidence of considerable haggling over the sum of the dowry and the terms of the settlement in case of death or divorce (Porten 1971). Surprisingly, the document attests to the presence of a child belonging to the couple by the name of Pilti (Pelatiah) over whom the

master Meshullam still had rights. In 437 Anani bought a piece of abandoned property from the Caspian couple Bagazushta and *ʾwbyl* (*TAD* B3.4). Unable to provide the purchaser with clear title to the "house of *ʾpwly*," the sellers attach a defension clause obligating them to clear the property of third-party suit within thirty days or provide an identical replacement. Only if an heir of the original owner/possessor *ʾpwly* should make good his claim to the house, would the present sellers not have to provide a replacement but merely refund the relatively modest purchase price of fourteen shekels plus improvements (Porten and Szubin 1982b). Improvements were not slow in coming and after three years (434 B.C.E.), perhaps on the occasion of Tamet's bearing a daughter, Jehoishma, Anani bestowed upon her "in affection" half of "the large room and its chambers . . . new, containing beams and windows" (*TAD* B3.5). As appropriate to a gift in contemplation of death, the contract limits the succession of the property to the couple's children Pilti and Jehoishma.

A new stage in women's status was reached in 427 B.C.E. when the aging Meshullam drew up a testamentary manumission for Tamet and Meshullam. He "releases" them at his death as "free" persons. They are "released from the shade to the sun, released to God" with the obligation to serve the master and his son Zaccur "as a son or daughter supports his father" (*TAD* B3.6). This implicit adoption is given concrete expression when Jehoishma marries in 420 B.C.E. Her father Anani gave her a room in his house as a life estate of usufruct (*TAD* B3.7; Szubin and Porten 1988) but it was her adoptive brother Zaccur who presented her with an elaborate dowry of 78⅛ shekels registered in her document of wifehood drawn up jointly by him and the groom Anani b. Haggai (*TAD* B3.8). In addition to the customary death and divorce clauses, the contract forbids Jehoishma to "acquire another husband besides Anani" and Anani "to take another woman besides Jehoishma." Should either do so, "it is hatred" and "the law of hatred" is applied. Presumably, the circumstances under which Jehoishma would acquire another husband would be the extended and inexplicable absence of Anani. The term "hatred," frequently taken to mean divorce, is still subject to further clarification. In 404 Anani b. Azariah converted his life estate of usufruct to a gift in contemplation of death in consideration of old-age support (*TAD* B3.10; Porten and Szubin 1987a) and in 402 he further upgraded it to an "after-gift" to her dowry, effective immediately and protected against future "reclamation" by himself or "removal" by a third party (*TAD* B3.11; Porten and Szubin 1987b). Final disposition of the estate comes at the end of 402 when Tamet and Anani sell the remaining parts of their house to their son-in-law Anani for thirteen shekels (*TAD* B3.12). Perhaps as a result of the purchase Anani is forced to take a loan of grain, two *peras*, three seah of emmer. The loan is to be repaid interest-free from Anani's (monthly?) ration. If it is not, a twenty-day grace period ensues, after which a ten-shekel penalty falls due (*TAD* B3.13). Here the archive comes to an end. We should but mention the earlier document of withdrawal, following suit-countersuit (451 B.C.E.; *TAD* B3.2; Porten and Szubin 1982a), and a document of adoption and emancipation of a slave Jedaniah who belonged to Jehoishma's adoptive brother Zaccur (416 B.C.E.; *TAD* B3.9).

3. Obligation Documents. Eight texts spanning the century from beginning to end ([*TAD* B4.1–6] including two in the Anani archive [*TAD* B3.1, 13]) are obligation documents. The documents are drawn up by the obligor/debtor and their shema is more varied than that of the conveyances. It includes four subjective main clauses, variously formulated, and optional subclauses: (1) loan/debt (with compound interest [*TAD* B3.1; 4.2]); (2) repayment from allotment/ration (*TAD* B3.13; 4.2 [with receipt]) or due date (*TAD* B4.5, 6); (3) penalty upon default (*TAD* B3.13; 4.2, 6 [with seizure of security (*TAD* B3.1, 13; 4.6)]); (4) obligation of heirs (*TAD* B3.1, 13). Two documents were written without dates (*TAD* B4.3; Porten 1985). Two documents appear to be parallel and concern the obligation to deliver grain to the garrison (*TAD* B4.3, 4). The others are private obligations for varying amounts of money or grain: two (*TAD* B4.6), three-and-one-half (*TAD* B4.2), four (*TAD* B3.1) and fourteen shekels (*TAD* B4.5); and two *peras*, three seah of emmer (*TAD* B3.13). Three are actual loans (*TAD* B3.1, 13; 4.2); two are IOUs for payment on a house (*TAD* B4.5) and restitution of dowry (*TAD* B4.5); and one is either a receipt or a cancellation of a debt (*TAD* B4.1). The payment period was either less than a month ("payday" [*TAD* B3.13]), one month (*TAD* B4.6), nine months (*TAD* B4.5), perhaps a year (*TAD* B4.2) or longer (*TAD* B3.1). A straight money loan cost 5 percent monthly (*TAD* B3.1; 4.2) whereas a grain loan might initially be interest-free (*TAD* B3.13). Charges varied in case of default of payment, whether of interest or capital (Porten 1989a).

4. Conveyances. Five texts (*TAD* B5.1–5) in addition to those in the two family archives are conveyances, none fully intact. The first document is the earliest from Elephantine (495 B.C.E.; *TAD* B5.1) and concerns an exchange of inherited shares of realty. The share of the sisters Salluah and Jethoma came through probate while that of Jehour resulted from a division among the heirs themselves (Porten and Szubin 1982). In the last quarter of the century the hereditary property of Jethoma and Salluah was mentioned in a suit by Mattan son of Jashobiah (*TAD* B5.2). From the same period is a text which may be plausibly restored as a mutual quitclaim between the two sisters Miptahiah and Isweri in which the former renounced claim to payment made and the latter to payment received (Porten 1989a). The other two documents are fragments from the first half of the century (*TAD* B5.3, 4).

5. Documents of Wifehood. In addition to the three relatively intact documents in this category found in the two family archives (*TAD* B2.6; 3.3, 8) there are four more fragmentary texts (*TAD* B6.1–4), making seven in all. Because of the formulaic nature of these texts, each may be restored with high probability (Porten 1989b). The document was drawn up by the groom (*TAD* B2.6; 3.3), sometimes in conjunction with the parent or proprietor of the bride (*TAD* B3.3; 6.3, 4). It defined the change in status of a woman becoming a wife. The groom usually gave the parent/proprietor a *mohar* (five or ten shekels [*TAD* B2.6; 3.8]) and she brought in a dowry (22.19 shekels [*TAD* B3.3], 38.125+ [*TAD* B6.2], 60.5 [*TAD* B2.6], and 68.125 shekels [*TAD* B3.8]), to which was usually added the *mohar*. The document set forth potential contingencies that could affect the status of the wife, such as repudiation ("hatred"), divorce, and death. One document had been considered a

conveyance but on the basis of terminology has been restored as a document of wifehood (*TAD* B6.3).

6. Judicial Oaths. All four are fragmentary (*TAD* B7.1–4); one is merely the endorsement on the verso with the recto showing a largely unintelligible text in demotic (*TAD* B7.4). Two are drawn up as regular contracts. In the first an unknown party pledges to Mahseiah b. Shibah to take an oath by YHW denying charges of theft of fish (*TAD* B7.1); in the second Malchiah b. Jashobiah pledges to [Ar]tafrada b. A[rvastah]mara to make a declaration before Ḥerembethel the god denying charges of assault and theft (*TAD* B7.2; but cf. van der Toorn 1986). The third is the actual statement of an oath sworn by one Menahem to Hodaviah "by H[erem?] the [god?] in/by the place of prostration and by Anathyhw" affirming his rights to dispose of a she-ass and denying the plaintiff's charge that his father had acquired half ownership (*TAD* B7.3).

D. Literary Texts

The *Words of Aḥiqar* is the only literary text discovered among the Elephantine papyri. Eleven sheets containing fourteen columns are preserved (*TAD* C1.1). The first five columns are narrative, relating the story of the "wise and skillful scribe . . . counselor of all Assyria and [kee]per of the seal" for Kings Sennacherib and his son Esarhaddon who adopted his nephew Nadin, instructed him in wisdom, and had him appointed to succeed himself. Nadin slandered his father before the king who ordered the officer Nabusumiskun to kill Aḥiqar. Aḥiqar talked the officer out of it and here the narrative breaks off. Later versions of the story (Syriac, Armenian, Arabic) recount in detail the restoration of Aḥiqar and his exploits on behalf of the king of Assyria against the king of Egypt. These versions divide the proverbs into two groups, one set uttered before the betrayal and the other after the restoration. Though the order of the nine columns of proverbs in our edition is not certain, papyrological considerations rule out interspersing any of the columns in the narrative.

There is no intimation in the Aramaic text that Aḥiqar was Jewish but the book of Tobit makes Aḥiqar the nephew of that worthy (Tob 1:21–22). The Aramaic Aḥiqar was extensively studied, both at the time of publication and in more recent years (Ginsberg *ANET*, 427–30; Grelot 1972: 427–52; Lindenberger 1983; Kottsieper 1989). Only one of the five narrative columns is fully intact and Cowley's restorations have become virtually canonical. Yet the resulting line length in columns 2, 3, and 5 falls short of the average column line length of 27 cm and must be corrected accordingly. Similar criticism needs to be leveled at his restoration of col. 14. The frequently quoted proverb "[Do not sh]ow an Arab the sea or a Sidonian the st[eppe], for their occupations are different" (line 208) must be expanded in the middle and corrected at the beginning. Most of the proverbs are pithy one-liners that are meant to instill discipline, caution, restraint, obedience, and industriousness. A marginal stroke at the beginning of the line often separates one proverb from another and if the proverb ran over into a second or third line, then an archaic *ʾalep* was inscribed to mark separation between it and the proverb immediately following on the same line. Deity plays a significant role in the proverbs, both in the generalized sense of "gods" and of Shamash and El in particular. The apparent hypostatization of wisdom (lines 94–95) recalls Prov 8:22–31.

E. Historical Texts

The one historical text is a late 5th century copy of the original Bisitun inscription despatched by Darius I to centers throughout the Empire recording his victory over nineteen rebels in one year (*TAD* C2.1). The text published by Sachau consisted of two papyrus sheets with three columns on the recto and one on the verso as well as thirty-six fragments. Cowley issued a text running to 63 lines. Extensive papyrological and textual work has made it possible to place most of the fragments and restore a text of 79 lines. The original Aramaic text must have consisted of eleven columns of 17–18 lines each, yielding a total of ca. 190 lines. Restoration of fragmentary text is possible because the Aramaic and Akkadian versions match almost verbatim. Each campaign was introduced by the formula, "Thus says King Darius" and the space following the last sentence was left blank. The nine preserved paragraphs correspond to eight campaigns with separate paragraphs for individual battles in the two Armenian campaigns. The tenth and final paragraph is a composite piece, with part corresponding to the last paragraph of Darius' Naqš.i Rustam b. inscription (Greenfield and Porten 1982).

F. Accounts

These four documents are very different from one another. One comes from the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century, has some kind of narrative text in the fragmentary first column, and a list of Hebrew names in the second column. Most of these names have some sort of check mark in front of them (*TAD* C3.3). The others all came from the end of the century; each bears a date but omits the name of the king (*TAD* C3.13–15) so we cannot be certain regarding the year. Two appear to have been written by the same scribe. One is an accounting of barley rations allocated to members of the Syenian garrison (*TAD* 3.14 = *CAP* 24). The other is a list of 128 (mostly Jews) who contributed two shekels each to the God YHW on 3 Phamenoth, year 5 (*TAD* 3.15 = *CAP* 22). The years may be either 419/420 or 401/400. The third account has two year dates, one 6+ and the other 6 and possibly 7. This account is written on the verso of the papyrus containing the Bisitun inscription and is a register of vessels and other objects associated with different individuals known from documents of the last two decades of the 5th century B.C.E. (*TAD* C3.13 = *CAP* 61–63). So this list was inscribed in 418/417 B.C.E. and gives us a date *ad quem* for the copying of the Bisitun inscription.

The Collection List poses problems of accounting and is an enigma for students of religion. The two shekel contributions collected come to 236 shekels, yet the recorded total is 318 shekels. The caption above the first two columns assigns the money to YHW, yet the total at the end divides it up among YHW (126 shekels), Eshembethel (70 shekels), and Anathbethel (120 shekels). The two-shekel difference between 316 and 318 is a mathematical error and the 82 shekel difference between 318 and 236 may be due to a carry-over of a previous balance. Most scholars see in the division of funds evidence for the syncretistic nature of the religion of the Elephantine Jews. But a

careful analysis of the onomastic and epistolary material leads to the conclusion that these other deities are part of the cult of the Arameans (Porten *ArchEleph*, 151–86; 1969).

G. Lists

In this category are included five lists of personal names that have no additional notations appended to the names. All come from the end of the century and on the basis of prosopographical considerations, three may be dated more closely (*TAD* C4.4 to 420; C4.5 to 410; C4.6 to 400). Only one of the five lists is fully intact. It contains nine names and a summation, "All (told), nine men" (*TAD* C4.4). Three lists have only the bottom intact (*TAD* C4.5, 7, 8) and one has the bottom and top missing (*TAD* C4.6). Only one was written on both sides with text missing at the top of the recto (*TAD* C4.8). Two have the marginal subtally "10" indicating these were part of longer lists (*TAD* C4.6, 7). In all but one (*TAD* C4.5) the handwriting runs parallel to the fibers. Ethnically, the lists display the cosmopolitan nature of the society in the Persian period. Three lists consist essentially of Jews, with a sprinkling of Aramean and Egyptian names (*TAD* C4.4–6); one of Persian praenomina only (*TAD* C4.7); and one of mixed Egyptian, Babylonian, and Aramean names with a sprinkling of Jewish names (*TAD* C4.8). The difficulty in reading some of these names (e.g. *nryh* or *pdyh* [*TAD* C4.6:3] *nḥwm* or *pḥnm* [*TAD* C4.6:12]) illustrates the variant readings frequently encountered in parallel biblical lists (e.g. *rḥwm* vs. *nḥwm* [Ezra 2:2 = Neh 7:7]).

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BEZALEL PORTEN

ELEUTHERUS (PLACE) [Gk *Eleutheros*]. A river in ancient Syria to which Jonathan marched with Ptolemy king of Egypt (1 Macc 11:7). Later, Jonathan routed the forces of Demetrius, but was unable to overtake them before they crossed this river (12:30). Both passages seem to suggest that the river constituted part of a political boundary beyond which Jonathan dare not proceed. The river flowed from the base of the Lebanon mountains into the Mediterranean (cf. Strab. 16.2.12). It has been suggested that the Eleutherus be identified with the modern Nahr el-Kebir, which flows near the Lebanon–Syria border about 19 miles N of Tripoli (*IDB* 2:85; *ISBE* 2:61), although Aharoni and Avi-Yonah apparently identify it with the Nahr Ibrahim, about 30 miles farther S (see *MBA*, map 203).

GARY A. HERION

ELHANAN (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelḥānān*]. **1.** A valiant warrior in David's army, who came from Bethlehem (2 Sam 21:19; 1 Chr 20:5). He was noted for killing a famous Philistine soldier in battle at Gob, an unidentified location in Philistia. There is confusion regarding the identity of Elhanan's father and the Philistine who was slain. In 2 Samuel the patronymic is Jaareoregim whereas in 1 Chronicles it is Jair. There exists a simple textual explanation for this variation. The word "oregim" appears again in 2 Sam 21:19 (the shaft of his spear was like a *weaver's* beam). Consequently, a copying error has occurred in which the word "oregim" has been inserted after Jaare (dittography). The difference between Jaare and Jair is minor, requiring a transposition of the last two letters in Hebrew. The probable name of Elhanan's father, then, is preserved as Jair (Heb *yāʿîr*[Q]) in 1 Chronicles.

The identity of Elhanan's opponent is a more difficult matter. In 2 Samuel the text reads, "Elhanan, son of Jaareoregim, the Bethlehemite (Heb *bêt hallaḥmî*) smote Goliath (Heb *ʾēt golyāt*)." In 1 Chronicles it reads, "Elhanan, son of Jair, smote Lahmi (Heb *ʾet laḥmî*) the brother of Goliath (Heb *ʾāḥî golyāt*)." Since the patronymic in 2 Samuel is corrupt, some scholars feel that 1 Chronicles contains the generally superior text. The reading "the Bethlehemite" was influenced by another text in which it was

known of an Elhanan from Bethlehem (2 Sam 23:24). However, the standard solution to this problem is that the Chronicler harmonizes the text with 1 Samuel 17 in which it is stated that David, not Elhanan, killed Goliath.

How then does one explain the contradiction between 1 Samuel 17 and 2 Samuel 21? The usual explanation states that David originally killed an anonymous Philistine, who was later confused with Elhanan's victim. Another, more ancient solution (Targums, Midrash) is that Elhanan and David were the same person, David being a second name acquired later, probably at his coronation. A significant number of modern scholars have lent support to this view, some arguing on the basis of the occurrence of the word *dawidum* at Mari that the name, David, was a title received at coronation (von Pákozdy 1956). Some have postulated that the patronymic in 2 Samuel originally was Jesse (Heb letters *yšy*) instead of Jaare (Heb letters *yʿry*), the consonants *ʿ* and *r* representing a corruption of *š* (Honeyman 1948: 23–24). Although this theory is attractive, it lacks conclusive support. The Mari evidence has now been essentially refuted, and the reading of "Jesse" for "Jaare" is dubious (Stamm 1960; Hoffman 1973: 168–206).

2. One of the distinguished group of David's warriors known as "The Thirty" (see DAVID'S CHAMPIONS) (2 Sam 23:24; 1 Chr 11:26). He came from Bethlehem and his father's name was Dodo. The fact that he is placed second on the list suggests that he was with David at an early stage in his career and thus came from an area close to his original home (Mazar 1963: 318). Consequently, this soldier probably had a high rank.

Some scholars identify this person with Elhanan in 1. above. However, there is no satisfactory explanation of the differing patronymics. Others identify the two Elhanans as both referring to David. An original text in 2 Sam 23:24 is conjectured: "Elhanan, he is David from Bethlehem." Although the word Dodo (Heb letters *dwdw*) and David (Heb letters *dwd*) are similar, such a theory requires major changes in the text. It also fails to explain adequately why David is included in his own list of warriors.

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STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

ELI (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēlî*]. The priest at Shiloh (1 Sam 1:9; 2:11) and a judge in Israel (4:18) before and during the days of Samuel's youth. More precisely, Eli's office was probably that of high priest, although he is not specifically given this title in the OT text. Eli's two reprobate sons—unfortunately also priests of the Lord (1:3)—bore appropriately Egyptian names: Hophni ("Tadpole") and Phinehas ("The Nubian").

On one occasion, while Samuel's mother Hannah was on pilgrimage at Shiloh, she was praying silently that the Lord would give her a son (1 Sam 1:3, 9–11). Eli rebuked her for what he took to be the inaudible mutterings of a drunken woman. When she responded that she was in fact praying, he graciously rectified his mistake (1:12–18). After Samuel had been weaned, his parents brought him to the tabernacle at Shiloh to begin service as a lifelong Nazirite under Eli (1:24–28; 2:11).

The contrast between Eli's young charge and his own two sons could scarcely be more stark and is intentionally highlighted in the text. Hophni and Phinehas "had no regard for the Lord" (1 Sam 2:12), treated with contempt "the offering of the Lord" (2:17) as well as "all the Israelites who came" to Shiloh (2:14), and "lay with the women who served at the entrance to the tent of meeting" (2:22). Samuel, meanwhile, "ministered to/before the Lord" (2:11, 18; 3:1), "grew in the presence of the Lord" (2:21), and "continued to grow both in stature and in favor with the Lord and with men" (2:26). Eli rebuked his sons for their wicked behavior, but they refused to listen to him (2:22–25).

An unnamed prophet came to Eli and told him that the sins of his sons would bring judgment and that his priestly line would be cut off and superseded by that of another (1 Sam 2:27–36). The same basic message was repeated to Eli by Samuel himself who, serving as the conduit of God's word to the aged priest, informed him of the day of reckoning that would come at least partly because Eli had failed to restrain his sons' evil conduct. Eli submissively accepted the inevitable as a sign of the Lord's displeasure (3:11–18).

After a severe military defeat suffered by the Israelites at the hands of the Philistines, Hophni and Phinehas accompanied the ark of the covenant onto the battlefield (1 Sam 4:1–4). The elders had ordered the ark to be brought out of the tabernacle and into battle as a talisman to assure Israel's victory. Although fearful, the Philistines fought bravely and captured the ark. Apparently Eli's two sons were among the casualties who died in the battle (4:10–11; 4QSam^a omits mention of the sons).

By this time Eli was an obese (1 Sam 4:18; cf. also 2:29) old man, ninety-eight years of age (4:15) and nearly blind (3:2; 4:15). When he heard the report of the death of his sons and the capture of the ark, the shock was such that he fell backward off his chair, broke his neck and died. He had been a judge in Israel for forty years (4:17–18). A tragic figure, Eli had successfully prepared Samuel for divine service but had failed with his own sons.

Eli's ancestry is not clearly outlined in the OT text, and any reconstruction must remain speculative. If the Ahimelech who was Eli's great-grandson and successor (1 Sam 22:9, 11, 20; 14:3) is the same as the one mentioned in 1 Chr 24:3, then Eli was a descendant of Aaron's son Ithamar (see also Josephus *Ant* 5.11.5 §361; contrast, however, 2 Esdr 1:2, where Eli is traced back to Eleazar, another of Aaron's sons). 1 Sam 22:9–20 indicates that Eli's descendants, through Ahimelech's son Abiathar, continued to serve as priests at Nob, at least temporarily. When Doeg the Edomite slaughtered the priests at the command of Saul, Abiathar escaped (22:20) and shared the priesthood with Zadok under David (2 Sam 19:11). The prophecy concerning the demise of Eli's line (see above) was further fulfilled when Solomon relieved Abiathar of his priestly

duties (1 Kgs 2:26–27; approximate dates for Eli through Abiathar are given in Albright *ARI,* 200). The sole priesthood then reverted to the line of Eleazar under Zadok (cf. 1 Chr 6:4–8; Josephus *Ant* 5.11.5 §362), to whose house Ezra traced his own priestly lineage (Ezra 7:1–5). (See also the discussion in ITHAMAR.)

The personal name *ʿēlî* is used only of Eli the priest in the OT. But it has long been recognized that it is the hypocoristic of a longer name such as *yḥwʿly* in the Samaria ostraca (Albright *ARI,* 200) or *yhwʿly* (a woman's name, however) in the Elephantine papyri (Noth *IPN,* 245). Recent discoveries have added the names *ʿlyhw,* found on three bullae (Avigad 1986: 45, 93, 94), and *ʿlyw,* inscribed on a seal (Avigad 1987: 200, 207).

M. Noth brought the divine name Elyon into the discussion of Eli and its longer forms (Noth *IPN,* 146), but it remained for H. S. Nyberg to prove that *ʿl/ʿly/ʿlyw* itself was used as a divine name (meaning "Exalted One, Most High") in the OT as well as in numerous extrabiblical texts (see especially Nyberg 1938; cf. also Ginsberg 1946: 47). During the past fifty years, numerous studies have added to the list of occurrences of *ʿl* and its derivatives and/or commented on their significance (e.g., Dahood 1953; *Psalms 1–50* AB, 45; Freedman 1976: 65–67 *et passim*). Especially instructive in the context of the fall from grace of Eli the priest is 1 Sam 2:10 in the Song of Hannah:

ʿlw thunders from the heavens;
yhwh judges the ends of the earth.

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RONALD YOUNGBLOOD

ELI, ELI, LAMA SABACHTHANI. Jesus' cry from the cross is recorded in Matt 27:46 and Mark 15:34, in slightly differing forms. That given above is basically a mixture of the two, while yet a further form occurs in Codex Bezae at both places. The two most probable forms, along with that in Codex Bezae, are as follows:

Mark 15:34, *eloi eloi lama* [*lema* Sinaiticus C] *sabachthanei*
Matt 27:46, *ēli ēli lema* [*lama* D^{w} it vg, *lima* A] *sabachthanei*

Codex Bezae (D) in both reads *ēlei ēlei lama zaphthanei.* From this it is clear that D represents the Hebrew text of Ps 22:1 (apart from the omission of the syllable before *zaphthanei*): *ʾēlî ʾēlî lāmâ ʿăzabtānî.* In the more usually accepted texts in Matthew and Mark, *sabachthanei* reflects the Aramaic verb *sbqtny.* The form *lema* in Matthew is slightly closer to the Aramaic *lmʾ* than is the Markan *lama. Eli* is Hebrew, but has also been found in an Aramaic text from Qumran (11QJN frag. 14, line 1), whereas the Markan form *eloi* seems to reflect best a biblical Hebrew form *ʾlhwhy* ("my God"), although it may possibly represent Aramaic *ʾlhy,* but it does not coincide with the known Hebrew text of Ps 22:1a in that reading.

If Matthew used Mark here, why did he change the *eloi* to *ēli* in conformity with the Hebrew text but leave the rest of the sentence in Aramaic? Actually, if we consult the Targum to Psalms we find that it has not *eloi* but *eli,* so that Matthew's version is in fact precisely that of the Targum. The Bezan variant is equally that of MT. The question becomes even more involved when we look at the Greek translations given respectively by Matthew and Mark and compare them with that in the LXX as we know it. Mark deviates a little from the LXX as we know it. Mark deviates a little from the LXX in reading *eis ti* (literally, "for what?") for *hina ti,* ("why?"), but Matthew's *thee mou thee mou* "my God, my God" (against Mark and LXX, *ho theos mou ho theos mou*) is strikingly independent. Are Matthew and Mark really interdependent here after all? Which of them (if either) is the more likely to have been original? What is the status of the Bezan reading? Is it an attempt to conform them both to one another and to MT, and perhaps also to help explain how the opening word *(ēlei)* came to be mistaken for the name of the prophet Elijah *(ēleias)*?

Apart from the Bezan readings, both Matthew and Mark point to Aramaic as the language in which the cry was uttered. It would hardly be surprising that in such deep distress Jesus should have used his mother tongue. The authenticity of the saying is surely supported by the sheer embarrassment of the words for the early Church.

MAX WILCOX

ELIAB (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîʾāb*]. Var. ELIHU; ELIEL.

1. Prominent man in the tribe of Zebulon, son of Helon (Num 1:9). He represented his tribe's interests as an assistant to Moses in the wilderness. After the census of the tribes, he was Zebulon's leader (Num 2:7–8) and commanded a host of 57,400 (Num 2:8); also, in his capacity as leader he provided an offering for the dedication of the altar (Num 7:24–29).

2. Man from the family of Pallu, of the tribe of Reuben (Num 26:5, 8). He was the father (Num 16:1) of the rebels, Dathan and Abiram, who, with Korah and On, led a mutiny against the authority of Moses and Aaron (Num 16:1–3, 12–4; Deut 11:6).

3. Levite from the family of Kohath (1 Chr 6:7, 12—Eng 6:22, 27). He was the great-grandfather of the judge/prophet, Samuel (1 Chr 6:12–13—Eng 6:27–28). His name is given also as "Elihu" (1 Sam 1:1) where the lineage is connected with Ephraim and as "Eliel" (1 Chr 6:19—Eng 6:34) where the lineage, as with Eliab, is connected with Levi.

4. The oldest son of Jesse and therefore David's oldest brother (1 Chr 2:13). He was the father of at least one daughter, Abihail (2 Chr 11:18). He was most probably the leader of Judah during the time of David's kingship. This is based on the reference in 1 Chr 27:16–18 which states that "Elihu, one of David's brothers," was "chief

officer" over the tribe of Judah. The following evidence suggests that, in this passage, "Elihu" is another name for Eliab: (1) the oldest brother would naturally be the leader, (2) the LXX renders "Elihu" as "Eliab" in 1 Chr 27:18, and (3) (less direct evidence) the Eliab in **3.** above is also called Elihu, which establishes that "Elihu" is a variant of "Eliab." But see ELIHU. He was a man of imposing stature, appearance and bearing, qualities which inclined Samuel to identify him, although mistakenly, as Jahweh's choice to be Saul's successor to the throne in Israel (1 Sam 16:6–7). He served in Saul's army during the conflict with the Philistines. During his tenure in Saul's army, his brother David conveyed to him greetings, and supplied him with provisions, from home. When, on one such occasion, David expressed in the camp an interest in meeting the Philistine, Goliath, Eliab asserted himself against David's design: he rebuked David, belittled him and imputed to him a specious motive (1 Sam 17:28–29). He seems, thus, to have been embarrassed by David, jealous of David, or both.

5. A warrior from the tribe of Gad (1 Chr 12:8–9). He was the leader of a troop of either a thousand or a hundred men, and was one of eleven such military leaders who, as a group, transferred their allegiance to David after Saul's demise (1 Chr 12:8–15). This group of eleven leaders aggressively protected Israel's interests against unfriendly people, particularly in the valleys beyond Jordan, and their military exploits and prowess gained them fame. As a member of the group, he possessed the qualities in which the group excelled: he was eminent in battle, skillful with shield and spear; his strong, dauntless character expressed itself through his aspect and demeanor; in military maneuvers he was adroit, nimble and swift (1 Chr 12:8–9).

6. A Levite who played the harp skillfully (1 Chr 15:20). He was a member of a group of musicians under the direction of Chenaniah. David honored this group by appointing them to provide music during the transfer of the ark from the house of Obededom to the tent prepared especially to receive it (1 Chr 15:14–28).

7. A man of the tribe of Simeon, and an ancestor of Judith (Jdt 8:1; 9:2). The genealogy in Jdt 8:1 lists him as the grandson of Salamiel who was the leader of the tribe of Simeon under Moses in the wilderness (Num 1:6). But the list is obviously incomplete (Sarasadai succeeds Israel [Jacob] in the list though he lived several hundred years later), and extensive time gaps could separate persons whose names are successive in the list. If the list is complete at the point at which Eliab occurs, he was the son of Nathanael and the father of Hilkiah.

GERALD J. PETTER

ELIADA (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelyādāʿ*]. **1.** One of 13 sons of David listed as having been born in Jerusalem (1 Chr 3:5–9; 14:3–7; cf. 2 Sam 5:13–16). His mother was among the several wives and concubines whom David took in Jerusalem, but she is not named. His name means "God knows" (2 Sam 5:16 and 1 Chr 3:8). His given name was most likely "Baaliada" or "BEELIADA" (the form found in 1 Chr 14:7), which means "Baal knows" or "the Lord knows." This name change was not necessarily late, since theophoric names with *ʾēl* prefixed were most common during the period of the united monarchy (*TPNAH*, 42–44).

2. Father of the Syrian king, Rezon (1 Kgs 11:23). Rezon was a subject of Hadadezer, who was king of Zobah, an Aramean city-state, and who had been subdued by David (2 Sam 8:3–8); he had fled from Hadadezer, and established himself as leader of a marauding band and as king in Damascus. He was a troublesome presence to Israel throughout Solomon's day (1 Kgs 11:23–25).

3. One of two Benjaminite commanders of large military units stationed in Jerusalem under King Jehoshaphat, along with three Judahite commanders (2 Chr 17:17–19). The large numbers cited in the passage as it stands (200,000 men under Eliada alone) were undoubtedly smaller originally, and have achieved their present status either by inflation or by later misunderstanding (see Dillard *2 Chronicles* WBC 106–7, 135, and refs.).

DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

ELIAHBA (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelyaḥbāʾ*]. One of David's mighty men mentioned in 2 Sam 23:32 (= 1 Chr 11:33). On the one hand, his is the seventeenth name in the brief listing of the *gibbôrîm* (23:20–39). On the other hand, 2 Sam 23:32 designates his home as Shaalbon. This city is generally identified as the Danite city, Shaalbim, mentioned in Judg 1:35 and 1 Kgs 4:9, and Shaalabbin, mentioned in Josh 19:42, which is close to Benjaminite territory. Thus, the location of his home town would support Mazar's thesis that the list comes from David's Hebron period (1963: 318). Using Elliger's theory that the first twenty-three names are part of the original group of *gibbôrîm* (1935: 69–70), Eliahba's location in the list would have him included in this group, while the theory that the list is arranged geographically radiating from Bethlehem (1935: 47) would explain Eliahba's name appearing midway within the list. McCarter's argument that the list is arranged according to the power and influence held by the individuals (*2 Samuel* AB, 500–501), would suggest that Eliahba was of medium rank, while Naʾaman's theory of *šālîšîm* being officers of the third rank (1988: 77) would place Eliahba on equal rank with the others listed in vv 20–39. See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

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R. C. BAILEY

ELIAKIM (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelyāqîm*]. The name is composed of two parts, the theophoric element *ʾēl* (meaning "God," the Canaanite or the Israelite deity), and the verb form *yāqîm* (a *Hipʿil* impf 3ms from *qûm*, with the meaning "to raise, set up, establish"). Thus "God will establish" would seem to be the best translation, though some prefer a jussive "May El establish" (*TPNAH*, 99), which would seem to be obviated by the fact that a *plene* written *yod* (*yqym*) is used. The jussive of this verb is ordinarily written

as *yāqēm (yqm)* in the MT. This name occurs in the Hebrew Bible as well as in several Iron-Age seals (cf. *TPNAH*, 359 for references. For a good discussion of the identification of *ʾlyqm nʿr ywkn* found on several seals from Tel Beth Mirsim, Beth Shemesh, and Ramat Rahel, in the light of some new discoveries, cf. Avigad 1981: 303).

1. The son of Hilkiah, "master of the palace" (Heb *ʾăšer ʿal habbayit*, apparently roughly equivalent to the office of vizier in Egypt, cf. de Vaux *AncIsr* 1: 129–31) under Hezekiah. He was one of three officers (the other two being Shebna the scribe [Heb *hassōpēr*] and Jo'ah the herald [Heb *hammazkîr*]) Hezekiah sent out to meet the Assyrian envoy which Sennacherib sent out from Lachish in the fourteenth year of the Judean king's reign (ca. 701 B.C.). Subsequently, he and the other two Judean officers were sent to bring the vexatious words of the Assyrians to the prophet Isaiah (2 Kgs 18:18, 26, 37; 19:2; Isa 36:3, 11, 22; 37:2). These three offices would appear to be paralleled by that of vizier, royal scribe, and herald in ancient Egypt. In an interesting parallel, de Vaux points out, "It is remarkable that in the very serious matter of the violation of the royal tombs under Ramses IX, the three corresponding Egyptian officials, the vizier, the royal scribe, and the herald, are named in the same order as alone presiding over the enquiry" (*AncIsr* 1: 132). One of the other two officers, Shebna the scribe, formerly held the office of "master of the palace," until he was demoted and replaced by Eliakim, as Isa 22:15–25 prophesied. The same passage describes in poetic language some of his official functions, including being charged with the "key of David," which gives him power over Judah and Jerusalem. As Isa 22:22 indicates, "he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open" (RSV). (Note that Rev 3:7 makes an obvious allusion to this passage.) The Egyptian vizier was second to Pharaoh, to whom he would report daily for instructions. He was in charge of the opening of the "gates of the royal house" and would rule in the name of the Pharaoh. The biblical references to Eliakim and his office would seem to indicate that his duties were similar to that of his Egyptian counterpart.

2. Son of Josiah whom Pharaoh Neco of Egypt made king in place of his brother Jehoahaz around 609 B.C. (2 Kgs 23:34; 2 Chr 36:4). The Pharaoh also changed his name to Jehoiakim, the new name probably being conciliatory to the Jews in Judah at this time, while at the same time demonstrating the power of the Pharaoh over his subject (Gray *Kings* OTL, 751).

3. First of seven priests bearing trumpets mentioned as participating in the dedication ceremony of the restored temple (Neh 12:41).

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H. Eldon Clem

4. The son of Abiud and father of Azor, according to Matthew's genealogy tying Joseph, the husband of Mary, to the house of David and Solomon (Matt 1:13). Apart from Luke (see below), Eliakim does not appear in any other genealogy or list of Jesus' ancestors, although Albright and Mann (*Matthew* AB, 4–5) state that this name, like those around it, is attested for the postexilic period. Johnson (1969: 179–80) goes so far as to argue that the names between Zerubbabel and Joseph have a basis in later OT documents (e.g. Neh 12:41; Isa 22:19–25). Gundry (1982: 18) is more specific, positing that Matthew saw in Luke's genealogy (3:30) the name of Eliakim (the name given to Jehoiakim in 2 Chr 36:4), whom Matthew earlier omitted in v 11. According to Gundry, Matthew includes Eliakim to "offset his omission of Jehoiakim and inject a bit of Davidic Christology." This theory is intriguing but difficult to prove, since Matthew's dependence on 1 Chronicles in 1:13–15 is difficult to establish.

5. The father of Jonam and son of Melea, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:30). Manuscript D in Luke includes an Eliakim (but in Matthew's sequence [see #4 above]), substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. Apart from Matt 1:13 (see above), this name appears in a list of eighteen ancestors of Jesus otherwise unknown to the biblical documents (Fitzmyer *Luke* AB, 501). Kuhn (1923: 208–9) argues that two seemingly parallel lists of names—Luke 3:23–26 (Jesus to Mattathias) and 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha)—were originally identical, the first perhaps reflecting a Hebrew context and the second, in an Aramaic context, tracing Mary's line of descent (since it does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father). Eliakim, in the second list, corresponds to ESLI, in the first list. In the NT, however, there are no textual variants for either name to support a confusion of the two, leaving Kuhn's theory with little support.

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Stanley E. Porter

ELIALIS (PERSON) [Gk *Elialis*]. A son of Bani who divorced his foreign wife during Ezra's reform (1 Esdr 9:34). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, Elialis does not appear as a son of Bani in Ezra 10:34–37. Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text.

Michael David McGehee

ELIAM (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelîʿām*]. Var. AMMIEL. The father of Bathsheba (2 Sam 11:3) and one of David's mighty men, the son of Ahithophel of Gilo (2 Sam 23:34). See also DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

While many scholars view these to be references to two separate individuals (Ackroyd *2 Samuel* CBC; *IDB*), more

are now arguing that these two references are to one person (Hertzberg *Samuel* OTL; McCarter *Samuel* AB; Wharton 1980). Some of the mighty men mentioned in 2 Samuel 23 were warriors who fought with David, as far back as his outlaw days running from Saul. Others joined him during the Hebron period of his reign (2 Sam 3:5a). It is, therefore, assumed that he knew them well. Similarly, since Eliam's father, Ahithophel of Gilo, was one of David's key advisers (2 Sam 16:23), and since "Giloh" is associated with the Judean hills south of Hebron (Josh 15:48–51), we can assume that Eliam had been with David since the Hebron kingship and that David was familiar with the members of this influential family.

In 2 Sam 11:3, David speculates on the identity of the woman he notices bathing in Jerusalem, as being "Bathsheba the daughter of Eliam the wife of Uriah." This word order for identifying her and the fact that David is the speaker suggest that David is familiar with her, her family, and her marital status. In other words, given the order of the identifying information about this woman, her family ties are more important to him than her marital status (Bailey 1990).

The identification of the Eliam of 2 Sam 11:3 and the Eliam of 2 Sam 23:34 as the same individual would also suggest that the David–Bathsheba marriage was another example of David becoming closely associated with a politically influential family by marrying a woman from that family. Similarly, this would also fit his pattern of marrying women who were previously married to other men (cf. 1 Samuel 25 and 2 Samuel 3:14–16) (Levenson and Halpern 1980).

Interestingly, the Chronicler records the name of the father of Bathsheba (who is called Bathshua—literally, daughter of nobility—in 1 Chr 3:5b) as AMMIEL, which in Hebrew is Eliam with the syllables reversed. On the other hand, the Chronicler omits any reference to Eliam/Ammiel (2 Sam 23:34b) in the redaction of the list of David's mighty men (2 Sam 23:34a = 1 Chr 11:35b and 2 Sam 23:35 = 1 Chr 11:36). These name changes of Eliam and Bathsheba and the omission of Eliam by the Chronicler can be explained as systematic attempts to cover up any references to the David–Bathsheba–Uriah affair, which the Chronicler omits from the story of David's reign, and to mute any association between Bathsheba and the politically powerful southern family of Ahithophel given the latter's support of Absalom in his revolt (2 Samuel 17). This is very similar to the way the Chronicler omits any reference to the Abigail–Nabal connection (1 Chr 3:1).

Thus, it is most probable that both the Eliam of 2 Sam 11:3, Bathsheba's father, and the Eliam of 2 Sam 23:34, David's mighty man, are one and the same.

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R. C. BAILEY

ELIASAPH (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelyāsāp*]. **1.** Leader of the tribe of Gad, a son of Deuel (or Reuel) as recognized by Moses at the time of the census in the wilderness (Num 1:14; 2:14; 7:42, 47; 10:20). His name, "God has added," was common for that period since it is built from the same Hebrew root as Joseph, the venerated Hebrew leader of Egypt before the era of Hebrew bondage.

2. Prince of the Gershonites and son of Lael during the wilderness wanderings (Num 3:24). His leadership duties included care for the tent, coverings, curtains, altar, and cords of the tabernacle. See ASAPH.

JOEL C. SLAYTON

ELIASHIB (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelyāsîb*]. The name of several men in the OT.

1. A priest who received the eleventh position in the priestly order of the Temple during the reign of David (1 Chr 24:12). An evaluation of the historical reliability of Eliashib's appearance during the reign of David depends largely upon the literary context of 1 Chr 24:1–19. Though generally agreed that the priestly list originated after the exile, its exact date remains debated. J. Liver (1968: ix, 29–32) associates the twenty-four course priestly organization to the reforms of Nehemiah, while H. G. M. Williamson (1979: 262–68) assigns it to the late Persian period. Due to genealogical connections between 1 Chr 24:7–18 and Hasmonean priestly claims, L. Dequecker (1986: 94–106) dates the list to the Hasmonean era. The stylistic characteristics of the list, however, seem to link it to the time of the composition of Chronicles. This would correspond well with the commonality of the name "Eliashib" in Judah during the Persian period.

2. The high priest of the Jerusalem temple during the governorship of Nehemiah (Neh 3:1). Eliashib actively participated in Nehemiah's refortification of Jerusalem (Neh 3:1) despite the outcry of Sanballat, Tobiah, and others (Neh 4:1–3). The size of Eliashib's house (Neh 3:20–21) indicates the relative wealth and high social standing that he possessed. His family retained the high priesthood at least throughout the later half of the 5th century B.C.E. (Neh 12:28).

3. A priest who oversaw the temple chambers during the time of Nehemiah (Neh 13:4). The favoritism that this Eliashib showed to Tobiah, Nehemiah's nemesis (Neh 13:4–5), suggests that he represents a different individual from Eliashib, the high priest. Yet the intermarriage between the grandson of Eliashib the high priest and the daughter of Sanballat (Neh 13:28) may indicate that Eliashib's cooperation with Nehemiah in the refortification of Jerusalem was a practical matter, independent of the conflict between Nehemiah and Sanballat and Tobiah. The two Eliashibs may therefore represent one individual. This uncertainty over the identity of the Eliashib of Nehemiah 13 contributes to the difficulty of assigning the proper chronological date for the mission of Ezra (see below).

4. A Davidide that lived sometime in the 4th century B.C.E. (1 Chr 3:24). As he belongs to the last generation of Judah's royal line mentioned in Chronicles, Eliashib and his brothers help date Chronicles to the 4th century. Unfortunately, textual problems earlier in the genealogy and the uncertain time span of a "typical" generation do

not allow the assignment of Eliashib's life, and the composition of Chronicles, to a more precise date.

5. A singer who lived in the Persian province of Judah during the mission of Ezra (Ezra 10:24). Though a temple official, Eliashib married a non-Judean wife. He consented to divorce her during the reforms of Ezra under the threat of complete ostracism from the Jerusalem temple–state.

6. A son of Zattu, who lived in the Persian province of Judah during the mission of Ezra (Ezra 10:27). Eliashib married a non-Judean wife. He consented to divorce her during the reforms of Ezra under the threat of complete ostracism from the Jerusalem temple–state.

7. The father, or possibly grandfather, or Jehohanan, a contemporary of Ezra (Ezra 10:6). The identity of this Eliashib is crucial for the determination of the date of the mission of Ezra. If he is identical with the high priest of the same name in Nehemiah 3 and 12, Ezra's mission must have postdated the governorship of Nehemiah (Rowley 1963: 233–34). F. M. Cross has postulated that this Eliashib was the grandfather of the Eliashib the high priest who lived during the time of Nehemiah on the basis of the practice of papponomy in Judah during the Persian period. Thus he dates the mission of Ezra to its traditional date (Cross 1975: 10–11). The commonality of the name "Eliashib" during this period makes the identification of persons with this name tenuous at best.

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JOHN W. WRIGHT

ELIASIS (PERSON) [Gk *Eliasis*] A son of Bani who "divorced" his foreign wife during Ezra's reform (1 Esdr 9:34). His name is almost identical in spelling to that of another son of Bani, Elialis. See ELIALIS (PERSON).

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

ELIATHAH (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēlîʾātâ, ʾēlîyātâ*]. One of the fourteen sons of Heman who were appointed to prophesy with musical instruments under the direction of their father and the king (1 Chr 25:4). Eliathah received the twentieth lot which was cast to determine duties (1 Chr 25:27).

Scholars have long suggested that with only slight modifications the final nine names in 1 Chr 25:4 can be read as a liturgical prayer. For instance, Eliathah can be modified slightly to *ʾēlî ʾattâ,* "My God (art) thou." It would form the second line of the prayer as Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 173) reconstructed it:

> Be gracious to me, Yahweh, be gracious to me;
> My God art thou;
> I have magnified, and I will exalt [my] helper;
> Sitting [in] adversity I said,
> Clear signs give plentifully.

It is unlikely that an editor simply mistook a psalm fragment for proper names. It is more likely that some of the sons of Heman took their names from first lines or key phrases of songs they regularly sang. In any case, it is clear that the final editor understood the words involved as proper names, since nine names are needed to complete the list of the fourteen sons of Heman (1 Chr 25:5). It may be that the present ambiguity is an intentional play on words, perhaps to lend authority to the sons of Heman. It is striking that the final nine names in 1 Chr 25:4 also receive the final nine lots cast to determine duties (1 Chr 25:23–31). One may conclude that the editor responsible for the scheme of twenty-four lots also expanded 1 Chr 25:4 from an original five-name list to a fourteen-name list, again perhaps to indicate the ascendancy of Heman (Petersen 1977: 64–68).

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ELIDAD (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîdād*]. The leader of the clan of Benjaminites (Num 34:21), and son of Chislon. He was one of the tribal leaders responsible for managing the distribution of the land of Canaan among the ten tribes who occupied the land W of the Jordan River. The name has been given the meaning of "the deity loves." Others have suggested a meaning based upon the root *dwd,* "beloved," "close friend," and cite names using a theophoric element and the root *dwd* in Egyptian, Akkadian, and Ugaritic. According to Johnson (*IDB* 2: 87), "the meaning of the name Elidad and of the other names in the account (the distribution of the land) underscores Israel's dependence upon God for the new life in Canaan." Others relate the name to Eldad who prophesied in the camp with Medad (see Num 11:26–29) and have suggested that Elidad and Eldad are the same person. Another suggestion is that the name is similar to Bildad, the friend of Job (see Job 2:11ff.). Note also that in the LXX, the Samaritan, and the Syriac, Elidad is rendered as Eldad.

RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

ELIEHOENAI (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelyĕhôʿênay*]. Two persons bear this name in the OT. The name itself (= "toward Y are my eyes") follows a common pattern of Akkadian names from the Neo-Babylonian period, as in *Itti-Nabū-īnīa* (Tallqvist 1913: 84), "toward Nabu are my eyes." In 1 Esdr 8:31 (see 2. below) it is rendered in Gk *Eliaōnias.*

1. Gatekeeper from the family of Meshelemiah (1 Chr 26:3), whose Levitical extraction is traced through Korah

(1 Chr 26:1) in the Chronicler's (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 169) or perhaps a later (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 173) organization of the gatekeepers in the temple at Jerusalem (1 Chr 26:1–19). Eliehoenai was the seventh and last "son" of this family.

2. Son of Zerahiah and head of the family of Pahath-Moab, a lay family, some of whose members returned to Jerusalem with Ezra (Ezra 8:4 = 1 Esdr 8:31). Eliehoenai brought with him a relatively sizable extended family, numbered at two hundred males. It would appear that Eliehoenai was the head of the Jeshua branch of the family of Pahath-Moab (see Ezra 2:6 = Neh 7:11; 1 Esdr 5:11), as the Joab branch is included separately in the same list several verses later (Ezra 8:9 = 1 Esdr 8:35).

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J. S. ROGERS

ELIEL (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēlîʾēl*]. **1.** A leader of the half-tribe of Manasseh which settled in Transjordan (1 Chr 5:24). Eliel is among seven Manassites described as "mighty warriors, famous men, heads of their fathers' houses." Several scholars have pointed out the awkward positioning of this brief account of the half-tribe of Manasseh (1 Chr 5:23–24) following the more general account of the two-and-a-half tribes in the previous paragraph (1 Chr 5:18–22), concluding that 1 Chr 5:23–26 is likely an intrusion into the Chronicler's original composition (e.g., Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 66). It is probable that the material is drawn from a military census list. Eliel is conjectured to mean "My God is El" or "My God is God."

2. A Kohathite, one of the levitical singers appointed by David for temple service (1 Chr 6:19—Eng 6:34). Eliel seems to be variously known in other levitical lists as Eliab (1 Chr 6:12—Eng 6:27) and Elihu (1 Sam 1:1).

3. A Benjaminite name appearing twice in the longer Benjaminite genealogy offered by the Chronicler (1 Chr 8:20, 22). These Eliels are among those designated as "chief men" who "dwelt in Jerusalem." This linking of Benjaminites with Jerusalem is emphasized in the longer Benjaminite genealogy (1 Chr 8:28, 32), providing a clue as to why the Chronicler chose to elaborate on the line of Benjamin, which had been treated in its proper place in the earlier list of tribal genealogies (1 Chr 7:6–12).

4. A name mentioned three times, apparently with three separate individuals in view, among the listing of David's "mighty men" (1 Chr 11:46, 47; 12:12—Eng 12:11). The lists of David's "mighty men" beginning in 1 Chr 11:10 reveal the accumulating support which David received prior to his ascension to the throne. The Eliel of 1 Chr 11:46 is further described by the gentilic, "the Mahavite." See MAHAVITE, THE.

5. A Levite of the sons of Hebron, prominent in David's transfer of the ark of the covenant to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:9, 11). Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 123) points out that Hebron is nowhere else listed as a head of a levitical family, but should probably be identified with the family of Kohathites (a conclusion based on 1 Chr 6:18).

6. A Levite of Hezekiah's time (2 Chr 31:13).

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

ELIENAI (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēlîʿēnay*]. A Benjaminite family listed in the longer Benjaminite genealogy offered by the Chronicler (1 Chr 8:20). Elienai is among those designated as "chief men" who "dwelt in Jerusalem." This linking of Benjaminites with Jerusalem is emphasized in the longer Benjaminite genealogy (1 Chr 8:28, 32), providing a clue as to why the Chronicler chose to elaborate on the line of Benjamin, which had already been treated in its proper place in the earlier list of tribal genealogies (1 Chr 7:6–12). At least one ms renders the name *ʾēlyôʿênay* (cf. Alexandrinus, Tg., and Vg). The name may mean "towards Yahweh are my eyes" (*TPNAH* 128).

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

ELIEZER (PERSON) [Heb *ʾeliʿezer*]. Var. ELEAZAR. Name of eleven biblical individuals. The name is composed of the elements *ʾēlî*, "my god," and *ʿēzer*, "aid" or "strength," which accordingly means "My god is aid/strength." The latter element appears in many other biblical and Near Eastern names (Loewenstamm *EncMiqr* 1: 346–7) and is of uncertain translation due to the merger of originally distinct roots *ʿzr*, "to aid," and *ġzr*, "to be strong" (Ginsberg 1938: 210f.; Driver 1956: 142, n. 17; Dahood *Psalms 1* AB, 210).

1. Servant of Abraham. In Genesis 15:2–3 Abram complains to Yahweh "I go childless; my house is *ben-mešeq*, that is, Damascus Eliezer (alternatively: 'the *ben-mešeq* of my house is Damascus Eliezer'). . . . Since you have not granted me progeny, a member of my household is my heir." The words *ben-mešeq* have not been translated because we do not know what they mean, though at least since Aquila (1st century C.E.) *mešeq* has been regarded as a variant or defective spelling of *mašqe(h)*, "cup bearer." Some consider the references to Damascus and/or Eliezer the result of corruption or glossation, and various restorations have been proposed (Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 277–79) but Cassuto (*EncMiqr* 2: 675–77) hypothesizes that the traditional understanding (already in the LXX) of Eliezer as the name of Abram's servant is correct and that he is also called Damascus because he went on to found that Aramean city. The passage is sometimes taken to mean that Abraham has legally adopted his slave Eliezer as his heir, but on the ambiguity of the data and the limited relevance of ancient legal parallels see Thompson (1974: 203–30).

2. Moses' second son (Exod 18:4; 1 Chr 23:15; 26:25). According to 1 Chr 23:17 Eliezer had one son, Rehabiah, while 1 Chr 26:25 lists further descendants Isaiah, Joram, Zichri, Shelomith, the last being the custodian of the military spoils of Samuel, Saul, Abner, Joab and David. It is possible that the clan of Eliezer is a branch of the Aaronid clan ELEAZAR that claimed Mosaic ancestry.

3. A family of Benjamin (1 Chr 7:8).

4. One of the priestly trumpeters who ushers the ark into Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:24).

5. Leader of the tribe of Reuben during the reign of Solomon (1 Chr 27:16).

6. Son of Dodavah (probably read *Dodiah) (2 Chr 20:37). He is a prophet from Maresha who curses Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, for his cooperation with Ahaziah of Israel.

7. Messenger of Ezra sent from the Ahava canal to Casiphia to find Levites to serve in the Temple (Ezra 8:16; 1 Esdr 8:43 has Eleazar). He might be the same as No. 8 below.

8. Priest of Ezra's day who marries a foreigner (Ezra 10:18; 1 Esdr 9:19 has Eleazar).

9. A Levite, contemporary of Ezra, who has a foreign wife (Ezra 10:23; 1 Esdr 9:23 has Jonah).

10. A lay Jew of the same period as Ezra and a member of the clan of Harim (cf. Ezra 2:32). He has a foreign wife (Ezra 10:31; 1 Esdr 9:32 has *Eliōdas* [Codex B] or *Eliōnas* [Codex A]).

11. An ancestor of Jesus (Luke 3:29).

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WILLIAM H. PROPP

ELIHOREPH (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîḥōrep*]. One of the sons of Shisha who served as a royal secretary at Solomon's court (1 Kgs 4:3). J. A. Montgomery (*Kings* ICC, 113) has suggested textual changes here and takes Elihoreph as *ʿal-haḥōrep* which he translates as "over the year"—the title for an official in charge of the court calendar. Such a change appears unsupported, and the traditional reading of Elihoreph as a proper name is preferred.

The duties of the secretary are not defined in the Hebrew Bible, but this appears to have been a significant position. The secretary could have been in charge of records and official correspondence. Some have even suggested a position such as secretary of state may have been implied. The reference to two secretaries could be a reference to different positions with one in charge of internal records and correspondence and the other in charge of external matters. The etymology of the name is debated (see *TPNAH,* 77). It may mean "Autumn God" or "God rewards."

PHILLIP E. MCMILLION

ELIHU (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîhû, ʾĕlîhûʾ*]. The name can be interpreted as "El/God it was indeed" (i.e., who acted when the child was born). With its elements inverted, the name is already attested at Ugarit (*huʾil; PTU,* 134). M. Noth (*IPN,* 143–44) may, however, be right in his assumption that the name became a confession to monotheism in the postexilic period, from which most of the references for Elihu derive (cf. Deut 32:39 "I, I am the one [Heb *hûʾ*], and there are no [other] gods with me"). Five biblical persons bear the name Elihu.

1. The great-grandfather of Samuel (1 Sam 1:1); the same person is called Eliab "El is [my] father" in 1 Chr 6:12, and Eliel "El is [my] god" in 1 Chr 6:19.

2. The fourth opponent of Job (Job 32:2, 4; 5f; 34:1; 35:1; 36:1). Even scholars who regard the book of Job as a literary composition by a single author tend to see in Elihu's speeches (Job 32–37) an early orthodox addition (and commentary) to the original book of Job (Knauf 1988). Reasons for this view include the fact that Elihu is not introduced with the other friends in Job 2:11, he is not included in their redemption (Job 42:9), he does not say anything that is not said more succinctly by the three original friends or by God, and his speech contains more Aramaisms than the rest of the book of Job. Whereas the Elihu-author assigns his hero to the Arabian locale of the book of Job (see UZ) by means of Elihu's patronymic and country of origin (see BARACHEL), he may have chosen Elihu's name as an expression of his theological program: it is his god who speaks through Elihu's speeches.

3. A Manassite chief who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Chr 12:21 (without a parallel in the books of Samuel).

4. A Korahite door-guard, 1 Chr 26:7. H. Gese (1963: 232–34) dates the exclusion of the clan of Korah from the priesthood (as reflected in Num 16; 1 Chr 9:19, 31; 20:19; 26:1–9) to the 5th century B.C.

5. A brother of David and chief of Judah, 1 Chr 27:18 (LXX Eliab), his name obviously identical to Jesse's firstborn, Eliab (1 Sam 16:6; 17:13; 1 Chr 2:13). The list of Israel's tribal chiefs under David (1 Chr 27:16–22) is, however, without historical significance (the tribes of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi no longer existed in the 10th century B.C.), and probably was produced by a postexilic redactor who missed the category of "tribal chief" among David's officials (Galling *Chronik* ATD, 75).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

ELIJAH (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēlîyāh*]. Four persons in the Hebrew Bible bear this name. Three of these persons appear in postexilic lists (see #2–4 below). The most famous "Elijah" was the prophet who was active in N Israel around the middle of the 9th century B.C.E. (see #1 below).

1. The stories of Elijah the prophet are found in 1 Kings 17–19, 21 and 2 Kings 1–2. Their most frequent theme is the conflict between Elijah and the royal house of Israel over syncretistic worship. The prophet's ministry is set in Israel during the Omride dynasty (9th century B.C.E.), a period marked by relative peace and prosperity. Elijah is presented as the powerful champion of Yahweh against the royally-patronized worship of Baal.

Behind this drama we can discern a picture of prophetism as it was understood by the circle or circles who preserved the stories for us. The arrangement and details of the narratives reveal well-developed theological ideas on the prophetic word, the Mosaic paradigm of Elijah's ministry, and the prophetic succession. The figure of Elijah is

portrayed with characteristics drawn from throughout Israel's prophetic tradition.

The face of the historical Elijah himself, however, lies hidden behind a veil of miraculous legend. Even the prophet's name ("Yahweh is my God") has been seen by some as a pseudonym reflective of his zeal. He is regularly called "the Tishbite," but the word is of uncertain meaning. The LXX reads it as a reference to a place in N Transjordan, "Tishbe in Gilead" (1 Kgs 17:1). The MT, on the other hand, calls Elijah a "sojourner in Gilead" and nowhere uses "Tishbe" as the name of a place.

A. Elijah and Royal Paganism
B. Portrait of a Prophet
1. Common Prophetic Traits
2. A Prophet Like Moses
3. Elijah's Assumption and the Prophetic Succession
C. Elijah in Later Tradition
1. Elijah in Judaism and Islam
2. Elijah in Christian Tradition

A. Elijah and Royal Paganism

The stories of Elijah occur mainly during the reign of King Ahab and his son Ahaziah. They presuppose a period of violent persecution of Yahwism, especially at the hands of King Ahab's Baalist queen, Jezebel of Tyre. Elijah is the hero of Yahwism, the prophet who speaks the word of the true God, the new Moses who withstands royal oppression and preserves the faith alive.

The struggle between Yahwism and Baalism supplies dramatic unity to the events recounted in 1 Kings 17–19. Elijah speaks a word of power to withhold rainfall, thus posing a direct challenge to Baal's claim of authority over storms and fertility. The resulting drought, however, is ambiguous. It could be understood as evidence of Yahweh's power working through Elijah; but Ahab chooses to see it rather as Baal's displeasure that Elijah's "blasphemy" has gone unpunished (18:17–18). The contest of the gods on Mount Carmel is intended to resolve the dilemma. Yahweh's resounding victory appears definitive, as the assembled Israelites help execute the prophets of Baal. But royal policy is not swayed by the vagaries of popular enthusiasm. Jezebel threatens to avenge the murder of her favorites, and Elijah escapes to the S desert, where he undertakes a pilgrimage to Horeb to complain of the failure of Yahwism in Israel.

Royal paganism plays a role in two other Elijah stories. The central focus of chap. 21 is the juridical murder of Naboth and the royal confiscation of his land. An editor, however, has inserted an awkward reference to Ahab's religious infidelity into the narrator's parenthetical remarks (21:26). Finally, 2 Kings 1 depicts Ahab's son and successor, Ahaziah, as a devotee of "Baal-Zebub of Ekron." As in 1 Kings 17, Elijah lays claim to the authority attributed to this manifestation of Baal by answering the king's question about his injury and denying his recovery. He also speaks a word of power that punishes those who disdain a prophet of Yahweh.

The Elijah narratives, however, may be exaggerating the royal house's infidelities. Elsewhere, Ahab is on good terms with prophets of Yahweh and consults them (1 Kgs 20:13–15; 22:1–28); and his children bear Yahwist names (Ahaziah, Jehoram, Athaliah). It seems likely, too, that the stories' demand for absolute exclusivity in the worship of Yahweh reflects, at this time, the views of an intransigent, not to say fanatical, minority. Religious syncretism was officially sanctioned as early as the reign of Solomon, if not of David; and it does not seem to have incurred effective resistance before the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah (*HAIJ*, 271–74).

B. Portrait of a Prophet

1. Common Prophetic Traits. Elijah displays many of the traits characteristic of prophetic figures throughout Israel's history. He is a miracle worker whose word of power can produce weal or woe (1 Kgs 17:1, 16; 2 Kgs 1:10, 12; 2:8). He is a powerful intercessor for individuals or the whole people (1 Kgs 17:20–22; 18:42–45). He confronts the king with condemnation for religious infidelity and for social injustice (1 Kgs 17:1; 18:18; 21:20–22; 2 Kgs 1:16). The prophet's role in chap. 21 in particular seems modeled to some extent on that of later classical prophets.

The motif of "word" in chap. 17 reveals a well-developed theology of prophetism. The prophet is one who speaks an authoritative word of power (17:1), obeys Yahweh's word (vv 5, 10), commands human obedience and conveys divine promise (vv 13, 15, 16), speaks a word of miraculous intercession that Yahweh heeds (v 22), and is ultimately acknowledged as chosen bearer of Yahweh's own word (v 24).

2. A Prophet Like Moses. Allusions to the stories of the Exodus pervade chaps. 17–19 and establish a parallelism between the ministries of Elijah and Moses. The geographical framework of the three chapters recalls Moses' wanderings: each prophet begins his journey with a flight eastward to escape a king's wrath; each lodges with a family. Each returns to his country to face and challenge the king, and to awaken faith among the Israelites. Each leaves the country again on a journey to Sinai/Horeb, where he experiences a theophany. Each then departs for Israel via Transjordan.

Mosaic allusions in chap. 17 link these three stories to Exodus 16 and Numbers 11. Like Moses and the Israelites, Elijah is fed by Yahweh (17:6; cf. Exod 16:8, 12); Yahweh's miraculous food takes the form of cakes baked with oil (17:12–16; cf. Num 11:7–9); Elijah and Moses complain about Yahweh's mistreatment of a faithful servant (17:19–21; cf. Num 11:11–12).

In chap. 18 the Mosaic allusions point to Exodus 24 and 32. The people's conversion begins when they "draw near" to Elijah (18:30), who then builds an altar like Moses', symbolic of Israel's unity (18:31; cf. Exod 24:4). The people obey Elijah's command to drench the altar with water, a priceless sacrifice in time of drought (18:33–35; cf. Exod 24:6). The prophet "draws near" to Yahweh (18:36; cf. Exod 24:2) and begs forgiveness for the people's apostasy, invoking the memory of the patriarchs with the unusual sequence "Abraham, Isaac, and Israel" (18:36–37; cf. Exod 32:12–13). The people's conversion is completed by their confession of faith and their cooperation in executing the faithless (18:39–40; cf. Exod 32:25–28). After Moses had established the covenant with the people in Exodus 24, he and the elders of Israel went up

the mountain of theophany and ate a covenant meal before Yahweh (Exod 24:9–11). Elijah's invitation to Ahab to "go up the mountain and eat and drink" (18:41) is an invitation to renounce Baalist sympathies and return to Yahweh as his people have just done.

Allusions in chap. 19 to Exod 33:12–23 continue the Elijah–Moses typology. But here the parallel between the prophets is antithetical. Moses requests Yahweh's continued presence with the people he leads; Yahweh promises him a theophany as sign of that presence. Elijah, on the other hand, comes to Horeb to resign as a prophet (von Nordheim 1978; Coote 1981: 117–19); Yahweh's theophany fails to dissuade him, and he is sent home with commissions that will lead to the punishment of unfaithful Israel and to his own replacement as prophet.

Allusions to the Exodus traditions are lacking in 1 Kings 21 and 2 Kings 1. In 2 Kings 2, however, Elijah's mysterious disappearance in Transjordan and the disciples' inability to recover his body parallel the death and divinely-hidden burial of Moses (Deut 34:1–6).

The cumulative impact of these extensive Mosaic allusions is to present Elijah as a Moses *redivivus*. Both appear at crucial moments in the religious and political history of the people. Through Moses, Yahweh rescued Israel from Egyptian oppression and formed it as his people; through Elijah, Yahweh preserves the faithful members of his people amid paganism and persecution. Both are significant figures in the history of prophetism as well. With Moses began the long line of Yahweh's intermediaries in Israel; in Elijah that line produces its quintessential hero.

3. Elijah's Assumption and the Prophetic Succession. The story of Elijah's assumption and of Elisha's succession to his master's prophetic office (2 Kgs 2:1–15) is oddly set in time and space. Its unusual position, between the formulaic notice of Ahaziah's death (2 Kgs 1:17–18) and that of Jehoram's succession (2 Kgs 3:1–3), removes it from the ordinary flow of history and places it, so to speak, outside time. Its locale, too, is symbolically removed from the ordinary world: the heroes' journey is a pilgrimage that miraculously crosses a boundary (the Jordan) to a place of power. Ordinary mortals, represented by the Jericho prophets, do not follow.

Elijah's mysterious assumption to heaven in a whirlwind occurs once the Jordan has been crossed. In 1 Kings 19, Elijah had made an earlier, solitary pilgrimage to Horeb, whence he returned with new tasks, including the commissioning of his successor. This time the pilgrimage is Elisha's. He accompanies his master on the outward road to the place of power where Elijah is translated. This is the moment of supernatural encounter from which Elisha returns transformed and empowered.

Elisha's succession is mirrored in the externals of clothing. His request for the oldest son's share of his master's prophetic spirit is confirmed by the sign Elijah had specified: Elisha sees Elijah disappear. Thereupon the disciple not only tears his clothing in the customary gesture of sorrow, but tears it *off* to assume the mantle of the master. On Jordan's banks, the waiting prophets witness Elisha's demonstration of his rightful succession when he wields the mantle to duplicate Elijah's final miracle.

The three stories of Elisha that follow have some parallels in the stories of 1 Kings 17, thus supporting an identification of Elisha as a new Elijah. The setting in both 1 Kgs 17:2–6 and 2 Kgs 2:16–18 is Transjordan, where Elijah has gone apart from the people. He is being sought in 2 Kings 2; in 1 Kings 17 we surmise he is hiding from the king he has angered. Neither search is successful. In 1 Kgs 17:7–16 and 2 Kgs 2:19–22 both prophets work miracles in response to others' need for provisions; in each case the need is a matter of life or death. 1 Kgs 17:17–24 and 2 Kgs 2:23–25 involve contrast: Elijah invokes Yahweh's name to raise the dead child of the good widow who acknowledged him; Elisha invokes Yahweh's name to bring about the death of a number of children who have mocked him.

C. Elijah in Later Tradition

1. Elijah in Judaism and Islam. Later OT, intertestamental, and rabbinic tradition sees in the mysterious disappearance of Elijah from this world a sign that he will have a unique role in the future victory of God. Mal 3:23–24 foresees him as the harbinger of the day of Yahweh. He will come to bring peace and to resolve all rabbinic legal disputes (*ʿEd.* 8:7). He is often identified as the precursor of the Messiah, a tradition that looms large in the NT as well.

Perhaps because of Christian use of Elijah's messianic associations, this aspect wanes in later Jewish tradition, though the prophet remains a popular figure of legend. Many of his traits reflect the influence of the stories in 1 Kings 17. He combats social ills by care for the poor and by punishment of the unjust. He is identified with the "Wandering Jew" of medieval folklore, and a place is always set for him at the Seder table. He is protector of the newborn, and the "Chair of Elijah" is a fixture at circumcisions.

Elijah has left an impression on Islamic tradition as well. The Qurʾan lists Elijah among the "righteous ones" (*sura* 8:85) and recalls his mission as a staunch opponent of the cult of Baal (*sura* 37:123–130).

2. Elijah in Christian Tradition. The NT evokes the figure of Elijah in a variety of different contexts. Some passages simply recall Elijah's deeds in the OT (Luke 9:54; Rom 11:2–4; Jas 5:17–18); others use Elijah's ministry as a paradigm for Jesus', either explicitly (Luke 4:25–26) or implicitly (Luke 7:11–16; cf. 1 Kgs 17:10, 17–24). The later tradition of Elijah as helper of the oppressed may lie behind the bystanders' misunderstanding of Jesus' cry from the cross (Mark 15:34–36; Matt 27:46–49).

The primary trait of Elijah in the NT, however, is his role as precursor of the Messiah. In the Synoptic Gospels, popular opinion identifies Jesus as this figure (Mark 6:14–15; 8:27–28; Matt 16:13–14; Luke 9:7–8, 18–19), while Jesus himself so identifies John the Baptist (Mark 9:11–13; Matt 11:13–14; 17:10–13; cf. Luke 1:17). In the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, the Baptist rejects such a designation (John 1:19–28).

A pre-Christian apocalyptic tradition of two messianic precursors may also explain Elijah's presence at the Transfiguration (Mark 9:2–8; Matt 17:1–8; Luke 9:28–36). Outside the NT the two forerunners are identified as Elijah and Enoch, presumably because both had been miraculously translated to heaven. A NT tradition identifying them as Elijah and Moses seems to lie behind the anony-

mous "witnesses" of Rev 11:3–6; here as in the Transfiguration accounts their appearance anticipates eschatological events (*TDNT* 2: 938–39).

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JEROME T. WALSH

2. A Benjaminite listed among the clan chiefs in the longer Benjaminite genealogy supplied by the Chronicler (1 Chr 8:27). Elijah is among those designated as "chief men" who "dwelt in Jerusalem." The linking of Benjaminites with Jerusalem receives repeated emphasis in the longer genealogy (1 Chr 8:28, 32), providing a clue as to why the Chronicler chose to elaborate on the line of Benjamin, which had been treated in its proper place in the earlier list of tribal genealogies (1 Chr 7:6–12).

3. A name appearing twice in the list of those returning from the exile who pledged, in response to Ezra's sermon (Ezra 10:1–5), to divorce the foreign women whom they had married while in captivity (Ezra 10:21, 26). The first of these Elijahs was a priest, the son of Harim (Ezra 10:21—LXX *elia*). The second Elijah, son of Elam, was among the extended list of lay people who had married foreign women (Ezra 10:26—LXX *ēlia*). Myers (*Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 87) notes that the roster of 111 names in the unemended list of offenders is small considering the total census and the national furor caused by the intermarriage problem. He conjectures that the list is only a partial surviving fragment of the original list, not indicative of the full scope of the problem.

4. Listed among the ancestors of Judith (Jdt 8:1—LXX *ēliou*). Since the LXX uses *ēliou* to translate both Elijah (2 Kgs 1:3 [Heb *ʾēlîyāh*]) and Elihu (1 Sam 1:1 [Heb *ʾēlîhûʾ*]), this Elijah is sometimes rendered Elihu.

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

ELIJAH, APOCALYPSE OF. A title that appears in the listing of "apocryphal" writings appended to the Christian *Catalogue of the 60 Canonical Books.* A second, shorter list of apocryphal works is found in the *Stichometry of Nicephorus.* In that list, a book "of the prophet Elijah" is assigned a length of 316 lines. Scholars have generally assumed that both lists refer to the same *Apocalypse of Elijah.* Unfortunately, the lists provide no information about the content of the work beyond the stichometry and the designation as an apocalypse. Evidence from the early Christian writers and two surviving apocalypses, however, indicates that more than one apocalypse circulated in the name of Elijah. It is still not possible to determine whether they all can be traced to a common ancestor.

A. Surviving Traditions Concerning the Apocalyptic Visions and Writing of Elijah

It is hardly surprising that apocalyptic writings have been attributed to Elijah, an OT prophet who had conversation with an angel (1 Kgs 19:5–7), was granted a theophany at Horeb (1 Kgs 19:11–18), ascended into heaven in a chariot of fire (2 Kgs 2:9–12), and was expected to return in order to instruct men before "the great and terrible day of the Lord comes" (Mal 4:5–6). He provided an ideal pseudonym for anonymous seers who flourished from the 3d century B.C.E. until the Middle Ages. As a result, a number of apocryphal writings were attributed to him. The earliest contained traditional episodes or prophetic sayings that can be understood as the result of midrashic expansion of the biblical account.

Malachi's promise that Elijah would be sent to his people at the end of the present age meant that he would appear in the time of the "contemptible one" (Dan 11:21) who would mislead many, set up an abomination in the temple (Dan 9:27), "wear out the saints of the Most High" (Dan 7:25), and "magnify himself above every god" (Dan 11:36). Although the author of Daniel was alluding to the activities of Antiochus Epiphanes, later writers accepted the imagery as a description of the Antichrist, whose grotesque features they described in detail. An episode describing the physical appearance of the Antichrist and his torment of the saints appears in both of the extant Elijah apocalypses, the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah, *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* (verses cited below from 1985 translation by Wintermute), and the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah, *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* (page lines cited from Jellinek's 1938 Hebrew text).

The description of the physical appearance of the Antichrist was a widespread literary topos found in many Christian and Jewish texts. J. M. Rosenstiehl (1967) has made available bibliography and French translations for most of the ancient witnesses. The texts vary considerably in detail. Among them is a short Greek text published by Nau (1917: 458), who discovered it at the end of a 13th century Biblical manuscript. It claims to be what "Elijah the prophet said concerning the Antichrist." Although it differs from the details in the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* and *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* it confirms the opinion associating the Antichrist tradition with Elijah.

In Ben Sirach's encomium of Elijah (48:5–7), he celebrated the prophet as one "who raised a corpse from death and from Hades . . . who heard rebuke at Sinai and judgments of vengeance at Horeb." His association with Hades and vengeance provides one basis for a tradition regarding Elijah's familiarity with the postmortem torment of sinners in Gehenna. Stone and Strugnell (1979: 14–24) have collected both Jewish and Christian texts that reflect such a tradition. An excerpt from a lost book (apocalypse?) of Elijah that describes the torments in detail is quoted in the *Pseudo-Titus Epistle,* a 5th century Christian text. In the *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* that episode is described in a single sentence, "Again the Spirit lifted me up and carried me to the west of the world, and I saw there souls punished with great pain, each one according to his deeds (Jellinek 1938: 65:7–9). No report of that episode is found in the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C).*

There are additional early witnesses to apocalyptic tra-

ditions associated with Elijah that are not found in either of the extant apocalypses. Epiphanius (*Adv. Haeres.* 42) claimed that the quotation in Eph 5:14, "Awake, O Sleeper, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give you light," is "obviously from the Old Testament" with the specific passage being found "in Elijah." If that unusual citation is correct, it could refer to either a book (apocalypse?) of Elijah or to a gloss added to the biblical account of Elijah in 1 or 2 Kings. It is, however, possible that the citation is an error for Isaiah, who was credited with the quotation by Hippolytus (Dan. 4.56.4). In any case, it is obvious why such a quote would enter the tradition assigned to an eschatological prophet with a reputation for raising the dead.

It is also quite natural that the prophet who ascended into another realm should be credited with knowledge of "what no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived, what God has prepared for those who love him." Origen traced that quotation in 1 Cor 2:9 to the "*Apocryphon of Elijah*" (*in Secretis Elia*). Jerome, who was concerned to protect his readers from being snared by the devil through the use of apocryphal works admits that the quote is found in "The Apocalypse of Elijah" (and also the *Ascension of Isaiah*), but insists that Paul did not quote it from there (Epistle 101 to Pammachius). According to Jerome, the true source was Isa 64:4, which Paul paraphrased freely (*Commentary on Isaiah*, vol. 17). The combined testimony of those two well-informed Church Fathers clearly proves the existence of an apocryphal apocalypse of Elijah which contained that famous quotation. Stone and Strugnell (1979: 42–73) have assembled a sampling of over two dozen quotes or partial quotes of the saying. It is found in Christian, Jewish, and Islamic texts. In the *Gospel of Thomas*, it appears as a dominical saying. As one might expect, it was also an obvious favorite among gnostic writers.

Finally, Epiphanius informs us of a lost gnostic story about Elijah. On the authority of an unknown source (apocalypse?), the gnostics reported that Elijah was prevented from going up to heaven by a female demon (Lilith) who seized him. When he protested, she claimed to have begotten children from him by stealing his seed during a nocturnal emission (*Adv. Haeres.* 26.13.228).

The relationship between the apocalyptic works credited to Elijah by the Church Fathers and the two surviving Apocalypses is still an open question. It is complicated by the fact that the relationship between the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* and the *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* is not clear.

B. A Comparison of the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* and the *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)*

Both the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* and the *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* show evidence of a complex reediting of earlier material. The *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* is the translation of a Greek original that was written by a Christian in the second half of the 3d century (Rosenstiehl 1972: 36–37; *GJV* 3: 367–68; Bousset 1900: 103–12). It is assumed, however, that the writer incorporated an earlier Jewish writing that was at least a century older. Rosenstiehl (1972: 68–73) dated it in the 1st century B.C.E. Wintermute (*OTP* 1: 730) did not propose a specific date, but suggested that it was composed before 177 C.E. According to Buttenwieser (*JEnc* 1: 681–82), the writer of the *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* lived in either the mid-6th or early-7th century, but much of the content goes back to an original apocalypse written about 261 C.E.

The two apocalypses agree in a number of details, but they reflect the contrasting views of the communities for which they were written. The *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* was reworked within a Christian community and, in its present form, is a Christian apocalypse that includes a description of the advent of Christ (3:2–4), his compassion for those sealed in his name (5:2–4), and a report of his millennial rule (5:36–39). The *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* was reworked within the Jewish community and contains eschatological elements not present in the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)*, e.g. a rabbinic debate regarding the name of the last king who is about to come, a battle against Gog and Magog in which the Messiah plays a central role, and a picture of the resurrection in which dead bodies are dipped in a river so that their dust might be kneaded together again.

The major difference between the two apocalypses is the role that each writer assigned to Elijah. In the *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* Elijah is described as a seer who is the recipient of the vision of the future events contained in the apocalypse. In the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* Elijah is not identified as the source of the description of future events. Rather the narrator of those events is an unnamed prophet, and Elijah is mentioned in the third person only as a participant in the events. Elijah is mentioned twice in the apocalypse; both times he acts together with Enoch in an eschatological context. In their first appearance they are expected to descend in Jerusalem to fight with the Antichrist, who will kill them. On the fourth day they will be resurrected and ascend into heaven in view of the whole city (4:7–19). In their second appearance they will kill the Antichrist (5:32). Other differences may be noted in the discussion of the individual texts which follows.

C. The Coptic *Apocalypse of Elijah*

The text of the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* was first clearly defined by Steindorff (1899). The studies by Rosenstiehl (1972) and Wintermute (*OTP* 1: 721–53) contain a discussion of introductory matters (e.g. language, manuscripts, ancient witnesses, provenance, and date) and commentary on the apocalypse. Pietersma, Comstock, and Attridge (1981) have made available an important new Sahidic manuscript of the text from the library of Chester Beatty.

The *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* begins with a hortatory section encouraging prayer, fasting, and single-mindedness (chap. 1). That is followed by a cryptic description of the sequence of worldly powers ruling Egypt before the advent of the Antichrist (chap. 2). The chapter on the Antichrist (chap. 3) describes his miraculous acts which parallel those of the Christ "except for raising the dead," and ends with a portrayal of his physical appearance. That is followed by a chapter on martyrdoms (chap. 4), and a concluding description of a premillennial destruction of heaven and earth and the final judgment (chap. 5).

The text is a composite work. Although it is clearly identified as the *Apocalypse of Elijah* by a title at the end of a 3d/4th century Achmimic manuscript, it does not begin in the form of an apocalyptic revelation to a seer. The opening statement reads, "The word of the Lord came to

me, saying 'Son of man, say to this people . . .' " Neither Elijah nor any other prophet is further identified with the "Son of man" who is addressed. The prophetic word which is given is in the form of a homily recalling the speeches of Deuteronomy with its repeated exhortation to "remember . . . hear . . . remember."

The second chapter begins with a subtitle containing the writer's description of the remainder of the text. It reads, "Furthermore, concerning the king of Assyria and the dissolution of the heaven and the earth and the things beneath the earth." The subject matter of the text which follows is typical of apocalyptic literature, but it lacks the literary framework of an apocalypse that would identify it as the content of a revelation to a seer.

A further example of the composite nature of the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* is provided by the changing scene of action. Chap. 2 has a special interest in Egypt. It will experience a sequence of rulers including "the king of injustice" and "the king of peace," whose "own son will rise up against him and kill him." "The cities of Egypt will groan . . . The markets of Egypt . . . will become dusty. Those who are in Egypt will weep." Four Persian kings will fight with three Assyrian kings, and "blood will flow from Kos to Memphis." Eventually, the "Persian kings will plot ambush in Memphis" and control the land. In contrast to the Egyptian focus of chap. 2, the remaining chapters make no further mention of Egypt. The scene shifts abruptly to Jerusalem, where the Antichrist presides over a series of martyrdoms.

The abrupt shift in subject matter, setting and actors, which is characteristic of many ancient pseudepigrapha, is the result of the reworking of earlier traditions by one or more authors in order to make them relevant for a new community. In the case of the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* the abrupt changes suggest three stages of development. The earliest stratum must have dealt with a version of the Antichrist legend in which the "son of lawlessness" will appear in Jerusalem, cause the martyrdom of saints, and finally be destroyed on the day of judgment when heaven and earth have been devastated. The earliest version may also have included a description of world rulers who would precede the Antichrist. When, however, the Antichrist legend was reworked by an Egyptian author, the political changes which signify the imminent approach of the final age were described from the parochial perspective of his own community. By joining the political preface to the Antichrist legend, the author created the account of "the kings of Assyria and the dissolution of the heaven and the earth." It would have been appropriate at that stage to compose an introduction providing an apocalyptic framework. If the author ever planned such a preface, it is now lost because the work begins with a homiletical exhortation, which joins the apocalyptic section in an abrupt manner.

In addition to the obvious changes which occur between the three major sections of the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)*, there are other literary seams and doublets in the text which are due to the Christian reworking and expansion of an original Jewish composition. Both Rosenstiehl (1972: 28–42) and Wintermute (*OTP* 1: 721–27) have made attempts to interpret the doublets and to distinguish between earlier and later material within the text, but much work remains to be done.

D. The Hebrew *Apocalypse of Elijah*

Buttenwieser (1897; *JEnc* 1: 681–82) has written the primary study of the *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)*. The text, which first appeared in Salonica in 1743, was reprinted by Jellinek in 1853. A new edition of Jellinek (1938) is now available. A German translation of the text was also made by Wunsche (1907).

The *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* is also a composite work. It contains six easily identified literary units: (1) An introduction which provides an apocalyptic framework in which Michael appears to reveal to Elijah a secret about the end of the age and its last king; (2) a description of Elijah's journey south, east, and west, where he saw sinners punished; (3) a rabbinic debate about the name of the last king; (4) a description of the advent, physical features, and evil acts of the Antichrist, Gigith; (5) a calendar of days of the year when significant eschatological events will occur, including the return of three captivities, three wars, and three days on which the Messiah will appear; and (6) five visions of Elijah, which include descriptions of the resurrection, future rewards and punishments, three patriarchs seated in a beautiful garden, the descent of a new Jerusalem, and the houses where the righteous will dwell.

The oldest portion of the text must have included an earlier version of the introduction, the description of Elijah's journey, and the section dealing with the Antichrist. Buttenwieser (*JEnc* 1: 682) wrote that the apocalypse in its original form was probably "more voluminous." That is especially true with regard to the description of Elijah's journey. The episode of the Antichrist is the only section common to the two surviving apocalypses.

Although the Antichrist episodes differ in detail, they are close enough to allow one to postulate a common ancestor. Since both of the surviving apocalypses are identified with Elijah, the common ancestor would have been an episode within a Jewish *Apocalypse of Elijah* composed before 100 C.E. That early text may also have contained the episode in which Elijah witnessed the punishment of sinners since it was an apocalyptic motif widely associated with that prophet in both Jewish and Christian circles, and it has survived in one of the witnesses. Both apocalypses locate the Antichrist episode within Israel, from Mount Carmel to Jerusalem. It is possible to assume that the writer also lived in Israel. The language of the postulated ancestor is harder to determine. It could have been Greek, Hebrew or Aramaic. Finally, it is possible that the ancestor contained the quotations known to Origen, Jerome, and Epiphanius.

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ORVAL S. WINTERMUTE

ELIKA (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîqāʾ*]. One of David's elite warriors, a member of "The Thirty" (2 Sam 23:25). He is called "the Harodite," an adjective probably describing the location of his origin. His name does not appear in the parallel list of "The Thirty" in 1 Chronicles 11. See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS. This is due to a scribal error in the transmission of the text of Chronicles caused by the repetition of "Harodite" in 2 Sam 23:25 (homoioteleuton).

There is dispute about the place of Elika's origin, Harod. The "Spring of Harod" is mentioned in Jud 7:1 (cf. 1 Sam 29:1). If this is the same Harod as Elika's home, Van Beek (*IDB* 2: 526) is probably right in identifying it with modern *Ain Jalud*, a spring located on the NE spur of Mt. Gilboa. However, Elliger argues that *Khirbet el-Harēdān*, just SE of Jerusalem, is the location. Possible supporting evidence is the early occurrence of Elika's name in the list of "The Thirty." It is placed 4th on the list in 2 Samuel, a position usually reserved for men who came from locations near Bethlehem, David's hometown.

The meaning of the name, Elika, is obscure. It is one of six names in the list of David's warriors in which the divine appellative, El, is used. The meaning of the name as it is vocalized in the MT may be "God has vomited." Zadok (1977) suggests this should be changed to read *ʾēl-yāqâ:* "God has guarded." LXX's *evaka* is a variant of *elika* (cf. Fowler, *TPNAH*, 142).

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STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

ELIM (PLACE) [Heb *ʾêlim*]. The second named encampment reached by the Israelites four days after crossing the Red Sea, as listed in Exod 15:27–16:1 and Num 33:9–10, possibly located in the wilderness of Shur (Exod 15:22–27) or Etham (Num 33:8–9). The site was marked by twelve springs and seventy palm trees; presumably Israel would have remained at this oasis for most of the period following the crossing of the Red Sea, and before entering the wilderness of Sin. It was within a day's march of a camping site on the coast of the Red Sea.

Researchers who accept a S route for the Exodus have usually located Elim in the wadi Gharandel, about 90 km S of Suez (*GP* 2: 210; Palmer 1872: 46, 226; Petrie 1906: 205; Robinson 1856: 68–69, 72–73; *GTTOT*, 252; *WHAB*, 41), where much water and vegetation was found (M.R. 953855). About half a day's journey to the N is ʿAin Hawarah, which last century was a brackish spring that may be identified with Marah, "Bitterness," the encampment reached just prior to Elim. For a discussion of the location of any of the places associated with the journey of the Israelites from Egypt through Sinai see DOPHKAH.

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

ELIMELECH (PERSON) [*ʾĕlîmelek*]. A resident of Bethlehem, father-in-law of Ruth, and a relative of Boaz (Ruth 1:1–4; 2:1). Because of financial hardship and famine, Elimelech emigrated to Moab with his wife NAOMI and their two sons MAHLON and CHILION. Soon thereafter Elimelech died, but the family remained in Moab, where the sons subsequently married the Moabites Ruth and Orpah. See ORPAH. Tragically, the sons also died, and Naomi and Ruth returned to Bethlehem where they discovered a relative of Elimelech named Boaz who could act as a *gōʾēl* (i.e., kinsman-redeemer) for the family's property and progeny (1:2–3; 4:3, 9). However, since Naomi does not appear to know Boaz until she returned to Bethlehem (1:6–14), the familial relationship between Boaz and Elimelech is unclear. See BOAZ.

Legal questions concerning Elimelech's inheritance abound since the case of Ruth's marriage to Boaz does not conform to Mosaic legislation (Deut 25:5–10). The differences can be attributed to the unusual circumstances created by the death of all the Elimelech men. See RUTH.

The historicity of Elimelech as well as other characters in the story has been challenged. The name "Elimelech," meaning "my God is king," has encouraged the interpretation of Elimelech as a symbolic character. If Elimelech is figurative, the purpose of the name may be to contrast the period of the Judges, which is the story's setting, when Yahweh alone was king, with the era of the monarchy. Also, "Elimelech" can be read as "El is king" (*TPNAH* 51) or "My El is Milku." If the foreign deities El and Milku were intended, then the story is using the character's name to reflect the apostasy of the period. Since the name, however, is well-attested in the ANE (inscr. Hazor B2) and fits the period of the story, there is no necessity for taking Elimelech as unhistorical.

The LXX translators struggled with the name since they rendered it "Abimelech" (*abeimelech;* cf. variant *alimelech*). The LXX reading has been explained as the substitution of a more common name occurring in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Judges 8).

KENNETH A. MATHEWS

ELIOENAI (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelyôʿênay*]. The name of six individuals in the Hebrew Bible. "Elioenai" appears to be a shortened form of Elyehoenai, which means "my eyes (are turned) toward YHWH." However, according to Noth, the name is not a genuinely Israelite name but is patterned after Akkadian forms of a "trust name" (*IPN*, 163, 216).

1. One of the descendants of Jehoiachin (called Jeconiah in vv 16, 17), and thus, a postexilic descendant of David (1 Chr 3:23–24 [LXX *elithenan*]). 1 Chronicles 3 is a list of "sons of David born to him at Hebron . . . and Jerusalem," and Elioenai appears in the next to last generation listed. The exact location of Elioenai in this genealogy is uncertain, owing to the ambiguity of the Hebrew text of v 21 and the variant readings in the LXX and Vg (see discussion in Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 58). Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 20–21) renders Elioenai as the fifth great-grandson of Jehoiachin, and calculates that he would have lived in the mid-5th century B.C.E. (the list having been compiled late in that century). Coggins argues that this list was probably maintained because of pride in Davidic ancestry rather than hope for a restoration of dynastic rule (*Chron* CBC, 26). This could indicate that Elioenai was a person of significant social standing in the community since he was the only member of his generation whose own sons were listed.

2. A chief of the tribe of Simeon (1 Chr 4:36 [LXX *eliōēnai*]). 1 Chr 4:34–43 describes the movements of several tribal chiefs and their clans and is part of one of four Simeonite genealogies (Gen 46:10; Exod 6:15; Num 26:12–13; 1 Chr 4:24–43). The movements which Elioenai led took some of the clans into territory occupied by Philistines and Canaanites who were traditionally considered Hamites (v 40) (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 62) and others to Seir. The text implies that these migrations were undertaken to search for more grazing lands because the regions originally occupied had become overpopulated. It has been suggested that these "princes in their clans" (v 38) were military officers within the tribal structure and that their appointments may not have been made along hereditary lines (Coggins *Chronicles* CBC, 32). Elioenai might have been a specially selected military commander who led a group of Simeonites in search of new grazing land.

3. A son of Becher and grandson of Benjamin (1 Chr 7:8 [LXX *elithenan*]). Because this genealogy (vv 6–12) does not correspond with the lists at Gen 46:21, Num 26:38–41, or the other Benjaminite genealogy in this block of material (8:1–28), some have speculated that this is actually a family list for Zebulun (see Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 77–78). Others have suggested that this list reflects both genealogical and census lists and is constructed from both old and new material, thus producing the discrepancies (see Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 53). Alternatively, the Chronicler may have relied totally on later sources here, while the material in chap. 8 is based on the older lists in the Pentateuch. The name is more common in the postexilic era and may be a late name, indicating a postexilic date for this material.

4. A member of the priestly family of Pashhur and one of the returned exiles who was required by Ezra to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:22 = 1 Esdr 9:22 [LXX *eliōnais*]). Elioenai was a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:38; Neh 7:41). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

5. A descendant of Zattu and one of the returned exiles (Ezra 10:27 = 1 Esdr 9:28 [LXX *eliadas*]). The lay Elioenai was also a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:10; Neh 7:13). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

6. A postexilic priest who assisted in the ceremony rededicating the newly reconstructed walls of Jerusalem (Neh 12:41 [LXX *eliōēnai*]). Neh 12:41–42 lists the priests who accompanied Nehemiah in a circumambulation of the walls of Jerusalem in a dedicatory service. Elioenai is listed as a trumpeter who "went to the left" (12:38) around the wall while another group of celebrants "went to the right" (12:31). The inclusion of rituals of purification (v 30) underscores the importance of this rite. It is possible that this is the same Elioenai mentioned in Ezra 10:22 (see #4. above). However, Elioenai was a popular name in the postexilic community (1 Chr 3:23; Ezra 10:22, 27), and the missions of Ezra and Nehemiah may have been separated by several decades. Therefore, such an identification seems unlikely.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

ELIONAS (PERSON) [Gk *Eliōnas*]. A son of Annan who divorced his foreign wife during Ezra's reform (1 Esdr 9:32). His name may be the Gk rendering of ELIEZER son of Harim in Ezra 10:31. Furthermore, Codex Vaticanus contains the textual variant Gk *eliōdas*. Differences such as this among the lists of personal names in 1 Esdras, Ezra, and Nehemiah, raise questions about the sources of and literary relationships among the texts.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

ELIPHAL (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîpal*]. Son of Ahasbai and noted for belonging to the distinguished group of David's warriors (see DAVID'S CHAMPIONS) known as "The Thirty" (1 Chr 11:35)—for the meaning of the name, "my God/El has judged," see *TPNAH*, 107. In the two extant lists of David's heroes, the name "Eliphal" occurs in the list in Chronicles and is probably a corruption of "Eliphelet" in the parallel reference in 2 Sam 23:34. The text in 2 Samuel reads, "Eliphelet, the son of Ahasbai, the son of the Maachathite" whereas 1 Chronicles states, "Eliphal, the son of Ur, Hepher the Mecherathite." Since there are strong similarities in the readings and the grandfather's name is given in 2 Samuel (the only time in the list), there has been some textual corruption. Most scholars believe that 2 Samuel, as the older text, preserves the original name, Eliphelet. "Ahasbai the Maachathite" is a reasonable conjecture for his father's name. Maachathite probably designates the clan or tribe to which Eliphelet's father belonged. One such Judean clan was associated with the town of Eshtomoa, nine miles S of Hebron. The town had received its name from the clan's ancestor (1 Chr 4:19) (Elliger 1966: 99–100).

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STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

ELIPHAZ (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelîpāz*]. Two persons in the OT bear this name. The interpretation of this name (cf. Safaitic *ʾlypz*) is uncertain. The construals "God/El is agile/nimble" (from **pzz;* Meyer 1906: 347) and "My God is gold" (Heb *paz*, "gold") are improbable. A derivation from Hurrian (Ginsberg and Maisler 1934) cannot be proven. The most plausible interpretation is either "God/El is the victor" (from **pūz;* Moritz 1926) or "God/El is pure/shining" (Wieppert 1971: 246–47, 261, 451–56).

1. The firstborn son of Esau and Adah, daughter of Elon the Hittite (Gen 36:4, 10, 15; 1 Chr 1:35). Eliphaz was the father of Teman, Omar, Zepho, Gatam, Kenaz, Korah, and Amalek (Gen 36:15–16), the latter being the son of Eliphaz' concubine Timna (36:12). The sons of Eliphaz are considered "tribal chiefs" (Heb *ʾallûpîm*) of Edom. Within the Edomite tribal system, they probably designate clans of the tribe of Eliphaz.

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ULRICH HÜBNER

2. The first friend of Job, identified as "the Temanite" (Job 2:11; 4:1; 15:1; 22:1; 42:7, 9). His name may mean "God is fine gold" (*BDB*, 45), but the meaning is problematic. The designation "Temanite" ties Eliphaz to a place known for its wisdom (cf. Jer 49:7). However, it has long been recognized that whatever historical background may be discerned in the book of Job is far less significant than the dramatic dialogue that ensues between the miserable sufferer and his three friends.

Along with Bildad and Zophar, Eliphaz has come ostensibly "to comfort and condole" the suffering Job (2:11). In fact, after the Joban outburst of chap. 3, wherein he damns the day of his birth (3:3–10) and accuses God of giving him an unlivable life (3:23–26), Eliphaz is in no mood to comfort, but rather intends to demonstrate to Job that he, Job, finds himself on an ashheap not because of God's randomness but because of Job's wickedness. In his first address to Job (chaps. 4–5), Eliphaz, representative of a traditional theology, reminds Job that his "fear of God" should be his "confidence" and the "integrity of his ways" his hope (4:6). As far as Eliphaz is concerned, "no innocent one ever perished" and no "upright one" was ever "cut off" (4:7). Though Eliphaz may intend these phrases as some kind of comfort (cf. Habel 1985: 118), in the ears of Job they sound cruel, clear indications that Eliphaz classes Job with the wicked. Job will say throughout the book that he is "innocent" (9:21) and a man of "integrity" (27:5).

And the reader hears something more. In the prologue of the book, both the narrator (1:1) and God (1:8; 2:3) have announced that Job is, in fact, "blameless and upright." Eliphaz' traditional theology has forced him to claim that "the upright" are never cut off. The case that gives the lie to that claim (i.e., Job himself) sits before his very eyes. Immediately, the reader is made aware that the book of Job has launched an attack on a theology that would offer simple solutions to a person in the condition of Job, namely, an "upright" person who has lost everything.

In Eliphaz' succeeding two speeches (chaps. 15 and 22), he steps up the attack on Job, classing him squarely with the wicked by using Job's own words to describe wicked people (cf. 15:20–35 and Holbert 1975: 192–200), and finally accusing him of being the foulest and most unjust of sinners, one who rejects "widows" and "breaks the arms of orphans" (22:9). That these are patent lies is made certain by Job's long oath of clearance in chap. 31.

In the epilogue of the book, Eliphaz is singled out by Yahweh as one who "has not spoken right about me" in distinction to Job (42:7, 9). As a result, Eliphaz and his two friends are forced by God to make sacrifice, and are only readmitted to the community through the prayers of Job, the one he had accused of evil. Thus is Eliphaz' theology called into the most serious question.

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JOHN C. HOLBERT

ELIPHELEHU (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîpĕlēhû*]. One of the Levites of second rank appointed to provide music during David's second effort to move the ark to Jerusalem; his instrument was the lyre (1 Chr 15:18, 21). The list of names in 15:17–18 is expanded by ten in 15:19–24; Eliphelehu is not mentioned in the third list (16:5–6). The entirety of 1 Chr 15:1–24 is unique to Chronicles, not contained in the parallel account in 2 Samuel 6. Inadequate attention to preparation and detail on the part of the Levites had resulted in the initial abortive effort to move the ark; in this context the Chronicler is concerned to portray adequate preparations. The Levites are in transition from their former duties in moving the ark to their new roles in part as musicians. Numerous scholars regard sections of the lists in 1 Chronicles 15–16, particularly 15:16–24, as secondary expansions of the Chronicler's work; 15:16–24 is commonly viewed as interrupting the narrative flow between 15:15 and 15:25.

RAYMOND B. DILLARD

ELIPHELET (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîpeleṭ*]. Var. ELPELET. **1.** A son of David (1 Chr 3:6; 14:5), one of 13 listed as having been born to David's wives in Jerusalem, in addition to his six sons born at Hebron. His mother's name is unknown: four of the 13 were Bathsheba's sons; the remainder were born to unnamed wives. Besides these 13, David had numerous (unnamed) sons born to his concubines, according to 1 Chr 3:9.

This name occurs between Elishama/Elishua and Nogah in both lists in 1 Chronicles, but it is missing at this juncture in the list of David's sons in 2 Sam 5:15. All three lists end with this name (1 Chr 3:8; 14:7; 2 Sam 5:16), leading to speculation about a scribal dittography in the 1 Chronicles passages, where the name occurs twice in each list. However, two OG traditions contain this name here in 2 Samuel (along with Nogah, also missing only in the 2 Samuel list);

Josephus appears to have included this name here (*Ant* 7.3.3); and the spacing in the 4QSam[a] ms suggests that both names were there, as well (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 148). If so, then David had two sons named Eliphelet, or the second occurrence of the name in the 1 Chronicles lists is a dittography. The form Elpelet, Heb *'elpelet*, which occurs only at 1 Chr 14:5, is merely a variant spelling. Since the number given in 1 Chr 3:8—nine—requires the presence of both occurrences of Eliphelet, as well as Nogah, it is internally most consistent to postulate two sons of David with the same name. One may have died at an early age and the other been named after him (Keil and Delitzsch 1875: 322). See also DAVID, SONS OF.

2. A son of David (2 Sam 5:16; 1 Chr 3:8; 14:7). See #1 above for discussion.

3. One of David's select group of thirty mighty men (2 Sam 23:34). He was the son of Ahasbai, of Maacah, which in this case was a town in Judah, south of Hebron (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 498–99). He is likely the ELIPHAL, son of Ur, of 1 Chr 11:35.

4. A distant descendant of Saul and Jonathan, a Benjaminite, the third of three sons of Eshek (1 Chr 8:39).

5. One of the returnees from Babylon to Jerusalem under Ezra, during the reign of Artaxerxes. He and his two brothers, all sons of Adonikam, were heads of a contingent that included sixty men, and they came after the main return with Ezra (Ezra 8:13; 1 Esdr 8:39).

6. One of seven sons of Hashum who put away their foreign wives and their children during the reforms of Ezra (Ezra 10:33; 1 Esdr 9:33).

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DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

ELISHA (PERSON) [Heb *'ĕlîšā'*]. A northern prophet of the 9th century, the son of Shaphat from Abel-meholah. He was a follower and the designated successor of Elijah (1 Kgs 19:16–21; 2 Kgs 2). He appears to have been active during the reigns of Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram, ca. 850–800 B.C.E.

The extensive narratives which preserve numerous stories about the prophet Elisha are found in the Deuteronomistic History (1 Kgs 19:19–21; 2 Kings 2–13). This narrative complex is constructed from a number of legends or miracle stories which have been classified and analyzed by Rofé (1970; 1974), Schmitt (1972), Schweizer (1974), and De Vries (1978). The general conclusion is that many of these stories achieved their form prior to their inclusion in the Deuteronomistic History. It is conjectured that extensive hagiographical material about Elisha was collected and preserved by the prophetic groups closely associated with him in 2 Kings. The wide range of hagiographic material about Elisha details numerous dramatic feats of power which establish his authority as a prophet of Yahweh. After his commissioning by Elijah, his authority is confirmed by his ability to part the waters of the Jordan (2 Kgs 2:13–14), to clear the spring outside Jericho of impurities (2 Kgs 2:19–22), and to fatally curse the children that taunted him (2 Kgs 2:23–25). These prophetic acts of power are repeated throughout the narrative complex: he helped the widow of one of the prophetic guilds to pay her debts (2 Kgs 4:1–7); he promised a son to the barren Shunammite woman and then revived the child after its death (2 Kgs 4:8–37); he nullified poisonous wild gourds planted by one of the prophetic guilds (2 Kgs 4:38–41); he fed one hundred men with twenty loaves of barley and some fresh ears of grain (2 Kgs 4:42–44); he healed Naaman, the commander of the Syrian forces, of leprosy (2 Kgs 5:1–19); he punished Gehazi with leprosy for his dishonesty and greed (2 Kgs 5:20–27); he retrieved a lost ax-head by causing it to float upon the water (2 Kgs 6:1–7); he blinded a Syrian raiding party and led them into Samaria (2 Kgs 6:8–23); and a dead man was revived when he came into contact with Elisha's bones (2 Kgs 13:20–21).

The Deuteronomic setting of these legendary stories is important since Elisha provides a model of the Mosaic prophet. The transfer of authority from Elijah to Elisha is modeled on the transfer of power from Moses to Joshua (Num 27:18–23; Deut 34:9). The miracle stories, which provide little evidence of prophetic activity, appear to be concerned much more with authenticating the role of Elisha as a model Mosaic prophet who plays a central role in the overthrow of the Omrides. The prophecy and fulfillment schema of the Deuteronomistic History is evident in Elijah's prophecies of the overthrow of the Omrides and Elisha's active role in the rebellion of Jehu (1 Kgs 19:15, cf. 2 Kgs 8:7–15; 1 Kgs 21:23–29, cf. 2 Kgs 9:1–10).

It is difficult on the basis of these stories to identify, with any certainty, historical information about Elisha. However recent analyses of the social roles of Israelite prophets (Wilson 1980; Petersen 1981) reveal that despite Deuteronomic editing these narratives preserve important information about the activities of Ephraimite northern prophets. It is argued that these stories were originally collected and preserved by northern prophetic groups closely associated with Elijah and Elisha. Elisha is seen as the leader of a prophetic guild, "the sons of the prophets." The ambiguous term "father" (2 Kgs 2:12; 13:14), used of both Elijah and Elisha, is often interpreted as an honorific title designating the leader of a prophetic guild.

Elisha is frequently addressed as *'îš 'ĕlōhîm*, "man of God," in addition to *nābî'*, "prophet." Petersen (1981: 43) understands *'îs 'ĕlōhîm* as a designation for a holy man as depicted in legends. However, both terms in the Hebrew Bible appear to be synonymous, and it is very difficult to isolate differentiated meanings especially since they are both applied to Elisha and other prophetic figures. Wilson (1980) and Petersen (1981), among others, both describe Elisha as a peripheral prophet. His support group, "the sons of the prophets," was also composed of peripheral prophets removed from the religiously, economically, and politically dominant groups at the center of society. They may have had minimal support in Ephraimite society (2 Kgs 4:8–17, 42–44). Wilson (1980: 202) has likened this group to the members of a peripheral possession cult.

Elisha is depicted as constantly in conflict with the Omride dynasty, and he is responsible for Hazael's accession as king of Syria (2 Kgs 8:7–15). His opposition to the Omrides culminates in his central role in legitimizing the

rebellion of Jehu (2 Kgs 9:1–10), who massacred Ahab and the remaining Omrides in a palace coup. Wilson (1980: 205–6) argues that Elisha's social role changed after Jehu's assumption of power from that of peripheral to central prophet. He became more closely associated with the royal court, particularly in the military sphere (2 Kgs 6:8–7:20; 13:14–19).

Smith (1971: 25–26) argues that Elisha is an example of a leader of a Yahweh-alone group in early Israel, as remembered in popular legend, who preserved Yahwism against the threat of syncretistic cults. He understands the revolution of Jehu as the triumph of Elisha and the Yahweh-alone movement, which included the prophetic group gathered around him.

The healing of Naaman by Elisha is used by Jesus in the synagogue at Nazareth to justify his own ministry to the gentiles (Luke 4:27). A universalistic tendency is to be seen in the Naaman narrative (2 Kgs 5:1-19) since he responded to his healing by promising to worship Yahweh alone, and would enter the temple of Rimmon only when he had to for the sake of the king of Syria.

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KEITH W. WHITELAM

ELISHAH (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîšâ*]. A son of Javan (Gen 10:4; 1 Chr 1:7), grandson of Japeth and great-grandson of Noah. In the Sam. Pent. the name is *ʾelîšā*. His name, like those of a number of other people in the Table of Nations in Genesis 10, became associated with a geographical area, presumably where his descendants settled. A maritime nation (Ezek 27:7), its association with Javan (Greece) would suggest a location in the Aegean. See JAVAN. It became known as a source for colored fabrics, even supplying them to Tyre (Ezek 27:7). Since Tyre itself was a well-known source of dyed cloth, their supply by Elishah would indicate that the latter's product was of very high quality indeed.

"Alašiya," attested in 2d millennium B.C. texts from Egypt, Assyria, Ugarit, and Asia Minor, is generally accepted as equivalent to Elishah. Apparently the term was first used for part of the island of Cyprus (*CAH* 3: 201–5), possibly the area around Enkomi on the E coast. Later the term expanded its use at times to refer to Cyprus as a whole. Another suggestion has placed Alašiya on the coast of N Syria. Cyprus exported copper (from which the name "Cyprus" is derived). This supports its identification with Alašiya, which name is itself derived from the Sumerian word *alas*, "copper." A Mycenaean colony on the island in the mid-2d millennium (*CAH* 3: 181–82) associates Cyprus culturally with Greece (Javan).

DAVID W. BAKER

ELISHAMA (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîšāmāʿ*]. Name of six persons in the Hebrew Bible. The name probably means "El has heard."

1. Son of Ammihud and leader of the tribe of Ephraim. He, with others, assisted Moses in the wilderness (Num 1:10; 2:18; 7:48, 53; 10:22). In 1 Chr 7:26, Elishama, son of Ammihud, is identified as the grandfather of Joshua.

2. One of the sons of David born in Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:16; 1 Chr 3:8; 14:7). The name occurs twice in the list 1 Chr 3:1–9, but "Elishama" is probably a scribal error for "Elishua" in v 6 (cf. 2 Sam 5:15; 1 Chr 14:5).

3. A member of the royal house of Judah and grandfather of Ishmael son of Nethaniah. He was the Judean troop commander who assassinated Gedaliah following the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 25:25; Jer 41:1).

4. Son of Jekamiah (1 Chr 2:41) and a Jerahmeelite descended from Sheshan (vv 34–41).

5. One of the two priests (2 Chr 17:8) who formed part of a commission sent by Jehoshaphat to teach the law in the cities of Judah (vv 7–9).

6. A high-ranking government official who held the position of *sōpēr* during the reign of Jehoiakim (Jer 36:12, 20–21). It is probable that Elishama's office was that of state or royal secretary. On the basis of Jer 36:10, it has been suggested that there may have been two royal secretaries at this time (as was the case during the reign of Solomon [1 Kgs 4:3]), and that Elishama held this office together with Gemariah son of Shaphan. However, in Jer 36:10 the title *hassōpēr* undoubtedly applies to Shaphan, Elishama's predecessor (cf. 2 Kgs 22:8–10), and not Shaphan's son Gemariah. The secretary's chamber, which may have served as the state secretariat, was located in the royal palace (Jer 36:12). It was here that Baruch's scroll is reported to have been kept (Jer 36:20–21). Elishama was succeeded in the office of royal secretary by Jonathan (Jer 37:15, 20).

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JOHN M. BERRIDGE

ELISHAPHAT (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîšāpāṭ*]. The son of Zichri, a commander of a hundred men during the palace revolution of Jehoiada the high priest, overthrowing Athaliah (2 Chr 23:1) and placing her son, Joash, on the throne. The name means "God judged." His role, along with the other four palace guard commanders, was to raise an army among Judeans as well as Levites and priests. During the proclamation of Joash as king, he was among the military units who protected strategic points around the temple and the royal palace. These commanders were also respon-

sible for the execution of Athaliah (2 Chr 23:14) and participated in the coronation processional (2 Chr 23:20). The parallel passage (2 Kgs 11:4) informs us that these commanders were the Carites, the royal bodyguard first established by David (2 Sam 20:23; *Kings* OTL, 571), which explains their support for a son of David. Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 424), Gray (*Kings* OTL, 569) and Myers (*2 Chronicles* AB, 131) interpret the Chronicler as presenting the commanders to be Levites so that the temple would not be violated by the unconsecrated, contradicting the parallel account. However, there is no evidence of the temple ever having its own separate military units. More likely, these officers of the royal bodyguard commanded a mixed force of Levites, priests, professional soldiers, and volunteers, with Jehoiada relying upon the commanders' tactical expertise and steadiness in the heat of battle outside the temple while arming the Levites and priests who could enter the temple precincts.

KIRK E. LOWERY

ELISHEBA (PERSON) [*ʾĕlîšebaʿ*]. Daughter of Amminadab and sister to Nahshon (Exod 6:23), who was captain of Judah during the wilderness journey (Num 2:3). She became the wife of Aaron, the high priest, and thus mother of the priestly family. Rather than belonging to the 4th generation after Jacob, according to the genealogies of Ruth 4:18–20 and 1 Chr 2:4–10, Elisheba belonged to the 6th generation (Childs *Exodus* OTL, 117). Her name means "God of the oath" or "God makes an oath," so named for God's faithfulness to his promise of deliverance from Egyptian bondage.

JOEL C. SLAYTON

ELISHUA (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîšûaʿ*]. One of 13 sons of David listed as having been born to David's wives in Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:15; 1 Chr 14:5), in addition to his six sons born at Hebron. In both lists, Elishua is listed between Ibhar and El(i)phelet, but the list in 1 Chr 3:5–9 omits this name, substituting ELISHAMA instead. This is undoubtedly a scribal slip, since Elishama was another of David's sons, his name occurring only a few names later in all three lists.

His mother's name is unknown: four of the 13 sons born in Jerusalem were Bathsheba's sons; the remainder were born to unnamed wives. Besides these 13, David had numerous (unnamed) sons born to his concubines, according to 1 Chr 3:9. See also DAVID, SONS OF.

DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

ELIUD (PERSON) [Gk *Elioud*]. The son of Achim and father of Eleazar, according to Matthew's genealogy tying Joseph, the husband of Mary, to the house of David and Solomon (Matt 1:14, 15). Eliud does not appear in any other genealogy or list of Jesus' ancestors (except in Luke in D, where an adaptation from Matt 1:6–15 is substituted in Luke 3:23–31), although Albright and Mann (*Matthew* AB, 4–5) believe the name is characteristic of names used in the last two centuries B.C., with Johnson (1969: 179–80) claiming that Eliud is a transliteration of *ʾlyhwʾ* (1 Chr 12:20 MS A); cf. 1 Chr 26:7, where Heb *ʾlyhw* is rendered Gk *heliou*, and Job 32:6, where Heb *ʾlyhwʾ* is rendered Gk *heliou*.

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STANLEY E. PORTER

ELIZABETH (PERSON) [Gk *Elisabet*]. Wife of Zechariah, mother of John the Baptist, and a relative of Jesus' mother Mary. Elizabeth is mentioned only in the birth narrative material in Luke 1 where she is said to be a descendant of Aaron, barren, and advanced in years. Luke uses a general term which does not specify the degree of kinship between Mary and Elizabeth. Luke 1:42 indicates that Elizabeth is to be seen as a prophetess, given inspired insight into the character of the baby in Mary's womb, and the events which have just transpired in Mary's life.

The barrenness and supernatural intervention which causes Elizabeth to become pregnant are reminiscent of various OT stories, especially those of Sarah (Gen 17:15–21; 18:9–15; 21:1–7) and Hannah (1 Sam 1:1–20). These similarities suggest that Luke wants his audience to see Elizabeth as one who would bear a child important in Israel's history. However, Luke casts Elizabeth in the shadow of Mary, and thus prepares the way for the similar treatment of the Baptist and Jesus. The Lukan birth stories focus on the perspective of the women, Elizabeth and Mary, not their men Zechariah and Joseph. In fact, Zechariah is not seen to be a model of faith for Luke's audience in the same way that Elizabeth and Mary are. Here we see the first of many examples in Luke's Gospels of a reversal of ordinary expectations—the women, not Zechariah, properly respond to the initiatives of God in Luke 1 (cf. Luke 4:18). Elizabeth and Mary, not Zechariah and Joseph, first receive the message of the coming Christ, first respond in full faith to that news, first are praised and blessed by God's angels, and first sing and prophesy about the Christ child.

When the pregnant Mary visits Elizabeth she receives a twofold blessing. First, Elizabeth blesses Mary because she is the mother of "my Lord." Second, Mary is blessed because she responded in faith to the words of the angel—she believed the promise given to her about the coming Christ child. What follows this interchange in vv 46–55, the song called the Magnificat, has been the subject of much scholarly debate, because of the textual possibility that Elizabeth is the singer of this song of praise. Though the textual evidence that attributes this song to Elizabeth is primarily western and found in Latin mss (it^{a}, b, l, Irenaeus$^{Lat.}$, Niceta, Latin mss known to Origen), in view of the history of growing devotion to Mary in the Church it is difficult to see that any scribe would have changed an original reference to Mary singing this song in order to place it on the lips of Elizabeth.

There are also other factors which may favor Elizabeth as the giver of this oracle: (1) she is the nearest antecedent, who has just been speaking to Mary in 1:45; (2) as a childless older woman this song seems more appropriate

on her lips, and it is probably not accidental that this song sounds like that of another barren woman, Hannah (1 Sam 2:1–10); (3) the Greek of v 56 seems to suggest that Elizabeth was the last speaker, hence Mary's name must be introduced again at that point; (4) we have already been told at v 41 that Elizabeth was filled with the Spirit and was speaking, but there is no mention of Mary being filled in like manner. Despite these considerations, the earliest and best mss attribute this hymn to Mary, and it seems unlikely that Luke would have Elizabeth overshadow Mary. Thus, most scholars believe that Luke cast Mary as the speaker of "The Magnificat."

We find further evidence of Luke's theme of reversal when we learn that Elizabeth gives her child his name when John is born, an act which Zechariah can merely confirm (1:57–66). Indeed speech only comes back to Zechariah when he confirms the action of his wife. Thus Luke intends us to see Elizabeth and Mary as the primary human figures in the drama that leads to the births of the Baptist and Jesus. That Elizabeth fades out of the picture after Luke 1, is in part because Luke does not wish to have her or her son overshadow Mary and her child.

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

ELIZAPHAN (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîṣāpān*]. Var. ELZAPHAN. Two persons in the Hebrew Bible have this name. Several meanings have been proposed for the name Elizaphan. These include "my god is hidden," "god is hidden," and "god has hidden." The name has also been related to the name Zephaniah, and names using its base root of *ṣpn* have been found in Hebrew inscriptions, as well as in Phoenician, and Punic sources.

Although an alternate form of the name, Elzaphan (Heb *ʾelṣāpān*), occurs in Exod 6:22 and Lev 10:4, these texts obviously refer to the person otherwise called Elizaphan. Both the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Peshitta read *ʾelîṣapan*, and the LXX offers *el(e)isapha(n)*.

1. The father of a clan of Levites and one of three sons of Uzziel, the Levite (Exod 6:22). When Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, were killed because of their "strange fire," (i.e., improper sacrifice), Moses instructed Elizaphan and his brother Mishael to carry the corpses out of the camp (Lev 10:4–5). Elizaphan is identified once as the leader of the Kohathite clan of Levites (Num 3:30); elsewhere his descendants are of equal status to the sons of Kohath, Merari, and Gershom (1 Chr 15:8; 2 Chr 29:13). This demonstrates that the descendants of Elizaphan retained an important position in the postconquest history of Israel. In 1 Chr 15:8, 10–11, King David commanded the sons of Elizaphan along with other Levites to carry the ark of the covenant up to Jerusalem. In 2 Chr 29:12–13, King Hezekiah called upon the descendants of Elizaphan to assist in cleansing the temple of its impurities.

2. The son of Parnach and the leader of the tribe of Zebulun who participated in the allotment of the land of Canaan (Num 34:25).

RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

ELIZUR (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelîṣûr*]. Son of Shedeur and Chief (*nāśîʾ*, Num 2:10) of the tribe of Reuben during the wilderness sojourn after the Exodus. He is mentioned only five times in the OT in four different tribal lists. He conducted a census of all able-bodied fighting men of the tribe of Reuben (Num 1:5); he led the Reubenites to their proper place on the S side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (Num 2:10) and to their position in the order of march at the Israelites' departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:18); and he presented the offerings of the Reubenites on the 4th day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (7:30, 35). The name Elizur means "God is a rock" or "my God is a rock."

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

ELKANAH (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelqānâ*]. As many as eight different men, probably all but one of whom were Levites, bore this name.

1. A Korahite Levite descended from Kohath son of Aaron (Exod 6:24); possibly, though not necessarily, the same as # 2 below.

2. A Korahite Levite, presumably somewhat later chronologically than # 1 above (1 Chr 6:23, 25, 36).

3. A Korahite Levite, descended from # 2 above (1 Chr 6:26, 35).

4. A Korahite Levite, descended from # 3 above (1 Chr 6:27, 34; 1 Sam 1:1). The descriptive genealogical relationships between # 2, 3 and 4 may be seen in the following table:

1 Chr 6:25–27	1 Chr 6:33–36 (in reverse order)	1 Sam 1:1 (in reverse order)
Elkanah # 2 (6:25; cf. also 6:23)	Elkanah # 2 (6:36)	
Amasai	Amasai	
Ahimoth	Mahath	
Elkanah # 3 (6:26)	Elkanah # 3 (6:35)	
Zophai	Zuph	Zuph
Nahath	Toah	Tohu
Eliab	Eliel	Elihu
Jeroham	Jeroham	Jeroham
Elkanah # 4 (6:27)	Elkanah # 4 (6:34)	Elkanah # 4
Samuel	Samuel	[Samuel; cf. 1:19–20]

Elkanah # 4, the father of Samuel, is described in 1 Sam 1:1 as a Zuphite (revocalizing MT *ṣôpîm* as *ṣûpî* + enclitic *-m*), doubtless because of his descent from Zuph/Zophai (the above table displays similar spelling differences and other modifications in some of the other sets of parallel names as well). The reference to the Levite Elkanah as an Ephraimite probably relates to the tribal territory where he lived rather than to his tribal origins.

Samuel's father must have been a man of some means, since he is the only commoner in the books of Samuel and Kings to have had more than one wife. Solicitous of the religious welfare of his family, Elkanah was in the habit of taking his two wives (Hannah and Peninnah) and Peninnah's children with him on an annual pilgrimage to Shiloh. While there, he distributed portions of sacrificial meat (cf. Exod 29:26; Lev 7:33; 8:29) to them, since wives and offspring shared in certain of the sacrificial offerings

brought to the Lord by the head of the family (cf. Deut 12:17–18; 16:13–14). Peninnah, the barren Hannah's rival, seemed to take special delight in using what should have been a time of joyous celebration as an occasion for continued provocation concerning Hannah's sterility, often moving her to tears. At such times, Elkanah would try to comfort Hannah by suggesting that his love for her should have meant more to her than numerous sons (1 Sam 1:2–8).

Eventually, and in answer to her prayers, Hannah became pregnant by Elkanah and bore Samuel. Elkanah meanwhile continues his custom of the annual pilgrimage to Shiloh. On one occasion, he used the opportunity for the additional purpose of fulfilling a vow (v 21), perhaps in support of the vow Hannah had made earlier (v 11). Elkanah concurred with her desire to present Samuel to the Lord for apprenticeship in the priesthood under Eli (vv 22–23; 2:11). Elkanah and Hannah ultimately became the parents of five additional children (2:20–21).

5. A Korahite Levite who was one of David's warriors at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:1, 6). See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

6. A Levite who was one of two doorkeepers for the ark of the covenant during at least a part of David's reign (1 Chr 15:23).

7. A high official in the court of Judah, assassinated by an Ephraimite warrior during the reign of Ahaz (2 Chr 28:7).

8. A Levite who was the ancestor of Berechiah son of Asa, who settled in Jerusalem after returning from Babylonian exile (1 Chr 9:1–3, 16).

The name *ʾelqānâ* means "God Has Created (a Son)." The verbal root underlying the name occurs in Gen 4:1 with the meaning "brought forth," where it puns on the name "Cain"; in 14:19, 22, where God Most High is called "Creator" of heaven and earth; in Exod 15:16, where the Lord is described as having "created" his people; etc. It has long been recognized that the root *qny* in various Semitic languages often means "bring forth, create," especially when a deity is its subject (BDB 888–89; KB 843; *WUS*, 229; Habel 1972: 321–37; Cassuto 1975: 55; Miller 1980: 43–46; contrast, however, Vawter 1986: 461–67). Titles similar to that in Gen 14:19, 22 were applied to El, the chief Canaanite deity, in ancient times (Pope 1955: 50–54).

An unpublished seal decorated with the figure of an ibex bears the name *ʾelqānâ* (Avigad 1987: 200). Three other names found on seals and containing the same verbal root are pertinent here: (1) *qnyw*, "Yahweh Has Created" (Avigad 1987: 197); (2) *mqnmlk*, "The Creation of the (Divine) King" (Avigad 1986: 77); and especially (3) *mqnyw/mqnyhw*, "The Creation of Yahweh" (Avigad 1986: 99; 1987: 198), a name identical to that of Mikneiah (1 Chr 15:18)—who, like the descendants of Elkanah # 4, was a tabernacle/temple musician (15:21).

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RONALD YOUNGBLOOD

ELKIAH (PERSON) [Gk *Elkia*]. A name which is part of the genealogy of Judith (Jdt 8:1). Elkiah is a translation of the Hebrew name Hilkiah (Heb *ḥilqîyāh*). The most famous character in the OT named Hilkiah was the high priest in the time of Josiah (2 Kings 22, etc.). However, the Elkiah in the genealogy of Judith should not be connected with that Hilkiah, for the name here is part of what Noth *(HPT)* terms a "secondary genealogy," that is, a genealogy with no existence apart from the narrative. This is in keeping with the genre of the book of Judith.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

ELKOSH (PLACE) [Heb *ʾelkōšî*]. Supposed birthplace of Nahum the prophet; probably the name of his village originated from the name of his ancestor. The place name *ʾelqōš* does not appear in the Bible, but can be assumed from the Heb *ʾelqōšî* "Elkoshite" in Nah 1:1; however, its locality is unknown. According to the prologue of Jerome's commentary on Nahum, "Elkosh was situated in Galilee, since there is to the present day a village in Galilee called Elcesi (or Hilkesei), a very small one indeed, and containing in its ruins hardly any traces of ancient buildings, but one which is well known to the Jews, and was also pointed out to me by my guide." Modern el-Kauzeh might be the site to which Jerome referred. A Galilean town Capernaum (M.R. 204254), which may mean "village of Nahum," supposedly from the Heb *kĕpar naḥûm*, appears to claim to be Nahum's hometown. A Turkish town of the medieval origin, Al-Qush N of Mosul near Nineveh, claims to be the birth and the burial place of the prophet Nahum. Another tradition locates Elkosh in the S Judean Simeonite territory. Pseudo-Epiphanius locates it near Begabar in Syria, the modern Beit Jibrin. All of these locations lack the positive evidence of being the hometown of the prophet Nahum.

Elkosh may have been originally a personal theophoric name which means "God, give!" if the last element *qōš* is etymologically related to the Akk *qâšu* "to give as a gift, reward." The biblical name Kushaiah (Heb *qûšāyāhû*) in 1 Chr 15:17 may mean "Yahweh rewarded," if *qûš* is the cognate of the Akk verb *qâšu*. Likewise, the Edomite name Kaush-Malak in the building inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (*ANET*, p. 282a) may mean "King gave." The Akkadian name *Anu-qîšanni* "God, reward me!" is quite similar to the Hebrew name *ʾEl-qōš* "God, reward!" Also other Akkadian names with the verb *qâšu* are attested as follows: *Taqîša-Bêltu* "divine Lady gave me," *Sin-iqîšam* "Sin gave me," etc. (See *AN*, 28, 138–39, 178–79; *APNM*, 259.)

YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

ELLASAR (PLACE) [Heb *ʾellāsār*]. The domain of ARIOCH, Gen 14:1, 9. The identity and location of Ellasar was already uncertain to ancient interpreters. LXX, Tar-

gum Onkelos, and one version of the Palestinian Targum (Cod. Neofiti) simply reproduced the OT form. *Targum Ps.-Jonathan* rendered it by *tl'sr* (Telassar), no doubt because of assonance. Another school of thought placed it in Asia Minor. The QL Gen Apocryphon XXI:23 replaced *Ellasar* by the totally unrelated *kptwk* (Old Persian *Katpatuka*) "Cappadocia." Another version of the Palestinian Targum rendered it by *pnṭws* (Pontus), a region bordering on Cappadocia. (The Cod. Neofiti manuscript of the Palestinian Targum has *'lsr* in v 1, with the marginal note *pnṭws*, and, conversely, *pnṭws* in v 9, with the marginal note *'lsr*). This tradition was followed in Vg which has *Pontus* in both places.

An early and long-followed identification of Ellasar was that by Schrader 1883: 135 which equated it with Larsa, the capital of one of the two principal kingdoms of S Mesopotamia in the Isin-Larsa period before it was conquered by Ḥammurapi, king of Babylon. However, since neither of the two kings of Larsa proposed for that role could correspond to Arioch, and since the similarity between the names *Ellasar* and *Larsa* was not very close, this identification was abandoned. Böhl (1930: 23) resurrected the old identification of Ellasar with Telassar, but tacitly rejected it fifteen years later. Meanwhile, Dossin (1934: 118–19), in a different connection, proposed to see in *Ellasar* a phonetic transcription of A.LA$_5$.SAR, an ideographic spelling of *Aššur*. This idea proved to be in agreement with the presumed Babylonian model of Genesis 14, the "Chedorlaomer texts" (see CHEDORLAOMER, B:1), in which the character corresponding to Arioch represents the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I. Böhl (1953: 46) and Dhorme (1956: 42) also equated Ellasar with Assur, but derived it from *āl Aššur* "the city of Assur," according to the Assyrian pronunciation of *š* as *s* and its rendering in Hebrew and Aramaic transcriptions (e.g., *Aššur-aḫa-iddin* = Heb *'ēsar-haddōn*, Aram *'sr ḥ'dn*).

Lipiński (1975: 205) called attention to the Greco-Aramaic epitaph at Ağaça Kale, 41 km SW of Divriği (E Turkey), dating from the 3d century B.C., which mentions a man with a Persian name, written *Ariukēs* in Gk and *Hrywk'* in Aram, who was a satrap of—according to Lipiński's tentative restoration—[*Hr*]*m*[*n*] "Armenia." Referring to the rendering of Ellasar by *kptwk* in the QL Gen Apocryphon and by *Pontus* in Vg, Lipiński noted: "The repute of a dynast called Ariauka, who had reigned in those parts of Asia Minor, might have helped this localization of *'lsr* and it is not impossible for the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* to have identified the Armenian satrap with the biblical Ariōk *(Arīoch)*. The author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* obviously knew that a place called *'lsr* existed there. Now, a Cappadocian place called Alasar can most likely be identified with Alişar, that kept its old name." Lipiński had in mind the archaeological site of Alişar Hüyük, ca. 80 km SE of the Hittite capital Ḥattušaš (Bogazköy). However, (1) the site is quite distant from Armenia Minor, the satrapy of Ariukēs; (2) the last, very modest settlement at that site ended well before the Persian domination of Cappadocia; (3) the ample toponymic evidence on classical Asia Minor does not include a place name resembling Ellasar; (4) *Alişar* is a modern Turkish toponym, derived from a personal name, and besides the Alişar in question, there are six other places of that name in widely scattered areas of Turkey. Thus the motive behind Arioch's transfer to Cappadocia by the QL Gen Apocryphon remains unclear.

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MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

ELMADAM (PERSON) [Gk *Elmadam*]. The father of Cosam and son of Er, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:28). Gk *elmōdam* is read in numerous mss and a few versions, while Gk *elmadam* is contained in others. The variant is possibly based on Gk *elmōdad* found in Gen 10:26 for Heb *'lmwdd*. D omits Elmadam, substituting a genealogy adopted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. The name Elmadam is unknown as an ancestor of Jesus in any other biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of eighteen otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke I–9* AB, 501). Kuhn's (1923: 214–16; endorsed by Schürmann *Luke* HTKNT, 201 n. 95) attempt to find a source for Elmadam, as part of the group from Neri through Er, in corrupted forms of names in 1 Chr 3:17–18 MT, is particularly unconvincing, especially since there is serious question whether the genealogy at this point is based on 1 Chronicles, which does not have Elmadam in 3:17–18 MT or LXX (Marshall *Luke* NIGTC, 164; cf. Jeremias 1969: 295–96).

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STANLEY E. PORTER

ELNAAM (PERSON) [Heb *'elna'am*]. Father of Jeribai and Joshaviah, two of David's warriors, in 1 Chr 11:46. These warriors are two of the sixteen which Chronicles lists in addition to David's "Thirty" brave men (cf. 1 Chr 11:26–41 = 2 Sam 23:24–39 see DAVID'S CHAMPIONS). The additional sixteen names listed in 1 Chr 11:41–47 appear to form a supplement, and may be connected with heroes from the Transjordan. These names may have been found in another source, perhaps the one which extends to 1 Chr 13:4, and could have been appended to the original list in order to show that from the beginning David was recognized as a leader even by the inhabitants of outlying and isolated regions. It is not possible to determine whether the list of additional names may be traced back to the time of David.

In the LXX the Codex Vaticanus B calls Joshaviah the son of Jeribai and lists Elnaam (Gk codex A = *elnaam*; codex B = *ellaam*) as a separate warrior. This variant, however, may be attributed to a textual confusion in the Hebrew text underlying the LXX: *bnw* ("his son") instead of *bny* ("sons of").

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STEPHEN PISANO

ELNATHAN (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelnātān*]. **1.** The son of Achbor, and a royal official (Heb *śār*, translated "prince" in RSV) during the reign of Jehoiakim (Jer 36:12). Elnathan appears to have been a member of a prominent Judean family. His father was probably Achbor ben Micaiah, one of the officials sent by Josiah to consult the prophetess Huldah on the occasion of the finding of the lawbook. See ACHBOR.

According to the MT of Jer 26:20–23, Elnathan led a deputation appointed by Jehoiakim to bring the prophet Uriah back from Egypt. The reliability of the MT is challenged by the LXX, which notes more generally that "the king sent men to Egypt." According to Talmon (1960: 180), the LXX preserves an earlier reading to which the MT tradition subsequently added details. Lachish Ostracon 3, dating to ca. 590 B.C.E. (*ANET*, 322), mentions a "Coniah son of Elnathan" who was dispatched to Egypt, although it is not clear what his mission was. Malamat (1950: note 18), assuming that the ostracon refers to the extradition of Uriah and should be dated to that time, prefers the reading of the ostracon to that of the MT, in effect removing Elnathan from participation in this deputation. Although it is possible that the Elnathan of Jer 26:22 may be identified with the father of Coniah, there is otherwise no connection between the extradition mentioned in Jer 26:20–23 and the mission associated with the Lachish ostracon.

Elnathan was also one of the officials present for a reading of Jeremiah's scroll (Jer 36:12; the LXX reads "Jonathan"), and was one of those officials who later urged Jehoiakim not to burn the scroll (Jer 36:25), underscoring his sympathy to the prophetic voice. The fact that Elnathan's name heads this list of officials may provide some support for the view that Elnathan was also Jehoiakim's father-in-law (see #2 below), particularly since the second name is probably not Delaiah, but the more important Gedaliah (cf. LXX), whom the Babylonians later appointed ruler of Judah.

2. The Jerusalemite, father of Nehushta, wife of King Jehoiakim and mother of his successor Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 24:8). This Elnathan is possibly the same as #1 above.

3. Three men called Elnathan (Ezra 8:16) are among those sent by Ezra to Iddo at Casiphia, with the request that Iddo provide those returning to Jerusalem with Levites for the temple (Ezra 8:15–20). Although it is possible that this small group included three different individuals named Elnathan (another member of this delegation bears the short form of the name, "Nathan"), this is unlikely. As Ezra 8:16 now reads, there are nine "leading men" (literally "heads") and two "men of insight." Some commentators favor the view that the names of the "men of insight" (Joiarib and Elnathan) are duplicates of the 5th and 6th names in the list (Jarib and Elnathan), and are to be regarded as a gloss (cf. BHS and 1 Esdr 8:43–44). If this reading is valid, the text does not distinguish between two groups; rather, all nine men are portrayed as "wise leaders." For the first of the two remaining occurrences of the name Elnathan in Ezra 8:16, a few mss read "Jonathan."

4. A governor of Judah during the Persian period unattested in the Bible. Among the bullae and seals from a postexilic Judean archive (the discovery site is unknown; it is known only that the bullae and seals were found in the Jerusalem region [Avigad 1976:1]) is a bulla inscribed *l ʾlntn pḥw*. It is probable that *pḥw* is an Aramaic form of the Hebrew *hpḥh* ("the governor") and that this inscription is to be read "Belonging to Elnathan the governor." This interpretation of *pḥw* is supported by the fact that a seal from the same official archive is inscribed "Belonging to Shelomith, maidservant (*ʾamah*) of Elnathan the governor" (restoring the last word to read *pḥw*). It is probable that Shelomith was a woman of high status; possibly she served the governor in some official administrative capacity. Scholarly debate on the dating of these artifacts (on paleographical grounds) continues. There is a wide range in the dating of the seal and bulla containing the name Elnathan (see survey in Stern 1982: 203–5). Avigad (1976: 35) and Talmon (*IDBSup*, 325) believe that Elnathan served as governor of Judah in the late 6th century.

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JOHN M. BERRIDGE

ELOHIM. See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

ELOHIST. Anonymous author or authors of one of the four sources or collections of traditions which were combined, according to the documentary hypothesis, to form the Pentateuch. The symbol "E" was chosen because of the source's preference for the Hebrew word *Elohim* ("God") in referring to the Deity. "E" stands both for the author or authors of the source, and for the source itself.

A. History of Scholarship
   1. E in 19th-Century Pentateuchal Criticism
   2. E in 20th-Century Pentateuchal Criticism
B. The Contents and Scope of E
C. Characteristic Theological Perspectives and Emphases
   1. Prophetic Leadership
   2. The Fear of God
   3. Covenant
   4. Theology of History
D. Provenance and Date

A. History of Scholarship

Modern Pentateuchal scholarship began in the early 1800s, when researchers developed the theory that the

Pentateuch was a composite document rather than the unitary production of a single author, namely Moses. The first criterion to be used in identifying and separating the narrative strands was the occurrence of the divine names "Yahweh" and "Elohim," the latter being the general Hebrew term for "god" or "gods." By this criterion, however, only two sources could be identified.

1. E in 19th-Century Pentateuchal Criticism. Not until the middle of the 19th century was E recognized as a source separate from P. Like P, E referred to the Deity as Elohim in the stories about the pre-Mosaic period. However, E was now seen to differ from P both in date (E reflected the concerns of preexilic Israel) and in characteristics (E had a prophetic rather than a priestly bias). By the time of the classic formulation of the documentary hypothesis in the late 19th century, E was described as an 8th-century document from N Israel, a source which manifested the ethical concerns of prophets like Amos and Hosea. E also emphasized the relative remoteness of God from any casual interchange with humans: in E, God is "Elohim," not the more personal "Yahweh," and he mainly reveals himself through dreams and visions, not through direct encounters.

2. E in 20th-Century Pentateuchal Criticism. One set of developments in scholars' theories about E reflects changing trends in Pentateuchal criticism as a whole; another set relates specifically to E.

a. General Developments in Pentateuchal Criticism. The most important development in 20th-century Pentateuchal criticism has been the realization that the Pentateuchal sources derive from oral traditions, and that oral traditions continued to play a part in the development of narratives until a relatively late date. This realization has led in turn to a widely accepted theory that both J and E were preceded by an oral epic, designated "G," which contained the original forms of many stories used by J and E. G is also thought to have contributed the main outline of the Pentateuch, starting from the stories reflecting the promise to the patriarchs and stretching through the Exodus and Sinai Covenant narratives to the traditions about Israel's period of wilderness wandering. The conquest of the promised land is the culmination of these Pentateuchal themes, which all look forward to a time of fulfillment. In the Davidic and Solomonic empires the promise implied in the conquest is itself fulfilled in an experience of national strength and unity (*PHOE; NHPT*).

From the perspective of that heady experience of power and fulfillment, it is believed, J for the first time put the G materials into writing as a kind of national epic for the kingdom of Judah. After the division of Solomon's kingdom, E wrote down a northern version of the old epic tradition—a version which reflects the peculiar interests and insights of northern prophetic groups. The date of J is now commonly given as the 10th century, but there is less agreement about the date of E. Some scholars still maintain an 8th-century date and relate E to classical prophecy (Ruppert 1967); others relate E's religious concerns to those of 9th-century prophecy, the period of Elijah and Elisha (*IDBSup*, 259–263). An even earlier dating which has been proposed relates E to the crisis period following immediately upon the breakup of Solomon's kingdom, and would thus place E in the late 10th century (Jenks 1977).

Almost every element in the above reconstruction has been challenged, in recent years, by scholars who are not convinced by the evidence that there ever was a common epic tradition, "G," (Conroy 1980) and who would place the composition of J and E and of the entire Pentateuch quite late in the preexilic and exilic periods (Van Seters 1975; Schmid 1976). The scholarly reconstruction sketched above remains, however, a good working hypothesis, even though it is a hypothesis which still needs constant testing and is always subject to revision (North 1982).

b. Developments in Scholarship Specifically Relating to E. The most commonly voiced criticism of the classic view of E has been the claim that the E narratives are not independent of J. This view tends to greatly reduce the amount of "E" material, and the E narratives which remain are viewed as deliberate corrective supplements to J. This process of correction by means of supplementation has been compared to the production of *midrashim* in later Jewish tradition.

The crucial question in answering such theories concerns the precise amount and scope of E material, and especially whether there are E narratives and other tradition units which have no J parallels. As will be seen below, the nature and the number of E traditions makes such a "midrash" or supplement theory unlikely, pointing instead to a once independent narrative source.

Another consideration is the mention in E passages of narrative motifs which do not appear in the present Pentateuch. For example, Gen 42:21 and 50:16–17 both refer to scenes which must have been part of E's original narrative, but which must have been eliminated by the JE redactor when J and E were combined. This indicates that E was originally an independent and sizeable literary composition of which only fragments still appear in our Pentateuch (Wolff 1972).

B. The Contents and Scope of E

The Genesis patriarchal narratives contain three sets of double narratives: Gen 12:10–21 (parallel: 20:1–18); 16:4–14 (parallel: 21:8–21); and 26:26–33 (parallel: 21:22–34). In each pair listed, the second is attributed to E. These sets of stories, of which one actually exists in a triple form (see Gen 26:1–16), tell the stories of Abraham and Sarah at the court of a foreign king, of the expulsion of Hagar, and of a controversy and covenant with Abimelech at Beersheba in relation to rights of access to water wells.

These parallel narratives constitute the most important source of information about the characteristic traits of E, for here the E narratives can be analyzed in contrast to similar J traditions. Characteristically, the E versions of these triple and double narratives use *Elohim* instead of *Yahweh;* they focus on the nature of divine revelations or disclosures to humanity, which in E generally occur in dreams; they include reflections on problems of sin, guilt, and innocence; and they emphasize the "fear of God."

Using these E characteristics as a starting point, at least the following Pentateuchal passages can be ascribed to E:

Abraham	Gen 15:1–6, 13–16; 20:1–17; 21:8–21; 21:22–34; 22:1–14, 19.
Jacob	Gen 28:11–12, 17–18, 20–22; 31:4–16, 17–24, 25–42, 45, 49, 50, 53–54; 31:5–11; 35:1–8.
Joseph	Gen 37:20–24, 28*a*, 29–30, 36; chaps. 40–41; 42:1*a*, 2–3, 6–7, 11*b*, 13–26, 28*b*–38; 45:2–3, 5–15; 46:1–4; 48:1–2, 7–14, 17–22; 50:15–26.
Moses	Exod 1:15–21; 3:1, 4*b*, 6, 9–13, 15; 4:17, 18, 20*b*; 13:17–19; 14:5*a*, 19*a*; 15:20–21; 17:4–7, 8–16; 18:1–27.
The Covenant	Exod 19:2*b*–3*a*, 4–6, 16–17, 19; 20:18–21; 24:1–2, 9–11; 24:12–15*a*, 18*b*; 32:1–6, 15–20; 33:3*b*–6, 7–11.
Wilderness Wandering	Num 11:1–3, 16–17, 24–30; chap. 12; 22:2–21, 36–40; 22:41–23:26.
Moses' Farewell and Death	Deut 31:14–15, 23; 34:1–12.

Some scholars would, in addition, ascribe portions of the Book of Joshua to E (Bright *Joshua* IB, Weiser 1961; Eissfeldt 1965); the Shechem covenant narrative of Joshua 24 has even been described as the culmination and conclusion of E. It seems preferable, however, to attribute such "Elohistic" segments of the Deuteronomistic History to northern tradition schools which continued to share E's theological outlook down to the end of the life of the kingdom of Israel. It is difficult, in any case, to separate E from "proto-Deuteronomic" materials, because of the similarity in outlook.

An "E strand" has also been claimed by at least one scholar in the Primeval History, Genesis 1–11 (Mowinckel 1937). It is much more likely, however, that all of the non-P material in Genesis 1–11 is J, and that minor discrepancies or inconsistencies within that J material simply point up the disparity and the antiquity of the earlier narrative fragments and lists which J has combined.

C. Characteristic Theological Perspectives and Emphases

From the above outline of E's contents it can be seen that E is represented in every major segment of the Pentateuchal traditions: the promise to the fathers, Moses and the Exodus from Egypt, the Sinai covenant, the wilderness wandering, the Balaam oracles, and the end of Moses' life after he transfers his authority to Joshua.

This sketch of E's contents lends weight to the belief that E, prior to its being combined with J, was an independent narrative strand stemming from a northern version of G, the common epic tradition of the premonarchical period. Still, the scope of E is narrower than J's world-historical scope, primarily because E does not contain a primeval history. That is, E does not begin with a depiction of Yahweh's creation of humankind, but with the divine address to Abraham, Israel's ancestor (Gen 15:1–6). At the same time, this primary focus on Israel puts E closer to the old premonarchic epic tradition, which likewise lacked J's universalistic, world-historical scope. There is more that characterizes E, however, than this focus on Israel as "a people dwelling alone, and not reckoning itself among the nations" (Num 23:9, from E's version of Balaam's blessing on Israel). Certain other major theological perspectives and emphases are evident.

1. Prophetic Leadership. E's overall narrative is built of segments which focus on four specific Israelite ancestors: Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. E presents these four leaders, whether explicitly or implicitly, as prophets who receive revelations from God in visions (Abraham, Gen 15:1; Moses, Exod 3:4b), and in dreams (Jacob, Gen 28:11–12, 17–18; 31:4–16; Joseph, Gen 38:20–24). Abraham is explicitly called a prophet (Gen 20:7), while the call narrative in which Moses is addressed (Exodus 3) suggests that he is a prophet. Both Abraham and Moses appear in opposition to kings, while Joseph serves the Pharaoh of Egypt as his most significant source of divine revelation and guidance. Joseph is led by God to interpret Pharaoh's dreams and to exercise leadership because Joseph possesses the Spirit of God (Gen 41:38–41). Abraham intercedes for King Abimelech and heals the barrenness of the women of Abimelech's household (Gen 20:17). In the circles responsible for the E traditions, in short, Israel's leaders are idealized (e.g., Abraham in Gen 20:11–13; Jacob in Gen 31:9–13) in such a way that their ethically questionable behavior is excused and their forceful prophetic leadership is counterposed to the power of kings. Monarchy is seen in the E source as a potentially dangerous institution; royal pretensions to godlike power must be challenged by inspired prophetic leaders. Even Balaam, who is not an Israelite, is presented as an inspired spokesman of Israel's God ("The word that God puts in my mouth, that must I speak" Num 22:38); he is a prophet who resists the king's command to curse Israel.

2. The Fear of God. Several significant E passages are linked together by the repeated mention of the fear of God. Abraham, as he receives his initial call is told not to fear (Gen 15:1); Abraham had said that Sarah was his sister in order to avoid trouble in a city (Gerar) where he suspected there was no fear of God (Gen 20:11). Later, Abraham is tested by the command to sacrifice his son, Isaac. God knows from Abraham's obedient behavior, however, that he is one who "fears God" (Gen 22:12). Jacob is filled with awe-like fear at the realization of God's presence at Bethel, as revealed in a dream (Gen 28:16–17). Joseph is likewise one who "fears God," (Gen 42:19). When the Hebrew midwives heroically defy the orders of the Pharaoh to kill the male infants of the enslaved people, their defiance is a result of their fear of God (Exod 1:17, 21). In the Moses call narrative Moses avoids looking at God who addresses him because he is "afraid to look on God." Moses later appoints judges to try people's cases, being advised by Jethro to choose men who fear God (Exod 18:21). Finally, the Sinai theophany fills the people with fear so that they beg Moses to act as their intermediary with God (Exod 20:18–20).

The fear of God in E thus symbolizes a number of different human experiences and responses. It is not only the numinous awe engendered by an encounter with the holy, as in Jacob's dream at Bethel and the people's awe at Sinai, it is also the obedience to moral demands of God for basic human decency, as in the narrative of Abraham and Sarah at Gerar. It is the root, most profoundly of all, of a father's obedience to a mysterious and terrible command to slay his only son. For E, not only awe but the covenant

values of obedience and loyalty are embodied in the fear of God (Wolff 1972).

3. Covenant. The centerpiece of E's theology of history is the covenant of Israel with God at Mt. Horeb ("Sinai" in the J and P traditions). E's narrative has been used by the JE redactor as the base for his entire presentation of the event, with the J Sinai traditions worked in secondarily, primarily in Exodus 34. A crucial question is whether the Decalog and the Covenant Code (Exod 20:1–17; 21:22–23:33) are to be ascribed to E, or whether these torah materials have been inserted secondarily, perhaps because of the frequent use of these legal/teaching materials in liturgical covenant contests. The balance of evidence seems to cast doubt on the older assumption that these law materials were part of E's collection, though many scholars (e.g., Weiser 1961) still describe them as "E."

Apart from these disputed law collections, E's covenant narrative lays the base for the entire pericope by depicting God's revelation of himself on Sinai, where he dwells or is enthroned. The role of the people is emphasized in E: because of their fear at the awesome theophany, they entreat Moses to act as their spokesman. Moses interprets the fearsome appearance of theophanic phenomena, however, in another characteristic E theme, as a "test" of the people.

The covenant ceremony of Exodus 24 is presented in two parallel narratives (vv. 1–2, 9–11; and vv. 3–8). It is in vv. 1–2, 9–11 that we find E's account of the conclusion of the covenant. Here the elders of the people, as well as Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, worship afar off while Moses draws near to God. In the sequel (vv 9–11), the elders and leaders eat a sacred meal in the presence of God on the mountain; it is a matter of wonder that God does not harm them for all his numinous power.

E's narrative of the Sinai covenant continues with the startling defection of Aaron, who fashions a golden calf which he proclaims as a representation of "your God, O Israel, who brought you out of the land of Egypt." This golden calf narrative has been interpreted as an indirect polemic against the installation of similar images for the people's worship at Bethel and Dan shortly after the division of Solomon's kingdom into the nations of Israel and Judah. If so, this narrative confirms the theory of E's northern provenance and suggests an early date for the composition of E, perhaps a time when the new cultic establishments at Bethel and Dan were still fresh developments. At any rate, E's narrative of apostasy and rebellion at Horeb emphasizes that the covenant was soon broken by priests and people—broken even before they had departed from the sacred mountain. This helps explain E's last Sinai narrative, which relates the establishment of the Tent of Meeting (Exod 33:3b–6, 7–11). Here God will meet his appointed representatives, Moses and Joshua, to spare the rebellious people the awesome impact of his direct presence among them.

Israel's rebellion at Sinai also coincides with E's rather gloomy view of the propensity of Israel to violate her covenant with God and to transgress the moral values which are part of covenant law. Here as elsewhere, E castigates idolatry (cf. Gen 31:34–35; 35:1–4) and suggests that Israel can avert deserved destruction only by the intercession of a prophetic figure like Moses, with whom God speaks "face to face, as a man speaks with his friend." The consciousness of human sin and guilt which we saw in the figure of Abimelech (Genesis 20) is the direct result of E's emphasis on the necessity of obedience to the demands of the covenant.

4. Theology of History. E's understanding of the history of Israel's life with God is characterized, as has been said, by a narrower scope than either J's or P's. Instead of beginning with the creation of the cosmos (P) or the inhabited world of man (J), E begins with Abraham.

Israel's life-story is thus the only arena E knows for the encounter of man with God. The life of the other peoples of the world, whether they impinge on Israel violently (as in the battle with Amalek, Exod 17:8–16), or peacefully (as in the Joseph narrative) is almost incidental to the sober fact that Israel's ultimate struggle is her own struggle to render obedience to God.

In its depiction of this struggle, E contrasts the disobedience and idolatry of the people, as in the golden calf narrative of Exodus 32, with the courageous loyalty of Israel's four great leaders, Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. At critical junctures in history, God subjects Israel's obedience and her "fear of God" to deliberate stress; these stress events "test" the response of men (Gen 22:1; Exod 20:20). Ideally, however, it will be all of the people, not just the great leaders, who will be God's "prophets." "Would that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put his spirit upon them" (Num 11:29).

In its presentation of historical events, E is inclined more than J to focus on the specifically religious aspects of human life—on prayer, sacrifices, pilgrimages, and prophetic revelations (Gen 20:3, 17; 28:17; 35:1–8; Exod 32:1–6, 15–20). Indeed, the goal of history for Israel is understood in religious—almost institutionally religious—terms: to be for God "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Exod 19:4–6). E also contains a number of passages, especially in speeches of the major characters, where past and future are linked meaningfully to the present, with God's guidance of events as the connecting thread. Such an interpretation appears, for example, in Joseph's speeches to his brothers (Gen 45:7–14; 50:15–26), and in Moses' address to Israel in Exod 20:18–20. The resulting implication is that history's meaning is understood by inspired prophetic leaders, and that they perceive the goal of the historical process in thoroughly religious terms: "Do not fear; for God has come to prove you, and that the fear of him may be before your eyes, that you may not sin" (Exod 20:20). This strongly didactic and parenetic presentation of history—so similar to that of Deuteronomy—is but one of the indications that E and the Deuteronomic traditions shared a common origin, probably in the N kingdom.

D. Provenance and Date

There can be little doubt that E's provenance is the N kingdom. Evidence for this N origin includes the emphasis on N sites such as Bethel (Gen 28:11–12, 17–18, 20–22; 35:1–8), and the similarities between E's vocabulary (e.g. Horeb) and the characteristic vocabulary of Deuteronomy.

Even more importantly, E shares significant theological themes and emphases with Deuteronomy and Hosea and with the Samuel and Elijah traditions as well. Such shared

themes include: emphasis on the covenant and covenant obedience, elevation of the figure of Moses, warnings of the danger of idolatry to the integrity of the covenant people, and a focus on the leadership of prophets as the counterbalance to the pretensions of royalty to absolute power. It may even be that the figure of Samuel provided the prototype for E's figure of Moses, which in turn influences the portrayal of Elijah. At any rate, it seems probable that all of these prophet-oriented traditions were preserved in related schools or tradition circles.

If it seems certain that E fits into a body of N traditions which stretches across the centuries between Samuel and Hosea, it is less certain when the composition of E should be dated. From the originally proposed 8th-century date, scholarly opinion has shifted in the last decades to an earlier date. One proposal has been that E should be dated in the late 10th century and interpreted as an attempt on the part of prophetic or levitical-prophetic groups to exert religious leadership over Jeroboam I (Jenks 1977). This proposal focuses attention on the parallels between the golden calf episode of Exodus 32 and the narrative of Jeroboam's establishment of calf images at Bethel and Dan (I Kings 12). It also relates E to the opposition to dynastic monarchy which is evident in the stories about Saul's rise to kingship against the steady opposition of the prophet Samuel.

More commonly proposed as an earlier date for E is the 9th century. Here the emphasis is on the parallels between E's Moses and the figure of Elijah, as well as on E's preoccupation with covenant loyalty and the danger of idolatry. Here again, the author or authors of E would presumably be conservative prophetic circles in the N kingdom who, like Elijah, stood up for loyalty to Yahweh against idolatrous monarchs like Ahab.

The date assigned to E will, in the last analysis, depend on a given scholar's total reconstruction of the religious history of the kingdom of Israel. What is evident is that E intends to put forward a corrective—indeed a prophetic—call for religious loyalty and covenant obedience at some point in Israel's history which is sensed by prophetic groups as a turning point, and therefore a time for critical decisions to be made by the nation and its leaders. E's urgent plea in this time of decision is not only for a correct institutional balance between kings and prophets, but for a deeply-felt religious response of loyalty and awe before God.

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ALAN W. JENKS

ELON (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēlôn; ʾêlōn; ʾêlôn*]. ELONITES. Three persons in the OT bear this name, which means "Oak" or "Terebinth."

1. One of three eponymous sons of Zebulun who went down to Egypt in time of famine (Gen 46:14) and whose descendants are named in a tribal roster of the wilderness period (Num 26:26).

2. A Hittite who was father of one of the wives of Esau. That the daughter is named Basemath in Gen 26:34, but Adah in Gen 36:2 probably reflects adjustments of Edomite genealogy in line with shifting sociopolitical alignments.

3. One of the leaders of Israel, unaptly called "minor judges" (Mullen 1982). He was a member of the tribe of Zebulun and "judged Israel" for ten years (12:11–12). He was buried at Aijalon (mentioned only here, location unknown) in the territory of Zebulun. The personal name Elon and the place name Aijalon are identical in consonantal spelling and may reflect on etiological interest. With no other information given, it is unclear which name is being explained by the other (see further Boling *Judges* AB, 215–16).

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ROBERT G. BOLING

ELON (PLACE) [Heb *ʾêlôn*]. One of the villages included in the tribal territory of Dan, before the tribe's migration N. The context suggests that it is located between Aijalon

and Timnath, i.e., S of the Nahal Ayyalon and N of Nahal Soreq. However, it is possible that Elon is a variant for AIJALON or ELON-BETH-HANAN.

ELON-BETH-HANAN (PLACE) [Heb *ʾêlôn bêt ḥānān*]. A locality enumerated within Solomon's second administrative district (1 Kgs 4:9). Although the general geographic setting is defined by the context as falling within the old tribal territory of Dan, textual as well as historical difficulties prevent a definitive identification. On the basis of the LXX's reading *heōs* (until) and the Vulgate's *et* (and) following the word *ʾêlôn*, many scholars (e.g. Elitzur 1982: 47; Naʾaman 1986: 115; but cf. Mazar *EncMiqr* 1: 266–67) regard *ʾêlôn* and *bêt ḥānān* as two separate places. A prevalent proposal which has textual support from the Codex Alexandrinus equates *ʾêlôn* with the well-known Aijalon (Heb *ʾayyālôn*, present-day Yālo; M.R. 152138). However, it is unlikely that an original reading *ʾayyālôn* would have suffered textual corruption. Moreover, in Josh 19:42–43 we find *ʾayyālôn* and *ʾêlôn* listed separately, the former grouped with sites in the N of ancient Dan, the latter grouped with sites to the SW and W. As for *bêt ḥānān*, we can look either to Beit ʿAnān, some seven km E of Yālo, or along with *ʾêlôn* to some as yet unidentified site to the W. Neither proposal is wholly satisfactory, as Beit ʿAnān was probably incorporated within the district of Benjamin, and the extent of Solomon's control over the Philistine lowland is debated (cf. 1 Kgs 9:16).

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DAVID A. GLATT

ELOTH (PLACE) [Heb *ʾelôt; ʾêlôt*]. Alternate form of ELATH.

ELPAAL (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēlpaʿal*]. A Benjaminite name appearing three times in the longer Benjaminite genealogy offered by the Chronicler (1 Chr 8:11, 12, 18). Elpaal, whose name has been understood to mean "God has worked," is singled out in this list as the father of the builders of "Ono and Lod with its towns." Since the list of Elpaal's sons in v 18 reveals no similarity with the sons of Elpaal listed in v 12, it is possible that two separate individuals are in view here, or that the name Elpaal reflects a strong clan name whose branches developed independently (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 84).

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

ELPELET (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelpāleṭ*]. See ELIPHELET (PERSON).

ELTEKEH (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeltĕqēʾ; ʾeltĕqēh*]. The first of four levitical cities allocated to the tribe of Dan (Josh 21:23). Eltekeh does not have a parallel in the Chronicles list (1 Chr 6:69). Eltekeh also appears in the inheritance list of Dan (Josh 19:44).

There is an important reference to Eltekeh in the Annals of Sennacherib. Here a detailed record is given of Sennacherib's military campaign into Palestine in 701 B.C. From Sennacherib's description, it seems that he entered Palestine from the Phoenician coast, advancing along the coastal cities, taking Jaffa, Beneberak, Azor, and Beth-Dagon. The march continued to Ashdod, where he met the Egyptians, whom Hezekiah, the Judean, and Sidqia, king of Ashkelon, had called for help. In a battle at Eltekeh, Sennacherib defeated the Egyptian forces as well as the city (*ANET*, 287).

Two sites have been proposed as the location of Eltekeh. Albright (1924: 8) first identified Eltekeh with Khirbet el-Mukennaʿ (Heb Tel Miqne; M.R. 136133), a site located 20 km E of the Mediterranean on the E border of the coastal plain. One km to the E are the hills of the Shephelah. The valley to the N and E of the tell is called Wadi el-Mekkennaʿ. On the 1969 Israeli survey map, the river flowing to the N of Khirbet el-Mukennaʿ is called Eltekeh, while the river to the S is called Evot.

In proposing that Eltekeh lay at Khirbet el-Mukennaʿ, Albright contended that it "fits the biblical and extra-biblical indications perfectly, better than any other possible location" (1924: 8). He found no evidence of Bronze Age occupation but a large number of early Iron sherds (12th–7th cent. B.C.), including Philistine ones.

A number of surface surveys were conducted between 1924 and 1957. Naveh in his 1957 survey proposed that Kh. el-Mukennaʿ/Tel Miqne should be associated with biblical Ekron (Naveh 1958), a position that is widely held today. In 1981 an archaeological excavation there commenced under the direction of S. Gitin and T. Dothan. Gitin (1989: 52) has argued that Albright did not recognize the total extent of the site, which consists of a large lower tell of 40 acres and a northern acropolis. Further, while Albright did not find any LB material, this period is now well defined at Khirbet el-Mukennaʿ. On the basis of the evidence, Dothan and Gitin refer to the site in all their reports as T. Miqne-Ekron. For a description of excavations at Kh. el-Mukennaʿ, see EKRON (PLACE).

When Khirbet el-Mukennaʿ was identified with biblical Ekron, it became necessary to find a site to associate with Eltekeh. The second site that has been identified with Eltekeh, although always with a question mark, is Tell esh-Shalaf (M.R. 128144), located 16 km NW of Mukennaʿ and 3 km due W of the modern technological center Rehovot, on the coastal plain. About 4 km to the SE is Jabneh, a major road junction in ancient Israel from which one road ran N to Beth-Dagon, while the other turned off to ancient Lod. Only 9 km E of the Mediterranean, the tell has fallen victim to the winds of the sea and an outspreading of human occupation. Particularly from the W, Tell esh-Shalaf is visible from a distance because it is a relatively high mound compared to most others in the area. The height affords a view of the coastal plain, the Mediterranean, and the Shephelah in all directions except the NE,

where three or four small hills block the view. However, the tell is unimpressive and is not widely known.

Since 1957 a few topographical surveys have taken place at Tell esh-Shalaf. On the first survey one MB II tomb was found as well as pottery from the LB Age, Iron Ib–c, Iron IIa, Persian, and Hellenistic periods. Three years later Mazar (1960: 73) identified characteristic pottery from the middle Iron Age, especially the 8th century B.C., as well as from the early Iron Age, including Philistine. When the Levitical City survey team visited the site eleven years later, only one 10th century sherd was found (Peterson 1977: 296–316).

The identification of Tell esh-Shalaf with biblical Eltekeh is not convincing since it is located too far to the S. While Dothan, Gitin, and others place Ekron at Khirbet el-Mukenna^{c}, they offer no alternative for the identification of Eltekeh except Tell esh-Shalaf. Boling points out that the argument that Eltekeh was too insignificant for a site as large as Mukenna^{c} does not hold, because Eltekeh was "prominent enough for Sennacherib's scribe to use it as a major point of reference." (1985: 30). At the present time Khirbet el Mukenna^{c} remains the best candidate for Eltekeh.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

ELTEKON (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeltĕqôn*]. Town situated in the north-central hill country of Judah (Josh 15:59), within the same district as Beth-Zur and Halhul. The only reference to this settlement occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). Abel (*GP* 314) proposed an identification with Khirbet ed-Deir, located approximately 9 km W and slightly S of Bethlehem (M.R. 160122). Although this location is suitable in geographic terms, archaeological verification is lacking.

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WADE R. KOTTER

ELTOLAD (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeltôlad*]. Var. TOLAD. A settlement of the tribe of Simeon. Eltolad occurs twice in Joshua: in 15:30 it is listed among the settlements of Judah, while in 19:4 it is one of the towns of Simeon. Since the tribe of Simeon was assimilated to Judah at an early date, Eltolad is recorded under both tribes. In 1 Chr 4:29, another list of the Simeonite towns, Tolad is placed between Ezem and Bethuel. This is exactly the place Eltolad occupies in Josh 15:30 and 19:4 (in Josh 15:30 Chesil is a corruption, and in Josh 19:4 Bethul is a variant, for Bethuel). Some texts of Joshua have "El tolad"; Tolad is an abbreviated form of that found in Joshua.

Though the present literary context of the Judean town list is set in the period of Joshua, its original setting was as part of a post-Solomonic administrative division of the southern kingdom. The date for the establishment of this system is debated, with suggestions ranging from the early 9th to the late 7th centuries B.C. Eltolad is in the southernmost district of Judah, the Negeb.

The location of Eltolad is problematic. An ostracon found at Beer-sheba mentions Tolad in a context apparently having to do with the distribution of wine (Aharoni 1973: 71 and *LBHG*, 260). Eltolad is perhaps to be sought in the vicinity of Beer-sheba (M.R. 134072).

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

ELUL [Heb *ʾĕlûl*]. The sixth month of the Hebrew calendar, roughly corresponding to August and September. See CALENDARS (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

ELUSA (M.R. 117056). A city in the Negeb, some 20 km SW of Beer-sheba.

A. Identification

The name of the site is preserved in the Arab form el-Khalasa, possibly deriving from the common Nabatean personal name Halsat or Halisu (Elusa in its Greek form). Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.16.10) lists it among the cities of Idumea W of the Jordan. On the Peutinger map, Elusa is marked at a distance of 24 Roman miles from Oboda and 71 from Jerusalem, on the way from Haila (= Aila). Libanius mentions it several times (*Ep.* 101, 132, 532, 536) as a city in *Palaestina Tertia*, formerly in Arabia. It is marked as an important border town on the Medaba map, and is named el-Khalus in the Graeco-Arabic papyri of Nessana. The Semitic name "Halusa" is found in the Jerusalem Targum of Gen 16:7, where it is appended to the name "Shur" as a kind of explanation or description.

B. Investigation

Elusa was discovered and identified in 1838 by E. Robinson, who estimated that the ruins covered 25 or 30 acres, about one-tenth of the actual size of the site (1856: 200–201). In 1870 E. H. Palmer (1871) estimated Elusa to be much larger, but stated that it was utterly destroyed.

Palmer stated that by using the site as a stone quarry, the Arabs of Gaza had destroyed Elusa completely. Greek pre-Christian and Byzantine tombstones were discovered in 1904 by A. Jaussen, A. Savignac, and L. H. Vincent (1905). E. Huntington (1911) visited Elusa in 1909 and estimated its population to have been 20,000. The first attempt to draw a general plan of the site was by C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence in 1914, who also discovered the earliest known Nabatean inscription, which was found in one of the cemeteries. The 21 Greek inscriptions which they published range from 426 to 565 C.E. Hellenistic black glazed and Nabatean pottery was found on the site by J. H. Iliffe of the Department of Antiquities. Exploratory excavations were made in 1938 which sought to establish the history of the site by excavating its dumps. After a preliminary survey by A. Negev in 1972, exploratory excavations began in 1973 show much still exists, even after extensive stone plundering. Further excavations were made in 1979 and in 1980.

C. History

Elusa apparently belongs to the first group of road stations established by the Nabateans in the 3d century B.C.E. or earlier, on the trade route from Arabia to Gaza. This is supported by the archaic Nabatean inscription dated to 168 B.C.E., and by the Hellenistic pottery. Painted Nabatean and early Roman pottery attest to the occupation of Elusa in the Middle Nabatean Period (ca. 30 B.C.E.–50/70 C.E.). In the Late Nabatean Period (2d–3d centuries C.E.) and Late Roman period it became one of the most important cities of the Provincia Arabia, and later of *Palaestina Tertia*. Christianity seems to have penetrated Elusa after the visit of St. Hilarion in the middle of the 4th century, but paganism died hard, as attested by late non-Christian Greek inscriptions. Elusa was certainly a Christian town by the beginning of the 5th century, when its bishop is mentioned in conjunction with the visit of St. Nilus at Elusa. Local bishops who bore Nabatean-Arabian names participated in the church councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451). Nevertheless an official inscription found in the theater of Elusa, of 454/5 C.E., bears no signs of Christianity. The city of Elusa, in *Palaestina Tertia*, is mentioned by Hierocles (6th century C.E.) and by Georgios Cyprios (7th century C.E.). As attested by Theodosius and Antoninus of Placentia, Elusa must have been an important station on the pilgrims' road to Sinai. As a district capital, Elusa is frequently mentioned in the Nessana papyri. It still retained its position late after the Arab conquest, and is mentioned in a document of 689 C.E. found at Nessana. The city was abandoned by 800 C.E.

D. Excavations

The purposes of the exploratory excavations in 1973 were to refute the legend of the total destruction of the site, to study the reasons for the disappearance of ancient remains, and to determine the extent of the ancient town. Three soundings were made on the W half of the 250-acre site, which is limited between two dry rivers Nahal Besor and Nahal Atadim. Area A is one of the large city dumps, noted already by earlier researchers and located on the W and E borders of the site. The purpose of excavating these areas was to study the history of Elusa by collecting as many small finds as possible (pottery, glass, coins). Contrary to expectations these "dump heaps" contained mostly dust and sand, and very little pottery. These huge heaps consisted mainly of windblown dust and sand (Elusa is situated in the heart of huge sand dunes that extend from the sea), which the city had constantly to battle. The thick cover of sand and dust consequently protected most of the ancient buildings after Elusa was deserted.

Area B is a tower to the E of area A. At this place Woolley and Lawrence marked a gate in the city wall. The ground floor of the tower and remains of an upper floor were buried in sand, but it was not connected with any city wall. Ground surveys identified two lines of towers, one on the N, facing Nahal Atadim, which included the tower in area B, and another on the S, above the bank of Nahal Besor. These date to the Late Roman period and were probably manned by the "Keeper of Peace," referred to by Libanius. In area C, S of area B, is a 10 × 5 m pool, preserved to its full depth of 2 m, which was part of the city's water supply. It was constructed in the Late Roman period and was repaired twice, once in the same period, and again in the Byzantine period.

The discovery of Nabatean capitals, bases, and other decorated architectural members on the E part of the site prompted an additional probe (area D) in the NE part of Elusa. These excavations revealed a large house in an excellent state of preservation. The house was originally built in the Nabatean period, possibly in the 2d century C.E., but it was apparently expanded in the Byzantine period, as attested by a capital decorated by a cross flanked by two birds. At the S end of the E quarter was discovered a Nabatean theater, near which the outlines of a large church were observed.

1. The Theater. The theater is entirely artificial, built on level ground. It consists of two separate components, the *cavea* and the *scaenae frons*. The *cavea* (35 m in diameter) is founded against a structure consisting of two heavy parallel semicircular walls (the outer wall is 1.70 m wide, and the distance between the two is 2.97 m). The walls are built of large hammer-dressed blocks of hard limestone. The space between the walls, normally used in other contemporary theaters for the placement of *vomitoria*, was filled at Elusa with a hard-packed mixture of Early Roman-Middle Nabatean pottery and glass, not later than the middle of the 1st century C.E. The *cavea* is of hard concrete consisting of gray mortar mixed with quarry refuse and has nine or ten rows of seats, separated by 0.55-m-wide gangways. In the middle of the *cavea* is a 2.90 × 2.80 m paved box, apparently for the directors of ceremonies. In the orchestra, facing the box, is a small base (1.0 × 0.80 m) approached by two steps, possibly for a statue (the lower part of a life-size statue of white marble, showing two sandaled feet, was found in the debris). The orchestra is paved with blocks of limestone.

The *scaenae frons* is 31.30 m long, and consists of two rectangular towers—one on the N, the other on the S—and of a solid wall 1.42 m wide. Both towers had steps leading to their roofs, from which one reached the roofs of the vaulted *parodoi* and the *cavea*. In the *scaenae frons* were the three regular doors. In the debris of the central door, two classic Nabatean doorpost capitals were found, and an inscription of a later date was found in the debris

of the N door. While the pottery found in the fill of the theater is dated to Aretas IV (9 B.C.E.–40 C.E.), within the *cavea* and in the N tower were found numerous pottery vessels of the Late Roman–early Byzantine period, attesting for a later use of the theater. This is confirmed also by the Greek dedicatory inscription mentioned above, which reads: "During the governorship of the most magnificent and most glorious Flavius Demarchus was made the pavement of the old (or: in front of the) theater, up to the old pavement, by the charge of the citizen Abraamius son of Zenobius. In the year 349" (349 Arabian Era = 454/5 C.E.). Despite its relatively late date, there are no signs of Christianity in this inscription. There is a remote possibility that the theater was still used for the performance of pagan cults even at this late period. W of the theater rises a 3-m-high wall; the relation between the wall and the theater has not been established. In the Byzantine period a dwelling was built against this wall, facing the theater.

2. The East Church. Approximately 36 m N of the theater is the East Church, apparently the cathedral of Elusa. This building (77.40 × 29.60 m) is the largest church in the Negeb and one of the largest in the Holy Land. To the W is a spacious atrium (28 × 32 m) with four porticoes (8 × 9 columns). The E portico is approached by a monumental flight of steps extending along its whole length. Like the rest of the basilica it is paved by large slabs of Proconesian marble. The columns of the portico were, however, made of limestone segments. Three doors lead into the partly excavated basilica. There were ten columns and two engaged pilasters in each row. The monolithic columns (only one was found), bases, and large Corinthian capitals were made of the same imported marble. The sanctuary consists of three apses. Most of the space of the central apse (5.65 m in diameter) is occupied by a marble-covered seven-step structure of the base of the bishop's seat, the largest known in the Christian world. The walls of the apse were also faced with marble. The unusual size of the bishop's seat forced the moving of the large marble altar (2.60 × 2.0 m) from its regular place on to the bema. The bema is T-shaped, deep in the middle and narrow in front of the side apses. Broken chancel posts and screens decorated with Christian symbols were found in the debris. Special care was given to the S apse. At the back of the chancel a small square was cut off by a subsidiary chancel. At this space a reliquary was placed on a small altar supported by one leg (fragments of the leg, altar table, and reliquary were found in the debris). The floor of the apse was decorated by a large star made in opus sectile. A marble hexagonal preaching pulpit, placed to the NW of the bema, completed the church furniture. The pulpit was supported by a small marble capital richly decorated by windblown leaves, painted in crimson and plated with gold. One face of the capital is occupied by an eagle of spread wings with a cross on its chest. In the debris in the basilica were found numerous small glass mosaic cubes of various colors (some gilded), large white tesserae, and clay roof tiles. It seems that the large tesserae come from the floor of the gallery above the aisles, whereas the small cubes pertain to the decoration of its balustrade. The wooden beams covered by the clay tiles were robbed, together with the marble columns. Chapels and dependencies were along both sides of the building, but these have hardly been investigated.

Excavations E of the basilica, behind the lateral apses, indicate that this church was originally a monoapsidal building with rectangular rooms at the sides of the single central apse. At a later date the lateral apses were added. A similar phenomenon has been observed in the churches of Sobata. A. Negev attributes these innovations to a change which took place in the performance of the cult of saints and martyrs, which occupied a most prominent place in the Christian cult of this region. At the beginning, the reliquary was at the back of the S side room; it was moved to the front of the apse at a later stage. With these changes, the central apse was made smaller by the construction of an additional shell against the original wall, both of which were faced with marble.

No dating material was found in the church, but it apparently still existed after the Islamic conquest of the Negeb. This is supported by the fact that each of the nine Corinthian capitals so far discovered has had one face damaged by iconoclasts, which almost certainly was done by order of the Moslem conquerors. Tentatively, the church could have been built at about 350–400 C.E.; the structural changes probably took place about 450–500 C.E. The excavators are of the opinion that the spacious atrium of the East Church, larger than any other in the Negeb, similar in plan to the forecourt of the Nabatean temples, could have formed part of a large Nabatean sanctuary, which also included the theater. This point has not yet been verified.

3. The Cemeteries. Explorers had earlier observed large cemeteries to the N, E, and S of Elusa. An additional cemetery was found immediately SE of the theater. Although ancient, the tombs also contained burials of the 19th/20th centuries. Investigations were conducted in a cemetery ca. 400–500 m E of Elusa, where the terrain is covered by pottery of the Middle Nabatean Period. Several family tombs were discovered, each surrounded by a thick wall. In one plot, an ashlar-built subterranean monument was found under a fill of heavy boulders. This tomb was lined and covered with slabs of stone, and was used for secondary burial. In the same area were found two *triclinia*, which were used in funerary meals. The Middle Nabatean pottery found all over the site dates this cemetery to the late 1st century B.C.E.–the 1st century C.E.

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AVRAHAM NEGEV

ELUZAI (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlʿûzay*]. One of the Benjaminite warriors who left Saul to ally themselves with David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:6—Eng 12:5). 1 Chr 12:1–22 is a section which provides information on the accumulating support for David in his early career, prior to his ascending to the throne. Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, (104–106) offers a discussion of the literary structure of this section. The defectors from Benjamin are placed first, possibly because their support, coming from the house of Saul, placed special honor upon David (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 96). The fact that even Benjaminites allied themselves to David develops the theme that the coming kingship of David was recognized by all, even while Saul remained on the throne (Ackroyd *Chronicles Ezra Nehemiah,* TBC, 54). In addition, a special skill of theirs as warriors is indicated in the narrative (1 Chr 12:2): the ability to shoot arrows and sling stones with either the right or left hand, a skill that made up for their lack in number.

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

ELYMAIS (PLACE) [Gk *Elymais*]. Greek name for biblical Elam, the region or province between Babylonia and Persia, of which Susa was the chief city; today SW Iran (Khuzistan). The text tradition of 1 Macc 6:1 is quite confused (*IDB* 2:95). Although the majority of the readings suggest that Elymais was the name of a city located in Persia, the original text was likely: "in Elymais in Persia there was a city." Although the chief city of Elam was Susa, the reference is not likely to Susa, since it was controlled by Antiochus IV at the time of the story narrated (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 308). The name may have been used to refer to that part of Elam that was not under the control of the Seleucids (KlPauly 2: 253–54).

In Josephus (*Ant* 12.9§1), Elymais is considered a city where there was a temple of Artemis (cf. Polybius *Hist.* 31.9[11]). The reference in Tob 2:10 could refer to a city or a province. However, there is no evidence that such a city ever existed. Elymais is, however, known to be the name of a region or a province of the Persian empire (so the LXX text of Dan 8:2, preserved by Codex Chisianus [87]; cf. Strabo 15.732, 744; Herodotus 3.91; Ptolemy *Geog.* 6.3).

W. WARD GASQUE

ELYMAS (PERSON) [Gk *Elymas*]. The Jewish magician (Acts 13:8; also called BAR-JESUS, Acts 13:6) who had connections with the Roman proconsul of Cyprus, Sergius Paulus, and opposed the Apostle Paul when he and Barnabas sought to evangelize the proconsul. He was temporarily blinded by Paul as punishment.

A consensus has emerged in recent studies that the author of Acts intended to translate *Elymas* by *magos* (magician) and to say that a person with the Jewish name of Bar-Jesus had taken in a Greek context the foreign name Elymas, which translated into Greek as "magician" (e.g., Haenchen *Acts* MeyerK, 398). According to this reconstruction, Elymas is to be seen as the transliteration of a Semitic word which could be connected with the functions of a magician. Various solutions have been proposed ranging from the Arabic *halīm,* "wise," to the Aramaic *hālimā,* "powerful." Yaure (1960: 297–306) has argued that *Elymas* is the exact transliteration of the Aramaic *ḥālōmā,* which refers to a person who can interpret dreams and offer divine messages in a state of trance. These activities are common characteristics of magicians in the ancient Near East and thus *magos* would be an accurate translation.

Other scholars have thought that Luke intended Elymas to be the Greek translation of the Semitic Bar-Jesus and that he understood both to mean "magician." However, the generally accepted readings will not work for this reconstruction since *bariēsous* means "Son of Jesus" (or more completely, "Son of Salvation") and *elymas,* whatever its meaning, has no relation to this. But some mss read *hetoimas* (or *hetoimos*) in place of *elymas* (D, cf., Lucifer, it^{gig}, vg^{mss}, Ambrosiaster, Pacianus). Zahn (*Acts* KNT, 416–18) adopted *hetoimas* (meaning "ready") as the original text. In turn this led him to conjecture that Bar-Jesus is actually a corruption of the transliteration of the Heb *bar-yišwah.* The *Piʿel* form of *šawah* means "make smooth, level, or ready" and could be translated *hetoimas.* The resultant "Son of Readiness" is supposed to connote "magician."

Zahn's reconstruction has not been generally accepted. The occurrence of *hetoimas* in D can be explained as originating with a later scribe who sought to connect the Cypriot magician of Acts 13 with one mentioned by Josephus (*Ant* 20.7.2, and in one ms named *Atomos*). We also know that it was common for Jews to have both a Jewish name and a Greek one that may not have been linguistically related. In Acts there are Saul, also known as Paul (13:9), and John, also known as Mark (15:37). Thus some scholars who believe that Luke intended to connect Bar-Jesus with Elymas suggest that *methermēneuetai* (v 8, "is translated," RSV, "is the meaning"), might be taken in a weak sense to connote "this person known as Bar-Jesus in Jewish circles was called Elymas in Greek circles" (e.g., Lake and Cadbury 1933: 144). There is, however, no evidence that *methermēneuō* can have this weak meaning.

The picture of a diaspora Jew involved in the popular Hellenistic preoccupation with magic, despite the condemnation of magic in "official" Jewish texts, is not surprising (Alexander in *HJP* 3/1: 342–43). His function in the proconsul's household may have been similar to that of a court philosopher or later private chaplain; to answer questions about the nature of life and offer divine guidance for the future. It is from a Christian perspective that he is called a "false prophet" (v 6).

Other questions surround the function of this magician in the theology of Acts. It seems clear that this confrontation between Paul and Elymas is part of an anti-magic polemic which is also found in Acts 8:9–13; 16:16; 19:13–16, 18–19. In each case Luke does not engage in a philosophical attack on magic but simply points out that it is negated by the power of Jesus.

Sanders (1987: 259) argues that Luke's theology is anti-Jewish, and that what is important about Elymas is that he is a "Jewish" magician. True to the stereotypical picture of Jews in Acts, he intransigently opposes the gospel. However, it should be noted that not all scholars agree that Lucan theology is anti-Jewish, and debate on this point continues.

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THOMAS W. MARTIN

ELYON. See MOST HIGH.

ELZABAD (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelzābād*]. Two individuals in the OT bear this name which means "God has given." In addition, this Hebrew name also occurs in Neo-Babylonian business texts as *Ilî-za-ba-du/Ilî-za-bad-du* (Coogan 1976: 13, 43–47, 71–72). With it may be compared the biblical Jehozabad and the Aramean *Nabû-zabad* (Hilprecht and Clay 1898: 27, 65; Clay 1904: 57).

1. Ninth of eleven men who were "chiefs of the Gadites in the army" (NEB, 1 Chr 12:15—Eng 12:14). Elzabad was among the warriors, experts in close combat (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 106), who came to the aid of David while he was at Ziklag. LXX^{BS} reads *eliazer* in place of Elzabad.

2. Elzabad is also the name of a gatekeeper (1 Chr 26:7) in the temple in Jerusalem according to the schematization offered by a reviser of the Chronicler's organization of these temple functionaries (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCB, 125–26, 169–70; Rudolph, 173). Here Elzabad is named as the fourth son of the preeminent family of Shemiah (Rudolph, 173), the oldest son of the Gittite OBED-EDOM.

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J. S. ROGERS

ELZAPHAN (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelṣāpān*]. See ELIZAPHAN (PERSON).

EMADABUN (PERSON) [Gk *Ēmadaboun*]. One of the sons of the Levite JESHUA responsible for supervising the building of the Temple (ca. 520 B.C.E.) after the return from exile (1 Esdr 5:56—Eng 5:58). His name appears in 1 Esdr 5:56 as one of the Levites charged with overseeing the laying of the Temple's foundations. The fact that the parallel section in Ezra 3:8–9 does not mention him calls attention to differences between 1 Esdras and Ezra-Nehemiah. Josephus mentions a similar name at this point, Aminadabos, identifying him, however, as the father of Judas and Zodmielos, and less clearly with Jeshua (or Jesus) (*Ant* 11.4.2).

It has been suggested that Emadabun represents a confusion or modification of the name Henadad, which does appear in Ezra 3:9 (Myers *1 and 2 Esdras* AB, 66). The similarity between Josephus and 1 Esdras here is one of several indications that Josephus had followed 1 Esdras rather than Ezra-Nehemiah in his account of this period. In addition to the reference to Emadabun in 1 Esdras' depiction of the founding of the Temple, other slight differences from Ezra 3:8–13 mark this section. Both Ezra 3 and 1 Esdras 5 state that the founding took place in the second month of the second year after the people's arrival. 1 Esdras, however, adds also that they began their activities "on the new moon," (1 Esdr 5:55), a detail Josephus repeats. Such variants play a role in scholarly debates about the relation between 1 Esdras and Ezra-Nehemiah and in the attempts to determine which is the earlier work.

TAMARA C. ESKENAZI

EMAR (36°01′N; 38°05′E). A Bronze Age city, modern Tell Meskene/Balis, located on the great bend of the Euphrates river in Syria. The name of the city does not appear in the Bible; nevertheless, the archaeological and epigraphic material that has been found there portrays in a remarkable way the period at the end of the Late Bronze Age (14th–13th centuries B.C.), the importance of which to the formation of Israel is well known.

A. The Excavations

The campaign originated as a salvage operation to save the archaeological sites of a region which was in danger of being flooded by the construction of a dam on the Euphrates near Tabqa. It was in the context of this operation that the observations made at the site of Meskene enabled one to confirm that the medieval city of Balis, which was then being excavated, partially covered the city of Emar, a city known only from some epigraphic documents dating from the 2d millennium B.C.

A first reconnaissance mission was carried out in November and December 1972. The findings were of such interest that five other campaigns followed between 1973 and 1976. In addition, a study of the environs led to the discovery of the site of Tell Faq'ous, which was situated on a promontory overlooking the river near the site of Emar. It was excavated in 1978. This operation was especially important, for it made it possible to describe the regional

system in which Emar functioned and the organization of that part of Syria as a whole during the Late Bronze Age.

B. A New City

The research in the area rapidly revealed that the site of Emar, destroyed in 1187 B.C., judging from a dated tablet discovered on the floor of a private house, did not date back any further than the 14th century and that it showed all the signs of a newly built city. That information was in apparent contradiction with the fact that the name Emar had been found in Mari documents dating to the 18th century B.C. as well as in the later documents of the Mitannian period. Moreover, texts found at Ebla in 1975 have again mentioned the name of the city, which would therefore place Emar as far back as the ED Period. The antiquity of the city is thus attested, yet the situation resulting from the excavation was hardly in accord with this information. However, the meander of the Euphrates provides the explanation for this anomalous situation. The early city, which existed at the time of Ebla or perhaps even before, and which continued to exist during the first two thirds of the 2d millennium B.C. undoubtedly underwent increasing difficulties due to the change in the meander of the river with which it was associated. The movement of the river condemned the city to destruction; the only solution was to abandon the city and rebuild it nearby.

The Hittite King Suppiluliuma I (ca. 1380–1346 B.C.) or his son Mursili II (1345–1315 B.C.) had the city moved and rebuilt. The dwellings were not rebuilt in the valley beside the old ones, but on the plateau which bordered the valley on the south side. The builders used the slope of the rocky sub-foundation which descended from west to east to form the base of the successive terraces on which the living quarters as well as the main monuments were to be set up. To build this terraced city it was necessary to remodel the face of the rock, eliminate its asperities, fill in its cracks and gullies, and build rock embankments all around, the purpose of which was to retain the earth and the constructions, but also to raise the floor of the sub-foundation by several meters in order to balance the plan as a whole and allow prominent parts effectively to dominate the environment. One can easily measure the magnitude of this task if one is mindful that the new city extended more than a thousand meters from east to west and six to seven hundred meters from north to south. But above all, it is the boundaries of the eastern side of the city that best show the size and difficulty of the operation: the rocky mass which served as a foundation was bordered on the northern side by the Euphrates and on the eastern and southern sides by a deep ravine originating on the plateau, but on the western side the rock had no break which could be used. Therefore the builders dug out a slightly curved ravine more than 500 meters long, about 15 meters deep and about 30 meters wide at the base. The fortress of the city was connected to the edge of this artificial ravine. The final result was the building of a sort of amphitheater, facing the river, located 285 meters away and rising to a height of 325 meters at the site of the city's great sanctuary. The excavation also showed that the layout of the city had been very well planned and organized. Before building the houses, the people had set up the system of roads in the form of a network of parallel streets spread out along the slope following the level curves, then connected by highways which followed the line of the largest slope. This was a magnificent work which shows the degree of technology attained by Bronze-Age men and is also the only example that we have at present of a new city which involved works of such major importance.

C. The Palace

The local king's palace stood on a NW promontory. From this position one could overlook not only the city but also the valley below. This may have allowed the palace to communicate by visual signals with the fortress of the province of Ashtata located at the site of Tell Faq'ous.

The architectural style of the building is the well-known *bīt Hilāni* style seen in other 1st millennium sites. Recently the origins of this architectural style have been questioned, and therefore Emar is extremely important since this is the first time that the *bīt Hilāni* style could be so clearly seen on a Syrian site dating to the end of the Bronze Age. Thus the origin of that style seems clear; one must look for it in the Hittite architectural practices such as those found at Boğhazköy (see Hrouda *RLA* 4: 406–409).

The palace was formed mainly of a large rectangular room which undoubtedly served as a throne room. It was connected to a porch upheld by two columns by a hall with unequal sides. One floor extended above the official quarters, which were situated on the ground floor to house the royal family, while outlying buildings were terraced along the slope behind the main building. It was in this palace that the first 14 tablets were discovered, placed in a jar and hidden in a small cupboard. These tablets, found on the fourth day of the excavation, made the identification of the site possible. Some beautiful objects (glazed ceramics, a bronze sword, the remains of a composite statuette) also attest to the quality of the furnishings of this residence. The building seems to have belonged to the local king and not to the representative of the Hittite government.

D. The Temples

Four temples were discovered, all based on the model of the *megaron;* an oblong room closed off at one end but opened at the other by a central entrance which was preceded by a porch supported by two columns. The interior furnishings consisted of a raised altar which was often preceded by a platform that covered almost two thirds of the length of the room and facing a support or a small seat placed in the middle of the far wall; other seats were occasionally placed along the side walls and small supports were placed in the room itself. Decorations made from earthenware nails adorned the front, and perhaps also the long walls, of some of the temples which have been found, but it is impossible to suggest exactly how to restore them.

Two of these temples, set up at the highest point of the site, were closely linked: they were set up on both sides of the highway leading to a vast esplanade, where what is doubtless the base of an altar has been unearthed. The tablets collected from the floors of these buildings indicate that the south temple, situated a meter higher than the second one, was probably dedicated to Baal, and the north one to Astarte. These buildings make up the major worship center of the city, which explains why the place

chosen for them could be seen from all over the city and from all the surrounding areas.

A third temple was unearthed in a different section of the city; it differs only minimally from the two preceding ones, but it was the worship center of a diviner who, protected by the Hittite sovereign, seems to have played an important role in the city. In the ruins of the sanctuary, part of the library and its archives have been found, a discovery which not only brings to light the activity of such a personality in the city, but fills in the step which had been hitherto missing in the process of the transmission of hepatoscopic practices between Mesopotamia and the Hittite Anatolia. Unfortunately we do not know the name of the divinity worshipped there. But the wealth of the artifacts found there (high-quality glazed ceramics, engraved stone, and a sculptured horn) is proof enough of its importance.

E. Houses and Daily Life

Many sections of the city have been completely or partially excavated. Added to the information about urbanism which is gleaned from this site is that which concerns daily life. The houses hardly differ from each other; one can see a kind of blueprint which was modified only to fit in with the terraces and the system of roads. Each house consisted of a main room which opened directly on to the outside, and two small rooms placed side by side, generally opposite the entrance. In the main room can often be found a baking oven of traditional shape and the remains of the staircase leading to the floor where there were one or two rooms looking out on the terrace which played such an important role in daily life.

The utensils found consisted of the usual potteries, stone objects, tools, earthenware figures of humans or animals, and occasionally jewelry. One characteristic of the site was also to provide a large number of "models" of houses or towers apparently used for home worship. Real works of art are scarce; one of the most remarkable of them is a sculptured horn of capridae. This relative paucity of artwork may certainly be due to the pillaging that occurred when the city was finally destroyed.

F. The Texts

The palace, the temples, and the private houses have yielded several hundred cuneiform tablets which shed new light on the culture of that region of the Euphrates in the 13th century. They lead us deeper into the daily life of Emar, its administrative problems, its economic and judicial activities, and its religious practices. Most of the documents are written in the Akkadian language, but some were also written in Hittite and Hurrian. As regards the seal impressions—there are almost 400 different copies of them—they show the same diversity of origins and influences as well as a local style imitating the patterns of the dominant power. Thus at the heart of the Syrian universe Emar found itself in contact with Mesopotamian and Anatolian influences, but the latter influences seem to have been weaker than the former.

G. Tell Faq'ous and the Province of Astata

This is a fortress built on the top of a promontory overlooking the valley. This fort guarded the entrance of the site and was responsible for defending the river upstream against the incursions of the Assyrians. The Hittite annals enable one to attribute its construction to Muršili II, and by chance a sealing was found there belonging to the "Chief of Chariots" (that is, the Hittite general-in-chief) identical to the one found at Emar; the close association of the two sites is beyond doubt. The organization of the province of Astata, the southeast border of the Hittite Empire, therefore stands out clearly: there was a fortress at the entrance of the province which was responsible for protecting the capital Emar, whose role on the Euphrates as a commercial port between Mesopotamia and Syria was economically important. With these conditions, it is easily understood why Astata was the object of the particular attention of the Hittite sovereigns and why they did not hesitate to engage in a policy of major building developments there.

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JEAN-CLAUDE MARGUERON
Trans. Paul Sager

EMATHIS (PERSON) [Gk *Emathis*]. A descendant of Bebae and one of the returned exiles who married a foreign woman during the era of Ezra's mission (1 Esdr 9:29, cf. Ezra 10:28). In the parallel text of Ezra 10:28, the name Athlai appears in the position Emathis holds in 1 Esdr 9:29. For more discussion, see ATHLAI (PERSON).

JEFFREY A. FAGER

EMBALMING. The various methods of preserving dead human and animal corpses from organic putrefaction and decay. The Hebrew *ḥānaṭ,* "to embalm," is found twice in the OT (Gen 50:2, 26), where it is used with reference to the bodies of Jacob and Joseph in Egypt. The verb *ḥānaṭ* in Song of Solomon 2:13a ("the fig ripens/ brings forth her fruits") must be an unrelated Semitic loanword of the same consonantal spelling, cp. Arabic *ḥanaṭa* and Akkadian *ḫunnuṭu,* "to become mature, to ripen." Others have suggested a relationship to the word for mature wheat *ḥiṭṭāh* (<**ḥinṭat;* cp. Aramaic *ḥinṭīn,* and Ugaritic *ḥṭt*) perhaps by reason of its color at maturity, although this needs further study. Embalming of the dead has its origins in ancient Egypt.

A. Origins of Embalming in Egypt
B. Formative Period of Embalming
C. First Attempts at True Embalming
D. Embalming during the First Intermediate Period
E. Embalming during the Middle Kingdom

F. Embalming during the Second Intermediate Period
G. Embalming during the New Kingdom
H. Embalming during the Late Period
I. Embalming and the Rise of Christianity
J. Procedure of Embalming
K. Was Embalming Biohazardous?
L. Embalming in the Bible
M. Embalming in Egypt, the History of Medicine, and Paleopathology

A. Origins of Embalming in Egypt

It is generally assumed that embalming arose in Early Dynastic Egypt to some extent as a result of the occasional observation and examination of Predynastic-period bodies which had been preserved by simple accidental desiccation in the hot sands of Egypt, but which later had been exposed to view by natural means such as the wind. This was probably a contributing factor but certainly not the major reason why embalming began in Egypt. It is also generally assumed that the origins of embalming paralleled developments in Egyptian religion. This may be true for all but the earliest periods of Egyptian history. It is well known that Osiris, as god of the dead and the resurrection, was closely associated ritually with embalming and beliefs concerning the afterlife of the dead. However, such an association cannot be earlier than the latter part of the Old Kingdom or about 2700–2250 B.C., the date at which Osiris first appears in Egyptian texts (Fleming et al. 1980: 5). By this time attempts at embalming were already several centuries old. Indeed, it is with the Predynastic Badarian culture burials, ca. 3790 B.C. with a radiocarbon date error of about 300 years (the village of El-Badari is about 30 miles south of Asyut), that we find the first evidence of belief in an afterlife which was apparently thought of as being similar to mortal life along the Nile valley, and requiring the same daily supplies and material objects (Fleming et al. 1980: 1). At the present time, the central motivating factors which underlie the origins of embalming in Egypt remain obscure.

B. Formative Period of Embalming

Embalming developed during the Archaic to Early Dynastic Periods, ca. 3100 B.C.–2700 B.C. The earliest attempts to preserve lifelike corpses appear during the 1st–3d Dynasties, where corpses were wrapped in linen wetted with resins fashioned around the corpse to preserve a likeness of the dead body and visage. Somewhat similarly, the application of painted plaster modeling to early skulls, some of which are now in the Cairo Museum, shows just how accurately the visage of the dead could be reconstructed. Clearly, however, at this period there is no true embalming of the dead. The use of resinated linen outer wrappings over the body provided in effect only a shell within which some degree of decay still occurred, and so preservation of human remains from this period, especially the soft tissues, is generally poor. The use of natural dehydration in sandy burials may well have continued for some time among the poorer classes, and occasionally well into the later Pharaonic periods in unusual circumstances such as war, where rapid preservation of the body was required (Spencer 1982: 114).

C. First Attempts at True Embalming

(Dynasties 3–61; ca. 2686 B.C.–2181 B.C.). From the 4th Dynasty to the beginning of the 6th Dynasty, the first real attempts at embalming the dead are found. It was obvious by this time to Egyptian burial technicians that the abdomen, the intestines, and the stomach were somehow directly associated with processes of decay. Only by their removal and neutralization by washes and soaks could such putrification be arrested. For the first time the incision in the left side of the lower abdomen is used to gain access to internal organs of the abdomen which were removed and preserved individually in receptacles placed within the tomb. Removal of the brain, however, is not found until the New Kingdom. The Egyptian Coffin Texts, especially Spell 755, show plain familiarity with the realities of the decay of the dead corpse (here now ritually associated with Osiris): "The members of Osiris are inert, but they shall not [always] be inert, they shall not putrefy or shake, nor swell up or make foul liquid" (Fleming et al. 1980: 18). The slow procedure of mummification, still quite an imperfect process at this early period, with the dissection and preservation of various individual organs must surely have been a very gruesome and repulsive procedure. From a modern perspective, if one considers that human fecal matter is composed approximately of 40–50 percent living and dead anaerobic bacterial cell bodies, then one quickly realizes just what potential there is for rapid decay of human corpses and the associated massive production of foul gases. Certainly it took an extraordinary motivation such as religion and eternal existence to facilitate and ensure the continuance of such large-scale dissection and embalming of corpses through several millennia in the climate of Egypt.

Alongside these first attempts at arresting decay by dissection, embalmers as late as the end of the 5th Dynasty (ca. 2400 B.C.) were still applying the simple linen wrapping around intact corpses to preserve and mold the external shape and likeness of the body, with facial features and other details highlighted by paint, the application of hair, etc. During this period, embalming was a luxury available only to royalty and nobility (Fleming et al. 1980: 7). The application of natron, the one crucial ingredient for successful embalming in later periods, first occurs at this period as a desiccant, but by no means was it applied universally.

The oldest extant mummy is that of Waty, found at Saqqara, where it still remains; it dates to the late 5th Dynasty (ca. 2400 B.C.). This mummy was wrapped only in resin-soaked linen. Facial details such as eyebrows and moustache, painted onto the surface of the wrapping, reproduce the deceased's appearance (Andrews 1984: 9, and photograph). Only three complete mummies survive from the Old Kingdom. A fourth, once the property of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, perished in World War II.

D. Embalming during the First Intermediate Period

(Dynasties 7–11; ca. 2181–1991 B.C.). During the First Intermediate Period (ca. 2200–2000 B.C., 7th–11th Dynasties) there was a substantial decline in the quality of mummification due to several factors, particularly the decline in the quality of material arts generally and a shortage of

various imported oils, resins, and woods which were required for embalming (Fleming et al. 1980: 8). There are few examples of mummies from this period, but those that do survive exhibit the now common practice of evisceration through incisions in the abdomen, with the preservation of the internal organs in storage containers. Even so, as late as the 11th Dynasty, primitive mummification without dissection is still evident in some mummies. The use of linen bandaging during this period continued to be an important procedure in embalming. Enormous quantities of linen were often employed as outer wrappings. For example, an 11th Dyn. mummy from Thebes belonging to a certain Wah was bound and wrapped with a total of some 375 square meters of material (Spencer 1982: 115).

E. Embalming during the Middle Kingdom

(Dynasty 12; 1991–1786 B.C.) During the reign of Mentuhotep II at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, trade was widely reestablished throughout the Mediterranean and Africa and supplies of embalming materials were again available in Egypt. When corpses were embalmed elaborately, the internal organs were still removed from the body, but now, apparently in response to the need for simpler or cheaper methods of embalming, mummies were found in which the internal organs were not removed and the corpses themselves were merely dehydrated. Thus decay often continued after the mummy was wrapped because of residual moisture retained deep within the corpse. During this period, mummification continued to be increasingly available to the lower classes of Egyptian society (Fleming et al. 1980: 17–19).

F. Embalming during the Second Intermediate Period

(Dynasties 12–17; 1786–1567 B.C.). The Second Intermediate Period in Egypt was a period characterized by internal collapse, most notably that which occurred following occupation of the country by the Hyksos after about 1670 B.C. Interruptions in trade resulted in shortages of embalming materials, especially in the south. Thus mummies from the 17th Dyn. are of poor quality and generally lack treatment with coniferous resins (Fleming et al. 1980: 19).

G. Embalming during the New Kingdom

(Dynasties 18–20; ca. 1567–1070 B.C.). Very little is known about mummification during the Second Intermediate Period (1786–1567 B.C., Dynasties 12–17). However, by the beginning of the New Kingdom, major advances appear in the embalming process. Advanced and superior techniques of embalming continued through the 21st Dynasty. Here are found the most extensive efforts at making the mummy appear as lifelike as possible. The skin was colored according to artistic tradition—red for men and yellow for women. False eyes were made of glass and shell and imparted to the mummy a startlingly realistic stare, shriveled limbs of the dehydrated corpse were packed subcutaneously with sawdust, mud, or rags to reproduce lifelike bodily contours and corpulence, wigs for women replaced hair lost to embalming, and sometimes the mummy was clothed and bejeweled to reproduce the dress and appearance of daily life. The so-called "Royal Mummies" of the Cairo Museum certainly represent the finest embalming techniques available during this period (see the plates in Smith 1912). Surviving examples of superior preservation of the corpse include the mummy of Seti I (14th Dynasty; see Andrews 1984: 8 and photograph, or Smith 1912), the mummies of Yuya and Thuya (18th Dynasty; see Fleming et al. 1980: 34 and photograph), and Rameses II (14th Dynasty; see Smith 1912).

From the 22d through the 25th Dynasties and later, the art of embalming gradually declined in quality.

H. Embalming during the Late Period

(Dynasty 26, Saite Period and later; *post* 664 B.C.). After 600 B.C., the desire to preserve the visage of the living body accurately is increasingly less obvious. The embalmers are no longer of priestly rank, and Herodotus seems to regard them merely as common tradesmen. In this light, Herodotus lacks almost completely any mention of the religious nature of embalming (Lloyd 1976: 355). By the Ptolemaic Period, the process is rather crude generally, with the majority of the effort applied to the bandaging and other efforts to create the outward appearance of a wholesome intact body, while less and less effort is expended in the actual preservation of internal organs and tissues. Copious treatment of the corpse with hot resins usually made it heavy and hard. Preservation of tissues in these mummies is very poor as resin usually impregnated the entire corpse and permeated into the bone. While the mummy itself may have lacked suitable treatment, the outermost wrappings were often elaborately fashioned, imparting to them a beauty distinctive of the period.

The word "mummy" stems from the Late Period, deriving from a Persian word for bitumen or pitch. The application of the term to embalmed corpses is due to the blackened color of Late Period mummies, which resembled bitumen both in color and in combustible characteristics when mummified corpses were burned as fuel in late antiquity. The word passed into Byzantine Greek *moumia/momion* and then into the Arabic *mumiyya*, literally "a bituminized thing or object." The importance of bitumen as a medical remedy in antiquity was soon associated with Late Period mummies and their presumed bituminous qualities. This eventually resulted in the sale and widespread prescription of ground and powdered mummy corpses as a potent medicine used for a wide variety of ills, and which was still being imported into Europe as late as the 17th century. One 17th-century English drug list describes mummy as being "resinous, hardened, [having a] black shining surface, of a somewhat acrid and bitterish taste, and of a fragrant smell" (Dawson 1927).

I. Embalming and the Rise of Christianity

The Christian belief in the ultimate resurrection and eternal preservation of the body differed from the older Egyptian religion by recognizing no fundamental need for the deliberate preservation of the body immediately following death. The treatment and burial of Egyptians in the Christian Period after the third century was simple and uncomplicated. Coptic corpses were washed, dressed, and bound in shrouds, often with salt and juniper berries placed within the layers, and then buried to be preserved naturally by accident in much the same way as Predynastic

corpses (e.g., Grilletto 1981). The Greek *Life of St. Antony* by Athanasius illustrates the Coptic attitude toward the treatment of the body and its burial. Here Antony forbids pagan Egyptian burials: "The Egyptians love to honor with burial rites and to wrap in linens the bodies of their worthy dead . . . not burying them in the earth but placing them on low beds. . . . Do not permit anyone to take my body to Egypt, lest they set it within the houses." And thus, "in accordance with the commands he had given them [i.e., his disciples] making preparations and wrapping his body, buried it in the earth, and to this day no one knows where it has been hidden . . ." (Gregg 1980: 96–98). A passage in the Bohairic *Life of Shenoute* 133 describes the treatment of the body of a young monastic novice in simple terms: "They wrapped him in a shroud, took him out, and buried him" (Bell 1983: 85). Attempts at embalming employing any of the classical Pharaonic methods declined and ceased by about the 4th or 5th century A.D., a period which also roughly corresponds with the last dying vestiges of the old religion and its priesthood, and the loss of the knowledge of hieroglyphs.

J. Procedure of Embalming

Descriptions of the process of embalming in Egypt are extant only from the later periods, notably from the hands of Herodotus (*History* 2.85–90) and Diodorus Siculus (*History* 1.91). The earliest and fullest account is that of Herodotus, who visited Egypt just after 450 B.C., and whose account of mummification probably describes methods of embalming stemming from the New Kingdom period, but in the particular state of decline representative of the time in which he writes (see Lloyd [1976] for a recent detailed analysis of Herodotus' account of mummification). Herodotus appears to describe two or three individual methods of embalming, but recently Lloyd (1976: 356) discounts these as "yet another example of the orderly Greek mind's imposing a rigid system [of classification of embalming] where none appears to have existed." It is important to note that there is no inherent or direct derivational pathway between the dissection of the corpse during mummification and the development of Egyptian medicine and knowledge of physiology. Physicians were priests of the healing goddess Sekhmet, whereas the embalmers were priests of Anubis the god of the dead. Further, while much of the canon of Egyptian medical practice and tradition was already fixed near the beginnings of Egyptian history, the process of embalming developed much more gradually (see Wilson 1962: 121–22). And thus also, the mention in Gen 50:2 of the mummification of Joseph at the hands of the Egyptian "physicians" (Heb *rōpĕʾîm*) is probably incorrect as Egyptian physicians were not employed in the mummification of the dead.

The religious character of the process of embalming cannot be overemphasized. For most, if not all of Egyptian history, embalming was a religious practice. The preservation of the body was necessary so that the *ba*, very roughly similar to an individual's soul or spirit, could recognize the body upon its return to it. Further, in certain periods at least, the embalming priests wore masks of the god whose function they were ritually performing upon the deceased. For example, from one workshop has been discovered a priest's mask of Anubis, the god of embalming, which has openings located at the bottom of the chin through which the wearer could see and work upon the dead while at the same time impersonating the god of embalming himself (Spencer 1982: 129).

Embalming itself surely took less than the 70 days mentioned in certain texts. It is now clear that this included the period of actual embalming as well as the periods of mourning, ceremonies, and other burial preparations, as illustrated by one Demotic text which mentions day 35 as the day in which the prepared corpse was wrapped with linen. It has been rightly emphasized that the ceremonial and religious aspects of embalming were extremely important to the Egyptians, being the key to the continuance of life in the hereafter. Accordingly, the various ritualized performances attending death were the reason why the process of embalming and burial lasted so long (Lloyd 1976: 361; Spencer 1982: 126–27). The period of 40 days in which the body of Jacob was embalmed (Gen 50:2–3), is not incompatible with current knowledge of the duration of the process.

Embalming usually took place in a temporary structure located near the tomb or necropolis. Generally the corpse was placed upon the embalming table, a shallow stone "trough" which sloped and drained toward one end where biological fluids and washes derived from any part of the embalming process could easily be collected. Actual work on human corpses began with the head. A narrow chisel was inserted into the left nostril and forced through the ethmoid bone into the cranial vault. The brain was slashed to pieces with a hooked rod, then removed (often incompletely) with a slender spoonlike instrument (Leek 1969). The vault was sometimes packed with linen soaked in resin. Next the corpse was incised on the left side of the lower abdomen so that the abdominal organs could be withdrawn. Such incisions are said to have been made with an Ethiopian obsidian knife (the use of obsidian knives for ritualistic purposes is known elsewhere, as in Joshua 5:2, where they are used for circumcisions). Through this incision the intestines, liver, and other organs were removed. The diaphragm was slashed and the thoracic organs removed. The heart and kidneys were usually left *in situ*. However, examples are known in which the internal organs were removed through the anus without the use of the abdominal incision, but with the aid of a fluid which was introduced to accelerate lysis and degeneration of the internal organs, much like one method described by Herodotus and for which examples are extant today (see Reyman and Peck 1980). The organs were individually preserved and wrapped in bundles which were either stored in canopic jars or returned to the corpse. Various spices such as myrrh, cassia, and other substances were placed in the body cavity, apparently to mask the smell of biodegradation of the corpse until it was completely dehydrated.

The application of natron was the one step necessary to ensure successful preservation of the corpse. Natron is largely a mixture of sodium carbonate and sodium bicarbonate. It is found naturally in various locations, especially at Wadi el-Natrun in the Libyan Desert, Barnugi near Naucratis, and El-Kab in the south. The natron powder was applied in a process which Herodotus describes as being similar to the drying and salt preservation of fish,

except he notes that natron was substituted for salt. Modern experiments have shown that natron in solution (as suggested by some of the older translations of Herodotus) was not suitable for embalming, and that dry natron powder is far superior as a desiccant and preservative than is sodium chloride or natural dehydration, or either substance in solution (Lucas 1932; Lucas 1962; Sandison 1963; David 1979). Even so, Iskander and others seem correct in believing that Old Kingdom mummies were often processed with a natron solution during the formative attempts at embalming, and that many such corpses which appear partially decarnated were not embalmed after partial decay but were actually exhibiting the results of an extended liquid steeping in salt or natron solutions (Iskander 1980: 9–10). The corpses were dehydrated by being packed within a pile of dry natron powder, and linen sacks of natron were also placed within the eviscerated corpse. In fact, one of the hieroglyphic symbols for natron is a sign representing a linen bag (filled with natron) like actual bags which survive as embalmers' refuse and which were originally packed within the corpse. In Egyptian texts, natron is sometimes termed *ntry*, meaning something like "the divine salt," so closely is it associated with embalming (Iskander 1980).

After desiccation, the corpse was washed and cleaned of natron, then packed with resinated linen or other materials such as sawdust or lichen. Then the embalming incision was covered over with a gold plate or beeswax held in place with a coating of resin. The plate frequently bore the imprinted Eye of Horus, a powerful amulet which protected the now purified and preserved corpse from invasion by evil external influences (compare the similar notions of the origins of physical illness by demons "from the outside" gaining access into the body, and the unique ghoulish determinative hieroglyph used in Egyptian medical texts which mention such illnesses, in Breasted 1930). At some time during the process of mummification, the eyes were pressed flat in the ocular orbits and packed with small resinated linen packets. Then the eyelids were closed over the top of the packing. Naturally, the embalmers may have felt obligated to restore portions of the corpse which were defective or had been lost (Gray 1966). The dried body was apparently anointed and freshened with a final dressing of ointments and spices, followed by a swabbing with resins. Finally the embalmed corpse was wrapped in linen shrouds and bound with linen strips. The mummy, called in Egyptian the *sah*, was then ready for various ceremonies such as the "Opening of the Mouth" and other vivifying rites, ultimately concluding with burial. Indeed, the mummy was now ready to live forever. A late Egyptian funerary text illustrates the purpose and final result of embalming: "You live again, you revive always, you have become young again [now] and forever" (Sauneron 1952: 18).

It is important to note that the entire mass of embalming refuse was buried with the mummy. Such matter included rags, natron stained with body fluids, scraps of tissue removed from the skull or abdomen, and vegetable matter which had been in contact with the corpse, hair, and other materials (Iskander 1980: 25). The refuse was placed in as many as 70 jars, which were in turn placed within the tomb so that not a single hair or portion of the embalmed corpse could be obtained by enemies of the deceased who might apply black magic against the peaceful repose of what Morenz (1984: 198) calls the "living corpse" and its eternal existence (Winlock 1941).

There were some side effects of embalming. Occasionally sheets of epidermis were exfoliated and found in modern times wrapped in linen and buried within the tomb. The nails of the fingers and toes commonly fell off during the process and were tied in place with string. The color of the mummy changed over time from near natural color to the darker browns and blacks noted in modern times. The hair commonly suffered damage during mummification and through time lost natural pigmentation, seen in modern times as the patchy orange-brown hair observable in several New Kingdom mummies such as Rameses II, or Yuya and Thuya.

K. Was Embalming Biohazardous?

Portions of the process of embalming, especially the removal of the alimentary tract and certain other organs, could be expected to be associated with a relatively significant biohazardous risk to the team of embalming priests and subsequently their families and their immediate associates. Embalming must have occasionally placed the workers in direct contact with dangerous contagious microorganisms such as cholera vibrios, the causative agents of tuberculosis, dysentery, and typhoid fever, or the causative organisms of food poisoning illnesses such as salmonella and others. However, there is no evidence that the ancient Egyptians were aware of such potential or regarded the process as being risky in any way. In this light it is important to note that the occupation of embalming priest was hereditary.

L. Embalming in the Bible

In ancient Israel and in other early societies of the biblical world, embalming was not practiced. Excavations of numerous sites outside of Egypt have not produced a single native corpse which was embalmed. Obviously this also explains the lack of references to embalming in the OT and NT, the only exceptions being the specific mention of the embalming of the bodies of the Patriarchs Jacob and Joseph in Egypt (Gen 50:2–3, 26). In the case of Joseph, mention is made of the sarcophagus in which his body was placed (Gen 50:26, the Heb *ʾārôn*, commonly translated "ark, box, chest"). The discrepancy found in Josh 24:32 which mentions the transport of Joseph's bones from Egypt, rather than his mummified body, undoubtedly reflects a scribal awareness of the common practice of secondary interment of skeletons, a practice which was common in ancient Israel as well as in nomadic societies, rather than reflecting in hindsight an accurate knowledge of the period and circumstances of the presumed removal of the mummified body of Joseph from Egypt.

The lack of any form of embalming in ancient Israel is the result of its religion and theology, as well as the probable antipathy held by Israelites against Egyptian religion generally. The body of Asa was simply covered with spices (2 Chr 16:14). The body of Jesus was buried with 100 pounds of spices (John 19:39–40; the text implies that certain women present at the burial regarded this amount as insufficient and therefore they brought to the tomb

even more spices (Mark 16:1; Luke 23:35–36; 24:1). Neither of these examples describes embalming in any true sense but appears as an attempt to cover the foul odors associated with the natural biodegradation of corpses during the single day of mourning before burial, and to keep the immediate locality of the burial or tomb fresh. Even so, the body of Lazarus reeked with foul odors soon after burial (John 11:39). For such reasons the small son of the widow of Nain was mourned only briefly on the day of his death and then quickly carried off to his burial (Luke 7:11–17). Thus, in contrast to the beliefs of Egypt, where it was necessary to preserve a suitable habitat for the use of the dead in the next life, including a proper store of earthly supplies, in late ancient Israel (at least) and during the Christian period generally, preservation of the corpse was considered unnecessary in view of various developing beliefs regarding the resurrection.

M. Embalming in Egypt, the History of Medicine, and Paleopathology

It is only by the study of substantive extant ancient human remains that any sure knowledge of the history of human health and disease may be obtained. The advances in mummification and preservation of the body developed thousands of years ago in Egypt have preserved for the modern scientist the precious perishable organs and tissues required for a medical examination of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt. The fields of paleopathology and the history of medicine owe a great debt to the development of embalming. In fact, the beginnings of paleopathology appear more or less simultaneously with the influx of Egyptian antiquities into Europe and Britain and the first crude unwrapping and examination of mummified corpses more than 200 years ago (see the bibliographies and discussions in Dawson 1929; Strouhal and Vyhnanek 1979; and PALEOPATHOLOGY). The importance of embalmed corpses for the field of Egyptology is exemplified in the extreme by one particular case—that of the Pharaoh Akhenaten. It is clear that the discovery of his mummy would bring to an end the countless debates regarding his personal health, his potency and children, related issues regarding the canons of artistic representation during his lifetime, and evidence for the presence of certain diseases in antiquity. Indeed, scores of historical problems could be solved by the discovery of this one mummy alone.

It is unfortunate, however, that historically there has been a certain amount of neglect in the proper study and preservation of excavated human remains, as well as a reluctance by host countries to provide scholars freely with the opportunity to examine the remains of their ancient dead. Precious few mummies are currently available for serious examination and study. Egyptology in particular is desperately in need of a serious centralized preservation and storage facility with an associated data base devoted to the study of ancient human remains recovered from Egypt—and this logically located somewhere in Egypt. Sadly, it appears that the best examples of embalmed human remains from ancient Egypt have been exhausted, and certainly most of the better examples of Egyptian embalming have already been exhumed and largely lost forever during the last two centuries. It must be recognized by all that embalmed corpses, indeed all physical human remains from Egypt, are nonrenewable resources, and only now is modern science and technology just adequate for a serious study of such remains, enabling scientists to discover from them the vast store of evidence which they surely contain. Important studies of these human remains could be performed reverently by sympathetic scientists if only this could be freely permitted and allowed. Ancient corpses are dead indeed when left to lie in the earth. However, ancient human remains may yet speak to us of the many aspects of their lives if placed in the careful hands of modern forensic anthropologists and other specialists in related fields.

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RICHARD N. JONES

EMBROIDERY. See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

EMEK REPHAIM (JERUSALEM). See REPHAIM, VALLEY OF (PLACE).

EMEK-KEZIZ (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēmeq qĕṣîṣ*]. One of the towns in the tribal territory of Benjamin, listed after Jericho and Beth-hoglah and before Beth-arabah (Josh 18:21). Beth-hoglah may be identified with Deir Hujlah (M.R. 197136) and Beth-arabah may be associated with Ein el-Gharaba (M.R. 197139), less than 2 miles N of Deir Hujlah. The context therefore suggests that it was located somewhere in the Jordan plain SE of Jericho, even though the name (containing the element *ʿemeq*, "valley") hints otherwise.

EMENDATIONS, SCRIBAL. See SCRIBAL EMENDATIONS.

EMESA. The small but surprisingly influential Kingdom of Emesa arose in the 1st century B.C., basing itself on the city of that name in Syria (modern Homs). It lay on the Orontes River, N of the Anti-Lebanon Mountains, just W of the desert where the "tent-dwelling" Arabs (*Skenitai*) ranged. Its prosperity derived from rich pastures and from trade.

Though ancient, the city largely escaped notice in Hellenistic times, and also did not receive a Seleucid colony, retaining its native Arab name and rulers. About 88/87 B.C., Emesa emerged into recorded history. A possible ruler from there, Azizus, engaged in the factional disputes of the last Seleucids; he may have assisted Philip I Philadelphus against his brother, Demetrius III Eucaerus (Jos. *Ant* 13 §384). The conquest of Syria by Tigranes the Great of Armenia deferred these ambitions, but after Tigranes left in 69 B.C. Azizus joined Sampsigeramus, the later King of Emesa, in a complicated intrigue designed to remove the last Seleucids and partition Syria (Diod. 40.1a–1b).

The arrival of Rome in force prevented that, but Sampsigeramus maintained himself in Emesa and Arethusa, winning the praise of Strabo (16.2.11.753) for his well-ordered government. He appears to have been ruling, along with his son Iamblichus, as late as the conspiracy of Caecilius about 46/45 B.C. (Strabo 16.2.10.753).

Despite the failure of his scheme to obtain a portion of the former Seleucid holdings, Sampsigeramus became a Roman ally. During his reign at Arethusa, an era on its coinage honored Pompey. In 51, when he still lived, his son Iamblichus wrote to Cicero in Cilicia to warn of a Parthian invasion. Cicero describes him as one "whom men consider well disposed to our Republic, and a friend" (Cic. *Fam.* 15.1).

In 47 B.C., when Caesar sought to extricate himself from a desperate situation in Alexandria (not Cleopatra, but her brother), he summoned allies. Among the "dynasts in Syria" who responded was Iamblichus (Jos. *JW* 1 §188). About two years later, however, he appeared among the allies of Caecilius opposing Caesar, for reasons impossible to determine (Strabo 16.2.10.753). The complexities of the Roman civil war caught more than one dynast on the losing side.

Just before Actium, Antony executed Iamblichus. His brother, Alexander, succeeded him but suffered the same fate at the hands of Octavian soon afterward (Plut. *Ant* 37.2; Dio Cass. 51.2).

By 20 B.C., Iamblichus II succeeded to the throne of Emesa, with the blessing of Augustus (Dio Cass. 54.9). This restoration parallels others in the vicinity: Cilicia, Commagene, Armenia Minor. Iamblichus married his son, Sampsigeramus II, to a princess from the dynasty of Commagene, Iotape III. The son in turn carried on the policy by marrying his daughter, Iotape IV, to Aristobulus of Judea, grandson of Herod the Great. The sister and brother of Iotape II contracted a philadelphic marriage and became the parents of Antiochus IV of Commagene, who ruled throughout the reigns of the Julio-Claudians. A son of Iotape III, King Azizus of Emesa, also went to Judea for a brief marriage to Drusilla, daughter of Agrippa I and sister of Agrippa II (Jos. *Ant* 20 §139). This extensive intermarriage greatly strengthened the dynasties of the Near East (*ANRW* 2/8: 198–219, 296–354).

Sampsigeramus II had begun his reign as "Great King" by the time of Tiberius (*ANRW* 2/8: 213). He took part in the assembly of Eastern dynasts convened by Agrippa I of Judea at Tiberias in A.D. 42 (Jos. *Ant* 19 §338–342). One of the dynasts, Polemo II of Pontus, married an apparent relative of Sampsigeramus, Julia Mamaea.

King Azizus, his successor, is first mentioned in A.D. 53, though he may have taken power as much as a decade before. He died by the first year of Nero, A.D. 54. He was succeeded by his brother, Sohaemus, the last firmly attested King of Emesa.

Emesenes engaged as allies in the Roman wars of the 1st century. King Sohaemus ruled both Emesa and distant Sophene, near Armenia, under Nero. He appears several times under arms in the record of the Jewish War. In A.D. 70, he joined the forces of the future Emperor Titus marching on Jerusalem (Jos. *JW* 2 §500–501; 3 §68; Tac. *Ann.* 2.81; 5.12). He also assisted Rome against its former ally, Commagene, in the war which broke out under Vespasian in A.D. 72 (Jos. *JW* 7 §226).

Perhaps Emesa shared the fate of Commagene in due course, but its kings may have ruled to the end of the 1st century, as in nearby Judea. A "very doubtful" coin of Domitian (A.D. 81–96) cannot prove the dynasty's eclipse; otherwise, Roman coinage apparently does not begin there until the reign of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161) (*ANRW* 2/8: 218–19). Some dynastic names lacking the royal title turn up on epitaphs in the 2d century, but these people may be only relatives of a ruling king and do not prove the kingdom extinct. A King of Armenia with the Emesene royal name of Sohaemus ruled between A.D. 163 and 175.

Emesa leaped out of this second period of obscurity late in the 2d century. Suddenly a line of priests there began

to supply the royal family for the Roman Empire (Stemma: *ANRW* 2/8: 200). One priest of the local cult (*sacerdos Soli Elagabali*), Ti. Julius Balbillus, may have descended from the royal family of Commagene. Another priest of this cult, Julius Bassianus, produced two daughters, Julia Maesa and Julia Domna, who married the Emperor Septimius Severus. Their two sons both ruled, Geta (A.D. 211–212) and Caracalla (A.D. 211–217). The grandson of Julia Maesa was the Emperor Elagabalus (A.D. 218–222).

Emesa declined again in prominence after this last efflorescence. About 253, an aspirant with the pretentious name L. Julius Aurelius Sulpicius Uranius Antoninus declared himself Emperor of Rome at Emesa, and coins exist reflecting his claim (Seyrig 1958: 51–57; Magie 1950: 704, 1566 n. 26). Odenathus of Palmyra (ca. A.D. 260–267) has been considered a descendant of the Emesene royal house. He brought Emesa again into notice when he defeated the usurper Quietus there. In 272, his widow, Zenobia, suffered defeat by the Emperor Aurelian "in a great battle at Emesa" (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae: Aurel.* 25).

By late in the 4th century after Christ, Emesa had sunk to such obscurity that Libanius can speak of it as "no longer a city" although it "continues to send ambassadors and crowns to the Emperors, knowing its poverty but ashamed to fall from the number of cities" (Lib. *Or.* 227, 42 Foerster; *Ep.* 846). Two 6th-century lists, the "Synecdemus" of Hierocles and the "Description" of Georgius Cyprius, mention Emesa still among the cities of Syria (Jones 1971: App. III and 267).

The little Kingdom of Emesa achieved an impressive record, dimly reflected in the echo of its ancient name in the modern town of Homs.

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RICHARD D. SULLIVAN

EMIM [Heb *ʾêmîm*]. Hebrew for "terrible ones" or "frightful ones," the designation used by the Moabites for giants who occupied their territory in more ancient times. Deut 2:10 describes the Emim as "great and many, and tall as the Anakim," another race of giants who lived in ancient Palestine. Both the Anakim and the Emim were called Rephaim (Deut 2:11). Because the Emim are associated with ancient Moab, the Zamzummim (or Zuzim) are giants linked with Ammonite territory (Deut 2:20; Gen 14:5). The Emim were defeated by Chedorlaomer and his coalition in Shaveh-kiriathaim (Gen 14:5). Nothing is known about the Emim outside of the OT.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

EMIR, IRAQ EL-. See IRAQ EL-EMIR (M.R. 221147).

EMMAUS (PLACE) [Gk *Emmaous*]. Many places bore the name in antiquity, but in the NT Emmaus was a village where the risen Christ appeared to two disciples, one named Cleopas (Luke 24:13–35). Efforts to identify this site have focused on its distance from Jerusalem. There are two figures in the textual tradition in Luke for the distance from Jerusalem to Emmaus. The better reading is "sixty stadia." This is the reading in Papyrus Bodmer (P75), Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Vaticanus, Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, the second corrector of Codex K, Codex Regius, the Freer Gospels, Codex X, Codex Delta, Codex Psi, and uncials 063 and 0124. "Sixty stadia" also appears in minuscule families one and thirteen, in twenty-one other minuscule manuscripts, in the menologion of Byzantine Lectionary 185, in eight manuscripts of the Old Latin tradition, and also in several ancient versions: in the Vulgate, in the Curetonian, Sinaitic, and Harclean Syriac, in the Peshitta, in both the Boharic and Sahidic Coptic, in the Ethiopic, and in the Georgian. The poorer reading "one hundred and sixty stadia" appears in Codex Sinaiticus, the original of Codex K, Codex Koridethi, Codex π, probably in uncial manuscript 079, certainly in minuscule 1079, in the Palestinian Syriac, in the Armenian, and in Eusebius, Jerome, and Sozomen. Codex Palatinus of the Old Latin reads "seven stadia." The Editorial Committee of the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament feels that the reading "160 stadia" arose with patristic identifications of Emmaus with Amwas-Nicopolis W of Jerusalem (Metzger 1971: 184). Since a stadium was 600 Roman feet, sixty stadia was about 7.5 miles, while 160 stadia was about 19.5 miles. The committee dismisses "seven stadia" as a scribal blunder.

According to Luke, the disciples journeyed to Emmaus, meeting up with Jesus on the way, ate a meal, and returned to Jerusalem, where they found the disciples still awake. These events therefore took place in one day, which makes a one-way distance of 160 stadia surely wrong. This distance would indeed place the traveler at ancient Emmaus-Nicopolis (modern Khirbet Imwas; M.R. 149138), which lies about 17.4 miles or 153 stadia from Jerusalem on the S road and 18.3 miles or 161 stadia from Jerusalem on the N road to Joppa. Nicopolis is assumed in almost all Christian Pilgrim texts from the 4th century onward. In 221 C.E. the emperor Heliogabalus (Elagabalus) gave Emmaus the title of "city" and the name Nicopolis or "City of Victory" at the petition of Sextus Julius Africanus, a Christian, who headed a delegation from Emmaus to the emperor. The Bordeaux pilgrim about 333 C.E. visited Nicopolis, but he merely listed it as a staging post. But in 404 C.E. St. Jerome describes his journey eight years earlier

with Paula and her daughter Eustochium to the holy places, including Emmaus, which he names "Nicopolis, formerly called Emmaus" (Letter 108; Wilkinson 1977: 47). Nicopolis is Emmaus in Eusebius' *Onomasticon* (90:16). In 440 C.E. Hesychius of Jerusalem was aware that Nicopolis was too far from Jerusalem to be the Emmaus in Luke 24, if the distance was 60 stadia (*Problems and Answers;* Wilkinson 1977: 156). Extensive remains of Roman Jewish, Christian, and Samaritan buildings have been found at Khirbet Imwas.

Other sites that have been recommended as ancient Emmaus are first el-Qubeibeh (M.R. 163138), 65 stadia from Jerusalem on the road to Khirbet Imwas. This was a site favored by the Crusaders, who found an old Roman fort near el-Qubeibeh named Castellum Emmaus. A Byzantine church was excavated here by the Franciscans beginning in 1873.

Second, Abu Ghosh (M.R. 160134) is about nine miles or 83 stadia W of Jerusalem on the S road to Khirbet Imwas. It is also known as Kiryat el-'Anab (City of Grape[s]), and has been identified as OT Kiriath-jearim. There is a Roman fort at Abu Ghosh with a Greek inscription that mentions the Tenth Legion stationed there.

Third, Qaloniyeh, or ancient Colonia, lies about four miles or 35 stadia W of Jerusalem on the same S road as Abu Ghosh. It is often identified with the Motza (M.R. 165134) of the Jerusalem Talmud (Avi-Yonah 1976: 82; Sukkah 54b). Motza could be the Latin *Amassa* or Greek *Ammaous* of Josephus (*JW* 7.10.9 §217), who tells us that Titus settled eight hundred Roman veterans at Motza after the First Jewish Revolt. Josephus also tells us that Ammaous was 30 stadia from Jerusalem. Although the distance is wrong, it is not impossible as a candidate for NT Emmaus. There is no scholarly consensus.

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JAMES F. STRANGE

EMPEROR WORSHIP. See ROMAN IMPERIAL CULT.

EN-BOQEQ (M.R. 185067). An oasis on the SW shores of the Dead Sea. Like En Gedi 33 km to the N, it thrived on the growth of precious plants indigenous to hot climates. These were watered by two springs: En Boqeq and En Noith, producing 216,000 m^3 and 17,500 m^3 per annum respectively. The original name of the site is lost. However, it may be identified with the 7th century C.E. *tetrapyrgium,* mentioned by the monk Anasthasius in his *Questiones* (Migne, *PG* 89, col. 744–45), so named after its dominant *castellum.*

Excavations have shown that the earliest occupation was in Hasmonean times, when a tower was built by Alexander Jannaeus (?) to guard the newly established plantations of pharmaceutical and cosmetic plants, such as the world famous and exceedingly lucrative judean balsam (cf. Strab 16.41, 486–89; *HN* 12.111–23; *JW* 4.468–70).

These plants, together with bitumen from the Dead Sea (also a much esteemed compound of ancient medications; Galen, *De Simplicium Medicamentorum* 11.2.10) were processed in a factory *(officina)* in the middle of the plantations, which were established by Herod and operated until its destruction by the Zealots during the First Revolt (*JW* 4.402). The Romans quickly restored the plantations (*HN* 12.112), but only Bar Kokhba refurbished the factory. Following the final destruction of the *officina* by Hadrian, the first certain sign of renewed life at En Boqeq is the building of the *castellum* during the first half of the 4th century, either by Constantine or Constantius. Until the Islamic conquest in about 634 C.E. this *castellum* guarded the E flank of the cis-Jordanian sector of the Roman *limes* and the revived plantations. After the conquest, life in and around the *castellum* continued for several decades.

A. The Officina

This is a workshop of 20 × 20 m, built of coarse masonry and preserved to a height of 3 m. Six rooms, including the anteroom with benches, are arranged around a central courtyard, the covered portions of which formed an integral part of the production areas. See Fig. ENB.01. Room 4, with heavy plaster on the walls and floor, had a treading floor and a collection basin for pressed-out liquids. Room 6 housed a mill on a round base for crushing, and in room 5, fixtures belonging to a bag press (?) were discovered. A central production area in the courtyard had a storage facility for dry raw materials, a fireplace, a grinding platter, a stone vat, and two adjacent ovens, of stone and clay, constructed on two different levels. Other ovens and fixtures attest to the complexity of the production process. A staircase led to a flat roof or a second story.

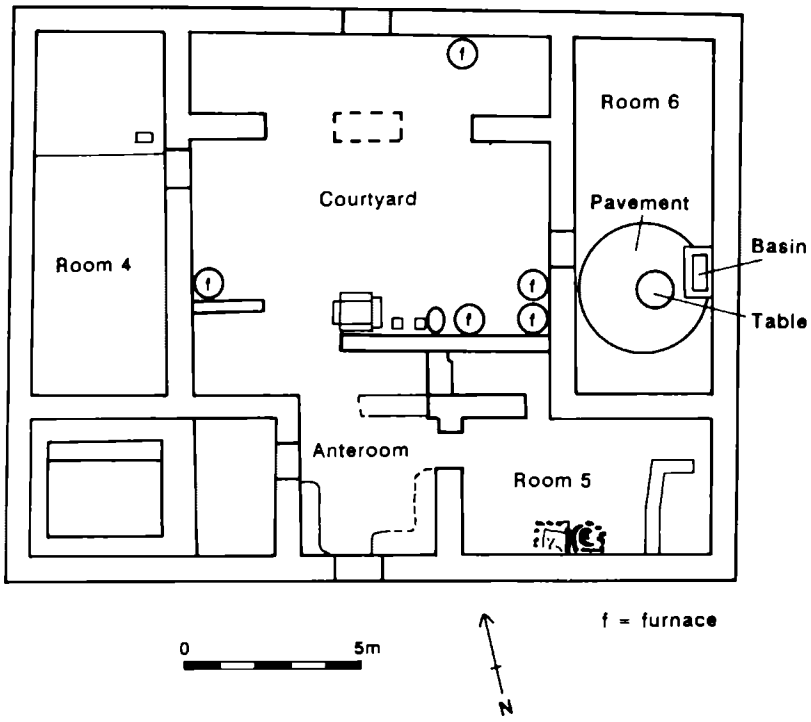
In one corner of the workshop area was a Hasmonean tower of well-cut ashlar blocks. This is the oldest preserved structure on the site. It served for protection as well as a strongroom for the *officina.*

Heaps of dates and lumps of bitumen attest to their use, while chemical analyses have detected the presence of etheric oils and resinous matters; these could be residues of balsamum and related substances.

The installation served, with minor changes, during three short periods: those of Herod, the first procurators, and Agrippas I up to 68 C.E. The workshop was roughly refurbished during the Bar Kokhba war (131/132–135 C.E.), after which it fell in permanent disuse.

B. The *Castellum*

The *castellum* was a typical *tetrapyrgos* (i.e., a square structure with four protruding towers). It was small but quite strong, guarding the oasis and its approaches. It measured 18 × 18 m, and its towers were about 6 × 6 m. The walls were about 1.90 m thick, and were built of rough ashlar faces with a rubble fill. The walls were preserved 5.80 m above the lowest floor and up to 8 m from the foundations. The deep foundations were an effort to reach a layer of hard gravel. To further strengthen the



ENB.01. Building plan of the officina (workshop) at En-Boqeq. *(Redrawn from M. Gichon,* EAEHL *2: 367)*

structure, its E half was filled with up to 2 m of hard pressed fine gravel beneath the lowest floor. All these were necessary precautions, since this region is susceptible to frequent earthquakes. The good state of preservation of the *castellum* attests to their success.

The two internal barrack blocks, one or two stories high, were built against the outer walls, thus strengthening them and providing additional space behind the ramparts (see Gichon 1987). The following four phases of occupation have been established for the *castellum:* (1) Constantius II (337–361) to the second third of the 4th century; (2) Valentianus (364–375) to the mid-5th century; (3) mid-5th century to the Persian invasion (613/14); and (4) Heraclius (628/29) to the Arab conquest (634/35).

C. Aqueducts and Plantations

The oasis was watered by a system of channels and cisterns fed by two aqueducts from the springs of Boqeq and Noith. The former was 1 km long, and its course was partly rock-hewn, and part was on a freestanding wall which bridged the 35 m wide, 12 m deep Nahal Boqeq; this supplied water to the *castellum.* Water from En Noith was undrinkable because of its mineral content. The Noith aqueduct was maintained throughout the whole Byzantine period to irrigate the plantations that had adapted to the mineral waters.

The plantations were partitioned into various-sized plots that covered the whole delta and some terraced slopes. The former were divided by dry walls up to 2 m high, with no openings; the sole access was by steps to the top and down again on the other side. The multiple enclosures seem to indicate that not all the plots were government owned, or that crown lands were leased out to private growers (cf. Yadin 1971: 128, 239). Whether the partitions were constructed only to guard the precious plants from wandering cattle, or also against theft or hostile inroads, can only be conjectured.

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MORDECHAI GICHON

EN-DOR (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên dōr; ʿên dôr; ʿên dōʾr*]. A town located in the vicinity of the Esdraelon Plain (the ancient Megiddo Plain). Since the spelling of the final element varies in Hebrew, the meaning of the name is not certain. The spellings *dōr* (Josh 17:11), and *dôr* (1 Sam 28:7) would seem to derive from the Hebrew root *dwr* and would yield a meaning "spring of settlement," or perhaps "spring of divine assembly" (Margalith 1985: 111). There is no root

dʾr in Hebrew, so the meaning of the third attested spelling (Ps 83:11 [—Eng 83:10]) is uncertain. It has been connected with the Greek tribal group the Dorians, on the presumption that a group of Dorian settlers settled beside a spring somewhere in the vicinity of the plain at the end of the LB or the beginning of the Iron I period (Brown 1981: 399; contrast Margalith 1985: 111).

The town is to be distinguished from its larger namesake, often qualified as NAPHOTH-DOR, a port located on the Mediterranean coast 20 km S of Haifa at the foot of the Carmel spur. The spelling of the latter site also fluctuates between *Dor* and *Doʾr*, and confusion between the two sites seems to have led to attempts to identify which "Dor" was intended in older texts where the qualifiers *ʿên* and *nāpat* were not used by appending them after the fact (so esp. Josh 12:23; Josh 17:11 and perhaps other texts where the qualifiers now appear).

En-dor is reported to have been the home of the medium whom Saul, the first king of Israel, was to have consulted on the eve of his final battle against Beth-shan (1 Sam 28:7). It is also named in Ps 83:11 (—Eng 83:10) as the site of Sisera's defeat by Barak. According to Judg 5:19, the same battle took place "at Taanach, by the waters of Megiddo"—outside of Taanach, in the Megiddo Plain, near the Kishon River. The implication in the prose account (Judg 4:12–16) that the battle site was further N, in the vicinity of Mt. Tabor, may have arisen from the interweaving of Barak's battle against Sisera with another battle in which the enemy confronted was Jabin, king of Hazor (cf. Josh 11:1–9; contrast Rainey 1985: 63*–65*). A generic Dor is listed in Judg 1:27 as a Manassite city that lay within the territory of Issachar. The list appears to be loosely arranged from E to W, so that Dor's position between Taanach and Ibleam would favor its equation with En-dor rather than Naphoth-dor. The same city list appears again in Josh 17:11, but with the variant spelling *dōʾr* instead of *dôr*, and with the expository expansion immediately following, "that is, the inhabitants of En-dor," introduced by the explicative *wāw* (for this device, see Kallai *HGB*, 258; contrast the proposal that the latter phrase arose through dittography by Margalith 1985: 111).

On the basis of the available evidence, no final decision can be made as to whether the site was located on the S or N side of the Esdraelon Plain, but two factors tend to favor a S location. The battle in Judg 5:19 was to have taken place in the immediate vicinity of Taanach, so the reported defeat at En-dor in Ps 83:11 should have been in the S end of the plain, and all the other sites named in the list in Judg 1:27 are located on the S side of the Esdraelon Plain, perhaps indicating that En-dor was too.

The site identification currently favored for En-dor is Kh. Ṣafṣâfeh (M.R. 187227), N of the Esdraelon Plain, on the N side of Nebi Dahi, ca. 6.7 km NE of modern Sôlem (i.e., Alt 1927: 41; Abel *GP* 2, 316; Zori 1952; Simons, *GTTOT* sec. 715; Aharoni *LBHG*, 434). This proposal has replaced the early equation with modern Indur, a few km SW of Ṣafṣâfeh, which was based on assumed name preservation and the 4th century C.E. testimony of Eusebius in his *Onomasticon* (Klostermann 1904: 34, 94). Archaeological survey work has ruled out Indur as a candidate, since no antiquities were found. Most recently, Tell el-ʿAjjūl (M.R. 185226) has been suggested as a viable candidate (Gal 1982: 85; Kallai, *HGB*, 175). As indicated above, however, a site on the S side of the Esdraelon Plain may be more consistent with the biblical evidence.

The narrative about Saul's final battle positions the Philistine army on the N side of the Esdraelon Plain at Shunem (modern Sôlem) on the evening of Saul's visit to En-dor and the Israelites on the S side of the plain, at the foot of Gilboa (1 Sam 28:4). According to the narrative, Saul would have had to cross behind enemy lines undetected to reach Ṣafṣâfeh or ʿAjjūl. The narrator's report in v 8 that he donned a disguise may therefore have had a twofold purpose: to lead the audience to believe that he needed it (1) to pass through the enemy ranks undetected and (2) to hide his true identity from the medium so that she would break his royal mandate and summon Samuel's dead spirit for him. Whether the author wanted to imply that Saul was risking his very life to go to En-dor to learn from the dead Samuel that he would die the next day is no longer clear to a modern audience for whom the location of En-dor is not common knowledge. It seems to be a possibility but is not a certainty. On the basis of 1 Sam 28:4–7, En-dor might just as logically be sought behind Saulide lines, on the S side of the plain, with the disguise intended to hide the king's identity from the medium.

Since according to the story Saul's trip to En-dor was to have been a secret known only to a few trusted servants, it is very unlikely that such a trip actually occurred the night before his death. Knowledge of a secret rendezvous would not have survived in sources to be "reenacted" by the "Deuteronomistic Historian" in his account of Israel's past. Nevertheless, the author of chap. 28 would have been familiar with the geographical setting in which he was recreating his fictionalized action, so that implications derived from the story as to En-dor's location can be deemed reliable for the author's own time frame.

A site in or near the S portion of the ancient Megiddo Plain, in the vicinity of the Kishon River, W of Ibleam, near a spring, and with evidence of Iron II occupation would be consistent with all the biblical evidence. All textual references to En-dor can arguably be dated to the Iron II period, so Iron I occupation does not seem to be a prerequisite. While Josh 1:27 and Judg 17:11 envision En-dor to have been a walled LB or Iron I site with dependent villages ("daughters") surrounding it, this characterization may not be reliable. It may have arisen from the use of the stereotypical description for all the sites, regardless of their size, and a retrojection or presumption of their existence "from of old."

Kh. Jadûrāh (M.R. 175213) suits the geographical context, but does not satisfy all the deduced criteria. While Iron II and Byzantine pottery has been found there during a single survey (Zori 1977: site 67), there is no spring in the immediate vicinity today. A non-perennial spring could have silted up over time, however. The site would only have housed a small village in the Iron II period, requiring one to discount the size implications from Josh 17:11 and Judg 1:27 as stereotyping. A second more promising candidate that meets all the specified criteria would be Tell Qedesh/Tell abu Qudeis (M.R. 170218). Surface survey has indicated more or less continuous occupation from the MB II period (Zori 1977: site 72), and a 12-day trial excavation in 1968 uncovered 5 strata span-

ning the Iron I, Iron II, Persian, and Late Roman periods in a probe trench that did not reach bedrock (Stern 1968). Two springs lay just outside the ruins to the NW. The site was a walled urban center during most of its existence, making it consistent with the descriptions in Judg 1:27 and Josh 17:11, although the reliability of the site characterizations in both lists needs careful consideration.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

EN-EGLAIM (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên ʿeglayim*]. A place apparently on the shore of the Dead Sea mentioned in Ezekiel's eschatological vision of the life-giving river flowing from the temple (Ezek 47:1–12). In that vision, the water flows S and E from Jerusalem (i.e., down the Kidron Valley) to the Arabah, freshening the once brackish water of the Dead Sea, which will then be so teeming with fish that "from En-gedi to En-eglaim it will be a place for the spreading of nets" (v 10). However, in Ezekiel's vision salt will remain in the swamps and marshes (v 11).

The location of En-gedi has never been doubted: it is identified with Ain Jidi (M.R. 187096) on the W shore of the Dead Sea about 9 miles N of the tip of the Lisan peninsula. The location of En-eglaim, however, is more problematic. Assuming that Ezekiel's vision was limited to only Cisjordanian reference points, many scholars have assumed that En-eglaim also lay on the W side of the Dead Sea. At one time, on linguistic grounds, it was identified with Ain Hujlah (M.R. 197136), about 3 miles N of the Dead Sea (however, this hardly seems to be a good place for "casting nets," and many scholars now identify this site [also, in part, on linguistic grounds] with Beth-hoglah). Another proposed identification has been Ain Feshkhah (M.R. 192122), on the W shore of the Dead Sea 16 miles N of En-gedi. In this view, Ezekiel envisioned a 16-mile-wide band of fresh water running across the Dead Sea, fed by the waters of the Kidron, with the salty marshes remaining intact N of Ain Feshkhah (and probably also S of En-gedi; Farmer 1956: 21).

However, the assumption that Ezekiel's perspective was parochially restricted to the W side of the Arabah can be questioned, and it is possible that En-eglaim was located somewhere on the E shore of the Dead Sea *opposite* En-gedi. This possibility has been enhanced by the discovery of a cache of mid-2d century A.D. documents from caves in the Judean desert. One of these documents, a Nabatean contract, mentions a place named *mḥwz ʿgltyn,* which has been associated with the biblical En-eglaim (Starky 1954: 167). A Hebrew document from this cache refers to two men "from Luhith which is in *mḥwz ʿgltyn,*" which is noteworthy because elsewhere (Isa 15:5) "Luhith" is associated with Zoar, Eglath-shelishiyah, and other Moabite places (including "Eglaim"; v 8) on the E side of the Dead Sea. Aramaic documents from this cache refer to this place simply as *mḥwz*², while Greek documents refer to it as *Kōmē Maōza* ("village of Maoza") and describe it as lying within the administrative district of Zoar, thus somewhere in the SE quadrant of the Dead Sea (Yadin 1962: especially 242 and 251; Polotsky 1967: 46, 50).

It is therefore possible that *Maōza, mḥwz*², *mḥwz ʿgltyn,* and En-eglaim are one and the same. It is furthermore possible that Ezekiel's En-eglaim is the same as Isaiah's Eglaim, which is cited apparently in poetic parallelism with Beer to define the extreme limits of Moabite territory (Isa 15:8). Beer is undoubtedly located N of the Arnon (wadi Mojib), thus Eglaim lies to the S. Eusebius (Klostermann ed., p. 36, lines 19–21) lists an *Agalleim* 8 (Roman) miles S of Areopolis (=Rabbah); if this is the same as biblical Eglaim it is located high on the Moabite plateau near Kerak (M.R. 217066), too far from Zoar to be associated with the *mḥwz ʿgltyn* of the 2d century and too far from the Dead Sea to be associated with the En-eglaim of Ezekiel 27. Aharoni (*LBHG,* 35), however, tentatively identified Eglaim with Mazra (M.R. 201078) on the shore of the Dead Sea on the NE end of the Lisan peninsula and therefore at the extreme SW corner of Moab, but still far enough S to be placed reasonably within an administrative district headquartered at Zoar in the 2d century A.D. If Mazra is (En-) Eglaim = *mḥwz ʿgltyn,* then Ezekiel envisioned the *entire* Dead Sea N of the Lisan (not just a 16 mile wide band extending from the wadi Kidron) being revived by the river flowing from the temple, with salt residues remaining only in the marshy area S of the Lisan.

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GARY A. HERION

EN-GANNIM (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên gannîm*]. The fourth levitical city in the tribe of Issachar, mentioned only once in the Bible (Josh 21:29). It does not have a parallel in 1 Chronicles; instead ANEM is the fourth city in that list (6:58—Eng 6:73).

There is much disagreement about the identification of En-Gannim. Robinson (1841: 156) first suggested that the city should be associated with Jenin, but Jenin is clearly located in the tribe of Manasseh, only 2 km NE of Khirbet Belʿameh, a city that has been identified with the levitical city Ibleam. Because of Jenin's location, two other cities have been identified with En-gannim: En-onam (modern Olam) and Khirbet Beit Jann.

ʿÔlām (M.R. 197230) was identified as En-gannim by Albright (1926: 232) as a result of his text-critical work. Albright had argued that there was a corruption in the name as reflected in two different readings between the Joshua and 1 Chronicles texts and that the name should have been En-onam. ʿÔlām is 2 km SE of Tell Hadeṭeh/Tell ʿên-Haddah and only 5 km from the Jordan rift. North of ʿÔlām the slope drops decidedly into a narrow, cultivated ravine. Saarisalo (1927–28: 63) described this ravine as flowing to Wadi eš-Šerrâr. ʿÔlām was near the trunk road running from Damascus to Egypt via Megiddo, providing it with ready access to other parts of Galilee as well as to the Mediterranean. The deep valleys around ʿÔlām contributed to an easy access to the site. It is believed that Eusebius identified ʿÔlām as Ullama (*ʾAulam*) in the *Onomasticon* (140: 17).

The first pottery found was identified by Albright as belonging to the Roman/Byzantine and Arabic periods and possibly some dating to the early Iron Age I. When the inspection visits were made by the Palestine Department of Antiquities (Makhouly 1927) and by the levitical city survey team (Peterson 1977: 186–201), the pottery found was also exclusively Roman/Byzantine and Arab. It has been suggested that Albright's early Iron I assignment was based on a fine burnish ware that appears in the Roman period as well as in Early Iron I. From all the survey pottery evidence, it does not seem that ʿÔlām had an occupation before the Roman period. If this is so, then another site for En-gannim in Issachar must be found.

Over a century ago, Guérin (1880: 83) pointed out the similarity in the names between the biblical city En-gannim and the Galilee village Beit Jann. Aharoni (*LBHG*, 376) has followed this identification, suggesting that En-gannim should be provisionally identified with Khirbet Beit Jann, a site clearly situated on the NE border of Issachar (M.R. 196235), 1.5 km from Kh. Artushah at the mouth of Wadi Sarunah, where it emerges into the plain. Immediately to the W of the tell is the village of Bet-gan, bearing the ancient name of its neighboring ruin. It is only 7 km due W of the Sea of Galilee, but the altitude is much higher because of the mountains near the lake. The mound is about a km E of *Har Yabneel;* consequently Beit Jann looks over the plain to the E and has a good view to the N and S along *Har Yabneel.* It is on a strategic pass from Mt. Tabor to the Sea of Galilee. The occupational history of Kh. Beit Jann includes EB I and II, LB, possible Iron I, an abundance of Iron II, particularly the 8th century, Roman, Byzantine, and Early and Late Arabic (Porath 1971).

The one unresolved question concerning this site is whether or not a linguistic association can be made between biblical En-gannim and the village Beit Jann. From an archaeological point of view the evidence supports an Iron Age occupation (and earlier) at Beit Jann, while at ʿÔlām there is no such corroboration. The location of Beit Jann is also more accessible since it is directly on a trunk route. Nevertheless, to accept Beit Jann as biblical En-gannim does not deal with the 1 Chronicles 6 problem, but even Albright (1945: 70–71) admitted the solution to this question was "more ingenious than convincing."

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JOHN L. PETERSON

EN-GEDI (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên-gedî*]. An oasis midway down the W shore of the Dead Sea, about 35 miles SE of Jerusalem (Gold *IDB* 2: 102; M.R. 187096). This oasis is fed by a spring located on the lower slope of the cliff which rises from the Dead Sea; there are other springs nearby. The name "En-gedi" means "spring of the young goat" or "spring of the kid." Its long usefulness as an oasis is attested to by a temple that has been uncovered which dates from the 4th millennium B.C.E. (Ussishkin 1971). En-gedi later served as a stronghold in the Herodian period, ca. 50–60 C.E. (Mazar 1967a: 86; 1967b: 141–42). The oasis also contained a bathhouse in the Roman period, and a synagogue existed at the turn of the 6th century C.E. (Barag and Mazar, *EAEHL* 2: 377–79).

In strata dating from OT times, excavations at Tell el-Jurn within the oasis have uncovered buildings dated to the turn of the 6th century B.C.E., ca. 625–580 B.C.E. and a larger settlement in the Persian period, ca. 400 B.C.E. (*EAEHL* 2, 373–75).

En-gedi is spoken of in the OT both as a place whose springs created a fertile oasis and as a military stronghold. The Song of Solomon (1:14) speaks lovingly of the "gardens of En-gedi," while in Ecclesiasticus, the figure of Wisdom speaks of herself as having grown tall or been exalted "like a palm tree in En-gedi" (24:14; cf. Pope *Song of Songs* AB, 354–55). Josephus (*Ant* 9.1.2) also praises En-gedi for its palm trees and balsam. Indeed, Mazar (*EAEHL* 2, 373) supposes that ovens and pottery unearthed at Tell el-Jurn were used for the production of perfume.

As for the military side of En-gedi's history, 1 Sam 24:1 (—Eng 23:29) speaks of David in his period of flight from Saul as dwelling in the "strongholds of En-gedi." It is to this place that Saul pursues David (1 Sam 24:2—Eng 24:1) and here that David cuts off a section of Saul's robe instead of killing the king (1 Sam 24:5b–8—Eng 24:4b–7). 2 Chr 20:2, in relating the story of Jehoshaphat's battle against a coalition of Moabites, Ammonites, and Meunites, equates Hazazon-Tamar with En-gedi and says that the enemies of Israel gathered themselves for battle there. Hazazon-Tamar is spoken of as an Amorite stronghold in Gen 14:7, the story of Abraham's rescue of his nephew Lot from an alliance of eastern kings.

En-gedi is assigned in the allotment of tribal territories to the wilderness district of Judah (Josh 15:62).

The enduring quality of Israel's portrayal of En-gedi is apparent in Ezekiel, where En-gedi is named along with

EN-EGLAIM as proverbial boundaries of the Dead Sea in the prophet's vision of the salty Dead Sea turned fresh and teeming with fish by the stream of water which will flow from the temple at the restoration of Israel (Ezek 47:10).

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JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

EN-HADDAH (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên ḥaddâ*]. A town in the territory of the tribe of Issachar, mentioned only in Josh 19:21. The site is generally located at the former village of el-Hadatheh (M.R. 196232), now named Tel en-Hadda on modern maps (*LBHG*, 434). This identification is based upon the similarity in the names, the order in which the towns are listed in the passage in Joshua 19, and the assumption that all the towns listed were located between Mt. Tabor (M.R. 187232) and the Jordan River. Kallai (1986: 476) questions the identification, since he would prefer to locate the town of Shahazumeh at Tel en-Hadda (*HGB*, 476), but his suggestion has not been accepted by other researchers.

MELVIN HUNT

EN-HAKKORE (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên haqqôrē᾽*]. A name of a spring in an unknown location. The phrase, a *hapax legomenon*, is found only in Judg 15:19 as "the spring of the invoker," based on Samson's "call" to God to quench his thirst and God's miraculous provision of a spring of water. An alternate etymology arises if one associates the name of the spring with that of a bird, *qôrē᾽*, identified "usually as a partridge" (KB, 851, I; cf. 1 Sam 26:20). Burney (1970: 375) suggests that *qôrē᾽* likely refers to the quail (usually Heb *sĕlāw*). While springs and fountains in Scripture often have animal names (cf. KB 1958: 699–700), there is no apparent connection between Samson's tale and the *qôrē᾽*, "partridge." There is even less reason to believe that the *qôrē᾽* refers to *sĕlāw*, "quail," since the Bible employs both names and clearly differentiates between the two. The text suggests, instead, an explanation based on Samson's "call" to God.

The ancient translations (of Judg 15:19) provide the following insights. The LXX identifies the spring as bursting forth from a "pond" (Gk *lakkos*) in the "jawbone" (Gk *siagōn*). See also LEHI. The Aramaic Targum (Sperber 1959: 79) notes that the spring emerged from a "tooth" (*kakkā᾽*) "in the jaw" (*bĕlôʿā᾽*). Because the Babylonian Aramaic *kakkâ᾽* is related to Akk *kakku*, "weapon," the point of the Targumic passage may be that the spring gushed from Samson's weapon, the jawbone of a donkey. See RAMATH-LEHI. The Vg reflects this approach by indicating that the water sprang out of the molar in *"maxilla asini,"* "the jawbone of the donkey." Thus the ancient translations associate En-hakkore with a miracle, rather than with a specific topographical entity.

Despite this, during Jerome's times (ca. 400 C.E.) the spring was believed to exist in the vicinity of Eleutheropolis (Robinson and Smith 1860: 64). Modern attempts to identify the spring have thus far been unsuccessful. Guerin's (1868: 318) suggestion of Kh. ʿAin el-Lehî NW of Bethlehem is too far away for Samson's activities. Similarly, *ʿuyûn qara*, the "fountains of *qara*" (whatever *qara* means), is not a convincing identification (Buhl 1896: 90–91; Naor 1954: 147–48). If indeed the tradition of the ancient translators is true, the search for a specific topographical spring may be pointless and futile.

The extensive use of paronomasia in the Samson tales supports this view. The narrator intended a pun when citing *leḥî* twice in verse 19. The source of water was from the *leḥî*, the jaw, and the name *ʿên haqqôrē᾽* was given to commemorate the event at a particular spot, but not necessarily to name an existing spring. The location of the occurrence was *balleḥî*, "in the *leḥî*," which here means "along the border" (see LEHI) where two other of Samson's campaigns against the Philistines took place.

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MEIR LUBETSKI

EN-HAZOR (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên ḥāṣôr*]. A fortified town of Naphtali, mentioned between Edrei and Yiron (Josh 19:37). It has been proposed that it can be identified as *ʿn-y*, referred to in the town list of Tutmoses III. Its location is not certain. Some scholars have placed it at Khirbet el-Hasireh in Upper Galilee (modern Khorvat Hadran; M.R. 179271). However, archaeological surveys there have shown that Khirbet el-Hasireh was not settled before the Roman period. Aharoni (LBHG, 150; *EncMiqr* 6: 210) suggested that it may be identified with the modern Ainatha (M.R. 191281) near Bint Jbeil in S Lebanon.

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RAMI ARAV

EN-NASBEH, TELL. See NASBEH, TELL EN-.

EN-RIMMON (PLACE). See RIMMON (PLACE).

EN-ROGEL (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên rōgēl*]. Spring on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin (Josh 15:7; 18:16). The name most likely means "spring of the treader, fuller,

or cleaner (of clothes, i.e., at a spring)." The boundary itself, from the standpoint of Judah, runs from En-rogel up the Hinnom Valley along the S slope of the Jebusite city, Jerusalem (15:7). From the standpoint of Benjamin, it goes down to the foot of the hill facing the Himmon Valley, then down this valley along the S slope of the Jebusite city (Jerusalem) to En-Rogel (18:16). Thus the location of the site is pinpointed to be S, ca. 200 m (ca. 600 feet), just below the confluence of the Hinnom and Kidron Valleys as they join to become the lower course of the Kidron (Wadi en Nar), which then proceeds through the Wilderness of Judea to the Dead Sea. En-rogel, then (if the modern identification is correct), is just a short distance (ca. 650 m, ca. 2150 feet) S of the Spring Gihon located at the foot of the E slope of the City of David. 2 Sam 17:17 reports that Jonathan, son of Abiathar the priest, and Ahimaaz, son of Zadok the priest (2 Sam 15:35–36), were stationed at En-rogel to pass on to King David the news they would hear about the rebellion of Absalom David's son, coming from the palace at the City of David near the Spring Gihon. A little later we are told that at the Stone of Zoheleth beside En-rogel, Adonijah, David's fourth son, who aspired to be king, sacrificed sheep, cattle, and fattened calves to enhance his cause (1 Kgs 1:9).

En-rogel—Bir Ayyub ("Job's Well") in Arabic—then, near the junction of the Hinnom and Kidron and about 90 feet lower than Gihon—provided an additional water source for Jerusalem (En-rogel may share the same underground water source as Gihon). The lower part of the spring or well, 31 feet deep, is made of large, rough-hewn stones, with the upper section extending up from this lower part about 41 feet. It may be that the original spring was covered over in the earthquake in the days of Uzziah (Amos 1:1; Zech 14:5; *Ant* 9.225) (Mazar 1975: 157–58). The water comes out of a cave at the bottom of the well and, at the time of the winter rains, overflows into this upper section; the waters from the well must have helped water the gardens, such as the King's Garden (2 Kgs 25:4; Neh 3:15), in the valley (Mare 1987: 108). Some feel En-rogel may be the same as the "Jackal Well" of Neh 2:13, (Simons 1952: 161); others associate it with the Fountain Gate (Neh 3:15).

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W. HAROLD MARE

EN-SHADUD (M.R. 172229). Adjacent to a perennial spring located on the N-central slope of the Jezreel Valley at the foot of the Nazareth mountains, the site has a modern name derived from the Hebrew word for spring (*En*) combined with the name of the nearby Tel Shadud.

Blanketed by as much as 1 m of alluvium, the low-lying site was apparently quite extensive, covering a wide swath of the valley slope up to and beyond the tell some 200 m to the W. The abundant water supply from the spring and annual rains, a mild climate, and large tracts of arable land in the valley favored settlement at this site.

In salvage excavations directed by E. Braun and S. Gibson (Braun and Gibson 1984), initiated when modern construction activity uncovered some of the remains of the ancient buildings, two strata were uncovered. The earlier, Stratum II, founded on virgin soil, was represented by a number of partially preserved rectangular houses including several with features common to the EB Age such as pebbled and cobbled floors, stone pillar bases, and internal benches.

Stratum I, constructed above and occasionally reusing the earlier walls, showed some continuation of the preceding architectural traditions but is notable for the addition of an unusual sausage-shaped structure and the appearance of rounded corners in rectilinear buildings, suggesting new architectural influences.

The pottery associated with both strata is virtually identical, suggesting a continuous and probably relatively short-lived occupation. The majority of vessels are of light colored ware painted red or in the grain wash style. Rarer are finely made gray-burnished or Esdraelon Ware bowls, probably in forms attributable to the later development of this style. A few special finds include cylinder seal impressions, which have almost exact parallels at Megiddo (Stages IV and V) suggesting direct trade links, perhaps through the medium of an itinerant potter.

En Shadud was a farming community of food producers with evidence found in the flint tool kit for the reaping of cereals. A study of the faunal remains suggests that the inhabitants were also herders of sheep, goats, cattle, swine, and perhaps ass. The presence of Canaanean flint blades, some unused, without the blade cores, suggests that the village was capable of producing sufficient food surpluses to stimulate trade.

Sometime in the EB I period the low-lying village was completely and apparently peacefully abandoned with the permanent settlement shrinking to the area of the small nearby tell perched on a protruding hump of bedrock. Perhaps marshy conditions prevailed which might account for the serious warping of the strata of the site encountered in the excavation. Whatever the ultimate reason, despite the seemingly favorable factors for population development, the site never again attracted any sizable settlement, although there is evidence for occupation on the tell for the EB II, MB, LB, Iron II, Roman, and Byzantine periods as well as finds from the Middle Ages.

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ELIOT BRAUN

EN-SHEMESH (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên šemeš*]. A town on the border between Judah and Benjamin (Josh 15:7; 18:17). It is usually identified with Ein Haud (M.R. 175131), on the road between Bethany and Jericho 2 miles due E of Jerusalem.

EN-TAPPUAH (PLACE). See TAPPUAH (PLACE).

ENAIM (PLACE) [Heb *ʿênayim*]. Place "on the way to Timnah" where the sexual encounter between Tamar and her father-in-law, Judah, took place (Gen 38:14, 21). Its occurrence in the phrase of v 14, *bĕpetaḥ ʿênayim*, has been interpreted either, following the Targums, the Peshitta, and the Vulgate, as a reference to a fork in the road or crossroads (hence the NEB translation "where the road forks in two directions"), or, following the LXX, as a place-name (generating such translations as "entrance to Enaim" (JPSV) or "gate of Enaim" (RSV)). KJV simply translates "in an open place." The occurrence in v 21 of *ʿênayim* by itself, however, supports the latter interpretation as a place-name, possibly taken from nearby springs. Many scholars have equated Enaim with Enam in Josh 15:34, and locations in the Shephelah, either between Zanoah and Jarmuth in Nahal Yarmut (Wâdi Bûlus) or in the vicinity of the Vale of Elah, have been suggested.

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GARY H. OLLER

ENAM (PLACE) [Heb *ʿênām*]. Town situated in the Shephelah, or lowlands, of Judah (Josh 15:34), within the same district as Azekah, Zanoah, and Socoh. The only reference to this settlement, whose name perhaps means "two springs," occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The location of the ancient settlement is uncertain. It may be the same place as Enaim.

WADE R. KOTTER

ENAN (PERSON) [*ʿênān*]. Father of the chief (*nāśî*, Num 2:29) Ahira of the tribe of Naphtali. Each of the five times that Enan is mentioned in the OT occurs in a tribal list where his mark of distinction is his status as the father of Ahira. Under the leadership of Enan's son Ahira, the tribe of Naphtali participated in the census of Israelite men able to go to war conducted by Moses (Num 1:15, 42–43), presented its offerings on the final day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (Num 7:78, 83), took its proper place on the north side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (Num 2:29), and assumed its position in the order of march at the Israelites' departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:27). The name Enan is a hypocorism which seems to mean "(God's) spring (of water)" and may have originated, as Noth (*IPN*, 224) contends, as a metaphor for the delight and joy the parents felt at the birth of their child.

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

ENCHANTER/ENCHANTMENTS. See MAGIC (OT).

ENCOMIUM [Gk *enkōmion*]. The encomium was a rhetorical device that has been described as an elementary exercise commonly mastered in Greco-Roman schools of rhetoric. Although the rhetoricians included discussions for writing encomia under the Epideictic (display) division of oratory, its impact upon the Deliberative (legislative) and Forensic (judicial) divisions is readily evident. The encomium played a pivotal role in the development and use of portraiture in all types of literature produced during the Greco-Roman period.

While the encomium could be either a praise or an invective treatise, the primary purpose was that of praise. According to the rhetoricians, suitable subjects for the encomium included persons, cities, things; i.e., any subject an author might select. Lucian of Samosata, for example, wrote an encomium to a fly. Whereas Lucian's effort reflected his negative view of the device, such treatises were intended to demonstrate the author's rhetorical skill by concentrating on the degree of difficulty inherent in the subject chosen for praise.

Rhetorical discussions of encomium writing are found in the *Rhetorica* by Aristotle, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* (author unknown, though attributed to Aristotle), *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (attributed to Cicero), *De Partitione Oratoria* (Cicero), *Institutio oratoria* (Quintilian), and the works of Theon and Hermogenes. Though this list is more representative than exhaustive, the examples cited encompass prominent Greek and Roman literary traditions and span five centuries of rhetorical activity (4th century B.C.–1st century A.D.).

The rhetorical schools detailed precise rules for writing encomia. Quintilian's rules, for example, are representative (*Inst.* 3.7.10–18). Encomia that praise persons are to include signs or prophecies which anticipate the birth of the subject and significant events that occur on the occasion of birth. References to the person's country, parents, and ancestors may convey praise, as do accounts of his childhood and youth accomplishments. The author will then present the subject's adult career and offer accounts that give evidence of his praiseworthiness. The nature of the evidence depends upon the subject's vocation: i.e., battles for praising the soldier/general, laws for the ruler, orations for the orator, and the like. Next, the description of death with attention to how the subject stood in death is appropriate. Finally, praise is derived from events occurring both at the time of death (e.g., as signs or events of nature) and after death (e.g., resurrection accounts or festival celebrations in honor of the subject). In each instance, praise of the adult is the primary focus, and the author is free to select those topics which best serve this encomiastic purpose.

Literary techniques are also specified. Amplification by way of exaggeration or embellishment is important to the writer of encomia. Amplification involves the selection of those events which best reflect the character of the subject, even to the point of attributing events or actions to a subject that have not occurred, if they are the kind in which the subject might have been involved. Comparison is also an important technique. Literary comparison with other personages demonstrate the superiority and excellence of the chosen subject.

Extant texts illustrate the rigor by which the rules are followed. For example, Isocrates's *Helen*, *Busiris*, and *Evagoras* may vary with respect to the specific topics chosen

for portrayal, but they mirror rhetorical encomium prescriptions. Xenophon's *Agelilaus* also presents the model. Other ancient works of portraiture reflect close affinity with the encomium but also give evidence of more fluidity of form and variation of purpose. Examples of this type include Philo's *Vita Mosis*, Tacitus's *Agricola*, Lucian's *Demonax*, and some of the lives by Suetonius and Plutarch.

Further evidence for the fluidity of the form and the popular use (or misuse, as Lucian argues) appears in those works which contrast portraiture with history and in Lucian's invective treatise *How to Write History*. Polybius (*The Histories* 10.21.8), Cicero (*Fam.* 5.12.3), and Plutarch (*Alex.* 1.1–3) distinguish between tasks of positive or praise portraiture from the recording of events. Lucian likewise attacks those "historians" who praise at the expense of the accurate recording of events. In such works as these, one sees both the influence of this popular rhetorical device and the tensions the encomium produces, praise purposes which will move subsequent periods to further refine the art of literary portraiture.

The relevance of encomium writing for biblical studies has recently focused on discussions of the genre of the canonical gospels. Whereas there is currently a general willingness to admit the biographical nature of these biblical writings, the identification of the gospels with specific *bios* ("life") categories remains tenuous and the question continues to be the object of open discussion. See GOSPEL GENRE.

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PHILIP L. SHULER

ENCRATISM. The advocacy of a harsh discipline of the body, especially in regard to sexual activity, diet, and the use of alcoholic beverages. The word is derived from the Greek *enkrateia*, which has a basic meaning of "self-control." While the term had some significance in Greek philosophical usage and appears occasionally in the LXX and NT, its most familiar association is with early Christian groups practicing such disciplinary observances as celibacy, abstinence from wine, and vegetarianism (a triad familiar in the history of religions to this day). Most notable among these groups is an early Christian community called Encratites, said to have been founded by Tatian, the pupil of Justin Martyr.

In discussions of ancient Greek philosophy *enkrateia* referred to self-mastery in relation to the desire for food, drink, sex, or sleep as well as the hardships of heat, cold, or drudgery (*Xen. Mem.* 2.1.1). The ability of Socrates not only to resist sexual attraction but also to endure physical hardship is an example admired by Plato (*Symp.* 219–20). Aristotle defines the virtue at length in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (7.1–10. 1145a–1152b). Naturally, *enkrateia* was a highly prized virtue among the Stoics.

The relatively few places where *enkrateia* is used in the LXX are mainly in the Wisdom literature and reflect the influence of Hellenistic asceticism. The term is not used in the Gospels. Paul uses it for the self-discipline of athletes (1 Cor 9:25), and it appears in the list of virtues in Gal 5:23. Exercising self-control is contrasted to marrying in 1 Cor 7:9, but the perspective is obviously eschatological and, in any case, Paul is stating a preference rather than a command. More typically Hellenistic usages occur in Acts 24:25, 2 Pet 1:6, and Titus 1:8.

As might be expected, Philo has great affection for the ideal of *enkrateia*. It also appears that the main community at Qumran practiced celibacy, although the skeletons of women and children have been found in some of the adjuncts to the main cemetery there, suggesting that it was not practiced by all community members. A number of scholars have considered the asceticism of Qumran to have been a major influence on Jewish Christianity and have used this theory to account for the severe asceticism that characterized early Christianity in Mesopotamia. Two facts stand in the way of this interpretation: (1) the Jewish communities from whom the first Christian converts in Mesopotamia were drawn were very hellenized and showed little Palestinian sectarian influence, and (2) a demonstration of the origins of the initial impulse to this asceticism would not explain why it was so dispersed through the area and lasted so long.

While early Mesopotamian Christianity as a whole was characterized by encratic tendencies, such tendencies were common elsewhere in the late Roman and early Byzantine period. There was a general mood, though not a movement, of popular encratism which extended from Mesopotamia to the Coptic monks, male and female, in the Nile river valley.

Little is known about an organized sect of Encratites. The credit for founding such a group is given to Tatian by Irenaeus, who says that they rejected marriage, abstained from meat, and denied the salvation of Adam (*Haer.* 1.28). The heresies of which Irenaeus accused Tatian do not appear in Tatian's *Oration Against the Greeks*, but there is no reason to doubt that after Justin's death (ca. 165) Tatian returned to his Mesopotamian homeland and fell into an extremely ascetic form of Christian practice and teaching there. Certainly the fragments that have remained of Tatian's other works support this view and Tatian's *Diatessaron* contains what are described as "encratite glosses," or ad-

ditions to the biblical text. Regarding Tatian, Hippolytus seems to have no information not derived from Irenaeus and he does not even connect Tatian explicitly with the Encratites. He does say of both that they were Cynics and not Christians (*Haer.* 8.9, 13 and X.14). While virtually nothing is known about the sect, it must have shared the asceticism reflected in documents of other early Christian groups in Mesopotamia, documents as diverse as *The Gospel of Thomas, The Acts of Thomas, The Odes of Solomon, The Gospel of Philip,* and the works of the Marcionites, the Quqites (with significant differences), and the Manichaeans.

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O. C. EDWARDS, JR.

ENEMESSAR (PERSON) [Gk *Eneméssar(os)*]. The name of an Assyrian king in the book of Tobit during whose reign Tobit was taken into captivity (1:2). His successor is said to have been his son Sennachereim (Sennacherib; Tob 1:15), who in turn was followed on the throne by Sacherdonos (Esarhaddon; 1:21). The Vulgate reads Salmanassar throughout (1:2, 15, 16).

No king named Enemessar is otherwise attested. Since according to Assyrian sources Shalmaneser (V) was followed by Sargon (II), who was succeeded by his son Sennacherib, scholars have tried to see in Enemessar either a corruption of Shalmaneser or some reference to Sargon. To the latter belong the suggestions (1) that the name is an inversion of Assyrian Sarru-ukkin said to mean "legitimate king," adopted by Sargon who was a usurper, and (2) that it is an otherwise unrecorded private name of Sargon for Anumasir "Anu is gracious." In support of the former it has been suggested (1) that Enemessar derives from Senemessar, with a loss of *l* and transposition of *m* and *n*, and (2) that *shal-* was dropped and *m* and *n* were transposed. Corruption of the name would seem to be the better explanation, though it is not possible to trace all its stages. Transposition of *m* and *n* becomes the more plausible when one notes a similar metathesis in *sacherdonos*. Elsewhere in the LXX, Heb *ʾsr-ḥdn* is transliterated by some such form as *asordan* (2 Kgs 19:37; Isa 37:38; Ezra 4:2). It should come as no surprise that a romance written some centuries after its fictive date might make a mistake on the succession of Assyrian kings.

ALBERT PIETERSMA

ENGINE. See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE. See the VERSIONS, ENGLISH articles.

ENGRAVING. See JEWELRY, ANCIENT ISRAELITE.

ENLIL (DEITY). The principal god of the Sumerians, attested as early as 2500 B.C., in the cuneiform tablets from Fara near Nippur (Sum EN.LÍL). His principal cult center was at Nippur, the Sumerian religious and cultural capital. His great temple there, called the Ekur, was considered to be the assembly hall of the gods.

Although Enlil's father An was the nominal head of the Mesopotamian pantheons, his embodiment of authority was rather static, and Enlil was de facto the most important deity, representing activity and direct engagement with the human world. In this regard, the relationship between Mesopotamian An and Enlil was similar to that between Canaanite El and Baal.

In the mythology, Enlil is allotted the earth as his domain, but he was also considered to have mastery over the moisture-bearing spring winds, and in the earliest periods Enlil was primarily a god of agriculture and productivity. He caused trees and plants to spring up from the earth and fashioned agricultural implements for humankind to use in tending them. His name was invoked in prayers for abundance and prosperity.

By the second millennium B.C., the Assyrians and Babylonians attributed to Enlil a gradually more cosmic role. He became more explicitly a wise father figure, ordering and presiding over creation. Alternately he executed the collective will of the gods toward the universe or assigned to them specific tasks to be done. Eventually he came to embody the very notion of kingship and was the source of it among all of humanity. Kingship and authority were called in Akk *ellilûtu* (<**enlilûtu*), "Enlil-ship."

Later texts, especially of the first millennium B.C., begin to assign progressively more negative traits to Enlil: he brings destruction, famine, chaos. This negative aspect, however, has probably been exaggerated in some recent studies. (See discussion in Kramer 1963: 119).

Enlil's consort was Ninlil, and among their offspring were Ninurta, god of the plow and of spring thundershowers, Nergal, lord of the underworld, and Nanna-Suʾen, the moon god who was, in turn, father of Utu, the sun god. Enlil's preeminence in the Mesopotamian pantheon was gradually replaced by Marduk among the Babylonians and Ashur among the Assyrians.

Enlil was prominent in many ancient hymns and tales. His role varies in the major Deluge traditions (i.e., in the Sumerian Flood Story, Gilgamesh Tablet XI, and Atraḫāsis), but in general he is the agent of the floods, sent because the gods are bothered by human noise. (See Jacobsen 1976: 118–21).

The *Hymn to Enlil* (Jacobsen 1976: 100–101), akin in style and content to Ps 104 and to the *Hymn to Aton* (*ANET*, 369–71), proclaims that nothing can happen in the universe without Enlil's participation. There are at least two hymns to Enlil and Ninlil, and Enlil plays a part in the Journey of Nanna to Nippur and in the Descent of Inanna

as well as in many other Mesopotamian texts. In the famous creation story *Enūma eliš*, Ashur is the force in creation in the Assyrian version and Marduk in the Babylonian, but some have suggested that these versions both reflect an earlier common tradition where the god was Enlil.

The lore about Enlil was well known at the Canaanite city of Ugarit and presumably at other Canaanite sites at least by the middle of the second millennium B.C. The Hurrians were probably the transmitters of these and other major Mesopotamian religious ideas to the Mediterranean coast and into the cultural and literary milieu of the Bible (see Fulco *EncRel* 6: 533–35).

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WILLIAM J. FULCO

ENOCH (PERSON) [Heb *ḥănôk*]. **1.** Son of Cain and father of Irad (Gen 4:17–18). The genealogical context suggests that Enoch (rather than Cain) may have been the builder of the city which he named after his son, Irad (Cassuto 1961: 229–31; *GHBW*, 139–41; Sasson 1978: 174; Miller 1985: 241–42 n. 9; but cf. Sawyer 1986: 164).

2. Son of Jared, born when Jared was 162 years old (Gen 5:18), and at 65 years, father of Methuselah (Gen 5:21). Enoch lived 365 years, "walked with God" (cf. also Noah in Gen 6:9), and was taken by God (Gen 5:22–24).

The name Enoch may be derived from the West Semitic root *ḥnk*, "to introduce, initiate" (Reif 1972; *TWAT* 3/1: 20–22). See HANUKKAH, which shares the same root. It has been suggested that the name Enoch means "founder," on the basis of its association with the founding of the first city in Gen 4:17 (Westermann 1984: 327), or "initiate," on the basis of the non-canonical traditions about Enoch's introduction into the mysteries of the world (see VanderKam 1984).

As the first biblical character to forgo death, Enoch had a unique relationship with God. This direct and continuous relationship may be the meaning of the phrase "walked with *hā'ĕlōhîm*," though others have found here a reference to Enoch's association with angels. As the seventh in the line from Adam (Sasson 1978), Enoch's life of piety is a contrast with the seventh in the line of Cain, whose life is one of bloodshed (Gen 4:23–24). Further, the tradition of acquisition of heavenly wisdom, which lies behind the prophecies of *1 Enoch* and of Jude 24, contrasts with the earthly wisdom of Lamech (cf. Reiner 1961), seventh in the line of Cain.

Enoch's life of 365 years is unusually brief for the members of the Sethite genealogy. It may suggest associations with the solar year (i.e., 365 days); in this regard, Enoch has been compared with Enmeduranki, a figure taught divinatory rites by the sun god and usually listed as seventh on Mesopotamian antediluvian king lists (VanderKam 1984: 33–52; Lambert 1967). However, a closer comparison exists with Enmeduranki's adviser Utuabzu (seventh and last in the *bīt mēseri* list of antediluvian sages), of whom it is also said that he ascended to heaven (Borger 1974: 192–93).

In the NT, Enoch is portrayed as an individual who possessed faith and pleased God, so that he did not die (Heb 11:5–6); his prophecy in Jude 14–15 is a quotation from *1 En.* 1:9. The quotations of Genesis 6 that are found in the book of *1 Enoch* argue against Milik's hypothesis that the Genesis 6 material is dependent upon *1 Enoch* (1976: 30–31; cf. Black 1985: 24–25; 1987). Parallel themes in Mesopotamian myths may suggest other sources for the pseudepigraphic traditions (Grelot 1958: 24–25).

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RICHARD S. HESS

ENOCH, FIRST BOOK OF. A collection of traditions and writings composed between the 4th century B.C.E. and the turn of the era, mainly in the name of Enoch, the son of Jared (Gen 5:21–24). The collection, which is roughly the length of the Book of Isaiah, is extant in its entirety only in a Ge'ez (ancient Ethiopic) translation of a Greek translation of Aramaic originals which are attested, nonetheless, by manuscript fragments from the Qumran caves (see B below).

The Enochic corpus claims to be a series of revelations which Enoch received in antiquity and transmitted to his son Methuselah for the benefit of the righteous who would live in the end times. Its major subject matter is twofold: the nature and implications of the created structure of the cosmos and the origin, nature, consequences, and final judgment of evil and sin.

The figure of Enoch portrayed in the various strata of this collection is much more complex than the prototypical righteous person suggested in Genesis. He is variously seer, sage, scribe, priest (or at least mediator), and eschatological judge.

Three myths govern the exposition in *1 Enoch*. The primary myth, rooted in Gen 5:21–24 and its Mesopotamian sources, is concerned with Enoch's journeys to the heavenly throne room and through the cosmos and the wisdom that was revealed to him during these excursions. Two other myths posit different scenarios for a primordial heavenly revolt that has had long-lasting evil consequences for the human race. In tension with these latter two myths, however, is the prevailing assumption that human beings are accountable for their conduct and for their positive or negative response to the revelations contained in this book.

In order to trace the development of the diverse but related traditions that have been collected in *1 Enoch*, this exposition will follow what appears to have been the order of their composition.

A. The Component Parts of *1 Enoch*
1. The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries (Chaps. 72–82)
2. The Book of the Watchers (Chaps. 1–36)
3. Enoch's Two Dream Visions (Chaps. 83–90)
4. Two Pieces of Testamentary Narrative (81:1–82:3; 91)
5. The Epistle of Enoch (Chaps. 92–105)
6. An Account of Noah's Birth (Chaps. 106–7)
7. Another Book by Enoch (Chap. 108)
8. The Book of Parables (or Similitudes) (Chaps. 37–71)
9. The Book of the Giants
B. Literary History, Versions, and Manuscript Tradition
C. Literary Genres and their Function
1. A Collection of Apocalypses
2. A Testament and Testimony
D. The Enochic Corpus as Revealed Heavenly Wisdom
E. Dualism in the Enochic Writings
F. *1 Enoch* as a Theological and Intellectual Synthesis
G. Provenance and Social Setting
H. The Enochic Traditions and Early Christianity

A. The Component Parts of *1 Enoch*

1. The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries (Chaps. 72–82). The structure and functioning of celestial (mainly) and terrestial phenomena are the subject matter of these chapters (VanderKam 1984: 76–109). The primitive science that is expounded suggests that this section is the oldest stratum in *1 Enoch* and that it stems from the Persian period (Neugebauer in Black 1985: 387). The text as it presently stands is a narrative in which Enoch recounts to Methuselah (76:14; 79:1) his journey through the heavens and over the earth, during which Uriel, the angel in charge of the luminaries, interpreted what Enoch saw.

Fundamental to the treatise is a solar calendar of 364 days, i.e., four seasons of ninety days each, plus one day added to each season. In the 2d century B.C.E. sectors of the Jewish community were locked in a bitter debate about the divine institution of the solar or lunar calendar. Evidence of this controversy appears in the Qumran sectarian documents and in the book of *Jubilees* (4:17, 21), which cites this treatise in support of polemics against a "gentile" lunar calendar (*Jub.* 6:35–38). Although the non-tendentious style of most of the treatise probably indicates that it was not composed for a polemical purpose, the revelatory form in which it is cast suggests that it is presented as a divinely ordained Torah, and two passages—probably not original to the book (80:2–8; 82:4–6)—indicate that the treatise had a polemical function in the form transmitted in *1 Enoch*.

The literary history of this section has many question marks. Because of its fragmented condition, the precise contents of the Qumran Aramaic material underlying these chapters are uncertain. It is clear, however, that at least parts of the Ethiopic version are a considerably abbreviated form of an Aramaic treatise that was copied on manuscripts that did not contain the other parts of *1 Enoch*. On the other hand, literary considerations indicate that 81:1–82:3 in the Ethiopic are an addition to an earlier form of the Book of the Luminaries.

2. The Book of the Watchers (Chaps. 1–36). These chapters constitute the second oldest section of *1 Enoch*. As a literary unit they probably date to the second half of the 3d century B.C.E. and reflect a developing accretion to a nucleus of traditions that stem from the 4th century.

a. Introdution (Chaps. 1–5). Most likely composed as an introduction to chaps. 1–36, this section strikes the keynote for the book (Hartman 1979). The superscription and introduction to the section (1:1–3) describe Enoch as a righteous man who saw heavenly visions that were interpreted by angels and that are now transmitted as a "blessing" for "the righteous chosen" who will live at the time of the eschatological judgment. That blessing is given in an oracle in late prophetic style which describes the eschatological theophany and the resulting blessing and curse on the righteous and sinners. Thus the Book of the Watchers is presented as a collection of revelations about the judgment.

Parallels to the form and contents of this section indicate that it is a fusion of literary forms and ideas that were at home in prophetic, wisdom, and priestly circles. The opening words (1:1) and the beginning of the theophanic description (1:3c–4) are drawn from the blessing of Moses (Deuteronomy 33), and the oracle is introduced in analogy to the oracles of Balaam the prophet (1:2–3b; cf. Num 24:15–17). The poetic first and third parts of the oracle (1:3c–9; 5:4–9) are a pastiche of phrases from biblical accounts of theophanies (Deuteronomy 33; Micah 1; Zechariah 14) and from the scenario of the new creation in Isaiah 65. Positive and negative paraphrases of the priestly benediction (Num 6:24–26) appear in 1:8 and 5:5–6. Between these two parts is a prose passage in wisdom style that contrasts nature's obedience to God's order with humanity's disobedience of the divine commands. The paradigmatic citation of the heavenly bodies may indicate that the human perversion of God's commands includes a rejection of the Enochic astronomical and calendrical Torah.

b. The Myths of the Watchers' Rebellion (Chaps. 6–11). This narrative of the primordial angelic rebellion serves as a mythic foundation for the Enochic authors' interpretation of certain regnant evils and their expectation of its resolution in the eschatological judgment (Nickelsburg 1981a: 212–13). The text conflates two or three separate traditions. The first recasts Genesis 6–9. The biblical "sons of God" are angels, led by their chieftain Šemiḥazah—"holy watchers," whose intercourse with mor-

tal women breeds a race of malevolent giants whose bloody violence desolates the earth. The sin of "all flesh," which triggered God's judgment in the Deluge, according to Genesis, is here transformed into the watchers' rebellion and giants' violent victimization of "all flesh." The biblical description of the postdiluvian restoration of the earth (Genesis 9) is rewritten as a scenario of eschatological recreation. The tradition interprets the events of Genesis as a prototype of eschatological violence, judgment, and restoration in which evil that originated in demonic rebellion would find its cure in divine intervention. Although aspects of this interpretation of Genesis may have their roots in pre-Hellenistic times, the form of the myth attested in *1 Enoch* 6–11 fits well in the time of the successors of Alexander (the Diadochoi), whose wars in contention for the kingdom (323–302 B.C.E.) have a mythic counterpart in the violence of the giants and whose claims of divine parentage find an admirable parody in the motif of the watchers' rebellious spawning of semi-divine warriors.

In the second tradition of angelic rebellion, the angelic leader, ʿAśaʾel, reveals the secrets of metallurgy and mining which enable men to make the instruments of war and to fashion the jewelry and cosmetics that facilitate sexual seduction. According to the text of chaps. 6–11 preserved by the chronographer Syncellus, this rebellion preceded and precipitated the rebellion of Semihazah and his associates. It is likely that in the original form of this myth the watchers were sent by God to instruct humankind in useful arts (cf. *Jub.* 4:15; 5:6; Pseudo-Clementine Homilies 8:13). The story of ʿAśaʾel has analogies in ancient Near Eastern myths about culture bearers and is most closely paralleled in the Greek myth of Prometheus as told by Hesiod and Aeschylus. The motif of rebellion through the revelation of forbidden knowledge is further expounded in 8:3 (perhaps relying on another tradition), which ascribes to various of the watchers the revelation of several kinds of astrological prognostication. In context this revelation is a foil to the astronomical revelations that Enoch received and transmitted.

This section as a whole criticizes aspects of contemporary civilization, construing them as the result of heavenly rebellion that can be reversed and overcome only by divine judgment and reparation. The pervading sense of humanity's victimization by demonic forces and the necessity for direct divine intervention will continue to be a constitutive part of much of later apocalypticism.

c. Enoch's Commissioning as a Prophet of Judgment (Chaps. 12–16). In a kind of commentary on chaps. 6–11, this section describes Enoch's ascent to the heavenly throne room as a prophetic commissioning in the tradition of Ezekiel 1–2. The account also contains important characteristics of later Jewish accounts of mystical ascents. Although the name of Šemiḥazah is not mentioned, the text focuses on the watchers' sin with the women, which is interpreted as the heavenly priests' forsaking the eternal sanctuary and defiling themselves by violating the created distinction between spirit and flesh. Unlike chaps. 6–11, the death of the giants results not in their annihilation, but in the release of evil spirits which will plague the world until the eschaton (15:11–16:1; cf. *Jub.* 10:1–13). Reference to ʿAśaʾel and the revelation of forbidden secrets (13:1–2; 15:2–3) appears to be secondary to the section but reflects ʿAśaʾel's increasing importance in the tradition.

The watchers' sin is recounted in traditional language also found in polemics against the Jerusalem priesthood (15:3–4; cf. *Ps. Sol.* 8:13; CD 5:6–7), and aspects of the story are reminiscent of Ezra's confrontation with the Jerusalem priests who had married foreign women. This may reflect a conflict between this author and the Jerusalem priesthood. The narrative setting of the account in Upper Galilee near sites that were sacred to Canaanites, Israelites, Jews, pagans, and—later—Christians, suggests that this author lived in this region among people whose opposition to Jerusalem led them to another traditional sacred place (Nickelsburg 1981b). A date in the mid–3d century B.C.E. seems likely.

d. Enoch's Journey to the West (Chaps. 17–19). From the heavenly throne room (the setting of chaps. 14–16) certain angels (17:1; only Uriel is named in 19:1) accompany Enoch on a journey to the western edge of earth's disk, which culminates in two visions of the places of punishment of the rebel watchers and certain transgressing stars (18:10–11 + 19:1–2 + 18:12–16 + 19:3, assuming there is a displacement in the received text). The order of the account parallels chaps. 14–16, with the horizontal journey to God's mountain throne and the vision of the watchers' punishment replacing the vertical ascent to the heavenly throne room and the oracle that announces that punishment. A literary form akin to the Greek Nekyia (a journey to the places of punishment in the underworld) replaces the form of the prophetic call. The detailed references to places of geographic and cosmic importance indicate the apocalyptist's familiarity with speculation about these matters. In the account, however, they function as landmarks that document the seer's progress to his journey's goal.

e. Enoch's Journey to the East (Chaps. 20–36). After a list of the seven archangels who will accompany Enoch (chap. 20), this section recounts Enoch's visions, from the far west (where chaps. 17–19 left off) to the easternmost edge of earth's disk. The principal motif is eschatological retribution, which is stressed through a series of additions to the traditions in chaps. 17–19 (Wacker).

The journey narrative begins in chap. 21 with a repetition, in reverse order, of the visions in 18:10–19:2. Still in the West, Enoch arrives at the mountain that holds the spirits of the dead until the time of the final reward or punishment (chap. 22). Chap. 23 may be a doublet of traditions in chap. 21. At 24:2–25:7, Enoch visits the mountain paradise where God's throne is set (cf. 18:6–8). Here the Tree of Life is kept until it will be transplanted to the temple mount in the new Jerusalem, where it will nourish the righteous in the new age. Enoch's vision of Jerusalem focuses on the cursed valley of Hinnom, where the wicked will be punished eternally in the presence of the righteous. Chaps. 24–26 depict the geographic setting for the scenario in the resurrection passage in Dan 12:2. In 28:1–32:2, a literary counterpart of 17:1–7, Enoch recounts his travels through the eastern spice orchards to the paradise of righteousness, whose trees are dominated by the fragrant tree of wisdom (32:3–6). At chap. 33 he arrives at the eastern end of the earth, where Uriel shows him the outlets of the luminaries, a summary allusion to

the Book of the Luminaries. The Book of the Watchers ends in chaps. 34–36 with a brief account, reminiscent of chap. 76, which summarizes Enoch's journey around earth's edge, to the sources of the winds in the North, West, South and East.

3. Enoch's Two Dream Visions (Chaps. 83–90). Enoch recounts to Methuselah the contents of two dream visions which he saw before he was married to Edna. According to the first (chaps. 83–84), he saw a vision of the Deluge and prayed that his posterity not be destroyed.

The second vision is an extensive allegorical apocalypse that traces human history from Adam to the eschaton (chaps. 85–90). The author depicts human beings as animals, and angels as human beings. The patriarchs through Isaac are portrayed as bulls. Jacob and his descendants are symbolized by sheep that are continually being victimized by the wild beasts that represent the gentiles. In response to the sin of Manasseh, the Lord of the Sheep commits his flock to seventy angelic shepherds (89:59–64), who are to rule for four periods. The shepherds abuse their office by permitting more than the proper number of sheep to be destroyed. This is recorded by an angelic scribe who intercedes for the sheep. The eschaton is depicted in a two-stage textual tradition (90:9–19). In its developed form, a great horned ram, representing Judas Maccabeus, wages war against the nations. A theophany leads to the final judgment of the rebel watchers, the angelic shepherds, and the apostate Jews of the end time (90:20–27). Then Jerusalem and the sanctuary are rebuilt in unsurpassed glory. A white bull is born as a (messianic?) reappearance of the primordial man, and the sheep and other animals are transformed into white bulls, thus signaling the eschatological unity of the human race which has returned to its created purity.

This dream vision has important points of contact with Enochic and biblical traditions. The rebellion of the watchers and their judgment by the archangels, the intercession of the angelic scribe which triggers the final judgment, and the final reconstitution of a righteous humanity all have counterparts in *1 Enoch* 6–11. Many events in the historical narrative reflect biblical narratives. The antagonism of the sheep and wild beasts, the shepherds' dereliction of duty (cf. Zechariah 11), and the appearance of an eschatological messianic figure are all reminiscent of Ezekiel 34. The seventy shepherds and the four periods of their rule recall the seventy years in Jer 25:11–12 and 29:10 (cf. Dan 9:2) and the four kingdoms in Daniel 7.

The dream vision was composed at least by the time of Judas' defeat of Nicanor in 161 B.C.E., though an earlier version may have ended with the theophany. Although the exact provenance of the apocalypse is uncertain, several details reflect social, theological, and ideological aspects of that provenance. The author is critical of the Second Temple and seems to assert that the polluted food on the sacrificial altar (89:73; cf. Mal 1:7) was never removed. Alongside this polluted food are mentioned apostate Jews (blind sheep, 89:74), who, late in the Hellenistic period, are opposed by young lambs whose eyes are opened—obviously pious Jews of the author's persuasion. At least in its final form the apocalypse was transmitted (and revised) by an author favorably disposed toward Judas Maccabeus, and the prominence of the motif of the eschatological sword indicates a militant ideology that is reminiscent of the congregation of mighty warriors, described as Hasidim in 1 Macc 2:42.

4. Two Pieces of Testamentary Narrative (81:1–82:3; 91). The brief narrative in 81:1–82:3, which is out of place in its present context in the Book of the Luminaries, forms a narrative bridge with material that follows. Enoch views the heavenly tablets that contain a record of human deeds. He is then brought back to earth by the angelic guides mentioned in the Book of the Watchers and is told to instruct his children for one year, transmitting to them the wisdom he received on his journeys. This "testimony" for future generations is given in the presence of Methuselah.

Although chaps. 83–90 are part of Enoch's instruction to Methuselah, the narrative style of 81:1–82:3 is continued in chap. 91. Enoch's other children gather to hear the testimony of Enoch's final instruction. Its ethical component employs the scheme of the two ways, of righteousness and wickedness. The predictive section in vv 5–10 parallels two subsequent texts: the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1–10 + 91:11–17) and Enoch's prediction in 106:13–107:2.

5. The Epistle of Enoch (Chaps. 92–105). These chapters claim to be an epistle from Enoch to his spiritual descendants in the latter generations. Counterposed throughout are the righteous and the sinners and the respective judgments that await them. The introductory Apocalypse of Weeks schematizes human history from Enoch to the eschaton and provides a time frame for the judgment that is presumed in the rest of the Epistle (VanderKam 1984: 142–60). Central to the Apocalypse is the primordial and eschatological opposition between violence and deceit and righteousness and truth. The seventh week will be marked by the constitution of the community of the righteous and chosen, whose gift of "sevenfold wisdom and knowledge" will enable them to uproot the structure of violence and deceit. The sword of judgment given to the righteous in the eighth week is reminiscent of the Animal Vision, and the motif is repeated in 95:3; 96:1; and 98:12. In the tenth week, the eschatological temple will be built, and the revelation of righteous Torah will turn all humanity to righteousness (see also above).

The body of the Epistle employs three literary forms typical of biblical prophecy: woes, admonitions usually introduced by "Fear not," and eschatological predictions introduced by "then" or "in those days" (Nickelsburg 1977). Described throughout is the oppression of the righteous by rich and powerful sinners (corresponding to the aforementioned "violence") and the false teaching of those who alter the Torah and lead many astray with their lies (corresponding to the "deceit" mentioned in the Apocalypse; Nickelsburg 1982). In a final major section (102:4–104:8), the author confronts the problem of theodicy raised by the present situation and offers a solution in the judgment that will give new life to the righteous dead and will recompense the sinners who have thus far gone unpunished. In a brief concluding section (104:12–105:2), the eschatological wisdom mentioned in 93:10 is identified with the books of Enoch, which are the basis on which the righteous will "testify to the sons of the whole earth."

Although the Epistle employs earlier and, in many cases, non-Enochic traditions, the section as a whole was created as an exhortative conclusion to the Enochic corpus. Its

admonitions to the faith and righteous conduct that will lead to salvation presume earlier sections of *1 Enoch.* Enoch's vision of the place of the dead (chap. 22) is presupposed in 102:4–103:8, his viewing of the heavenly tablets is cited in 103:2, and his visions of angelic intercession are referred to in 104:1. Vision, angelic interpretation, and his reading of the tablets are mentioned in 93:2. Through these citations and the use of prophetic literary forms and of oath formulas that underscore the certainty of the author's message of judgment, the author identifies this section and the corpus as a whole as the revealed, saving wisdom they claim to be.

The date and provenance of the Epistle are uncertain. If the Epistle as a whole was composed at the same time as the narrative in 81:1–82:3 and 91, the possible allusion to this narrative in *Jub.* 4:18–19 may indicate a date early in the 2d century B.C.E. On the other hand, the body of the Epistle may reflect excesses in the Hasmonean period and thus date to the latter part of the 2d century. The Epistle was composed in unidentified circles closely related to the Qumran community.

6. An Account of Noah's Birth (Chaps. 106–7). The miraculous circumstances attending Noah's birth terrify his father Lamech, who suspects an angelic conception and sends Methuselah to Enoch for an explanation. The seer attributes the evils of the present time to the angelic rebellion but promises that in Noah Lamech's progeny will be preserved and the world and humankind will be restored after the judgment of the Deluge. Thus the narrative concludes the Enochic corpus with the promise, inherent in its typology of primordial and end times, that salvation will follow the eschatological judgment. Evidence from the Qumran manuscripts indicates that the narrative was composed before the middle of the 1st century B.C.E. It is a variant of the stories of Enoch's vision of the Flood in chaps. 83–84 and Noah's anticipation of the Flood in chap. 65. All three reflect the kind of apprehension and fear that are typical of people who believe they are living in the last times.

7. Another Book by Enoch (Chap. 108). This brief work of uncertain origin and date was added to the end of the corpus as a final word of exhortation to the righteous of the end time. Drawing on other parts of the corpus, it presents a brief vision of the place of punishment as evidence of the coming judgment and calls on the suffering righteous to endure in anticipation of their glorification.

8. The Book of Parables (or Similitudes) (Chaps. 37–71). This longest of all the Enochic books is generally considered to be the latest major stratum in the corpus. There is some doubt as to its title. Although the superscription in 37:5 calls attention to the three "parables" (38–44; 45–57; 58–69) that constitute its primary contents, and 68:1 (a later interpolation) refers to "the Book of the Parables," the expression "He took up his parable and said" is used in earlier strata to introduce the initial oracle (1:2, 3) and the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1, 3). The author's superscription designates the work as "The vision of wisdom which Enoch . . . saw" and wrote down both for the men of old and those of the latter days (37:1–3; cf. 1:1–2; 92:1).

The Book of Parables is, for the most part, an account of the visions that Enoch saw and the accompanying angels interpreted as the seer journeyed to the heavenly throne room and through the cosmos. A significant part of the text is a revision of earlier Enochic traditions drawn from the Book of the Luminaries and the Book of the Watchers. Material parallel to the former is found in 41:3–8, chaps. 43–44; 60:11–24; and 69:22–24. The first parable has many point-by-point similarities to chaps. 1–16, and later sections develop aspects of the accounts of Enoch's journeys in chaps. 17–36. The double list of angelic names in 69:1–12 is a variant of the lists in 6:7 and 8:1–3. The Noachic narratives in chaps. 65–67 are related to the stories in 83–84 and 106–107, although this material may be a secondary interpolation into an earlier form of this work.

The uniqueness of this Enochic work lies in a series of vignettes set in the heavenly throne room which depict, in the form of a developing drama, events related to the great judgment. The principal figure in these scenes is a transcendent heavenly figure whom God has designated as the eschatological judge and the vindicator of the righteous and elect. The text refers to him variously as "the Chosen One" (his primary title), "the Righteous One," "that son of man," and God's "Anointed One." See SON OF MAN. As these designations indicate, the descriptions of this figure are the fruit of speculations on the biblical texts about "one like a son of man" (Daniel 7), the Deutero-Isaianic servant of the Lord (esp. Isaiah 42, 49, 52–53), and the Davidic king (Psalm 2 and Isaiah 11). The Chosen One will judge two major groups of sinners. They are "the kings and the mighty," who persecute the righteous and function in analogy to the giants in chaps. 6–11 and the sinners in 92–105, and the angelic chieftain Azazel and his hosts, who, like ʿAśaʾel and the others in chaps. 6–11, have revealed the secrets of unrighteousness.

Through these vignettes the author presents his message. In the coming judgment, God will vindicate the righteous and elect and punish their enemies. The book, in turn, is offered as revealed wisdom about this judgment and the heavenly realm in which it is already beginning to happen, and it promises salvation to the righteous who stand firm in this knowledge.

The Enochic character of the Book of Parables is emphasized in its last two chapters, which, however, may be secondary to the text. Here Enoch's translation (Genesis 5) is identified with his ascent to the heavenly throne room (*1 Enoch* 14) and with the presentation of the son of man in Daniel 7. Thus, as a climax to the drama that the seer has seen unfold, he sees himself being presented to God as the son of man who is to be the eschatological judge.

The date and provenance of the book have long been disputed. Taking note of their absence from the Qumran Aramaic fragments and some similarities to the Christian Sibylline Oracles, Milik (1976: 91–98) has argued that they are a Christian product from ca. 270 C.E. However, several weaknesses in Milik's argument make this conclusion highly dubious. The Parables' absence from Qumran need only indicate that their author based his work on copies of the pre-Qumran Enochic texts which circulated outside of Qumran. The Christian Sibyllines are probably ultimately dependent on the Parables and not vice versa. Milik's identification of the Parthians and Medes (56:5) with the

Palmyrenes is generally not accepted. Currently, most scholars take the Parables to be a Jewish text from either the last half of the 1st century B.C.E. or the first three quarters of the 1st century C.E. The earlier dating finds in 56:5 a reference to the Parthian invasion of 40 B.C.E. and in 67:8–13 a reference to Herod the Great. The later dating emphasizes the affinities between the Parables and the Jewish apocalypses of the late 1st century C.E. and the book of Revelation (Knibb 1978). Their specific provenance in Judaism is uncertain.

9. The Book of the Giants. Although these narratives about the sons of the watchers and the women are not part of the Ethiopic corpus, they are contemporaneous with some of the strata in that corpus. Fragments of six copies of the work have been identified among the Qumran Aramaic fragments, and paleographic considerations indicate the early 1st century B.C.E. as a terminus ad quem for its composition. From the Qumran fragments and from numerous fragments and passages from a Manichean version of the work we can reconstruct some of the contents of the book, but the rest of its contents and its relationship to the narrative parts of *1 Enoch* are uncertain (Milik 1976: 298–317).

B. Literary History, Versions, and Manuscript Tradition

Although many details remain obscure, we can trace major aspects in the literary history of the Enochic corpus. The Book of the Watchers developed in stages from its mythic nucleus in chaps. 6–11. With some more additions this major unit came to function as the narrative introduction to an Enochic testament. An additional narrative described how Enoch returned from his journeys through the cosmos and was commanded to instruct his children (81:1–82:3; 91). At some point that instruction came to include not only the two–ways admonitions in chap. 91 and 94:1–4 and the historical surveys in 93:1–10 and 91:11–17, but also the two dream visions (chaps. 83–90) and the body of the Epistle (92; 94:5ff). This latter served as an exposition of the two–ways theology and an extended exhortation that was based on Enoch's visions (chaps. 21–36; 81) and the announcement of the judgment implicit in them and explicit in chaps. 1–5. The addition of chaps. 106–107 provided a narrative of primordial times that anticipated the salvation of the eschaton. A compressed form of the Book of the Luminaries (chaps. 72–82) was juxtaposed to the astronomical material in chaps. 33–36, and then the Book of Parables (chaps. 37–71) was interpolated between these two sections. Chapter 108 was added as a final exhortation.

With the exception of the Parables and chaps. 83–84 and 108, all the major sections of *1 Enoch* are represented among the Qumran Aramaic manuscripts, as is the Book of Giants. It is likely that all component parts, including the Parables, were composed in Aramaic. The Akhmim papyrus (6th century) and the Chester Beatty papyrus (4th century) preserve, between them, approximately twenty-five percent of the Book of Watchers and the Epistle in Greek translation. Two other mss preserve Greek fragments of the Book of the Luminaries and the Animal Vision. Quotations in the Book of Jude, various of the Church Fathers, and the chronography of George Syncellus reflect knowledge of a Greek translation of the Book of the Watchers, the Apocalypse of Weeks, and the Epistle, and the earliest of these quotations indicates the late 1st century C.E. as a terminus ad quem for the Greek translation(s). Whether the archetype of the Ethiopic translation, which was made no later than the 6th century, used a single Greek ms or a set of mss depends on whether the Parables were translated from a Greek version or directly from the Aramaic, as Ullendorf and Knibb suggest (Knibb 1978: 2.37–46). In the latter case, *1 Enoch* would have come into its present form only in the Ethiopic version. Of that version, a large number of mss are known, many of them parts of more extensive biblical mss.

C. Literary Genres and Their Function

1 Enoch provides a wealth of information about the development of (biblical) literary genres during the crucial transitional Hellenistic period. Chaps. 6–11 are an early example of the rewriting of biblical narrative which will later emerge in Targum and Midrash. Other texts are developing examples of the prophetic forms of call story, salvation-judgment oracle, woe, or exhortation. Chaps. 2–5, the two–ways instruction in chaps. 91 and 94, and some of the woes in the Epistle have important analogies in Israelite Wisdom Literature.

1. A Collection of Apocalypses. Large parts of the Enochic corpus belong to two literary genres. The first of these appears in various types of apocalypse. The Book of the Luminaries, chaps. 17–19 and 20–36, large parts of the Parables, and part of the narratives in 81:1–82:3 and chap. 108 are cast as journeys to inaccessible places where visions are interpreted by an accompanying angel. This form and literary device have counterparts in Ezekiel 40–48 and Zechariah 1–6 (Himmelfarb 1983: 56–58). In addition, in texts with no counterpart in a biblical genre, Enoch recounts in chaps. 85–90, 93:1–10, and 91:11–17 visions that describe the history of the world from primordial time to the eschaton. In both of these, the narrator functions as an inspired revealer of secrets about the hidden future. Finally, the instruction and exhortation that constitute the major part of the Epistle are explicitly based on Enoch's visions of heavenly and cosmic entitites: heavenly tablets and books, angelic intercession, and the places and objects of eschatological blessing and punishment. This repeated use of revelatory literary forms and recourse to revealed visions and information justifies our calling *1 Enoch* an apocalyptic work or, in large part, a collection of apocalypses.

Enoch sees and then reveals to the reader God's hidden world and hidden future. The former is important to note because studies of apocalyptic theology have tended to stress eschatology. However, in its earliest form, a work like the Book of the Luminaries appears not to have dealt with eschatology. Instead, the author revealed the hidden workings of the heavenly bodies which undergird a calendrical Torah.

Although the journey narratives in chaps. 17–36 reveal aspects of God's hidden world and doubtless reflect study and speculation about "scientific" matters, the journeys and various segments in them climax in interpreted visions about phenomena and places of eschatological importance, and thus the cosmic information functions to under-

gird the author's eschatology. This eschatology has both a temporal dimension and a spatial one. Here Enoch sees the places, things, and agents of the judgment that elsewhere is predicted. God has prepared and built into the cosmos the entities that will facilitate that judgment and its consequences. Enoch's revelation includes reports that these things are present and happening in God's hidden world, and this revelation of present realities guarantees that the future judgment and its consequences will also take place.

2. A Testament and Testimony. The function of the apocalyptic genres becomes evident in the use of a second genre—the testament—which governs the shape of a large part of the Enochic corpus. Especially noteworthy are the similarities to parts of Deuteronomy. The superscription and initial description of the eschatological theophany recall the Blessing of Moses (1:1, 3c–4, 9; cf. Deut 33:1–2). The testamentary setting in 81:5–82:3 and chap. 91, the double description of future history in 91:5–10, 93:1–10, and 91:11–17, and the two-ways instruction in 91:3–4, 18–19; 94:1–4 have counterparts in Deuteronomy 38–32. The fragmentary passage in 93:11–14 paraphrases Deut 4:33 and sets the uniqueness of Enoch's revelations of the heavenly throne room and the cosmos in parallel to the uniqueness of the revelation of the Mosaic Torah (contrast Deut 30:11–14). The key word "testify" (81:6; 91:3), used of Enoch's instruction to his children and of the book's function in the eschaton (104:11; 105:1), parallels the usage in Deuteronomy 30–31 and ascribes to the Enochic corpus a function that parallels the Mosaic Torah and Moses' descriptions of the future. In the end time the testamentary deposit of Enoch's revealed wisdom appeals to the righteous and the world at large to obey its Torah (both what is written in the corpus and the broader tradition transmitted by the community) so that they may be saved in the coming judgment.

D. The Enochic Corpus as Revealed Heavenly Wisdom

The Enochic authors' use of revelatory genres derives from their belief that they are transmitting heavenly "wisdom." Contrary to what one might expect, the noun "revelation" seems never to have been used in this corpus, and the verb "reveal" is rare (see 7:1; 8:3; 9:6, 8; 13:2 for the secrets brought by the rebellious watchers; 10:2, 107:3 for information about Noah and the Flood, and 106:19; 91:14; 94:2 for the revelations to Enoch and their promulgation in the end time). More frequently Enoch's revelations are called "wisdom" (5:8; 32:3–6; 37:1–4; 82:2–3; 92:1; 93:8, 10; 94:5; 104:12; 105:1), and the verb "given" denotes its divine origin (5:8; 37:4; 93:10; 104:12).

The Enochic corpus is an earthly deposit of wisdom from and about the hidden world, which has been mediated through authors who are identified with the primordial sage and seer. One is interested not in the historical process by which this wisdom came to be embodied in these texts but with its identity as heavenly wisdom and its association with an ancient figure who is perceived to have been the quintessential source and mediator of such wisdom.

Enochic wisdom has a salvific function. It is Torah broadly conceived. Aspects of it reveal the laws that embody the divine will that is to be obeyed if one is to be saved. It also provides instruction about the coming judgment, in which God will save and damn the obedient and disobedient. Thus the Enochic revelation of wisdom and one's response to it are crucial for salvation, or life, or blessing.

This view of wisdom is functionally similar to Ben Sira's understanding of wisdom. As is evident from Sirach 24, Ben Sira sees the Mosaic Torah less as a historical phenomenon associated with Mount Sinai than as the perennial repository of preexistent heavenly wisdom whose life-giving function is mediated through its interpretation by sages like himself. The differences between the two authors' understanding of wisdom must, of course, be noted. Ben Sira expounds what he understands to be Mosaic Torah; his opinion about the specifics of Enochic wisdom is uncertain (44:16 is textually problematic). As to the means of revelation, he is skeptical about dreams and visions (34:1–8). Unlike the author of the Epistle, moreover, he does not limit salvation to those who accept his interpretation of Torah.

E. Dualism in the Enochic Writings

The Enochic authors' use of revelatory genres is a function of the dualistic understanding of historical and cosmic reality which pervades the corpus and is essential to its exposition. The phenomenal world is a reflection of a hidden world whose complex realities can be known only if they are revealed. The nature and functions of this dualism and the consequent pervasive use of apocalyptic genres are important defining characteristics of the Enochic corpus and signal some important transformations of biblical tradition.

A spatial dualism is integral to the exposition of Enochic Torah. Although we are not well informed about the totality of the Torah of the circles that created the Enochic writings, it is evident that correct calendrical practice played an important role. For this reason, certain of the authors emphasized the revealed knowledge of the hidden world of the heavenly luminaries which was necessary for right conduct.

Important aspects of the Enochic authors' understanding of the nature of evil were governed by a dualistic worldview. Human beings were, of course, responsible for their actions, and they would be rewarded or punished accordingly at the great judgment. Nonetheless, the Enochic authors attributed a significant part of the evils in this world to a hidden demonic world, and the corpus devotes considerable space to myths that trace the origins of that world to an angelic rebellion that took place in the heavenly realm and the hidden primordial past (see A.1.b above).

Given the supernatural origin and character of the evils, the authors seek a remedy beyond history and beyond the empirical world. On the one hand, the remedy lies in the hidden future when divine judgment will usher in a new age qualitatively different from the present one, when the Creator's primordial intention will become permanent reality and evil will be forever eradicated. On the other hand, the solution is already in process, in the hidden throne room in the heavenly realm, where the archangelic counterparts of the demons plead and prepare for salvation,

and in the secret recesses of the cosmos, where the places of punishment await or already claim their victims.

F. *1 Enoch* as a Theological and Intellectual Synthesis

1 Enoch attests the confluence of many social, cultural, and religious currents in postexilic Judaism. Fundamental is the belief that God's will has been revealed and is to be obeyed. The Mosaic Torah, evidently interpreted in specific ways, is presumed, but supplemented by Enochic Torah, which focuses on cosmology and calendar. In their predominating claim to be mediating revelations about the great eschatological judgment that will recompense the righteous and the sinners for their responses to God's will, the Enochic authors are indebted to aspects of Israelite prophecy, as is evident from the use of prophetic forms and genres and dependence on specific prophetic traditions. However, the embodiment of this message in extended historical and cosmological apocalypses and the transformation of the call vision into a heavenly ascent reflect important divergences from biblical tradition. Passing allusions and detailed references to animate and inanimate aspects of the created world and its components and structure indicate more than a passing acquaintance with interests and concerns elsewhere evident in the Wisdom Literature (Stone 1976). These motifs supplement the temporal emphasis of prophetic eschatology with a spatial dimension, and the whole is further embellished through the use of literary forms and traditions at home in the Wisdom Literature.

Through the intersection of these currents a new phenomenon appears in *1 Enoch*. The content of Torah is broadened, and its true interpretation is specified. The revelation of God's will and of the eschatological future is supplemented by revealed knowledge of a hidden world, and together these are identified as heavenly wisdom of broad and inclusive dimensions, mediated by a primordial seer and sage.

The Enochic convergence of Israelite intellectual, theological, and religious streams is further complicated by elements of pagan provenance: Babylonian myths about the ancient sage (VanderKam 1984: 23–75), Greek myths about Prometheus and about the Titans, and common Near Eastern mythic geography and cosmology (Nickelsburg 1981a: 212–13). The principle of selective syncretism is not new to Israelite religion, but the specific mix is novel.

G. Provenance and Social Setting

The Enochic writings are a corpus of closely related traditions that were created, transmitted, and developed in "pious" Jewish circles of the 4th to 1st centuries B.C.E. The Essenes at Qumran were one important heir and transmitter of the corpus during the 2d and 1st centuries, although there is no sure evidence that this group wrote any part of the corpus (Nickelsburg 1986). That the group or groups who created the Enochic traditions were closely related to the Qumran sect is indicated not only by the presence of many Enoch manuscripts at Qumran but also by allusions to this literature in Qumran sectarian documents and by a substantial number of similarities between *1 Enoch* and various of the sectarian texts. Among the similarities are a common solar calendar, antagonism toward the Second Temple (though partly for different reasons), the prized memory of a religious awakening, reform, or renewal in the Hellenistic period, the claim to be God's (harried and persecuted) righteous elect who possess the interpretation of the Torah necessary for salvation and insight into the divine eschatological mysteries, and a common militant ideology that anticipated the elect community's participation in the coming judgment.

Much work remains to be done on the history of the circles that produced the Enochic literature and their relationships to the Qumran sect, but the following are guideposts. In the earliest recoverable form of the Šemiḥazah story, the reference to God's revelation to Noah reflects the author's belief that he and certain others constitute a righteous remnant whose knowledge of the coming judgment will save them. The early date of the Book of the Luminaries indicates that a solar calendar was one of the earliest constituents of Enochic Torah. Chaps. 12–16 appear to reflect antipathy toward the Temple as early as the 3d century, and the later Animal Vision and probably the Apocalypse of Weeks trace this back to the time of its construction. The book of *Jubilees*, which probably dates to the time of Jason's reforms in Jerusalem, prizes the Enochic traditions and emphasizes the importance of the solar calendar. Nonetheless, it reflects little sectarian consciousness and appears to limit its condemnation of the temple and priesthood to the Hellenistic period. Daniel 7 and 12 appear to reflect traditions in *1 Enoch* 14: 24–27, and Daniel's visionary activity parallels that of Enoch. Although we know very little about the Hasidim mentioned in 1 and 2 Maccabees, nothing in the Enochic texts prevents the theory that these texts and that group were parts of a common reform movement or series of movements. Column 1 of the Damascus Document and the Apocalypse of Weeks appear to refer to a religious awakening in a period that both describe without mention of the Return and the Second Temple, and Column 8 of the Manual of Discipline reapplies the tradition to the founding of the Qumran community. The absence of the Book of Parables in the Qumran library suggests that the corpus was transmitted and developed in at least one context other than Qumran.

Although the pseudepigraphic nature of the Enochic texts masks much of the social, institutional, and other functional realia that constituted their authors' world, some hints are present. Interpretation of received tradition was a primary activity. This tradition was, of course, ascribed to Enoch. Behind it, however, lay the Pentateuch and the Latter Prophets, and in the Animal Vision, the history recorded in the Former Prophets. In addition, certain kinds of speculation reflect a study of the heavens and transmission of cosmographic and geographic lore. From a formal point of view, the largest part of the corpus records dreams and visions and their interpretation—an activity with a history that runs from the Joseph stories, through Ezekiel and Zechariah, to the Danielic stories and visions.

Binding all this activity together is the claim to be mediating revelation. Interestingly, however, in spite of the Mosaic and prophetic roots of much of the tradition, the authors never attribute the title of "prophet" to Enoch or to any of the righteous described in the texts. Two terms

in the texts are suggestive of revelatory activity. Certain of the righteous who teach divine Law are called "the wise" (98:9; 99:10), which may indicate the title *ḥakkîm* or *maśkil*. Since Enochic "wisdom" is revealed, the title has revelatory connotations. Enoch, on the other hand, is called the wise and righteous "scribe" (15:1; 92:1). Although this term refers to his writing activity, it has more exalted connotations. In keeping with the earlier picture of Ezra and the later description by Ben Sira (chaps. 24, 39), it probably identifies the authors as sages who are the authoritative interpreters and transmitters of sacred tradition. Unlike both of these, however, the Enochic authors claim for their interpretation a directness and immediacy of revelation that functionally parallels that of the prophets. The precise office, institution, and practices that underlie the terms "wise" and "scribe" need further study. The Qumran Scrolls offer some hints in their references to "the Teacher of Righteousness," whose title parallels that of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 12:4; 15:1) and whose interpretation of the Torah and the Prophets may be counterparts of some of the types of activity in the Enochic tradition.

How the Enochic authors and their readers and adherents may have been organized into a community or communities remains a mystery. Some suggestions of communal existence may be present in the references to the chosen righteous in chaps. 1–5, the Apocalypse of Weeks, and 104:12–14, as well as in the Parables in the reference to "the houses of his congregations." However, specific and explicit information of the type furnished by the Qumran Manual of Discipline and archeological evidence is lacking for the Enochic literature.

H. The Enochic Traditions and Early Christianity

Until the discovery of the Qumran Scrolls, the only preserved texts of the Enochic writings derived from Christian circles (see B above). The living context of this transmission was a religious community that arose from and for some time continued to draw on the resources of an apocalyptic Judaism transmitted in the Enochic writings. At least some of the Son of Man sayings in Mark and "Q" know the tradition as it was reshaped in the Book of Parables and "christologize" it (see SON OF MAN). Traditions associated with the Apostle Peter (in Matthew 16, 1 and 2 Peter, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*) draw on elements in the corpus (Rubinkiewicz). Matthew and probably Luke reflect parts of it. The Apocalypse of John of Patmos uses Enochic traditions about ʿAśaʾel and is the closest formal counterpart to the Book of Parables. Jude (vv 14–15) and Tertullian (de Idololatria 4; de Cultu Feminarum 3:1) ascribe prophetic status to the patriarch Enoch and quote the opening oracle and the Epistle respectively. *Barnabas* 16 quotes the Animal Vision and the Apocalypse of Weeks as "scripture." Justin Martyr (2 Apologia 5) and evidently Irenaeus (Adversus Haereses 4.36.4) appear to know the Enochic traditions about the angelic rebellion, and Pseudo-Clement (Homilies 8:12ff.) knows more than is preserved in *1 Enoch*. Other allusions and quotations appear in Clement of Alexandria and in Origen. Thus, at a time when the writings ascribed to Enoch were falling into disuse among Jews, these same texts continued to be cited as inspired scripture in sectors of Christianity. Except in the Ethiopian church and among the Manicheans, however, this authority of Enochic scripture disappeared as the canon of ancient writings was limited to the books contained in the Hebrew Bible or the LXX. Nonetheless, the Enochic influence has continued in the form of traditions that were formative in the writing of the NT texts.

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GEORGE W. E. NICKELSBURG

ENOCH, SECOND BOOK OF. This pseudepigraphical apocalypse is attested only in Slavonic. Conventionally identified as *2 Enoch*, the work has almost as many names as there are manuscripts (Andersen, *OTP* 1: 102),

ranging from "The Tale (*slovo*, literally 'word') of" or "Life of" or "Book of (the Secrets of) (Righteous or Wise) Enoch" to even more elaborate titles. These variants reflect the mixed identity, the diverse contents, and the complex structure of the work.

A. Contents
B. The Text
1. Manuscripts
2. Recensions
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4. Chapters and Verses
C. Literary Affinities and Dependencies
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2. Comparative Methodology
D. Composition, Translation, Transmission
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A. Contents

In its most extended form, *2 Enoch* consists of two distinct and different parts: first, the life of Enoch (chaps. 1–68); second, events after the final disappearance of Enoch until the death of Noah (chaps. 69–73). The contents can be outlined as follows:

1. Life of Enoch
   a. Enoch's Journey Through Seven (or Ten) Heavens (chaps. 1–21)
   b. Enoch's Interview with the Lord (chaps. 22–35)
   c. Enoch's Return to Earth (chaps. 36–38)
   d. Enoch Instructs His Children (chaps. 39–63)
   e. Enoch's Final Call and Last Words (chaps. 64–66)
   f. Second Translation of Enoch to Heaven (chaps. 67–68)
2. Subsequent Events
   a. Ministry of Methusalom (69:1–70:16)
   b. Ministry of Nir (70:17–26)
   c. Birth of Melkisedek (chap. 71)
   d. Translation of Melkisedek (chap. 72)
   e. The Flood (chap. 73)

B. The Text

The study of *2 Enoch* is hampered by the inaccessibility of the primary data in reliable form. Although at least twenty mss are known which contain portions of the text in various forms and contexts, so far only one (*Mpr*) has been published in facsimile (Tikhomirov 1961). There are no diplomatic presentations of any of the others, and critical editions (Sokolov 1899; 1910a; Vaillant 1952) are limited in scope and method.

1. Manuscripts. The best available stemmatology is that of Vaillant (1952: xxiv). This will be used in what follows, although it can be considered only provisional. Vaillant classified twelve manuscripts (mss) into six families. Bonwetsch (1922: xiv) arranged ten mss into six families, different from those of Vaillant.

a. Family 1. (1) Ms *A*. BAN 45.13.4 in the Library of the Academy of Sciences, Leningrad (Meshchersky 1964; 1965). This is a still unpublished 15th-century ms, the "Academy Chronograph" in which the text of *2 Enoch* occupies folios 357–366ob. This ms is the basis of Andersen's translation (*OTP* 1: 101–221).

(2) Ms *U*. The Uvarov ms, GIM 3(18) in the State Historical Museum, Moscow. The text was published by Sokolov (1910a: 111–30), with notes (1910b: 33–44). In 1899 Sokolov (1–80) supplied variants from ms *U* to his edition of ms *Rum* (see family 2 below). This 15th-century ms was the basis of Vaillant's edition (1952). Ms *U* is close to ms *A*; in fact Meshchersky (1974) recorded the impression that ms *A* had been copied from ms *U*.

(3) Ms *Tr*. Ms No. 793 of the Trinity-Saint Sergius Monastery Library (now in the Lenin Library, Moscow) is a 16th-century chronograph into which has been worked a summary of the final part of *2 Enoch* (folios 401–402ob). The extracts cover the closing scenes of Enoch's life and go on to the Melkisedek story. They correspond to *2 Enoch* 67; 69:16–18a; 70:16; 71:1–23a, 27–29; and 72:9. This material was the first part of *2 Enoch* to be printed in modern form (Tikhonravov 1863: 19–20 [Enoch]; 26–28 [Melkisedek]). Sokolov subsequently published some extracts (1910a: 161–62; notes 1910b: 95–103), and concluded that the précis had been made from a ms belonging to the same family as ms *U* (1910b: 103). Because the excerpts have been handled with considerable liberty, unique readings cannot be given much weight as evidence for the original text.

(4) Ms *Syn*. Ms 387(3) in the Moscow Synod Collection. In a late recension, the synaxarion for the feast of the Archangel Gabriel (celebrated on March 26) contains material reminiscent of *2 Enoch* derived from a tradition resembling ms *U* (Sokolov 1910b: 103–105).

b. Family 2. (1) Ms *B*. The Barsov ms in the State Historical Museum should not be confused with Charles' "B" which is labeled ms *N* in Family 3 (see below). The text of *2 Enoch* in ms *B* is a 17th-century Russian redaction. It was edited by Sokolov (1899: 83–107 [text, with variants from mss *N* and *V*]; 1910b: 54–69 [notes]). Vaillant (1952) pays particular attention to its variant readings.

(2) Ms *Rum*. Ms No. 578 in the Rumyantsev Museum is dated to the end of the 16th century. It is a miscellany of 466 folios, containing over fifty items (Sokolov 1910b: 84–89). The sixth (folio 164) is an extract from *2 Enoch*. This text was published by Sokolov (1910a: 153–55). After a few phrases from the long heading as in ms *B* (1a:1–2), it jumps to the story of Melkisedek, for which it supplies a title. It reproduces 70:13 (Methusalom's investiture of Nir) and moves on to 70:22, continuing to the end of the story, which is complete except for a few small gaps. This portion was published by Tikhonravov (1863: 28–31). Vaillant (1952: vi) suggested that this material was derived from a ms older and better than the *Vorlage* of ms *B* and was prepared to use its evidence rather confidently in textual reconstruction of the brief portion that it covers, which is otherwise rather sparsely attested.

c. Family 3. (1) Ms *N*. Ms No. 151(443) had been in the National Library of Belgrade, evidently destroyed during the war. It was published, not scientifically, by Novaković (1884), the first printing of a text of the so-called "short" recension. The extract occupies folios 1–11. It is a 16th-century Serbian redaction (and abridgement?) from a Russian *Vorlage*. It ends with chap. 67, except that some later material has been inserted instead of 65:11. Sokolov (1910a: 83–107) incorporated variants of ms *N* into the apparatus of his edition of ms *B*. It is unfortunate that the

early appearance of this text, which supplied the translation labeled "B" in *APOT,* gave it prominence in the early stages of *2 Enoch* research, since this ms is the worst of all the main witnesses.

(2) Ms *V.* Ms No. 125 in the Austrian National Library (Vienna) is a Serbian recension, the text almost identical with that of ms *N.* Sokolov's notes (1910b: 74–77) listed its Russian traits (77), indicating that it was not as far removed from its source as ms *N.* Repp (1963) pointed out the superiority of some of its variants.

(3) Ms B^2. This is another ms in the Barsov collection of the State Historical Museum, Moscow, dated 1701. Folios 87–98 contain a text virtually identical with that of mss *N* and *V.* They were studied by Sokolov (1910a: 133–42 [text]; 1910b: 69–72 [notes]), but his edition normalized the text from chap. 3 onward, limiting its value for critical work.

d. Family 4. (1) *Mpr.* Ms TSS 15 is in the Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery Library. Not later than the 13th century, a notable collection of juridical texts was assembled called *Merilo Pravednoe,* "The Just Balance" (Job 31:6). It contains a chapter titled "From the Book of Righteous Enoch." It is not clear from the literature just how many copies of this work exist (Andersen, *OTP* 1: 215). There are at least three (Tikhomirov 1961: v), possibly four (Sokolov 1910b: 106–18), or even five (Meshchersky 1964a: 94). In any case, interest attaches to *Mpr,* a mid-14th-century copy which has been published in facsimile by Tikhomirov (1961). The text had been published by Tikhonravov (1863: 20–23), folios 36–38ob of *Mpr.* Although it is the oldest extant evidence for the text of *2 Enoch,* it is limited to extracts from chaps. 41–65 and its value for textual reconstruction is diminished by the great freedom with which the material has been rearranged and paraphrased (translated by Andersen, *OTP* 1: 215–21).

(2) Ms *TSS 498.* Folios 335–37 are a copy of *Merilo Pravednoe* made early in the 15th century. It was described briefly by Sokolov (1910b: 92–93), who listed twenty variants.

(3) Ms *TSS 253.* This gigantic codex of 1124 folios is divided into 827 small chapters and includes such curiosities as a calculation of the number of months, weeks, days, and hours from the creation of the world up to 1622 (chap. 815), which dates the ms. A copy of the *2 Enoch* extracts derived from *Merilo Pravednoe* occupies folios 543–45 but has not been made a separate chapter. The (normalized) text was published by Sokolov (1910a: 155–57), with notes (1910b: 89–92). There is an intriguing reference to the Presbyter Jeremiah, a character much discussed in connection with possible links between *2 Enoch* and the Bogomils (Angelov 1976; 1985).

(4) Ms *TSS 682* is a 16th-century miscellany in which chap. 16 is a copy of *2 Enoch* as found in *Merilo Pravednoe.* Sokolov (1910b: 90–95) listed forty-two of the "more interesting" variants.

(5) ?. A fifth copy in the *Mpr* tradition about which we have no information beyond a remark of Meshchersky (1964a).

(6) Ms *G.* In 1489, Gennady, Archbishop of Novgorod, wrote a letter to Ioasap, Archbishop of Rostov and Yaroslav, in which he quoted from *2 Enoch* a passage resembling 65:1–10 and with a text resembling that of *Mpr.* It was first published by Popov, who compared it with ms *P.* Sokolov published the text and discussed its affiliation (1910b: 118–19); but he could not decide whether Gennady got his quotation from a copy of *Merilo Pravednoe* or from some other recension of *2 Enoch.*

e. Family 5. (1) Ms *Chr.* Ms No. 39 of the Institute of History and Philology, Nezhin, is a beautiful 17th-century codex of 677 folios, a history of the ancient world into which extracts from *2 Enoch* have been incorporated in four portions. The first (folios 16ob–17ob) describes the movements of the sun and moon as in *2 En.* 11:1–13:2 and 14:1–15:3. The second (folio 20) has *2 En.* 16:1, 6–8; the third (folio 36) 58:1–5; the fourth (folios 50ob–53) represents a selection and rearrangement of *2 Enoch* 37; 24:1–33:4; 47:2–48:4; 40:1–42:6. These excerpts were edited by Sokolov (1910a: 148–53 [text]; 1910b: 80–83 [notes]), with variants from three other mss of the chronograph (the three following items).

(2) Ms Udolsky 728; see *Chr* above.

(3) Ms Udolsky 729; see *Chr* above.

(4) Ms Chr^2. This 18th century ms is No. 590 in the Rumyantsev Museum. It reproduces the first extract from *2 Enoch* as found in ms *Chr* in folios 134–36. Sokolov (1910a: 147–48) reproduced the text in normalized orthography.

f. Family 6. (1) Ms *R.* This ms was No. 321 in the National Library of Belgrade. Sokolov had given an ample description of the ms and designated it *"A"* (1910b: 10–32), but here we follow Vaillant (1952: vii) and call it *"R."* With a discoverer's enthusiasm, Sokolov made it the basis of his first critical edition of *2 Enoch* (1899). Bonwetsch used it for his 1922 translation, and Vaillant regarded it as the best witness to the "longer" recension.

(2) Ms *J.* BAN 13.3.25 is a 16th-century miscellany with Moldavian features. Sokolov published some notes on it (1910b: 44–53), but the text has not been published. Andersen used a microfilm, generously supplied by the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. through the good offices of James H. Charlesworth, as the basis of his translation of the "longer" recension in *OTP.* The text continues into the Melkisedek legend, but not to the end.

(3) Ms *P.* Part of the Khlyudov collection, now in the State Historical Museum, Moscow, was published by Popov (1880) and was the source of the Morphill-Forbes translation in *APOT,* recension "A." This was unfortunate, because *P* is the most corrupt of all witnesses (Vaillant 1952: iii, viii; Meshchersky 1964a: 93).

(4) Ms P^2. Ms No. 3058 in the Rumyantsev Museum; an 18th-century extract of God's account of creation (*2 Enoch* 28–32), recensionally close to ms *P* (Sokolov 1910b: 77–79). The text was published by Sokolov (1910a: 145–47).

2. Recensions. Because of the codicological practices of Slavic scribes, no intact copy of *2 Enoch* exists as a stand-alone item. The text has been excerpted, abbreviated, expanded, and rearranged. A shorter and a longer recension are generally recognized. The available material may be classified as follows: (a) reasonably complete manuscripts of the shorter recension (*A, U, B, N, V,* B^2); (b) excerpts from sources akin to the shorter recension which appear in other works—*Tr, Syn, Rum, Mpr* (TSS 253, TSS 498, TSS 682), *G, Chr* (Ud. 728, Ud. 729, Chr^2); (c) manu-

scripts of the longer recension, the only complete text (*R*) having been destroyed before it had been properly edited (*J* and *P* are truncated); and (d) a short extract of the longer recension (P^2).

3. Text Criticism. Early researchers favored the longer recension as more original. Charles, while recognizing that there were interpolations in *P* (his "*A*") and that it was "very corrupt" (Charles and Morphill 1896: xv) considered "it is nevertheless a truer representative of the original than [his] *B*" (our *N*) (1896: xv). After Schmidt's paper (1921) opinion swung the other way (Vaillant 1952; Sparks 1984); but misgivings have been increasingly expressed (van den Broek 1972). The textual history of this work is probably beyond recovery; it is very complicated, and in all likelihood there have been deletions and interpolations in both recensions.

4. Chapters and Verses. The mss present no standard system of versification and there is no agreed division into chapters. Sokolov introduced verse numbers, followed in part by Vaillant and Sparks. Charles made partial use of the (artificial and somewhat inconsistent) chapter divisions of *P*, which has a unique set of headings as well. Andersen (*OTP* 1: 98) extended Charles' system into the Melkisedek legend for the sake of continuity, and this scheme is being followed here.

C. Literary Affinities and Dependence

Although it is a pseudepigraphic apocalypse, *2 Enoch* does not belong to only one distinctive genre. With its revelations of heavenly secrets it is indeed an apocalypse. As narrative, it is a kind of midrash on Gen 5:24. With its moral admonitions it stands with the wisdom tradition (Enoch is called "wise" [1a:1]). Its discussions of natural phenomena, particularly astronomy, give it a strong scientific interest. Comparison with other traditions, literary corpora, and individual compositions suggests possible sources for the ideas found in *2 Enoch*, but the only palpable connection that can be established is its dependence on *1 Enoch*.

1. *1 Enoch*. The derivation of *2 Enoch* from *1 Enoch*, which is a collection of numerous Enochic books, is only partial and probably indirect. Even then the themes and motifs that *2 Enoch* shares with *1 Enoch* are not so distinctive as to require a direct connection, since many of them enjoyed a general circulation. The closest links are (a) in the journeys through celestial realms (but in *1 Enoch* they are visions while in *2 Enoch* they are real); (b) in Enoch's visions of judgment on humans and angels; (c) in his intercessory role; (d) in using the legend of the fallen angels or watchers (including the Mount Hermon location); (e) in astronomical-calendrical matters (although they differ in specific details); (f) in gaining access to heavenly books (*1 Enoch* 81; *2 Enoch* 23—details are different); (g) in being returned to earth to instruct his family (by seven holy ones in *1 En.* 81:5; by two in *2 En.* 38:1); (h) in forseeing the Flood (but *2 Enoch* ends there, whereas *1 Enoch* surveys the whole history of Israel, a subject in which *2 Enoch* has no interest); etc. See ENOCH, FIRST BOOK OF. The contacts are palpable with *1 Enoch*'s Book of Watchers and the Astronomical Treatise. Both books contain parting admonitions of Enoch to his family, similar in circumstances, intention, and ethical values and literary expression. Yet it is hard to find any passages in *2 Enoch* which can be proved to be derived substantially from *1 Enoch*. Besides that, there is much in *1 Enoch* that has no echo in *2 Enoch* (not only the Similitudes, which are a special problem) and much in *2 Enoch* that does not match anything in *1 Enoch*, such as the great interest in creation, and its continuation into the Melkisedek legend. The theory of Vaillant and others that *2 Enoch* represents an early Christian revision of *1 Enoch* is unconvincing, not only because the links are so tenuous, but also because hardly any of the material found only in *2 Enoch* is distinctively Christian.

2. Comparative Methodology. The piecemeal search for other occurrences of the hundreds of ideas and images found in *2 Enoch* usually comes up with something. But not one of the innumerable cases now on record has indicated whether *2 Enoch* borrowed from that source (and so is later), was itself the source (and so is earlier), or whether both got it from an unknown third source. This is true even when verbal coincidences suggest direct or indirect, conscious or unconscious literary quotation or allusion (there are no identified quotations in *2 Enoch*). Thus the echoes of the NT, already noted by Charles (Charles and Morphill 1896) convinced him that *2 Enoch* was known to early Christian writers; but the same evidence suggested to others that the NT was behind these parallels. The instances are so numerous that in this brief summary we shall mention only one or two examples of each kind, with a very small selection of the literature.

a. Mesopotamian Background. The work of Borger (1974), Milik (1976), VanderKam (1983), and others has found a Mesopotamian background for motifs in *1 Enoch*, some of it known only in works of great antiquity. In the case of *2 Enoch* one could point to the issue of eating or drinking or changing clothes when a mortal visits heaven, as in the Adapa myth (*ANET*, 102), or the preservation of books written before the flood and their later recovery. But these could be floating folk motifs that could surface anywhere at any time.

b. The OT. Biblical background can shine through indirectly. Ethical cliches about widow and orphan such as found in the OT and in *2 Enoch* prove nothing. The surprising thing is that, apart from the recognizable contact with Genesis, there is no palpable use of OT sources. Even the Melkisedek legend shows no interest in what the Bible says.

c. Egyptian Background. Charles (Charles and Morphill 1896; *APOT*) was convinced of the Egyptian provenience of *2 Enoch;* for him, the author was an Alexandrian Jew in the 1st century B.C. He pointed to such details as the crocodile form of the chalkydri (chap. 12) and the Egyptian month names (chap. 73). One might add the peculiarity that the Lord tells the story of creation in the first person, just as Re does in the Brenner-Rhind Papyrus III: 26–27 (Faulkener 1936); or compare Enoch's mode of celestial travel with the ascension myth in the Pyramid texts (Davis 1977); or *2 Enoch*'s fascination with the sun; or the thought of salvation as healing (Therapeutae?). The two most serious proposals of this kind are (1) that of van den Broek, who has shown in detail (1972: 287–304) that both the phoenixes and the chalkydras of *2 Enoch* are close to Egyptian traditions and come from "Egyptian syncre-

tism of Roman times" (p. 297); and (2) that of Scopello (1980), who identified Enoch's transformation into a "glorious one" (chap. 22) as gnostic and identified a quotation *from 2 Enoch* in the Nag Hammadi text *The Apocalypse of Zostrianos*. See also Charlesworth (1986). Philonenko (1969) found Egyptian affinities in the cosmogony of *2 Enoch*.

d. Other Pseudepigrapha. Innumerable tenuous similarities have been pointed out between phrases and ideas in *2 Enoch* and other pseudepigrapha, though it is not possible to determine who borrowed from whom. Of interest is the similar description of bird songs at dawn in *2 Enoch* 15 and *3 Baruch* 6.

e. Qumran. Soviet scholars have been particularly interested in possible links between *2 Enoch* and the Qumran community (however they may have to be explained historically), especially in the matter of the calendar and the Melkisedek legend (Amusin 1971; 1981). In addition there are a number of motifs, such as dark (or cold) fire, as well as ideas about angels in which the two sources resemble each other.

f. Philo. Some of Philo's ideas, such as Adam's appointment as king of the world (*2 En.* 30:12 compared with *Quaes Gen* 2: 56), may have found their way into *2 Enoch*. But these could have come through many channels, and *2 Enoch* is quite lacking in Philo's philosophical seriousness.

g. The NT. Charles' notes are rich in NT parallels which he took to be quotations from *2 Enoch*, but most can be explained as late Christian interpolations and glosses. An obvious case is the Trishagion in its Christian form (*2 En.* 21:1), which is a later addition to the text.

h. The NT Apocrypha. Some themes in *2 Enoch* which remind one of marginal but popular Christian writings, such as the torments of the damned (chap. 10) or the release of Adam from hell (chap. 42), may be early or late Christian additions and do not prove that the book as a whole is a Christian composition or revision of "Jewish" Enoch.

i. Church Fathers. Early Christians debated such questions as the number of heavens, the place of the creation of angels in the program of Genesis 1, the day on which Satan fell, whether Satan tempted Adam before he tempted Eve, how long Adam was in Paradise, etc. *2 Enoch* answers all these questions—there are seven heavens (chaps. 3–21 [but ten in chap. 10, a crude interpolation]); angels were created and Satan rebelled on the second day (chap. 29 [but the longer recension gives another version of the Satan legend in chap. 31]); Satan had no contact with Adam (31:6—interpolation); Adam was in Paradise for five and a half hours (32:1) or seven years (71:28).

j. Hexameron. The relation of the six days of creation in *2 Enoch* to the widespread hexameron tradition (Robbins 1912) needs a full study, especially in light of the prestige enjoyed by John Eksarch's *Shestodnev* (Kochev 1981) in Slavic culture.

k. Judaism. The posture of *2 Enoch* in relation to rabbinic Judaism is hard to gauge. The apocalyptic ascent to the place of secrets has affinities with merkabah mysticism (Gruenwald 1980); the uncompromising monotheism of *2 Enoch*, and its strict moral code, could be Jewish, but there is no interest in the history of Israel apart from Enoch and his generation, and no trace of Torah piety. Rubinstein (1962) showed that a sacrifice rule (59:3; 69:12) is known in marginal Judaism; but the general teaching of the book about sacrifice is mixed.

l. Gnosticism. The relation of *2 Enoch* to Gnosticism is a vast question that still awaits systematic investigation. Its severe monotheism contrasts with the dualism(s) (Charlesworth 1968–1969) of Gnosticism (Segal 1977) and of Bogomilism (see below). But in numerous other respects, including Enoch's acquisition of knowledge, there is a gnostic flavor. Its cosmogony touches *The Hypostasis of the Archons* at some points (but then Archas [chap. 26] could have come from the Chaldean Oracles); its theory of sin includes the idea of a fall from spirit to body (Gero 1978); its question-and-answer method reminds one of the gnostic gospels. Yet these similarities are so vague (apart from the one noted by Scopello) that similar impressions could be recorded of the *Corpus Hermeticum* (Poimandres).

m. Origen. The question whether Origen knew *2 Enoch* has been debated since Charles (Charles and Morphill 1896: xx) argued the affirmative from a statement that Origen knew about creation in a book of Enoch (not a theme in *1 Enoch*). Vaillant (1952: x) was likewise convinced; but Milik (1976: 109) explained this as no more than a reference to the astronomical section of *1 Enoch*. Pennington (1984: 323–24) reviewed the question even-handedly but inconclusively, admitting that "there is a similar uncertainty about all the other suggested patristic quotations" (p. 324).

n. The Quran. There are a number of passages in the Quran that remind one of *2 Enoch*, particularly those touching on creation and on the activities of Satan. Just one illustration: in *2 Enoch* 71 the newly born Melkisedek is already fully developed, as Jesus was according to Sura 3:46; 5:110; 19:30.

o. 3 Enoch. The numerous parallels between *2 Enoch* and *3 Enoch* were listed by Odeberg (1928: 52–63), who accepted Charles' position. Of similar interest is the place of *2 Enoch* in the Metatron tradition (Greenfield 1973). See also ENOCH, THIRD BOOK OF.

p. Byzantine Background. Milik, accepting Vaillant's theory that the longer recension was the result of a late medieval revision of the Slavonic translation, argued that the Gk original of the short recension, "which preserves the original Greek text fairly faithfully" (1976: 109)—a theory impossible to prove or disprove, since not one word of this supposed Gk original is available—was based on *1 Enoch* as we know it from the Ethiopic, and contains a number of Byzantine features which point to composition by a monk in Constantinople in the 9th or 10th centuries.

q. The Bogomil Connection. The theory that *2 Enoch* is simply a Bogomil work was propounded by Maunder (1918), but it received its fullest expression by Ivanov (1925). It was refuted by Turdeanu (1981: 1–74) but is still strongly held by Bulgarian scholars (Andersen 1987).

r. Slavic Culture. Study of pseudepigrapha in their medieval setting by scholars of eastern Europe has highlighted the significance of folk ingredients in this kind of literature (Petkanova 1979; Oinas 1985).

D. Composition, Translation, Transmission

The origins of *2 Enoch* are unknown. Research has not reached any consensus about the time, place, or contents

of its first published form. The options range from Charles' theory that the longer recension was written by an Alexandria Jew in the 1st century B.C. through belief that it was a Christian rewrite of *1 Enoch*, probably in Gk, made anywhere from the 2d century A.D. (in Syria?) to the 10th (in Byzantium), up to the denial that it is anything more than a home-grown product of Slavic religious culture. The numerous Gk elements, such as the names of the planets or the anagram for Adam's name (chap. 30), could betray the source language; but such features could attest no more than the general dependence of Slavic letters on Gk influence. The same can be said about the Semitisms that have been detected in this (Pines 1970) and similar works with a biblical flavor (Rubinstein 1953).

E. Translations

The main English translations are those of Morphill (Charles and Morphill 1896), Forbes (*APOT*), Andersen (*OTP* 1: 101–221), and Pennington (1984). In French there is Vaillant (1952). German translations include Bonwetsch (1922) and Reissler (1928), while Angelov (1922) and Petkanova (1981) are Bulgarian translations. For an extensive bibliography covering Bulgarian works, see Andersen 1987.

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FRANCIS I. ANDERSEN

ENOCH, THIRD BOOK OF. A late Jewish apocalypse in Hebrew, probably compiled in the 6th or 7th century A.D. in Babylonia.

A. The Name "3 Enoch"

Odeberg coined the name "3 Enoch" for his 1928 edition of the text. He chose it because he held that the redactor of *3 Enoch* made extensive use of *1 Enoch* and *2 Enoch.* Despite many shared motifs, direct literary dependence of *3 Enoch* on the earlier texts has yet to be proved. To avoid the possibly tendentious overtones of "3 Enoch" some scholars prefer the more neutral designation "Hebrew Enoch." The manuscripts refer to the work in whole or in part by a variety of titles, e.g., "The Book of Enoch by Rabbi Ishmael the High Priest"; "The Book of the Palaces [*Hêkālôt*]"; "The Chapters of the Palaces"; "The Chapters of Rabbi Ishmael"; "The Matter of the Elevation of Metatron."

B. Structure and Content

Both the content and the redactional identity of *3 Enoch* are problematic. The manuscripts and early printed editions contain very different collections of *3 Enoch* traditions. The differences between these collections are fundamentally a matter of length; wherever *3 Enoch* traditions are found they always occur in the same order. It is unclear whether the shorter collections have been excerpted from the longer, or whether they represent earlier stages in the evolution of the longer collections. The manuscripts which contain *3 Enoch* material sometimes appear to be anthologies, i.e., private notebooks in which medieval scholars collected from diverse sources traditions which interested them. Note, e.g., the Cambridge Geniza fragment (T.-S. K 21.95.L; Schäfer 1984: No. 12) which quotes a version of *3 Enoch* 1 (Schäfer 1981: §§1–2) followed directly by a version of *3 Enoch* 43–44 (Schäfer 1981: §§61–62). This consideration might be seen as favoring the primacy of the longer collections. On the other hand, the longer collections are clearly made up of preexisting and sometimes contradictory units of tradition (pericopae). Consequently the possibility cannot be ruled out that some of the shorter collections mark earlier phases in the history of the work. One Oxford manuscript (Neubauer No. 1748/2) and the early printed edition *Dĕrûš Pirqê Hêkālôt* (ca. 1650) contain only the account of the elevation of Enoch (*3 Enoch* 3–12, 15; Schäfer 1981: §§4–15, 19). The traditions regarding the elevation of Enoch play a pivotal role in the longer forms of *3 Enoch* (see below on structure), so it is intrinsically probable that these were the first *3 Enoch* traditions to be collected. They also happen to be the first collection of *3 Enoch* traditions to be externally attested (see below on date).

The largest collection of *3 Enoch* traditions is to be found in the manuscripts Vatican 228 and Oxford 1656. This collection tells a coherent story and has a clear redactional structure. Rabbi Ishmael ascends to heaven and meets the archangel Metatron, who acts as his sponsor, rescuing him from the hostility of the Merkaba angels and bringing him before God's throne, where he joins the angels in the celestial Sanctus (*Qĕdušša*). Ishmael asks Metatron to identify himself and in particular to explain the title "Youth" (*Naʿar*) with which the Merkaba angels addressed him. Metatron reveals that he is Enoch the son of Jared (Gen 5:18–24); as the youngest of the angel princes he is known as "Youth." He recounts in detail to Ishmael how as Enoch he was taken up to heaven and transformed into Metatron, one of the highest of the archangels who acts as God's viceregent. Having established Metatron's impeccable credentials as a heavenly guide, the text then turns to the revelations which he granted to Ishmael. First Metatron discourses to Ishmael on the angels (the *familia caelestis*)—their hierarchies, the sessions of the Heavenly Law Court, and the performance of the celestial *Qĕdušša*. Then he takes Ishmael on a tour of the wonders of heaven: he shows him the cosmic power of the divine names and the storehouses of souls (both those to be born and those who have been born and returned). Finally he shows Ishmael the Right Hand of God waiting impatiently to redeem Israel.

The structure of the text may be analyzed in detail as follows:

A. SUPERSCRIPTION = Gen 5:24
B. THE ASCENSION OF ISHMAEL (1:1–2:4; Schäfer 1981: §§1–3)
   1. Ishmael's ascent to heaven, his meeting with Metatron, and his participation in the *Qĕdušša* (1:1–12)
   2. Alternative version of the angels' opposition to Ishmael's ascent (parallel to 1:7–8)
C. THE ASCENSION OF ENOCH (3:1–16:5; Schäfer 1981: §§4–20)
   1. The Names of Metatron, especially the name *Naʿar* (3:1–4:2)
   2. The Elevation of Enoch (4:3–7:1)
      a. First Version: Enoch taken up as a "witness" to God's justice (4:3–10)

b. Second Version: Enoch taken up with the *Šekīna* (5:1–7:1)
(1) Preface: the story of the taking up of the *Šekīna* (5:1–14)
(2) First attempt to link Enoch's elevation with the taking up of the *Šekīna* (6:1–3)
(3) Second attempt to link Enoch's elevation with the taking up of the *Šekīna* (7:1)
3. Enoch's physical transformation, enthronement and insignia (8:1–15:2)
4. The Humbling of Metatron (16:1–5)

D. THE *FAMILIA CAELESTIS:* ITS HIERARCHIES AND ACTIVITIES (17:1–29:2; Schäfer 1981: §§21–58)
1. The Angelic Hierarchies (17:1–29:2)
a. First hierarchy, in descending rank (17:1–8)
b. Second hierarchy, in ascending rank (18:1–25)
c. Third hierarchy, in ascending rank (19:1–29:2)
2. Traditions regarding the Heavenly Law Court (30:1–34:2)
3. Traditions regarding the Celestial *Qĕdušša* (35:1–40:4)

E. THE WONDERS OF HEAVEN (41:1–48A:10; Schäfer 1981: §§59–70)
1. Cosmology (41:1–42:7)
a. The cosmic letters by which the world was created, i.e., the letters of the Divine Name (41:1–3)
b. The power of divine names to hold in balance the conflicting physical elements (42:1–7)
2. "Psychology": the storehouses of souls (43:1–47:4)
a. The souls of the righteous (43:1–3)
b. The souls of the wicked and intermediate (44:1–6)
c. The souls of the patriarchs (44:7–10)
d. The souls in the Heavenly Curtain (the *Pargôd*) (45:1–6)
e. The souls of the stars (46:1–4)
f. The souls of the angels that erred (47:1–4)
3. Eschatology: the Right Hand of God waiting to bring the messianic redemption (48A:1–10)

F. CONCLUSION = Zech 14:9

G. APPENDIX: THE ALPHABET OF AQIBA TRADITIONS ON METATRON (48B:1–48D:10; Schäfer 1981: §§71–80)
1. The Seventy Names of God (48B:1–2)
2. Short Account of the Elevation of Enoch, in acrostic form (48C:1–12)
3. The Seventy Names of Metatron (48D:1 + 5)
4. Metatron as Prince of Torah (*Śar Tôrâ*) (48D:2–4 + 6–10)

Certain elements within this long form of the text look like secondary additions. The Appendix (chaps. 48BCD; Schäfer 1981: §§71–80) has clearly been borrowed from an alphabetic midrash, as its acrostic form shows. Its insertion at the end of *3 Enoch* probably reflects the desire of the redactor to make his encyclopedia of Metatron traditions as full as possible. The parallel lists of the winds and chariots of God (chaps. 23–24; Schäfer 1981: §§35–38) seem to interrupt the third angelic hierarchy. However, their appearance at this point is not illogical in that they provide further information on the cherubim, who are the subject of chap. 22 (note 23:1 and 24:1). Chap. 34 (Schäfer 1981: §51), on the circles around the creatures (the *Ḥayyôt*), also looks intrusive. But note that it attaches itself by the catchword principle to 33:4 (cf. 34:1), and it forms a natural transition to the following section on the *Qĕdušša* (see 34:2). Chap. 16 (Schäfer 1981: §20), on the humbling of Metatron, might be thought to reverse too abruptly the laudatory trend of the preceeding chapters. It need not, however, be explained as a secondary expansion; it could be an integral part of the work, added in a spirit of self-correction. Or it might represent an attempt to link the Metatron speculations to Talmudic tradition, and thus to validate them (see below). There is a suspicion of a lacuna at 4:1 (Schäfer 1981: §5); Ishmael's question about the seventy names of Metatron is not answered. A block of material (similar to 48D:1; Schäfer 1981: §76) has apparently been edited out.

None of these cases seriously impairs the integrity of *3 Enoch* as found in Vatican 228 and Oxford 1656. Indeed, they are what would be expected, given that the work is basically a compendium. The redactor has gathered together certain Merkaba traditions that interested him and arranged them in a coherent order. As his organizing principle he has chosen a standard apocalyptic form, broadly resembling that found in *1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, T. Levi* 2:6–5:3, *Ascen. Is.* 6–11, and *Ap. Ab.* 15–29, in which a sage ascends to heaven and meets an angel who discloses to him certain secrets. As a secondary measure, the redactor has attempted to superimpose on his apocalypse midrashic form by adding the superscription (Gen 5:24). The direct quotation of a biblical lemma is totally foreign to apocalyptic form, but it serves here to key the material of *3 Enoch* into Scripture. Its presence illustrates the tendency of midrash to dominate all other literary forms in rabbinic literature.

C. Literary and Historical Context

Though *3 Enoch* is an apocalypse which shares many features with early apocalypses such as *1 Enoch* and *2 Enoch*, and with late apocalypses such as *Rĕ'uyyôt Yĕhezqē'l*, its closest affinities (in language, style and content) are with the so-called *Hêkālôt* literature (represented by texts such as *Hêkālôt Rabbātî* and *Hêkālôt Zûtartî*). The Talmud classifies the subject matter of the *Hêkālôt* texts as *Maʿăśēh Merkābâ*, the "Account of the Chariot," a term used to describe Ezekiel's vision of the glory of God by the river Chebar (Ezek 1:1–28). The *Hêkālôt* texts draw motifs from Ezekiel 1 and from other OT theophanies but they are not straightforward expositions of the biblical text. They present themselves as fresh visions, as attempts to see again what Ezekiel saw. In elaborate descriptions of the heavenly world, of God's throne, of the angelic hierarchies, and of the celestial liturgy, they depict God as a heavenly emperor, the angels as a celestial civil service (*pāmalyâ šel maʿălâ;* cf. the Roman term *familia Caesaris*). They stress the transcendence of God: his throne is located in the seventh heaven, in the middle of seven concentric palaces or temples (*hêkālôt*), and can be approached only through seven doors guarded by fierce guardian angels. Even if the adept does manage to penetrate to the Throne of Glory, what he perceives on the throne is only the outward manifestation of God; God in himself dwells in impenetrable regions beyond the seventh heaven.

The circles which produced the *Hêkālôt* literature were concerned to assert their links with rabbinic Judaism: they wrote in good rabbinic Hebrew and attributed their works pseudepigraphically to Rabbi Aqiba and Rabbi Ishmael. Yet their teachings were viewed with distrust by some rabbinic authorities; their appeal to fresh visionary experience ran counter to the fundamental rabbinic doctrine that the age of prophecy had passed, and their angelology at times comes close to jeopardizing the unity of God. The Talmud declares *Maʿăśēh Merkābâ* esoteric doctrine, not to be proclaimed in public, and to be studied only by scholars who have mastered the traditional discipline of halakhah (see *m. Ḥag.* 2:1, *t. Ḥag.* 2:1–7, *j. Ḥag.* 77a–d and *b. Ḥag.* 11b–16a). The nature of the *Hĕkālôt* circles is unclear. Some texts point to the existence of conventicles of Merkaba mystics who passed on a secret doctrine, and who met to engage in trance ascent to heaven (*Hêkālôt Rabbātî*, Schäfer 1981: §§198–268). Other texts contain rituals (whether performed privately or with others is not clear) for conjuring the Prince of the Divine Presence (*Śar happānîm*) down to earth and inducing him to part with secret information, probably relating to the heavenly world, or to the future (Schäfer 1981: §§623–39). Yet other texts appear to be liturgies formulated to promote effective private prayer (*Sēper haqqômâ* Cx, in Cohen 1983: 195–96). A powerful current of theurgy runs through *Hêkālôt* literature: the ultimate aim is to compel God or the angels to perform one's will. This aspect of the literature brings it close to magical texts such as *Sēper hārāzîm*. Certain *Hêkālôt* motifs appear on amulets, notably on the incantation bowls from Babylonia.

The historical development of *Hêkālôt* mysticism is obscure. The Talmud indicates that there were groups in Tannatic and Amoraic times (2d–6th centuries A.D.) devoted to the study of *Maʿăśēh Merkābâ*, though only glimpses are given of their teaching. It is reasonable to assume that some of the traditions contained in the extant *Hêkālôt* texts go back to Talmudic times. *Hêkālôt* mysticism clearly owes a debt to Jewish apocalyptic of the Second Temple period, which suggests that it originated in Palestine. Scholem (1965) and others have argued that *Hêkālôt* mysticism and Gnosticism show significant parallels. The *Hêkālôt* distinction between God as transcendent and God as he reveals himself on the throne in the seventh heaven (a theophany sometimes designated the *Yôṣēr bĕrēʾšît*, the "Creator of the World") recalls the gnostic distinction between the Primeval Father who resides in the Pleroma and the Demiurge who created the world and who resides in the seventh heaven. (However, unlike most gnostic systems, *Hêkālôt* mysticism is not strongly dualistic; the transcendent and the revealed God are one and the same, and there is no obvious denigration of the material world as evil.) The seven *hêkālôt* with the guardian angels recall the seven gnostic aeons with their attendant archons. Both gnostic and *Hêkālôt* texts speak of an ascent of the soul to the highest heaven which involves negotiating one's way past the angels/archons by the use of magical names, called "seals" in both literatures. Gnostic texts which will bear detailed comparison with the *Hêkālôt* literature are *Hyp. Arch.* 93:31–96:17 (NHC II,4); *Orig. World* 102:11–106:18 (NHC II,5; compare the elevation of Sabaoth with the elevation of Enoch!); and Origen's account of the doctrines of the Ophians (*c. Cels.* 6:24–38). Though the historical connection between the *Hêkālôt* texts and Gnosticism is much debated (see Alexander 1984), it is very probable that *Hêkālôt* mysticism emerged as a full-blown system within rabbinic society at the same time (3d–4th centuries A.D.) as Gnosticism was flourishing in the non-Jewish world.

Hêkālôt ideas and literature were carried from Palestine to Babylonia, and some of the key texts were known to the Babylonian Geonim (e.g., Saʿadya and Hai) in the 10th and 11th centuries. The texts were also known in North Africa and Egypt (they are referred to in the writings of Rabbenu Hanan'el [11th century] and fragments have been recovered from the Cairo Geniza). The Qaraites attacked the *Hêkālôt* literature and made fun of its exaggerated anthropomorphism. Though this attack deeply embarrassed the Rabbanites, it did not halt the spread of *Hêkālôt* literature. Certain texts were transmitted W to Europe, probably via Italy. They were valued by the medieval German Jewish pietists, the *Hăsîdê ʾAškĕnaz*. Most of the surviving texts have been passed down by the *Hăsîdê ʾAškĕnaz*, who may have had a hand in editing some of them into their present form. From the Rhineland the texts traveled to E Europe, where they had some influence on the thought of the 18th-century Hasidic movement. From medieval Italy *Hêkālôt* ideas passed also into S France. Their presence there in the early 9th century is attested in the *De judaicis superstitionibus* of Bishop Agobard of Lyons. Certain *Hêkālôt* ideas were taken up and reinterpreted by the Qabbalists of Provence and Catalonia and can be found reflected at various points in the Zohar.

D. Date and Provenance

Given the long and active history of *Hêkālôt* mysticism and of the *Hêkālôt* literature, it is not surprising that the date of *3 Enoch* has been fiercely disputed. Odeberg (1928: Part I, 23–43, 188) argued that the text as a whole is pre-Islamic, the main body (chaps. 3–48A, Schäfer 1981: §§4–70) having been redacted in the latter half of the 3d century A.D. He detected a stratum of material on Metatron as a primordial being (9:2–13:2, Schäfer 1981: §§12–16) that goes back to the 1st century A.D. Scholem (1965: 17), Gruenwald (1980: 192), and Alexander (*OTP* 1: 229) favor a 5th- or 6th-century date. Milik (1976: 123–35) suggests that *3 Enoch* cannot have been composed before the 9th or 10th centuries, and that, in fact, most of it was written between the 12th and 15th centuries.

In the case of a work such as *3 Enoch*, which is made up of diverse traditions from diverse periods, dating is a complex problem covering at least three things: (1) the date at which the individual pericopae, traditions, and motifs originated; (2) the date at which the macroform of the text, represented by Vatican 228 and Oxford 1656, was redacted; and (3) the dates at which the microforms of the text, represented by the other text witnesses, came into being. Though *3 Enoch* contains traditions and motifs that can be traced back to the Talmudic era, or even to the Second Temple period, there are indications that the macroform belongs broadly to the Gaonic period. It is unlikely to be later, since there are no compelling reasons to date any of the *Hêkālôt* texts, with the possible exception of *Masseket Hêkālôt*, to post-Gaonic times (though some edito-

rial activity on the texts by the *Ḥăsîdê ʾAškĕnaz* cannot, as noted earlier, be ruled out). The Geonim Saʿadya and Hai knew of a body of *Hêkālôt* literature and speak of it in terms which imply that it was of considerable antiquity. Conversely, the macroform is unlikely to be pre-Gaonic, since it includes the short account of the elevation of Metatron from the Alphabet of Aqiba (*3 Enoch* 48BCD, Schäfer 1981: §§71–80), a work normally dated to the early Gaonic period. The Qaraite Jacob al-Qirqisani (10th century) criticizes these Alphabet of Aqiba Metatron traditions in his *Kitab al-anwar wal-maraqib* I.4.2.

That the macroform of *3 Enoch* dates from the early Middle Ages is further indicated by its constant reuse of earlier *Hêkālôt* traditions and of traditions attested in the Talmud. The following are some examples:

(1) *3 En.* 4:2, 3, 10 (Schäfer 1981: §§5–6): Metatron's title *Naʿar* originally meant "servitor" and referred to his role in the heavenly sanctuary (cf. Exod 24:5; 1 Sam 2:13). *3 Enoch* reinterprets it as meaning "youth" and uses the reinterpretation to validate the identification of Metatron with Enoch. In doing so it is probably making use of the tradition in *b. Yebam.* 16b: "The following was uttered by the Prince of the World [= ? Metatron], 'I have been a youth [*naʿar*] and now I am old' " (Ps 37:25).

(2) *3 En.* 4:3–5 (Schäfer 1981: §§5–6): *Gen. Rab.* 28:8 and *b. Sanh.* 108a consider the question of whether God acted unjustly in destroying all flesh in the waters of the Flood. *3 Enoch* attempts to use this tradition to suggest that Enoch was taken up to heaven to bear witness to future generations that God had not destroyed the innocent with the guilty. *3 Enoch* seems untroubled by the biblical chronology which implies that Enoch was translated 669 years before the Flood (Gen 5:21–24; 7:11). Note, however, that the motif of Enoch as a heavenly witness is very old (see *Jub.* 10:17).

(3) *3 En.* 4:6–10 (Schäfer 1981: §§5–6): *b. Sanh.* 38b reports the tradition that the angels opposed the creation of man and claimed that their opposition was vindicated when God was compelled virtually to obliterate mankind in the Flood. *3 Enoch* rather obviously tries to adapt this tradition: (a) The Talmudic "third company" of angels is identified with ʿUzza, ʿAzza and ʿAzaʾel, three angels mentioned elsewhere (*3 En.* 5:9, Schäfer 1981: §§7–8); (b) The general charge against mankind is made incongruously to apply specifically to Enoch; (c) The Talmudic "first ones" is left without any obvious referrent; and (d) *3 Enoch* perforce retains the dating of the tradition to the time of the Flood, even though the biblical chronology has Enoch translated to heaven long before the Flood (cf. *3 En.* 4:7).

(4) *3 En.* 5:1–14 (Schäfer 1981: §§7–8) weaves together rabbinic traditions regarding the removal of the *Šekīna* from earth and the beginning of idolatry in the time of Enosh (*Gen. Rab.* 25:6; *b. Sanh.* 118b). It introduces the figure of Enoch and suggests that Enoch was translated to heaven with the *Šekīna* in the time of Enosh. That Enoch was contemporary with Enosh is based on the Cainite genealogy in Gen 4:17–26, which makes both grandsons of Adam. The Sethite genealogy in Genesis 5, however, puts Enosh in the third and Enoch in the seventh generation from Adam (cf. Jude 14).

(5) *3 En.* 16:1–5 (Schäfer 1981: §20): *3 Enoch's* account of the humbling of Metatron is almost certainly dependent on that in *b. Ḥag.* 15a. The manuscripts of *b. Ḥag.* 15a offer at least three recensions of the story of the humbling of Metatron. Significantly *3 Enoch*'s version corresponds to the latest of these recensions (found, e.g., in the Vilna edition of the Talmud), which turns on the notion that there is no sitting in heaven (Alexander 1987).

(6) *3 En.* 18:22 (Schäfer 1981: §28): the name ʾZ"BW"GH, which in earlier *Hêkālôt* tradition probably designated the Ogdoad, the Eighth Heaven (its three groups of consonants each add up by gematria to eight), has been reinterpreted as a name of an angel and taken by a kind of *notariqon* to mean "he who girds (the pious) with the garments of life" (*ʾôzēr bigdê ḥayyîm*).

(7) *3 En.* 31:1–2 (Schäfer 1981: §48): the "staff" of Mercy appears (deliberately?) to transpose the "staff" of Violence (= Judgment) in *b. Sanh.* 108a. That the image of the staff is original to the Talmudic tradition is shown by the quotation of Ezek 7:11, "Violence has risen up into a rod of wickedness."

(8) *3 En.* 45:2 (Schäfer 1981: §64): Metatron shows Ishmael all the generations of the world printed on the Heavenly Curtain (the *Pargôd*). This is probably modeled on the tradition (based on Gen 5:1, "This is the book of the generations of Adam") that God showed Adam all his descendants (*Gen. Rab.*; *b. ʿAbod. Zar.* 5a; *b. Sanh.* 38b). The reference to "tormentors" (*sôrĕqîm*) in *3 En.* 45:2 possibly alludes to the martyrdom of Aqiba, whose flesh they "combed" (*sôrĕqîn*) with combs of iron (*b. Ber.* 61b). The Talmudic version of the generations of the world tradition actually concludes with the martyrdom of Aqiba.

The redactor of *3 Enoch* has a clear purpose in reusing earlier rabbinic tradition: he wants to integrate his ideas with mainstream tradition and thereby to validate them. This maneuver only makes sense if the traditions he uses would be recognized as in some sense authoritative. The simplest hypothesis is to suppose that those traditions carried authority because they were already included in the Talmud. This indicates that the macroform of *3 Enoch* is post-Talmudic. A date in the 6th or 7th century A.D. is probably not too far from the truth.

As to provenance, there is evidence that the *Hêkālôt* movement flourished both in Palestine and Babylonia, so the macroform of *3 Enoch* could have originated in either region. In favor of Palestine is *3 Enoch*'s use of Palestinian apocalyptic traditions. However, the fact that *3 Enoch* appears to have a particularly close literary relationship to the Babylonian Talmud (note especially its reuse of the story of the humbling of Metatron found elsewhere only in *b. Ḥag.* 15a) tips the balance in favor of a redaction of the macroform in Babylonia.

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PHILIP S. ALEXANDER

ENOS (PERSON) [Gk *Enos*]. The son of Seth and father of Cainan, according to Luke's genealogy of Jesus in Luke 3:38. See ENOSH (PERSON).

ENOSH (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕnôš*]. Var. ENOS. Son of Seth at the age of 105 and father of Kenan (Gen 5:6–11). Enosh lived 905 years, fathering Kenan at the age of 90. Gen. 4:26 also notes the birth of Enosh, with the observation that it was at that time that people first began to call on the name of Yahweh. Both the name of Enosh and the meaning of Gen 4:26 have been subjects of discussion.

Enosh means "man" in Hebrew. Despite attempts to prove the contrary, the term is virtually synonymous with the Hebrew root underlying the name of Adam (Maass *TWAT* 1: 373–75). It occurs less frequently than *ʾdm,* however, most often in poetic texts where parallelism demands a synonym for the more frequent term. The name *ʾdm* is unique to this figure, and *ʾdm* is used both as a name and as a generic term for humanity in the opening chapters of Genesis. Similarly, the figure Enosh appears first in that line, which was destroyed in the murder of Abel but renewed by the birth of Seth. Just as in the case of the name of Adam, the name of Enosh may also form a symbolic reference to that line from which all humanity would come after the Flood. Enosh thus appears as a parallel or new Adam (Cassuto 1961: 246–47; Sasson 1978: 175; Rendsburg 1986: 24).

During the generation of Enosh, people began to call upon the name of Yahweh. Setting aside earlier attempts to translate the verb as "to profane" (for surveys, see Sandmel 1961; Fraade 1984), source critics view this statement as originating with J. They note the contrasting statements of E (Exod 3:13–15) and P (Exod 6:3–4) that the tetragrammation remained unknown until the time of Moses (Gunkel *Genesis* HKAT, 48; Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 127). Others understand the Exodus 6 (P) passage as referring either to worship in general taking place for the first time (Westermann 1984: 340–41), or to a particular type of divine self-revelation (Speiser *Genesis* AB, 37–38). A third alternative accepts both Yahweh's name as first revealed in the time of Moses and as revealing a particular aspect of the divine character, but also as having been retrojected into the Genesis narrative (including 4:26) by a writer who discerned that aspect of divine character as apparent in God's earlier manifestations (Wenham 1980: 182–83, 188 n. 72; *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 116). Finally, an alternate translation has been suggested for Exodus 6:3 which would relate it to the occurrences of the divine name in Genesis, "Did I not let myself be known to them by my name Yahweh?" (Martin 1955: 18–19; Driver 1973: 109). The implications of Gen 4:26 suggest that in some unspecified manner the worship of God began at this time. Whether or not this is intended to contrast with the line of Cain in the preceding verses depends upon whether or not the line of Cain is given as an example of wickedness in contrast to the righteousness of the line of Enosh (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 112).

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RICHARD S. HESS

ENROLLMENT. See CENSUS.

ENTRANCE OF HAMATH. See HAMATH, ENTRANCE OF.

ENUMA ELISH. A Babylonian narrative myth of about 1100 poetic lines, often misleadingly called "The (Babylonian) Epic of Creation." Its purpose was to explain and justify the rise of the god Marduk to headship of the pantheon, and creation is incidental to that. H. Gunkel and others held that it was the source or inspiration of OT passages about Yahweh's killing of Rahab, Leviathan, and other monsters, but this view is no longer tenable, since it is now known that Baal's defeat of Leviathan and Tannîn lies behind the Hebrew poetic passages. However, Enuma Elish remains important as a major Babylonian cosmological text, though it was not normative for its own world and needs to be understood in the light of other Sumero-Babylonian texts. It is a highly composite work, but many of its sources still survive so that its exposition is an object lesson in ancient composition.

In this narrative, because of a primeval contretemps, a group of young gods was threatened with destruction by Tiamat ("Sea"), who had her own group of followers. To prosecute her plan, she created a number of monsters which she put under the command of her spouse Kingu.

Of the younger gods, Anshar, their king, first sent Ea and then Anu to do battle with Tiamat and her host, but both withdrew at the first glance. Marduk, Ea's son, was persuaded to take up the cause. He, however, imposed a condition that, were he to return victorious, the existing divine government would abdicate in his favor, and this was agreed. Duly armed he set out, and after falling back at the first sight of the enemy, he recovered his nerve and advanced to victory. Immediately after victory he rearranged the universe according to the Babylonian concept of the author's day and made Babylon the first city. In his newly built temple there he was celebrated by the gods as their king.

In history, Babylon and Marduk, its patron god, were insignificant until Hammurabi made Babylon the capital of southern Iraq ca. 1750 B.C. and promoted Marduk to be a "great god" (among other great gods). It was only under Nebuchadnezzar I (ca. 1120 B.C.) that Marduk was officially exalted as "king of the gods," though there are rare hints of this earlier. Enuma Elish was probably composed at about that time to support and justify this promotion (Lambert 1964).

The text is divided by most ancient scribes into seven tablets, but though seven is a significant number, the author does not seem to have composed the text with this division in mind. Many pieces of this text written in cuneiform script on clay tablets have been recovered from both Babylonian and Assyrian sites, since it was a very popular composition at least with scribes in the second and third quarters of the Ist millennium B.C. Most date from between ca. 750 and 200 B.C., but there are four small fragments from Assur of about 900 B.C. The lack of earlier pieces and of allusions to the text opposes a date of composition substantially earlier than Nebuchadnezzar I, and nothing internal supports an earlier dating. Berossus narrates a very similar story, but it is different enough in some details that his dependence on the text we know is not completely certain. All the available evidence argues that this is an original composition, using very freely earlier sources. There is no reason to suspect that this is a lightly revised version of an earlier text (now lost).

The major motif of threatened gods (gods actually worshipped in the author's time) saved by one of their juniors who is rewarded for the service is known from two other Babylonian texts, the Anzû Myth and the Slaying of Labbu. Enuma Elish clearly depends on the former, though all but a few of the details are changed. The text begins with a theogony that combines elements from the traditional ancestries of the gods Anu and Enlil. The only original elements are the pair at the head, the male Apsû (the underworld body of water on which springs draw) and the female Tiamat ("Sea"). The concept of water as the prime element is commonly attested elsewhere in the ancient world, in Sumer with Nammu/Namma, mother of Ea, but only in Enuma Elish and dependent sources are the male–female pair Apsû and Tiamat used. Since there is no evidence of a Sumero-Babylonian background for Tiamat as the origin of everything, there have been suggestions that this concept was borrowed from the West, perhaps from the Amorites. However, there is no good support for this idea ("Sea" there is Yam, a male deity), and there is now evidence of Tiamat as a primeval god from the Diyala region in the later 3d millennium. So the author himself probably married the Sumerian male Apsû to the Semitic Tiamat (perhaps from the Diyala region) and used them as the prime elements. In Enuma Elish Tiamat in fact varies between being a body of water and a monstrous female goat. The theogony leads up to Ea, Marduk's father.

At this point the junior gods disturb Apsû and Tiamat by their noise, so Apsû proposes to exterminate them, despite Tiamat's objections. Ea acts first by killing Apsû and sets up his abode on the dead body. This is etiological, explaining how (in Sumero-Babylonian thought) Ea lived in the Apsû. In this new abode of Ea, Marduk, Ea's son is born and promptly disturbs Tiamat by creating a wave. Gods of unspecified origin now urge Tiamat to act before she meets the fate of Apsû, so she creates eleven monsters (the victor of the Anzû Myth had defeated eleven opponents) and puts Kingu in charge. The author has incorporated verbatim a passage from a lost text describing the monsters. No explanation of Kingu's origin is given, but he is an alter ego of Enmesharra, who, with his sons (paralleling the monsters of Enuma Elish), was defeated by Marduk in another myth. From this point to the victory the Anzû Myth provides the outline of the narrative.

Marduk's reorganization of the universe involves the Apsû, which already existed and was put at the bottom; the body of Tiamat, which was split into two to provide the watery upper heavens and the solid earth; and a lower heaven ("Esharra"), the only part specially created. The author is in fact blending three originally distinct cosmologies: (1) a two-level universe of heaven and earth resulting from splitting a body of matter (an extremely widespread concept), (2) a Sumero-Babylonian three-level universe for the Neo-Sumerian trinity consisting of Anu in heaven, Enlil on earth, and Ea in the Apsû (most clearly attested in the Atra-ḫasīs Epic), and (3) the concept of three heavens (in Enuma Elish, the uppermost is half of Tiamat's body, the middle one was apparently made *ex nihilo*, and the lower one is the level of the stars, and not given any particular name). No netherworld is mentioned, though it was believed to exist below the Apsû. Enlil, the god Ea displaced as head of the pantheon, is first mentioned at this point, when Marduk assigns him the second heaven as his abode. Creation continues with the furnishing of the void between the base of the lower heaven and the surface of the earth. The heavenly bodies were appointed, but the author had no interest in astronomy as such and only deals with those heavenly bodies conceived to regulate the cultic calendar: the thirty-six stars that regulate the year; the moon, which regulates the month, and the sun, which governs the day. Meteorological phenomena are supplied, and the physical features of the surface of the earth are arranged from parts of Tiamat's animal body (the Tigris and Euphrates flow from her eyes, etc.). The various levels of the universe thus set up are finally stabilized by a cosmic cable and Marduk's battle net, which was spread around them. Images of the eleven monsters were then set up as a memorial of Marduk's victory (etiology in fact: representations of them existed in the author's day).

From this point, between the remaining episodes, the gods repeatedly proclaim Marduk king. First Babylon is built on the earth and centrally in the universe to serve as

Marduk's home, where the gods of upper and lower cosmic regions will meet in assembly. Thus Nippur, Enlil's town, where the gods met in Sumerian myths, was displaced, just as its god was. Now man is created by interplay between Ea (the traditional Sumero-Babylonian creator) and Marduk (who replaces the Mother Goddess of tradition). The particular version of creation used is that of the Atra-ḫasīs Epic, in which Ea and the Mother Goddess make man from clay mixed with the blood of a slain god, but in Enuma Elish much of the detail is omitted. There is no mention of clay, only of the slain god's blood (Kingu in Enuma Elish), but probably readers were expected to be familiar with the notion of clay being mixed with the blood. Kingu is judicially found guilty of causing the war (wrongly, according to the story of Enuma Elish: Tiamat was responsible), and he is condemned to die so that man can be created from his blood. It is assumed that life can come only from preexisting life. The contradiction in the story results from using the myth about Enmesharra as the basis of the judgment scene. In that story Marduk defeats Enmesharra and his sons, who had rebelled, and after a short period in prison their father is condemned to death as the ringleader while his sons are pardoned. The author deftly changes this freeing from prison into the freeing of the younger gods from the hard labor required of them to provide them with their daily bread. In Sumero-Babylonian thought the human race existed solely to supply the gods with food and drink, which they did with regular meals set before the statues of the gods in the temples. With the gods now content with this supply of food and drink, Marduk proceeds to organize them in two groups, those of heaven and those of the netherworld, which suddenly appears from nowhere. At this the gods in gratitude build Marduk's temple in Babylon, Esagil, and, seated at a banquet, admire his net and bow and then, for the fourth time, proclaim him king and in addition take a loyalty oath, after which they proclaim his fifty names. This listing of names together with etymological and (more often) pseudo-etymological interpretations occupies 172 lines and was borrowed by the author from a triple-column god list with a little rearrangement and expansion (Bottero 1977). The interpretations constitute a theology of the god.

The concluding epilogue hopes that this work, whose compilation was undertaken for the benefit of posterity, would teach the greatness of Marduk to scholar and shepherd alike.

It is known that under the Late Babylonian empire this text was recited to Marduk's statue on the fourth day of Nisan in the course of the New Year festival (*ANET*, 332). During the same festival, about a week later, Marduk ceremonially defeated Tiamat and was proclaimed king by the other gods, who had assembled in Babylon for this purpose. It has been argued that Enuma Elish was the "scripture" for this annual reenactment, an example of the interplay of myth and ritual. But the recitation did not take place in connection with the Akitu rites in the course of which Tiamat was defeated. Furthermore it is known that Enuma Elish was also recited to Marduk on the fourth day of Kislimu, when no Akitu house battle took place, and information about the fourth day of the other ten months is lacking. Thus it is possible that Enuma Elish was recited to Marduk on the fourth day of every month, so the occurrence in Nisan is not especially significant. In any case there is no evidence that Enuma Elish was composed with cultic recitation in view. The epilogue states clearly that it was intended to serve in spreading knowledge of the greatness of Marduk throughout the population, by oral recitation. Thus the context of Enuma Elish is the rise of Marduk in history, in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, not the cult of Babylon, in which its use was presumably secondary.

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W. G. LAMBERT

ENVY. Envy is not a topic of any significance in either the OT or the NT. There is, for instance, no passage in which envy itself is discussed. This is in striking contrast to the importance it is accorded in Greek and Latin literature and in the writings of the Fathers of the Church. In this latter body of literature, envy is singled out as a moral failing particularly to be avoided by Christians, because it is the peculiar fault of the Devil and because it is the very antithesis of the injunction that we love our enemies. Envy is the peculiar fault of the Devil, since it was envy that brought about his fall and it was his envy that caused man's fall (Cypr. *Zel. et liv. PL* 4:665–66); it is the antithesis of loving our enemies, since the envious man will hate even a friend if that friend is fortunate (John Chrysostom, *Invid. PG* 63:679). It is true that frequent citations from the Bible lend a seeming authority to the teaching of the Church Fathers on envy, but the real intellectual underpinning of that teaching is provided by Greek literature and philosophy. We have then something of a paradox: envy plays little part in the Bible but is a key concept in developed Christian theology.

A. *Phthonos*
B. OT References
C. NT References
D. Extrabiblical Material

A. *Phthonos*

The Fathers of the Church were the products of a culture that was acutely conscious of envy; they possessed

a profound understanding of its nature and at the same time were convinced that it was an ever-present threat. In these circumstances it is not surprising that they should have read their own preoccupations into the Bible. What the Fathers of the Church were concerned about when they spoke of *phthonos, baskania* or *zēlos,* or if they were writing in Latin, *invidia, livor, zelus,* or *aemulatio,* was a grudging, mean-spirited condition of mind. A man subject to that state of mind finds it difficult or impossible to share his own goods with another and cannot bear to see anyone else in possession of a good. It is this latter aspect of *phthonos* that corresponds to our "envy" and "jealousy." It is important to bear in mind that *phthonos* has a broader application than "envy" or "jealousy" and that these terms are not always an accurate rendering of its meaning. Sometimes it is applied to those who only reluctantly share their own goods with others; on other occasions, and this is how it is most often used, it has the same intent as "envy" or "jealousy"; and sometimes it is used of those who not only begrudge others a share of their own goods but begrudge others their good fortune.

The man afflicted by *phthonos,* the *phthoneros* man, begrudges others their possessions not because they possess them unjustly but simply because it is not in his nature to view such good fortune with equanimity. It may nonetheless be the case that he is convinced that he is justified in his resentment. This unjustifiable begrudging is a form of malice or ill will; it is so because in wishing to see his neighbor deprived of a good he wishes him ill. It is the unjustified malevolence inherent in *phthonos* that makes people hate and fear it.

Ancient moralizing on *phthonos,* both Christian and pagan, tends to concentrate on the ill it does its possessor rather than others, perhaps because arguments aimed at self-interest are more effective than those that rely on one's sense of altruism. *Phthonos* was supposed to make its possessor unhappy to the point that he might even begin to waste away in his misery. All ancient definitions of *phthonos* in fact say that it is distress *(lupē)* provoked by the good fortune of others (Plat. *Phlb.* 49d; Arist. *Rh.* 1387b22–25; *SVF* 3:99:38–39).

Phthonos is to be distinguished, as in envy, from greed and from competitiveness. Unlike the greedy man, the man afflicted by *phthonos* does not necessarily want the goods he resents another having; he simply does not want that other to have them. He differs from the competitive man in that his aim, unlike that of the competitive man, is not to win but to keep others from winning.

One of the pecularities of *phthonos,* as of envy, is its lack of self-awareness. The *phthoneros* man, if called upon to justify his conduct, will always tell himself and others that those he attacks deserve it and that it is the unfairness of the situation that moves him to criticize. If asked how he can possibly speak of a friend in the way he does, he will say that his criticisms have the friend's best interests at heart. It is because *phthonos* always conceals its true nature from its possessor and from others that it is associated with hypocrisy. This made it all the more feared, since its attacks were never open and straightforward but always veiled.

Those given to *phthonos* were thought to indulge their spite in whispered slanders, in backbiting, and in denigration in general. Their ill will could also take a more sinister and immediately dangerous form: their hate-filled look was thought to blight that on which it fell. It was believed to make crops, livestock, and people wither and waste away. This is the superstition known as the evil eye, although there is very little ancient authority for it under that name. In Classical Antiquity, it was known simply as *phthonos* or *baskania.*

This brief analysis of the nature of *phthonos* should make it clear on a little reflection that it is a particularly vicious and inexcusable form of malice. In Classical Antiquity it was a condition that was supposed to afflict all men in some measure and a very large number of men in significant measure (*Aesch. Ag.* 832–33; Hdt. 3:80:3; 7:237:2). This is a view of human nature shared by many other societies. What is so remarkable about the OT and the NT is that this fundamental human failing should have so little engaged the attention of its authors. What little is said about it shows the stamp of Greek ways of thought.

B. OT References

The Church Fathers when they discourse on *phthonos* regularly appeal to what was obviously a canonical list of the envious drawn mainly from the OT. They begin with the *phthonos* of the Devil for mankind, and proceed to that of Cain for Abel, to that of Joseph's brothers for Joseph, and to that of Saul for David and end up finally with the *phthonos* of the Jews for Jesus (*1 Clem.* 3; Cypr. *Zel. et liv. PL* 4:665–67). Only in the first and third of the passages from which these *exempla* are drawn are *phthonos* or *zēlos* mentioned explicitly (Wis 2:23–24; Gen 37:11). This is an illustration of how seldom *phthonos* is cited as a motive for men's actions in either testament. By the standards of Classical Antiquity this is quite remarkable.

It is really not until we come to the later books of the OT that *phthonos* makes an appearance, though a somewhat illusory one. It is in Ben Sira and in Wisdom that *phthonos* first comes to the fore. On closer scrutiny we find that the translator of Ben Sira, although he appears to be talking about *phthonos,* is not really doing so, for he uses *phthonos* and *baskania* with the same extension of meaning that they have elsewhere in the LXX. Warnings against *phthonos* and *baskania* turn out on closer inspection to be admonitions against a greedy and miserly spirit (14:3–10; 18:19). There is in that work very little evidence of a real concern with envy.

Baskania in the LXX is used principally of a spirit that is both greedy and miserly. (Prov 23:6; 28:22; Sir 14:3–10; 18:19). In one passage, in Deuteronomy, "jealousy" is a plausible rendering (28:54–56). Once in Wisdom it appears to be used of bewitching (4:12). The situation with *phthonos* is superficially less confused. It is used of envy and jealousy (Wis 2:24; 1 Macc 8:16) and is also applied to a begrudging and stingy spirit (Wis 6:23).

The author of Wisdom has a rather better grasp of the concept of *phthonos* than is evident elsewhere in the LXX. In one passage, the writer promises to reveal all the wisdom he has received from God and not accompany that wisdom with wasted *phthonos,* on the ground that *phthonos* does not consort with wisdom.

> I shall not lead the truth aside, nor shall I accompany it with wasted *phthonos*, because *phthonos* does not consort with wisdom (6:23).

The idea that it is wrong to hold back special knowledge or wisdom and not give it unstintingly is Greek and is to be found first in the collection of gnomic verses that go under the name of Theognis of Megara (769–72. *Cf.* Pind. *Isthm.* 1:43–46). It is very much the common currency of the time of the author of Wisdom and plays a prominent part in the writing of Philo Judaeus (*Post* 138; *Spec Leg* IV:75; *Virt* 223). It is especially prevalent in prefaces to technical treatises (Gal. *De anatomicis administrationibus* 9; Vitr. *De Arch.* 7 *praef.* 1).

The mode of expression is also Greek; wasting is regularly associated with *phthonos*. It is so because the envious are thought to waste away in their own misery. It is nonetheless puzzling that wasting should be an attribute of *phthonos* here, as it is the *phthonos* of envy or jealousy which causes wasting and not that of being merely begrudging.

The influence of Greek thought is to be seen most clearly in those lines in Wisdom in which the presence of death in the world is explained:

> For God made man without corruption and created him in the likeness of his own immortality. By the *phthonos* of the Devil death came into the world (2:23–24).

What this passage amounts to is an interpretation of Gen 1:26, where God is said to create man in his own likeness, and Genesis 3, in which the story of Eve's temptation by the serpent is told. The serpent has become the Devil or the Devil's instrument, as it is hereafter in Christian and gnostic literature, while the temptation of Eve becomes the Devil's introduction of death into the world. His motive for so acting is put down to *phthonos*. We have to infer that his *phthonos* was aroused by God's making man in his own likeness and thus making him immortal.

The influence of Plato's account in the *Timaeus* of how the Divine Demiurge made the world in his own image may be detected in this interpretation of the creation-myth in Genesis. In the *Timaeus* the Divine Demiurge is said to have created the world because he was good, since in one who is good there is no *phthonos* ever about anything at all (29e). The Devil has been endowed with exactly the attribute of which the Divine Demiurge is free and whose absence in the Divine Demiurge explains his willingness to create all things in his own image. We know that in Alexandria in the generation following that in which Wisdom was composed, Philo used the *Timaeus* to interpret the creation story in Genesis (*Op* 21). The same influence may well be at work in Wisdom. If not, it is exceedingly difficult to see where the idea of the Devil's *phthonos* can have come from.

Reese (1970: 11) suggested that in this passage the author of Wisdom wished to introduce from Greek religious literature, where Reese thinks it is common, the motif of the envy of the gods to clear God of the responsibility of having brought death into the world. Van Unnik (1972: 130) was prepared to entertain the suggestion but very properly asked whether the idea was in circulation in the time of the author of Wisdom. There is no evidence in what we have of Hellenistic Greek literature for the idea as such, although belief in the *phthonos* of fate or fortune existed at that time. The two Greek authors in whose work the notion of the envy of the gods plays a prominent part belong to the 5th century B.C. They are the historian Herodotus and the lyric poet Pindar. It seems unlikely that the author of Wisdom had read either.

Wis 2:23–24 was taken up by both Christians and gnostics as the accepted explanation of the Fall. It also helped shape one of the standard tenets of early Christian theology, namely, that envy is the Devil's chief and defining characteristic.

C. NT References

The NT has relatively little to say about envy. Perhaps not surprisingly it is Paul who mentions it most frequently, and it is what he has to say about envy to which the Church Fathers have most frequent recourse.

At Rom 1:29, in the midst of a long catalog of the sins to which those who reject the knowledge of God for idolatry are given, Paul mentions *phthonos*, murder *(phonos)*, contentiousness *(eris)*, and deceit and a malicious nature *(kakoetheia)*. *Phthonos* in Classical and later Greek literature is regularly mentioned alongside *eris* and *phonos* (for *phthonos* with *eris* and *phonos*, see Soph. *OC* 1234–35; for *phthonos* and *phonos*, see Eur. *Tro.* 769–70; Plut. *Marc.* 29:1; *Phoc.* 37:2) while *kakoetheia* and *phthonos* are frequently coupled in later Greek literature (Plut. *Arat.* 15:4–5; *Demetr.* 50:5; *Mor.* 92b; 100f–101a; 465b; 556b; 630d; 845d; 856a–b). The influence of Greek culture on Paul here cannot be gainsaid, although there is little of ethical or theological significance that can safely be gleaned from this passage.

In Gal 5:20–22 Paul mentions *phthonos* in a catalog of the deeds of the flesh. In that passage he also mentions *eris* and *zēloi*. In Rom 13:13 Paul couples *eris* with *zēlos* in appealing to his hearers to put off the deeds of darkness and don Christ. Again in 1 Cor 3:3 he warns his listeners that when there is *eris* and *zēlos* in them they are creatures of flesh. In 2 Cor 12:20 he expresses the fear that he may still find *eris* and *zēlos* in the Corinthians. There is really nothing in these catalogs to enable us to decide whether Paul intends a distinction between *phthonos* and *zēlos* or whether they are little more than synonyms for him. The conjunction of *eris* with *zēlos* does not help to clarify the issue, since contentiousness can equally well be coupled with both envy and worldly ambition. Although envy is clearly the graver failing, it would still make perfectly good sense for Paul to include worldly ambition among the deeds of the flesh. It does, after all, lead to envy and strife.

There is little help in turning to Church Fathers to see whether they shed any light on what Paul means by *zēlos* and *eris*. Cyprian in the *De Zelo et Livore (On Envy and Jealousy)*, not unsurprisingly, given his subject matter, takes Paul in 1 Cor 3:3 to be issuing a warning against envy (*PL* 4:672). Basil, for his part, associates *zēlos* and *eris* with *philoneikia*, "contentiousness," and places them in opposition to *sumpnoia* and *homonoia*, "harmony" (*jud. PG* 31:660; *reg. br. PG* 31:1000). If these associations and oppositions point in any direction, they suggest that Basil understands *zēlos* to be competitiveness or emulation rather than envy.

It would not greatly matter what Paul intended by *zēlos* and *eris* in these catalogs of the deeds of the flesh were it

not the case that he also uses *zēlos* in his definition of what love *(agapē)* is in 1 Cor 13:4. It is, he says, long suffering, it does good, it does not engage in *zēlos*, it is not vainglorious, and it is not conceited. Both Origen (*comm. in I Cor.* 51 ed. C. Jenkins, *JTS* 9 & 10 [1908]) and Cyprian (*Zel. et liv. PL* 4:672) assume that he is speaking of envy or jealousy. Origen, as examples of a *zēlos* that is far from love, cites the *zēlos* of Cain toward Abel and that of Joseph's brothers for Joseph. These are by the time of Origen *exempla* of envy. Modern scholarship also takes it for granted that envy is at issue in 1 Cor 13.4 (Conzelmann *1 Corinthians* Hermeneia, 72 n.32).

It is impossible to decide whether *zēlos* in this passage is to be rendered as envy or as competitiveness. If *zēlos* here is envy, Paul's definition of love has a sharpness and precision, since envy is the very antithesis of Christian love; it is self-absorbed and filled with ill will toward others, whereas love is selfless and goodwill toward others is of its essence. That said, it has to be admitted that Paul might well have meant that there is no competitiveness in love, in which case it is probably the self-sacrificing quality of love that he intends to emphasize.

At the conclusion of Galatians 5, Paul calls on those he addresses to walk in the path of the spirit and to reject vainglory *(kenodoxia)* and neither challenge nor envy *(phthonountes)* each other (25–26). This exhortation is reminiscent of Epicurean and Stoic rejections of worldly ambition. Such ambition was rejected by Epicureans on the ground that it led to strife, murder, and the mental distress of greed and envy (Lucr. 3:59–81). For Epictetus, boastfulness and *kenodoxia* are one side of a coin whose other side is made up of distress, envy *(phthonos)*, and lamentation (Arr. *Epict. Diss.* 3:24:43). Those in pagan antiquity who advocated withdrawal from the world did so in the belief that it gave men tranquility of mind and happiness by eradicating the sources of the aspirations that make men greedy, envious, and ambitious, and so tortured and unhappy. This concern with personal contentment and happiness is clearly not Paul's. It nonetheless remains the case that Paul's exhortation to the Galatians to put aside vanity and its attendant ills owes a good deal of its inspiration to Greek popular philosophizing.

In Rom 12:15 Paul exhorts his hearers to rejoice with those who rejoice and weep with those who weep. John Chrysostom, in commenting on this exhortation, says that many weep with those who weep but do not rejoice with those who rejoice but rather weep. That, he says, is *phthonos* and *baskania* (*hom. 1–32 in Rom. PG* 60:447). That Chrysostom should see in Rom 12:15 an exhortation against envy was almost inevitable for a man both versed in Classical Greek literature and possessed of a heightened awareness of the part that envy played in human life. In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, the Chorus of Elders, addressing Agamemnon, remark that everyone is ready to groan over one in misfortune but that many men have to force their faces into a semblance of a smile when they want to pretend that they rejoice with someone (790–98). Agamemnon's response to this is that it comes naturally to few men not to envy a friend when he is successful (830–33). In a paraenetic speech in the Isocratean corpus the speaker bids the addressee in choosing his friends not to select those who are merely distressed by his ills but those who in addition do not envy him (Isoc. *Ad Demonic.* 26). The ultimate inspiration for Rom 12:15 must be teaching of the sort found at Isoc. *Ad Demonic.* 26, but Paul's failure to expand on the meaning of the exhortation makes it impossible to know whether he intended a warning against envy. Since he shows no great familiarity with the commonplaces of Greek moralizing, it seems on balance more likely that he did not have envy in mind.

To put into perspective what Paul says about envy, we should remember that he does not accord that failing any special attention and that it is simply one among several other failings to which he makes passing reference. Only in Galatians 5 can envy really be said to be toward the center of his thinking. There is, in short, little sign that he has given much thought to envy.

In James there is a passage in which bitter *zēlos* and factionalism are compared to their disadvantage with the wisdom that comes from on high and are condemned as the cause of anarchy and all that is bad (3:13–18). The writer then turns to the origins of wars and battles, which he finds in the pleasures that, in his words, "campaign in our limbs" (4:1). As the ensuing passage makes clear, what he means by this is that strife comes from frustrated desires, which realize themselves in *zēlos* (4:2). The topic of physical pleasure leads into that of love of the things of the world, which the writer condemns as hateful to God (4.4). He then asks rhetorically:

> Does it seem to you that Scripture speaks emptily saying: "The spirit that dwells in us longs jealously *(pros phthonon)*" (4:5).

That is followed by the assertion that God sets himself against the proud and gives his grace to the humble (4:6 = Prov 3:34). The writer's hearers are now enjoined to place themselves under God's command and to resist the Devil, whom, they are assured, will flee from them (4:7).

These strictures against *phthonos* and *zēlos*, and in particular the association of a bitter and contentious spirit with bodily desires and wordly ambition, strongly resemble Paul's warnings on the same topic. As in Paul there is the same difficulty in deciding what exactly the writer understands by *zēlos* and by *phthonos* and to what extent, if at all, he distinguishes between them. James goes beyond Paul in finding the origins of strife in frustrated physical desire, but it should be noted that his conception of physical desire is a broad one and encompasses a longing for the things of the world, among them the objects of ambition.

In some ways the most interesting aspect of the passage lies in what seems to be implied in the exhortation to resist the Devil, namely, that *zēlos* and *phthonos* are the Devil's work. It is probably wrong to press this connection too hard and to take the writer to have in mind something akin to the later thesis that *phthonos* is the snare by which the Devil entraps men. The writer in all likelihood had nothing more specific in mind than that the deeds of the flesh belong to the Devil.

In 1 Peter the writer calls on his hearers to put aside all wickedness, guile, instances of hypocrisy *(hypokrisis)* and *phthonos*, and all slandering, and in their place drink the unadulterated milk of the word (2:1). *Hypokrisis* and *phthonos* are almost certainly a hendiadys here and repre-

sent one idea, not two, the hypocrisy of *phthonos*. It is readily understandable why *phthonos*, which always tries to conceal its true nature, should be associated with hypocrisy. There are in Classical Greek literature before this passage no instances of this association. The earliest seems to be in the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius (1:11). That may be simply an accident of survival. However that may be, the association of these two ideas in this passage led some of the Church Fathers to profound insights into the nature of *phthonos*.

Besides these passages of moral and theological purport, *phthonos* is twice adduced in narratives as the motive for men's actions. Both Matthew and Mark say that Pontius Pilate knew that *phthonos* was the motive that had prompted the high priests and elders of the Jews to hand Jesus over to him (Matt 27:18; Mark 15:10). We are told that he knew this when he asked these same high priests and elders whom they would prefer him to set free, Jesus or Barabbas. That is to say, both Mark and Matthew are suggesting that Pontius Pilate was being disingenuous in asking that question, since he already knew that the high priests and elders were fatally prejudiced against Jesus because *phthonos* was their motive in handing Jesus over to him. These passages were to bear fruit in later Christian literature: there Jesus' death is regularly ascribed to the *phthonos* of the Jews (Cypr. *Zel. et liv. PL* 4:667 is the first instance).

In sum, neither the OT nor the NT provides any real guidance on the subject of envy. Paul, it is true, leaves us in no doubt that it is to be avoided. What neither he nor anyone else makes clear is what it is nor what there is about it which makes it reprehensible.

D. Extrabiblical Material

A better perspective on its relative insignificance in the NT may be gained by comparing the NT with some Jewish and Christian texts of roughly the same era. Philo Judaeus mentions *phthonos* frequently. For example, he appeals to God's complete freedom from *phthonos* to explain God's goodness and his creation of the world (*Spec Leg* II:141; 173). Philo's inspiration here is Plato's *Timaeus*. The adroit manner in which Philo handles and analyzes the concept suggests that he was deeply imbued with Greek culture to the point that his patterns of thought were those of an educated Greek.

Phthonos plays an important role in the *Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs*, a Jewish work almost certainly of the 1st century A.D., which shows signs of a superficial Christian redaction. It is the envy which Joseph aroused in his brothers that is responsible for the work's concern with *phthonos*. One of the Testaments, that of Symeon, is devoted largely to that subject. The author of the work displays an easy familiarity with the concept, evidence that Hellenized Jews of very modest intellectual attainment and culture were quite at home with the notion.

At the end of the 1st century A.D., we have a letter from a Roman Christian, presumably a man of some standing in the community, addressed to the Christians of Corinth, who had just deposed their leaders, warning them of the dangers of communal strife. This is the letter that goes under the name of *1 Clement*. Its Greek is significantly more elegant and idiomatic than anything in the NT (Lane Fox 1986: 305). The writer of the letter, to impress on the Corinthians the evil *phthonos* does, cites a long list of examples of that failing drawn principally from the OT (4–6). It is true that he has little or nothing to say about the nature of *phthonos* and that his knowledge of Greek myth is sadly confused. Yet his concern with *phthonos* is transparent. He would hardly have devoted so much energy to cataloging the ills it does were he not convinced of its importance. Even if it is the case that the catalog is not his own work, it still remains true that here we have a man of modest education in whose consciousness *phthonos* looms large.

The greater awareness of *phthonos* that Philo and the authors of *T. 12 P.* and *1 Clem.* display is surely to be attributed to their having been more deeply Hellenized than any of the authors of the OT or NT. An indication of their Hellenization is their facility with Greek. Philo, despite his verbosity and pomposity, writes infinitely better Greek than anything in the NT; the writers of *T. 12 P.* and *1 Clem.* write reasonably clear Greek and rather better than what is on offer in the NT. What all of this adds up to is that at a certain level of Hellenization, Greek ideas take hold. The authors of the books of the NT have barely crossed that threshold. Hence, apparently, their lack of concern with envy.

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MATTHEW W. DICKIE

EPAENETUS (PERSON) [Gk *Epainetos*]. A Roman gentile Christian who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:5 as "my beloved." Epaenetus had immigrated to Rome. Rom 16:5 depicts him as the first Christian convert of the province Asia whose capital was Ephesus. He may have been converted by Prisca and Aquila in Ephesus and moved together with them to Rome (see AQUILA); the couple is mentioned just before Epaenetus in Rom 16:3–5. He therefore also may have attended the couple's Roman house-church. Ollrog (1979: 38) even conjectured that he was one of Aquila's servants, although there is no evidence that Aquila had ever hired anyone other than Paul in Corinth for his workshop (Acts 18:2–3); Aquila's social status has often been overestimated (see AQUILA; Lampe *StadtrChr*, 160–64).

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PETER LAMPE

EPAPHRAS (PERSON) [Gk *Epaphras*]. A Christian from Colossae (Col 4:12), referred to by Paul as a "fellow slave" (Col 1:7) and "fellow prisoner in Christ Jesus" (Phlm 23). Epaphras is also mentioned as having sent greetings to Philemon (Phlm 23) and to the Colossians (Col 4:12), both of whom were undoubtedly well known to him.

According to Paul, Epaphras is the one who taught the Colossians "the grace of God in truth" (Col 1:6). Paul also testified that Epaphras worked hard for them "and for those in Laodicea and in Hierapolis" (4:13). From this it can be inferred that Epaphras was the founder of the Colossian church (Lightfoot 1879: 29) and an important evangelist in the other two communities in the Lycus valley (Bruce 1984: 8–10).

During one of Paul's imprisonments Epaphras brought him news of the Colossians' faith in Christ Jesus and their love for all the saints (Col 1:4). Epaphras also conveyed to Paul their love in the Spirit (1:8). Furthermore, it was probably Epaphras who had informed Paul about false teachers in the Colossian community (2:4, 8). That very situation may have inspired Epaphras to visit Paul in prison in order to consult with him. When he saw Paul, Epaphras most likely is the one who gave him news about Philemon, thus bringing much joy to Paul (Phlm 5). In addition there is some merit to the suggestion that Epaphras brought the runaway slave Onesimus to Paul, because he knew that Paul would be able to help him (Bruce, *Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians* NICNT, 197).

Paul greatly respected Epaphras, whom he describes as "our beloved fellow servant," and as "a faithful minister of Christ on our (some mss read 'your') behalf" (Col 1:7). Paul also calls him a "*doulos* ('servant' or 'slave') of Christ Jesus" (4:12, cf. 1:7, where Epaphras is called *sundoulos*, "fellow servant"), a description Paul uses at various times of himself but rarely of another (cf. the identification of Timothy in Phil 1:1). From Paul it is also known that Epaphras was a man of prayer, for he tells the Colossians that Epaphras was constantly praying for them that they might "stand mature and full assured in all the will of God" (4:12). Although the name Epaphras may be a shortened form of Epaphroditus, this Colossian should not be confused with the Philippian of similar name.

On the site of ancient Colossae an inscription has been found which mentions a person named T. Asinius Epaphroditus (Johnson 1950: 7), but it is rather doubtful that this refers to the Epaphras known to Paul. A marble altar was also found in Laodicea which is thought by some to have the name of Epaphras on it (Johnson 1950: 7).

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FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

EPAPHRODITUS (PERSON) [Gk *Epaphroditos*]. A Christian sent by the Philippians to help Paul and to take the collection from Philippi to Paul (Phil 2:25; 4:18). The name Epaphroditus, rather common in the 1st century, suggests that his family may have been followers of the cult of Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love and fertility. It is interesting to note that after being converted from paganism to Christianity, Epaphroditus was not required to change his name in spite of its association with this cult.

The identity of Epaphroditus is best understood within the context of his relationship to Paul and to the Philippians. Paul uses three significant terms to characterize his bond with Epaphroditus: "my brother" (Gk *adelphos*), "my fellow worker" (Gk *sunergos*), and "my fellow soldier" (Gk *sustratiotēs*) (2:25). As a brother, Epaphroditus was one in the faith with Paul and other Christians, but more specifically, a colleague of Paul in evangelizing, as the next two terms suggest. As a fellow worker, one of those who labored with Paul in spreading the Gospel, Epaphroditus must have had a prior association with Paul, perhaps going back to the founding of the church at Philippi. As a fellow soldier, he had struggled side by side with Paul against adversaries of the Gospel (cf. 1:28, 30). See ARCHIPPUS. This military metaphor suggests that Epaphroditus experienced suffering and conflict in his ministry. Undoubtedly he was highly regarded by Paul.

The Philippians sent Epaphroditus to Paul during his imprisonment either in Ephesus, ca. A.D. 56–57, or in Rome, ca. A.D. 61–63. The proximity of Ephesus to Philippi makes that city the preferred choice because of the frequent comings and goings between Paul and the Philippians implied in the letter. Epaphroditus was their Gk *apostolos* (2:25) and a minister to Paul's needs. Whether the term indicates that Epaphroditus was their "apostle" in the sense of being commissioned and sent out with a specific task of spreading the Gospel as was Paul, or in the sense of being their messenger, envoy, or delegate, is not immediately clear. Epaphroditus serves as a minister (Gk *leitourgos*) to Paul's material need by bringing the monetary gifts the Philippians entrusted him with, gifts described as "a fragrant offering" and "an acceptable sacrifice" (4:18), which perhaps also were intended to aid Paul in other ways while he was imprisoned. Thus Epaphroditus was able to "complete their service" (2:30) as they could not all come personally. Also, he was probably the one who made Paul aware of the disagreement between EUODIA and SYNTYCHE.

In the course of carrying out his mission, Epaphroditus "risked his life" (2:30) and became so ill that he nearly died (2:27, 30). His illness may have developed during his journey to Paul, or later, when he was with Paul, doing the work of Christ. Paul says nothing about the nature of Epaphroditus' illness. But, the later regained his health—a turn of events explained by Paul as a merciful act of God. Thus, not only did Epaphroditus recover, but Paul was also spared from "sorrow upon sorrow" (2:27).

The Philippians eventually heard of Epaphroditus' illness and began to worry, which in turn caused him further distress and a longing to be with them (2:26). Hence Paul thought it necessary to send Epaphroditus back to Philippi sooner than expected (2:25) in order to calm the anxiety raised there, to enable Epaphroditus to fulfill his desire to be with them again, and to relieve Paul's own concerns. Paul may also have been thinking that Epaphroditus, probably a respected leader in the church there, would be

instrumental in leading the Philippians away from a misguided perfectionism and legalism (cf. 3:2–19). Also, because of the way he had risked his life in self-sacrificing service while with Paul, Epaphroditus was an admirable example of one who had the "mind of Christ" (cf. 2:5–11), which Paul asked all the Philippians to make their own.

Epaphroditus probably delivered Paul's letter to the church at Philippi (cf. 2:25, 28; the aorists can be taken as "epistolary"). In sending him back, Paul includes a commendation, requesting that the Philippians "receive him in the Lord with all joy" (2:29). Paul explains that he takes sole responsibility for Epaphroditus' return at that time, lest the Philippians suspect that Epaphroditus had not fulfilled his mission. Evidently Paul wanted no misunderstanding, no questioning of his character, no lessening of his authority. Epaphroditus was to be held in high esteem because of what he had done.

Finally, Epaphroditus is among those sometimes identified with the "yokefellow" in Phil 4:3; as the bearer of the letter he is the likely object of this otherwise obscure reference. See YOKEFELLOW. Epaphroditus should not be confused with the Christian Epaphras from Colossae.

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JOHN GILLMAN

EPHAH [Heb *ʾêpâ*]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

EPHAH (PERSON) [Heb *ʿêpâ*]. Three persons in the OT, one of which (if not all three) was an Arabian tribe. If Ephah is a genuine personal name, it can be compared to Ar *ġayfâ*ʾ and *ġâfah* (a kind of tree); compare the Hebrew personal name Elon. This explanation does not, however, apply to (1) because of the Akkadian evidence listed below.

1. A son of Midian (Gen 25:4; 1 Chr 1:33). Midian's five "sons" as listed in Gen 25:4 comprise the clans, tribes, or people inhabiting the country of Midian sometime before 716 B.C. (Knauf 1988: 84–86). Ephah heads the sons of Midian and may have been the leading tribe in this country. By the time of Isa 60:6 (late 6th century B.C.?), the tribe was still famous for its camel breeding. In the Assyrian annals, Ephah figures as a tribe of NW Arabia under the names of (URU) *Ḫa-a-a-ap-pa-a-a* (Tiglath-pileser III, 734 B.C.) and *(lú) Ḫa-ia-pa-a* (Sargon II, 716 B.C.). The Heb consonants *ʿyph* together with the Akk syllables lead to **Ġayyâpâ* as the original form of the tribal name. According to the Ar, *Ġayyâpâ* can be explained as "having long beards" (compare the Germanic ethnonym *Langobards;* Knauf 1988: 79–80).

As the most prominent Midianite tribe, Ephah may have inhabited the Wâdî ʿAfâl, Midian's central area with the town of Madyan (today Maġâyir Šuʿayb and al-Badʿ). Tiglath-pileser's determinative URU ("city") in front of the tribal name may refer to this place. It is not possible to link Ephah/*Ḥayyâpâ* with the site of Ruwâfah, as Musil had suggested (Knauf 1983: 153–54).

2. A concubine (Heb *pîlegeš*) of Caleb, and mother of several Calebite clans and/or villages, 1 Chr 2:46.

3. A son of Jahdai (1 Chr 2:47) who appears in the list of Calebite towns and clans (1 Chr 2:42–50) without a genealogical connection to any descendant of Caleb. Ephah 2 and 3 may form variant traditions referring to a clan or family which originated from Ephah 1 and immigrated into the Negeb in the exilic or postexilic period. Such an immigration is suggested by the high frequency of Arabian names in 1 Chronicles 2 and 4 (Wellhausen 1870: 38–39).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

EPHAI (PERSON) [Heb *ʿêpay*]. A Netophathite from Judah whose sons were among the troop commanders of Gedaliah at Mizpah following the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6 B.C.E. (Jer 40:8). The form of the name follows the Qere reading. The Kethibh reads *ʿwpy* "Ophai" and is the reading of the name adopted by the LXX and Vg. In a parallel text, 2 Kgs 25:23, the words "the sons of Ephai" are omitted and Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth is designated as the Netophathite.

JOHN M. BERRIDGE

EPHER (PERSON) [Heb *ʿeper*]. Three eponymous ancestors of tribes or clans in the OT. As a personal name, Epher can be interpreted as a phonetic variant of Heb *ʿôper*, Ar *ġufr* and *ġafr* "kid of a gazelle" (or ibex). For the Midianite tribe (see #1), Sabaic *ʿfr* "agricultural land awaiting rain" provides a more fitting etymology (Knauf 1988: 80).

1. A son of Midian (Gen 25:4; 1 Chr 1:33), i.e., a clan, tribe, or people inhabiting the country of Midian. The list of Midian's five sons antedates 716 B.C. (Knauf 1988: 84–86). There are three areas or towns in NW Arabia which may have preserved the name of this ancient tribe: (1) Wâdî ʿAfâl (also recorded as ʿAfâr), the heartland of Midian with the site of Madyan/Maġâyir Šuʿayb - al-Badʿ; (2) Wâdî al-ʿIfrîyah, SE of Wâdî ʿAfâl; (3) Ṭayyib al-Ism on the Midianite coast of the Gulf of ʿAqabah (ancient names from the root *ʿPR* have frequently been changed to "good [of] name," which is the literal translation of Ṭayyib al-Ism, in order to avoid any resemblance with Ar *ʿifrît* "demon"). The three places or areas were all settled in the Early Iron Age (Knauf 1988: xii Abb.1; 80).

2. A son of Ezra (1 Chr 4:17). This Ezra is probably identical to the Ezer in 1 Chr 4:4, a grandson of Judah. Given the high frequency of Arabian personal and tribal names in 1 Chronicles 2 and 4, one may ask whether the

Judahite Epher was in fact a family or clan of the Midianite tribe which immigrated into S Palestine in the exilic or postexilic period (Wellhausen 1870: 38–39; Knauf 1989: 68).

3. A family in Israelite Transjordan, exiled by Tiglathpileser III in 734 B.C. (1 Chr 5:24). 1 Chr 5:26 suggests that the compiler of the list still knew descendants of these "Manassite" families among the Jewish diaspora in Mesopotamia. If one accepts a 3d century B.C. date for the compilation of Chronicles (Welten 1973: 200), one may ask whether the Jewish families mentioned in 1 Chr 5:24 were not, in fact, exiled by the Persians in the course of the troublesome 4th century B.C. (*IJH*, 500–502). Their geographical distribution as described in 1 Chr 5:23 fits into the postexilic period much better than into preexilic times.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

EPHES-DAMMIM (PLACE) [Heb *ʾepeś dammîm*]. Var. PAS-DAMMIM. The area in which the Philistines gathered before the battle during which David slew Goliath (1 Sam 17:1). This text places the area between Socoh (M.R. 147121) and Azekah (M.R. 144123) and near the Valley of Elah where the Israelites under Saul gathered. It lies W of Bethlehem toward the Philistine coast. This same place is mentioned as Pas-dammim (Heb *pas dammîm*) with reference to David's victory over "the Philistine" in 1 Chr 11:13. The main subject of the text in Chronicles is the exploit of one of David's warriors, Eleazar, against the Philistines. The parallel text at 2 Sam 23:9 lacks the reference to Pas-dammim (Ephes-dammim) in the MT, but the fuller text in the LXX^L has the place-name and is to be preferred (see McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 490, 494–495; Driver *Samuel* ICC, 365). The area has been equated with modern Damun, ca. 4 miles NE of Socoh (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 290; Gold *IDB* 2: 108).

JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

EPHESIANS, EPISTLE TO THE. Ephesians, like Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, is traditionally counted among Paul's "imprisonment epistles" (3:1; 4:1). Although the majority of ancient manuscripts indicate that it is intended for "the saints who are faithful at Ephesus" (1:1), the words *en Ephesō* ("at [or "in"] Ephesus") are not present in some of the earliest and most important manuscripts. Moreover, the phrase does not seem to have stood in the mss used by Marcion, who regarded this as the letter to the Laodiceans (Col 4:16), or in those known to Tertullian, whose rejection of Marcion's view makes no appeal to the text of the opening verse (*Against Marcion* 5.11.17; 5.17.1). By the end of the 2d century, however, it was generally regarded as a letter "to Ephesus," and so entitled; with this the way was clear for the words "at Ephesus" to be inserted into the opening sentence by some later scribe or editor.

A. Structure and Contents
B. Style and Character
C. Relation to Colossians
D. Relation to Other NT Writings
E. Theme
F. Conceptual Backgrounds
  1. Sectarian Judaism
  2. Hellenistic Greek and Jewish Thought
  3. Gnostic Thought
  4. Conclusion
G. Authorship
  1. Reasons for Presuming Pauline Authorship
  2. Reasons for Questioning Pauline Authorship
  3. Conclusion
H. Occasion and Purpose
I. Date and Place of Writing

A. Structure and Contents

At least in a general way, the overall structure of Ephesians conforms to that of the other letters of the Pauline Corpus. One notable difference, however, is that the address (1:1–2) is followed by two introductory paragraphs—a blessing (1:3–14; cf. 2 Cor 1:3–11) and a thanksgiving (1:15–23; cf. Rom 1:8–15[17]; 1 Cor 1:4–9; Col 1:3–8). No other letter in the Pauline Corpus has both. Within the body of Ephesians, a series of affirmations (2:1–3:21) is followed by a lengthy series of appeals (4:1–6:20), a division which is found in most of the Pauline letters (Rom 1:18–11:36 [affirmations] and 12:1–15:13 [appeals]).

The affirmations of chaps. 2 and 3 reiterate and extend what is already stated in the opening blessing and thanksgiving: that through the grace of God bestowed in Jesus Christ, believers have experienced a moral and spiritual resurrection (2:4–9; 3:11–12; cf. 1:3–8, 13–14), and that by their incorporation into Christ's body the Church, they have become a new people reconciled to God and to one another (2:13–20; cf. 1:22–23). It is "the mystery of [God's] will" (1:9; "the mystery of the gospel," 6:19) which is being presented here, as this has been made known to Paul by revelation (3:3–4, 7–9).

The appeals in chaps. 4–6 call for the readers to manifest in their behavior, both personal and corporate, the new life that they have been given in Christ. Here as throughout Ephesians, various kinds of traditional materials are in evidence, drawn from the Church's liturgy (5:14) and Scripture (4:8–10) as well as from its ethical codes (5:21–6:9).

Two special points should be noted about the outline that follows: (1) Although the thanksgiving (1:15–23) has been placed within the letter opening, it could also be regarded as the initial paragraph of the letter body. (2) The introduction to the prayer and doxology of 3:14–21 actually begins in 3:1 (cf. vv 1 and 14), only to be broken off abruptly in favor of several important declarations about Paul's stewardship (vv 2–13). Formally, then, vv 2–13 constitute a digression interrupting the prayer and doxology which conclude the first part of the letter body.

I. Letter Opening, 1:1–23
  A. Address, 1:1–2
  B. Blessing, 1:3–14
  C. Thanksgiving, 1:15–23
II. Letter Body, 2:1–6:20
  A. Affirmations about the mystery of Christ, 2:1–3:21
    1. Resurrection and reconciliation, 2:1–22
    2. Paul's stewardship of God's grace, 3:1–13
    3. Prayer and doxology, 3:14–21
  B. Exhortations to lead a Christian life, 4:1–6:20
    1. Fundamental appeals, 4:1–24
      a. Maintain the unity of the Spirit, 4:1–16
      b. Put off the old nature, 4:17–22
      c. Put on the new nature, 4:23–24
    2. Specific appeals, 4:25–6:9
      a. Various topics, 4:25–5:20
      b. Life in the household, 5:21–6:9
    3. Concluding appeals, 6:10–20
      a. Put on the whole armor of God, 6:10–17
      b. Pray in the Spirit, 6:18–20
III. Letter Closing, 6:21–24
  A. Commendation of Tychicus, 6:21–22
  B. Benediction, 6:23–24

B. Style and Character

Ephesians is distinguished by a pleonastic, ornamented style (Percy 1946: 185–91). There are a striking number of sentences of extraordinary length (1:3–14 and 4:11–16, each of which is just one sentence in Greek), liberal use is made of prepositional phrases (4:12–16), relative clauses often follow one after another (1:6, 7, 8; 2:2, 3), and there are many constructions which employ participles (2:14–16; 4:18–19) or infinitives (4:22–24). Synonyms abound, often expressed in a genitive construction ("the counsel of his will," 1:11; "the working of the strength of his might" [RSV: "the working of his great might"], 1:19; "the law of commandments," 2:15; "the spirit of your minds," 4:23; "in the strength of his might," 6:10). Adjectives tend to pile up, especially with reference to the attributes of God ("the immeasurable greatness of his power," 1:19; "the immeasurable riches of his grace in kindness," 2:7), and there is a tendency toward tautology ("a spirit of wisdom and of revelation in the knowledge of him, having the eyes of your hearts enlightened," 1:17–18; "we all once lived in the passions of our flesh, following the desires of body and mind," 2:3).

This ponderous, redundant style is attributable in part to the fact that certain liturgical and confessional traditions have been used in Ephesians, not only in 5:14 (where a liturgical acclamation is introduced by "it is said"), but perhaps also in 1:20–23 (Deichgräber 1967: 161–65) and 2:14–16 [18] (Sanders 1965: 216–18). Some interpreters believe that traditional materials also lie behind such passages as 1:3–14 (Schille 1965: 65–73), 2:4–10 (Schille 1965: 53–60), and 4:5–6 (Fischer 1973: 137–38); but even if they do not, here as elsewhere in Ephesians the stereotyped language of the Church's traditions has left an imprint.

Not only the style but also the fact that no specific congregational issues seem to be in view set Ephesians apart from the rest of the Pauline Corpus. Despite its epistolary opening and closing, it is a "letter" only in a highly qualified sense. Ephesians has been characterized by many as a theological "tractate" or "manifesto" (Moffatt 1918: 388; Lindemann *Der Epheserbrief* ZBK, 14, 127; Fischer 1973: 104; Schnackenburg *Epheser* EKKNT, 19), and by numerous others as a "meditation" (Martin 1968: 302; Marxsen 1978: 194; Barth *Ephesians* AB vol. 1, 58). Pokorný (1962: 178) and Gnilka (*Der Epheserbrief* HTKNT, 33) refer to it as a "homily," while Schlier characterizes it as a "wisdom speech" (1963: 21–22; Conzelmann 1966: 234).

Taylor (*Ephesians* Augsburg, 22–24), prompted by Dahl's observation that Ephesians is in part a letter of "congratulation" to those who have left their gentile ways for the gospel (Dahl 1977: 314; *IDBSup*, 268; Lincoln 1982: 46), classifies Ephesians as an example of "epideictic" literature. As defined by ancient rhetoricians, an epideictic composition uses praise or blame as the basis for some kind of an appeal. In Ephesians, however, the praise is much less specific and the appeals are much more extensive than in typical "letters of praise" (*epainetikai;* Stowers 1986: 77–85). Moreover, the writers of epideictic letters ordinarily understood themselves as either inferior or equal to those whom they addressed (Stowers 1986: 79)—which is by no means the case in Ephesians, where much is made of Paul's unique status and role (chap. 3).

Ephesians does not, in fact, fit readily into any of the standard literary genres of its day, and not much is gained by trying to force it into one. It is best to describe it rather more loosely as a treatise, presented in the form of a letter, which combines edifying affirmations (chaps. 1–3) with exhortation (chaps. 4–6).

C. Relation to Colossians

One of the most striking features of Ephesians is the extent to which it is similar in both overall structure and particularly in contents to Colossians (for listings and displays of the verbal parallels, see Mitton 1951:279–321). It has been calculated that more than one-quarter of the words in Ephesians appear as well in Colossians and that more than one-third of the words in Colossians appear in Ephesians (Mitton 1951: 57). In addition to the particularly close parallelism of Eph 1:1–2 with Col 1:1–2 and of Eph 6:21–22 with Col 4:7–8, the following examples may be noted: Eph 1:22–23 and Col 1:17–19; Eph 2:13–18 and Col 1:20–22; Eph 4:16 and Col 2:19; Eph 5:19–20 and Col 3:16; Eph 5:22–6:9 and Col 3:18–4:1. Moreover, certain concepts and terms are prominent in both letters, including the idea of Christ as "head" of the church, which is his "body" (*kephalē/sōma;* Col 1:18; 2:19; Eph 1:22; 4:15–16; 5:23), of a divine "fullness" (*plērōma;* Col 1:19; 2:9; Eph 1:10, 23; 3:19; 4:13), of a profound "mystery" (Col 1:26–27; 2:2; 4:3; Eph 1:9; 3:3, 4, 9; 5:32; 6:19), of "reconciliation" (Col 1:20, 21–22; Eph 2:16), and of the believer's resurrection with Christ as an event already experienced (Col 2:12–13; 3:1; Eph 2:4–7).

There are also some important differences between Colossians and Ephesians, however. Unlike Colossians, Ephesians seems not to have been intended for a particular congregation or to have any specific kind of "false philosophy" in view. Of the twelve friends and associates mentioned in Colossians (including Timothy, who is identified

as the co-sender of that letter, 1:1), only Tychicus is named in Ephesians (6:21). Whereas Scripture is never cited and there are few scriptural allusions in Colossians, scriptural passages are drawn on several times in Ephesians (2:17; 4:8–10; 5:31–32; 6:2–3; less directly in 1:20, 22), and there are a number of scriptural allusions (Lincoln 1982). Whereas in Colossians interest is particularly focused on the cosmic role and significance of Christ, in Ephesians special attention is given to the cosmic role and significance of his body, the Church (cf. Col 2:9 with Eph 1:22–23). Only in Ephesians is there any reference to the law (2:15) or to righteousness (4:24; 5:9 [RSV: "right"]; 6:14). Moreover, certain key terms are used somewhat differently; for example, in Colossians the "mystery" now disclosed is Christ himself (2:2; 4:3), especially as he has been preached among the gentiles (1:26–27), but in Ephesians it is primarily understood to be God's plan for the inclusion of Jews and gentiles within the one body of Christ (3:2–6, 9; cf. 1:9); in Col 1:25 the word *oikonomia* refers to the "divine office" (RSV) which God has given to Paul, but in Ephesians it is used of God's "plan" (RSV) of salvation (1:10; 3:9; cf. 3:2, where it is not the *oikonomia* but the "grace" which Paul has been granted); and although the term "fullness" has an exclusively christological reference in Colossians (1:19; 2:9), that is not the case in Ephesians (thus 1:10, "the fullness of time"; 3:19, "the fullness of God").

If both Ephesians and Colossians are accepted as Paul's own letters, then the similarities between them would probably be due to their having been written at about the same time (presumably during the same period of imprisonment) so that the apostle still had the phrasing of the one letter in mind while he was writing the other. In this case, however, the differences are not easy to explain (see the discussion of authorship below). Numerous scholars hold, therefore, that one or the other of the letters is pseudonymous. Thus Mayerhoff—accepting the Pauline authorship of Ephesians—argued that the similarities and differences are due to the fact that Colossians is a secondary reworking of Ephesians by a later writer (1838: 72–106). De Wette, however, argued that the reverse is the case, Ephesians having been written in imitation of the authentically Pauline Colossians (1843: 79–81; 1858: 277–85). H. J. Holtzmann (1872) accepted neither Colossians nor Ephesians as authentic. Building on a hypothesis first advanced by Hitzig (1870: 22–33) that an authentic Pauline letter lies behind Colossians, he advanced the theory that a later writer used this proto-Colossians to create Ephesians (Holtzmann 1872: 131–48); then subsequently, according to this view, the same writer used Ephesians to interpolate and elaborate proto-Colossians, thus creating our present canonical Colossians (Holtzmann 1872: 148–68).

Because it was based on a number of highly subjective and questionable judgments, Holtzmann's complex theory never gained a following, and with only a few exceptions (Coutts 1958) scholars now agree that there is little evidence to support Mayerhoff's view that Colossians is later than and dependent on Ephesians. Those who regard both letters as authentic generally hold that the similarities between them demonstrate common authorship, and tend to dismiss the differences as relatively few and unimportant (Percy 1946: 360–433; Guthrie 1970: 492–502; van Roon 1974: 192–95).

It is probable that some of the similarities and differences between the two letters resulted because common traditions have been adapted differently in each (Schille 1957; Dahl 1963: 72). Beyond this, however, most scholars are now agreed that one must reckon with the literary dependence of one letter on the other, and specifically of Ephesians on Colossians (Mitton 1951: 68–74; Lindemann 1975: 44–48). (A) It is easier to conceive of the author of Ephesians generalizing the more specific teachings of Colossians for a wider audience and eliminating the sharp polemic than to conceive of the author of Colossians adapting Ephesians in order to address a specific local situation. (B) The thought of Ephesians represents a development beyond that of Colossians (e.g., the cosmic Christology of Colossians has become the basis for a cosmic ecclesiology; in Colossians the expectation of Christ's future return has receded, but it is not present in Ephesians). (C) Certain passages in Ephesians read like elaborations of passages in Colossians (Eph 2:1–10 of Col 2:12–13, and Eph 5:21–33 of Col 3:18–19). (D) Certain other passages in Ephesians seem to represent the conflation of two passages from Colossians (Col 1:14 and 1:20 in Eph 1:7; Col 1:9 and 1:4 in Eph 1:15–16; Col 2:13 and 3:6 in Eph 2:1–5). That one must reckon with a specific literary dependence of Ephesians on Colossians is indicated by various passages in which there is extensive verbatim agreement between the two letters; for example, between Eph 1:1–2 and Col 1:1–2; Eph 6:21–22 and Col 4:7–8; Eph 1:7, 10 and Col 1:14, 20; and Eph 4:16 and Col 2:19.

D. Relation to other NT Writings

There are also parallels between Ephesians and the other letters of the Pauline Corpus, although these are neither so striking nor so extensive as those between Ephesians and Colossians (Mitton 1951: 98–158, 173–75, 333–38). In many of these instances one may be dealing only with widely used stock phrases (Eph 4:17–19 / Rom 1:21–24; Eph 1:13 / 2 Cor 1:22; Eph 5:2, 25 / Gal 2:20). Other parallels, however, particularly in Romans and 1 Corinthians, suggest a specific dependence on the part of Ephesians (of Eph 2:8 on Rom 3:20–27; of Eph 4:16; 5:23 on 1 Cor 11:3; of Eph 3:8 on 1 Cor 15:9–10; of Eph 1:20–23 on 1 Cor 15:24–29). There may also be a literary relationship between Ephesians and the Pastoral Epistles, but in this case the dependence would be on the part of the Pastorals (of Titus 3:3–7 on Eph 2:3–7; Mitton 1951: 173–75).

It is sometimes held that there are echoes of Luke-Acts in Ephesians (Mitton 1951: 198–220) and echoes of Ephesians in the book of Revelation (Mitton: 170–73), but the evidence for both is slender. The parallels between Ephesians and 1 Peter are much clearer and more numerous (Eph 1:20–22/1 Pet 3:21–22; Eph 5:21–6:9/1 Pet 2:18–3:7), and some have argued that a literary relationship exists between these two letters (Mitton 1951: 176–79 holds that 1 Peter is dependent on Ephesians). The nature of the parallels, however, makes it more likely that they are the result of common reliance on widely circulating church traditions (Schenke and Fisher 1978: 175) than that they are due to one author's borrowing from the other.

E. Theme

In Ephesians as well as in Colossians, the Pauline image of the Church as the body of Christ (Rom 12:4–5; 1 Cor 12:12–27) has been expanded to include the idea of Christ as the "head" of that body (Eph 1:22–23; 4:15–16; 5:23; Col 1:18; 2:19). But while in Colossians attention is focused primarily on the cosmic status and role of Christ, the one great theme of Ephesians is the cosmic status and role of the Church. In Ephesians the word *ekklēsia* is never used of a local congregation (as in Col 4:15, 16), only of the Church universal (1:22; 3:10, 21; 5:23–32; cf. Col 1:18, 24). This church is understood to be part of the unity of "all things" which Christ's sovereign rule represents and to be in a sense the crowning instance of that unity (1:22–23); for in and through the Church the gentiles have become "fellow heirs, members of the same body, and partakers of the promise" bestowed upon the Jews (3:6)—reconciled along with them to God and therefore united with them in Christ (2:11–22).

This participation of the gentiles in the promises of God is perceived to be a fundamental part of the divine "plan" *(oikonomia)* "to unite all things in him [Christ], things in heaven and things on earth" (1:10). It is therefore the content of "the mystery of the gospel" (6:19) which is also called "the mystery of [God's] will" (1:9), "the mystery of Christ" (3:4; cf. "the unsearchable riches of Christ," 3:8), and simply "the mystery" (3:3). This "mystery plan" (3:9; RSV: "plan of the mystery") was hidden from all preceding generations (3:5), but now the Spirit has disclosed it to the Church's "holy apostles and prophets" (3:1–6). However, in Ephesians the Church is presented as not only the recipient and mediator of this revelation but as a constituent part of it. Because it is the "fullness" of Christ, the Church shares his cosmic status (1:22–23); it is the place where a new humanity has been created and where a cosmic peace has been instituted (2:15–16); and it is central to the divine purpose that "through the church the manifold wisdom of God might now be made known to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places" (3:10, 11).

Because the Church is conceived here as being an integral part of the eternal plan and purpose of God, its existence transcends the boundaries of time as well as of space: believers were chosen for salvation "in the heavenly places . . . before the foundation of the world" (1:3–4), "destined" to be God's sons and to receive the grace bestowed in Christ (1:5–6), "destined and appointed" to live for the praise of God (1:12), and "created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared beforehand" (2:10). Similarly, in Ephesians Christ's relationship to the Church is defined not with reference to his death (although there are references to this, formulated in traditional ways: 1:7, 20; 2:13, 16; 5:2, 25), but primarily with reference to his timeless cosmic rule. By raising him from the dead and seating him "at his right hand in the heavenly places," God has enthroned Christ as "the head over all things for the Church" (1:20–23; 4:10); and by the bestowal of his power also upon the believers (1:19), God has "raised [them] up with [Christ], and made [them] sit with him in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus" (2:6). Thus the baptized have already been "saved" (2:4–6) and the "hope" which belongs to their calling is already fulfilled (1:18–19; 2:12–13; 4:4; cf. 1:12), their "inheritance" (1:14, 18) already given, the kingdom "of Christ and of God" (5:5) already present. Because it is through their incorporation into Christ's body the Church that believers come into possession of their true inheritance, one may properly describe the eschatology of Ephesians as "ecclesiological" (Lona 1984:442–48). There are, to be sure, traces of a more traditional Jewish and Christian eschatological perspective in the letter (1:13–14, 21; 2:7; 4:30; 6:17). These, however, are hardly more than terminological traces and provide not even a hint that Christ's return is expected.

Although believers have already experienced resurrection with Christ to "the heavenly places," they nonetheless have a "calling" (4:1) to fulfill within history, and the various exhortations of chaps. 4–6 are intended to make this apparent. Even these, however, must be read in the light of the earlier affirmation that believers were in fact "created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared beforehand, that [they] should walk in them" (2:10). Similarly, the closing appeal to "put on the whole armor of God" in order to withstand "the principalities, . . . the powers, . . . the world rulers of this present darkness, . . . [and] the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places" (6:10–17; cf. 3:10), must be read in light of the earlier affirmation that Christ already has been exalted as sovereign above all other powers (1:20–22) and that his cosmic rule of peace has been established (2:14–18).

F. Conceptual Backgrounds

It is clear that Ephesians stands within the Pauline tradition and is, if not the apostle's own letter, at least indebted to his thought. It is also clear, however, that other contemporaneous religious traditions have influenced the way certain ideas, including that of the "body of Christ," have been developed.

1. Sectarian Judaism. Some interpreters have emphasized the importance of Semitic and Jewish influences. One can no longer argue that the "body of Christ" motif reflects a sense of "corporate personality" and therefore an essentially "Hebraic" way of thinking (Best 1955), since the "corporate personality" concept as developed by H. Wheeler Robinson has been largely discredited (Rogerson 1970). There are, however, manifest similarities between some of the other ideas in Ephesians and the teachings of the Jewish sectarian community at Qumran (Kuhn 1968; Mussner 1968). For example, one prominent theme in these sectarian writings, as well as in Ephesians, is the present disclosure to the elect community of the "mysteries" (almost always the plural) of God's grace, wisdom, and purposes (1QS 4.6, 18–19; 11.5–8; 1QH 4.27–28; 7.27; 10.4–5; 11.9–10; 12.20; 13.13–14); and here, as in Ephesians, community virtues like humility and kindness are especially valued (1QS 2.24–25; 5.25–6.1; cf. Eph 4:2, 3, 25–26).

More fundamentally, a similar kind of dualism seems to underlie the community rules of Qumran and the exhortations in Ephesians. This dualism is expressed in both instances as a struggle between God's elect and the hosts of wickedness (1QS 3.13–4.26; Eph. 6:10–17) who are commanded, respectively, by "the spirits of light and darkness" (1QS 3.25; cf. Eph 6:12, "the world rulers of this present darkness," and 2:2, "the prince of the power of

the air, the spirit that is now at work in the sons of disobedience"). The "sons of light" who "walk in the light" (1QM 1.1, 3, 9, 11, 13; 1QS 1.9; 2.16; 3.13, 20, 24, 25; in Eph 5:8, the "children of light") are therefore distinguished from the "sons of darkness" who "walk in the darkness" (1QM 1.1, 7, 10; 3.6, 9; 13.16; 14.17; 1QS 1.10; 3:21; 4:11–12; cf. Eph 2:2 and 5:6 [the "sons of disobedience"]; 5:11–12), and the former are required to keep themselves separate from the latter (1QS 5.10–20; cf. Eph 5:3–14).

2. Hellenistic Greek and Jewish Thought. Before anything was known about the Qumran sectarians, W. L. Knox had referred to the "general Hellenistic outlook" of Ephesians (1939: 184, 203) and, with numerous others, had identified the body concept which is so central to its thought as deriving ultimately from Stoicism (Knox 1939: 161). In fact, various aspects of the concept as it is found in Ephesians recall ideas that are present in the Greek tradition beginning at least with Plato (*TDNT* 7/1025–44 offers an extensive survey). Among these are: (A) an assembly *(ekklēsia)* as a body which is more than the sum of the individuals who compose it, (B) the cosmos as the body (or "image") of God, (C) the unity of the cosmic body (Hanson 1946: 46–57), and (D) the rule of the cosmic body by a divine "head."

To the extent that Hellenistic concepts have helped to shape the thought of Ephesians, they could have done so in part by way of Hellenistic Judaism (Hegermann 1961; Colpe 1960). Philo, for example, can describe the world *(kosmos)* as a body with many members (*Plant* 7), ruled by the divine Logos who is its head (*Somm* I.128; *Spec Leg* I 147; 3.184; *On Flight and Finding* 108–110), and in whom the members are knit together into "a mutual harmony and unity" (*Fuga* 112; *Migr* 220; *Qunes Ex* II 74). One may also compare Philo's description of God as one who "fills all things" in that the whole of the universe is penetrated by his power and presence (*Conf* 136; *Leg All* III 4; *Vita Mos* II 238; *Somm* 2.221), with statements in Ephesians about the divine "fullness" with which both Christ and his church are associated (1:23; 4:10; cf. 3:19; 4:13). A similar idea is present even in the Greek Bible (Wis 1:7).

3. Gnostic Thought. A number of interpreters have concluded that the author of Ephesians is more indebted to the cosmological and soteriological ideas of gnostic thought than to either sectarian or Hellenistic Judaism (Schlier 1930; Pokorný 1965). For example, the interpretation of Ps 68:18 in Eph 4:8–10 has been compared with the gnostic idea of the heavenly ascent of the redeemer (Schlier 1930: 1–18; Käsemann 1933: 138), and the conception of a "dividing wall" broken down by Christ (Eph 2:14–16) has been compared with the gnostic view that a wall separating the heavenly realm from the earthly has been destroyed by this redeemer (Lindemann 1975: 162–64 cites *Psalms of Thomas* 1.3–5, according to which, also, the righteous are granted unity and peace). Further, an apparent preference for spatial over temporal categories (Eph 1:20–23) has been compared with the gnostic notion of salvation as deliverance from this world (Lindemann 1975: 237–59), and the emphasis on incorporation into the unity of Christ's body has been compared with the gnostic theme of incorporation into the cosmic body of the heavenly man (Käsemann 1933: 59–97, 138–59; Pokorný 1960).

4. Conclusion. Nothing suggests that the author of Ephesians is directly dependent on any non-Christian source (other than the Jewish Scriptures). The sources on which he is directly dependent are Christian, and it is primarily with reference to the Pauline tradition—above all to Colossians—that his thought should be assessed. Nevertheless, other contemporaneous religious traditions have undoubtedly helped to shape his thinking, even though indirectly and less decisively. It is difficult and probably unnecessary to single out one of these as more important than the others. He seems to have been an "eclectic" thinker, influenced by several different kinds of conceptual models (Lindemann *Der Epheserbrief* ZBK, 121—who, however, emphasizes the special importance of gnostic concepts).

G. Authorship

1. Reasons for Presuming Pauline Authorship. Paul's name stands in the salutation as the writer of this letter (1:1) and it appears again in 3:1. The comments about his apostolic status and role in 3:2–13 are formulated in the first person singular, as is the reference in 4:1 to his present imprisonment (3:1; Phlm 1, 9). The dispatch of Tychicus, who is identified as a trusted associate (6:21–22) also suggests the apostolic origin of this letter (Col 4:7–8; Acts 20:4).

The Pauline authorship of Ephesians seems never to have been doubted in the early Church. The earliest specific references to the letter all presume that it is Paul's (Irenaeus, *Her.* 5.2.3—who uses Paul's name in citing Eph 5:30 [cf. 1.8.4–5]; Clement of Alexandria, *Str.* 4.65; Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 5.11.17; 5.17.1). Ephesians is listed among the apostle's letters in the Muratorian Canon (usually dated to the late 2d century), and (according to Tertullian in the passages already cited) it was also accepted as Paul's by Marcion (even though he identified it as a letter to the Laodiceans). There could be echoes of Ephesians as early as *1 Clem* (36:2 [cf. Eph 4:18; 1:18] and 46:6 [cf. Eph 4:4–7]) and it seems probable that Ignatius was acquainted with it (in the inscription of *Ephesians* [cf. Eph 1:3–23]; Schoedel *Ignatius of Antioch* Hermeneia, 9–10, 37). Alleged echoes in other Apostolic Fathers (*Barnabas, Hermas,* Polycarp) are not as clear, but from the end of the 2d century Ephesians is frequently cited in the patristic literature.

Further, some typically Pauline ideas seem to be present in Ephesians, among them that salvation is not by works but by God's grace through faith (2:5, 8–9), that the secret wisdom of God has been disclosed to the apostle by the Spirit (3:5, 9–10; cf. 1 Cor 2:6–7, 10), that believers have been reconciled to God through Christ's death on the cross (2:16), and that the various gifts with which the members of Christ's body have been graced come from the one Spirit, and are to be employed for a mutual upbuilding in love (4:1–12; cf. 2:18–22; 4:16).

2. Reasons for Questioning Pauline Authorship. In a monograph published in England in 1792, the Anglican cleric Edward Evanson had pronounced Ephesians (as well as most of the other NT writings) a forgery. The first careful arguments against the letter's authenticity were formulated by De Wette, initially in his introduction to the

NT (1st ed. 1826; the English trans. of 1858 is based on the 5th German ed. of 1848) and subsequently in a brief commentary on the letter (1843). The objections to Pauline authorship raised by De Wette are still matters of discussion and, along with further points developed since his day, may be summarized under four headings: (a) style and vocabulary, (b) theological viewpoint, (c) portrayal of Paul, and (d) dependence on Colossians.

a. Style and Vocabulary. Beginning with Erasmus (*Annotationes in Novum Testamentum,* 1519), virtually all students of Ephesians have acknowledged that its extraordinarily long sentences, its pleonasms, and its numerous prepositional, genitival, participial, and infinitive constructions set the letter apart stylistically from most others in the Pauline Corpus. The statistics on sentence length, for example, are striking. Morton and McLeman (1966: Table 51) have counted 9 out of 100 sentences in the Greek text which have more than 50 words, whereas the incidence of sentences of this length in the letters certainly written by Paul is much lower: 3 of 581 sentences in Romans 1–4; 1 of 621 sentences in 1 Corinthians 1–4; 2 of 334 sentences in 2 Corinthians 1–3; 1 of 181 sentences in Galatians; 1 of 102 sentences in Philippians; and 1 of 81 sentences in 1 Thessalonians.

The distinctiveness of the vocabulary used in Ephesians also gives pause. There are about 116 words which are not found in the letters of unquestioned Pauline authorship (Percy 1946: 179, 180), and some of these are associated in particular with Christian writings of the late 1st and early 2d centuries (Mitton 1951: 8–9). Moreover, some terms found in the undisputed letters are used differently here, including *ekklēsia* ("church," which Paul uses primarily with reference to specific congregations), *mystērion* ("mystery," which even in Rom 11:25 does not refer specifically to the inclusion of the gentiles within the Church, but to the "hardening" and temporary exclusion of Israel), and *oikonomia* (which in 1 Cor 9:17 [cf. 4:1, 2], as in Col 1:25, refers to Paul's apostolic "commission").

b. Theological Viewpoint. When compared with the certainly Pauline letters, much of the teaching in Ephesians is distinctive. For example, special emphasis is placed on Christ's exaltation, enthronement in "the heavenly places," and cosmic rule (1:3–4, 9–10, 20–23; 2:6; 4:8–10); the Church is viewed as a cosmic entity built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets (contrast Eph 2:20 with 1 Cor 3:10–11); Christ is portrayed as standing over the Church as its "head," which thereby distinguishes the head from all the other members of that "body" (contrast in particular Eph 1:22 with 1 Cor 12:12–27, esp. v 21); and believers are exhorted to have nothing to do with outsiders (contrast Eph 5:6–11 with 1 Cor 5:9–12). Moreover, while the concern for the unity of Jew and gentile within the Church is certainly consonant with Paul's conviction that in Christ "there is neither Jew nor Greek" (Gal 3:27–28), the presupposition in Ephesians seems to be that controversy over the law is a thing of the past (2:15), and that the Church is now composed primarily of gentiles. It may be significant that the parallel to Gal 3:28 in Col 3:11 is not picked up in Eph 4:22–32, which is clearly dependent on Col 3:5–12.

Of greatest significance, however, is the altered eschatological teaching of Ephesians, which includes no mention of Christ's expected return (there is no parallel to Col 3:4), and according to which believers have already been "saved" and resurrected with Christ (contrast Eph 6:17, "And take the helmet of salvation," with 1 Thess 5:8, "and [put on] for a helmet the hope of salvation"; and Eph 2:4–8 with Rom 6:5, 8; 1 Cor 15:51–54; 1 Thess 4:16–17). The reference in Eph 3:21 to future generations of believers, and the evident concern for social order in the domestic code of 5:21–6:9, presume—contrary to Paul's comments in 1 Cor 7:31 and Rom 13:11–12—that the form of this world is not passing away and that the end of the age is not at hand.

c. Portrayal of Paul. Beyond the fact that the reference to "holy apostles" (Eph 3:5) is more in keeping with the viewpoint of the later church ("holy presbyters" in *Ign. Magn.* 3:1) than with Paul's own conception of apostleship (his description of them as "earthen vessels," 2 Cor 4:7), one must note that Paul is accorded a unique status within this group. To him in particular God has entrusted the mystery of Christ and granted insight into the meaning of that (3:3–4, 7–9). Thus he is portrayed here less as a missionary than as a mystagogue (Pokorný 1962: 181; Fischer 1973: 99), as one whose task is not just to convert the gentiles (as in Rom 15:15–21 and Col 1:25–29) but to "enlighten" them about and initiate them into the mystery of Christ and his church (1:15–23). It is clear that the readers of Ephesians are to regard Paul as the apostle for the Church universal and not just for the congregations that he himself has founded.

Paul's distinctive apostolic role is also emphasized when he is identified as "the prisoner" for Christ (3:1 and 4:1; the definite article, which has been left untranslated by RSV in Eph 3:1 and 4:1, is not used by Paul in Phlm 1, 9), although little is said about the meaning of his suffering (contrast 3:13 with Col 1:24). Moreover, neither Timothy's name (Col 1:1) nor that of any other associate appears alongside Paul's in the salutation of Ephesians; the great apostle is without peer. Even the statement of Eph 3:8, "To me, though I am the very least of all the saints, this [God's] grace was given, to preach to the gentiles . . . ," seems to betray a later idealization of the apostle (1 Tim 1:15). Paul's remark in 1 Corinthians 15 that he is "the least of the apostles" is not only more measured but is prompted by criticism of his apostleship and tied specifically to his having once been a persecutor of the Church (vv 9–11; see Fischer 1973: 95–96; Gnilka 1981: 187).

d. Dependence on Colossians. There can be little doubt that the author of Ephesians has borrowed ideas and even terminology from Colossians. Thus one is bound to ask whether, if Paul wrote Colossians, he could also have written Ephesians. Can the borrower and the lender be the same person? Even if he has retained some kind of copy of an earlier letter, why would Paul be moved to borrow not only ideas but even phrases and on occasion whole sentences from himself—especially when he has to generalize and otherwise adapt those to serve a new theme?

3. Conclusion. (A) The non-Pauline vocabulary and stylistic features of the letter may be due in part to the author's use of traditional language and materials. However, if all or even most of these non-Pauline features are attributed to reliance on the tradition, then one only has

further reason to question Pauline authorship; such wholesale employment of traditional language and materials is not a characteristic of the undisputed letters (Dahl 1963: 76–77). The suggestion of Guthrie (1970: 491–92) that the circumstances of Paul's imprisonment or his mood could have affected the way he wrote not only is fanciful, but it must also reckon with the fact that Philippians, which would have been written during the same imprisonment, as Guthrie himself holds (515–16; 535–36), shows no such marked divergence from the apostle's style. (B) The theological differences between Ephesians and the undisputed letters are so extensive and significant that it does not suffice to say simply that the apostle's thought is "more developed" here (Guthrie 1970: 504, referring to the doctrine of the Church); and again, Philippians does not show the same kind of theological "development." (C) The portrayal of Paul's status and role, especially in chap. 3, is without parallel in the undisputed letters and is most reasonably explained as reflecting the point of view of the later church. (D) If Paul wrote Colossians, then it is unlikely that he also wrote Ephesians, since the latter borrows so extensively from the former. Indeed, if Paul did not write Colossians, then it is certain that Ephesians too is pseudepigraphical.

There is broad scholarly agreement that the author of Ephesians was, like Paul himself, a convert from Hellenistic Judaism. The style of the letter, the affinities of this author's thought with the teachings of both Qumran and Philo, and his way of interpreting Scripture (in its Greek version) all point in this direction. No more precise identification of the author is possible.

H. Occasion and Purpose

The affirmations and appeals of this letter are formulated in such general terms that nothing very specific can be determined about its occasion and purpose. It is clear that the author—whether this is Paul or someone else—wants to lead his readers more deeply into "the mystery of Christ" (3:4), and therefore into a better understanding of what it means to be incorporated into Christ's church as fellow heirs with the Jews (3:6; 2:11–22). If he has taken up this theme in order to oppose some errant teaching (4:14), or in response to some particular crisis (Lindemann 1976: 242–43, referring to 6:10–17, suggests persecution), the letter gives scant indication of this. One can only say that it is written primarily for gentile Christians (2:11) who, the author presumes, have been instructed already in Christian "truth" (4:20–21), but who, in the author's judgment, need further teaching and encouragement.

There is little to support the hypothesis, first proposed by Weiss (1900: 556; *RGG*[1] 3/2209; Jülicher 1906: 127), that Ephesians was composed by the redactor-collector of the Pauline letters in order to give them a more "catholic" aspect. As developed by Goodspeed (1933; 1937: 210–39), this hypothesis holds that Ephesians was written (perhaps by Onesimus, Phlm 10; Col 4:9) as a covering letter for the collection in order to introduce the apostle's writings to the Church as a whole (hence the lack of a specific address in 1:1). The case for this hypothesis is not convincing, however: (1) One does not choose the pseudepigraphic form in order to introduce the person in whose name one writes; Ephesians is composed in Paul's name precisely because the writer can assume that the apostle's authority is already well established (Fischer 1973: 95–96, n. 1). (2) Contrary to the claims of those who have advocated this hypothesis or some modification of it, Ephesians does not provide a comprehensive summary of Paul's thought or even a good introduction to it. Indeed, a distinguishing feature of the letter is its sustained development of one fundamental theme (the mystery of Christ and his Church). (3) There is no evidence that Ephesians was ever circulated as the first letter of the collection, a position which Goodspeed's hypothesis must only presume that it once had.

I. The Date and Place of Writing

Those who accept the letter as Pauline ordinarily regard it as having been written during the apostle's imprisonment in Rome (ca. 62 C.E.). Had it been written during an earlier Ephesians imprisonment, one could hardly explain its distinctive theological viewpoint as a "development" of the apostle's earlier thought.

If Ephesians is pseudonymous it must have been written sometime before 100, since it was probably known to Ignatius, and sometime after the composition of Colossians, to which its author is heavily indebted. Colossians, if Paul's, was probably written ca. 62, and if post-Pauline, no earlier than ca. 65. Thus Ephesians could be broadly dated between ca. 70 and ca. 95, although its general point of view suggests a date fairly near the end of this period. The only clue as to the place of writing—if Ephesians is judged to be pseudonymous and if it was not originally addressed to any specific congregation—is the author's use of Colossians, which is addressed to a congregation in SW Asia Minor.

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VICTOR PAUL FURNISH

EPHESUS (PLACE) [Gk *Ephesos*]. A large seaport city in the Roman province of Asia.

A. Geographical Features
B. Historical Survey
C. History of Excavations
D. Major Excavations and Restorations
1. Temples and Shrines
2. Private Dwellings
3. Theater
4. Agoras
5. Library of Celsus
6. Gymnasiums and Baths
7. Fountains, Wells, and Aqueducts
E. Ephesian Religions
1. Paganism
2. Christianity
3. Judaism

A. Geographical Features

Like most Greek colonies in Anatolia, Ephesus was located along the coastal region. It was situated near the nexus of the Cayster river and the Aegean Sea. The earliest evidence of occupation is reflected in a Mycenaean grave dating from ca. 1400–1300 B.C. The history and development of the occupied site can be divided into four eras, together lasting two millennia. These four periods can be traced by their relationship to three topographical landmarks. These landmarks are the three small hills known in modern Turkish as Bülbül Dagh, Panayir Dagh, and Ayasoluk. The first period is that of the old Ionian city. According to Strabo (*Geog.* 640) the Greek colonists from the time of Androclus to the period of Croesus' hegemony (ca. 1000–550 B.C.) settled at the N base of Panayir Dagh. The second period, that of the Greek city, lasted from the time of Croesus to Lysimachus (ca. 550–300 B.C.), during which time the population inhabited the region near the Artemision, SW of Ayasoluk. During the third period (Hellenistic–Roman–Early Byzantine) the city was located, as a result of Lysimachus' efforts, in the valley between the two hills Panayir Dagh and Bülbül Dagh and was protected by the impressive Lysimachan city wall. The final era of the city's history was late Byzantine, when the city forsook the boundaries of the Lysimachan city. During this final period the population was divided among those who chose to remain within the walls of Byzantine Ephesus and those who decided to relocate at Ayasoluk.

In addition to the hilly terrain, the river and harbors of Ephesus also affected the urban development of the city. One of the harbors was called Panormus by Strabo (*Geog.* 639). Additional harbors included one mentioned by Athenaeus (*Deipn.* 8.361d) as a sacred harbor. There was also

the major commercial harbor for the Greco-Roman city (Meric 1985: 30–33). According to Strabo (*Geog.* 641) alluvium from the Cayster river caused navigation problems in this commercial harbor long before Rome's acquisition of Asia in the latter half of the 2d century B.C. Some scholars have misinterpreted this alluvium problem and have incorrectly concluded that, "by NT times, however, the great days of Ephesus' trade were long past" and "deepening economic depression and decline must have been a feature of Ephesus' life over the last century B.C." (Blaiklock 1975: 324–26). Strabo's evaluation of Ephesus' mercantile prowess in the Augustan era, however, was that it was the largest commercial center in Asia Minor W of the Taurus (*Geog.* 641). Cicero likewise judged that the Roman province of Asia was without peer with regard to its natural resources. Moreover, literary (Tac. *Ann.* 16.23) and epigraphic documents (*IvEph* 23, 274, 2061, 3066, 3071) testify to major efforts at keeping the harbor serviceable during and after the period of Paul's ministry there. These dredging operations were apparently successful since Aristides (*Orat.* 23.24) of the 2d century A.D. and documents of the 5th-century Council of Ephesus refer to the accessibility of Ephesus' harbors (Foss 1979). Moreover, one must reckon with the fact that the alluvial sediment "in the Kücük Menderes delta at Ephesus" was the greatest during the Hellenistic rather than during the Roman period (Brice 1978: 62, 71 fig. 2).

The positive sentiments of the Ephesians toward the natural resources of the Cayster river, the sea, the ocean, Mt. Pion (Bülbül Dagh) as well as local brooks were evident in their mythological use of these resources and also in their personification of them on imperial Ephesian coinage (Imhoof-Blumer 1924: 278–80; Paus. *Descript.* 7.2.7; 7.5.10).

Strabo (*Geog.* 641–42) was correct in noting the significance of Ephesus' location as one of the many reasons for its commercial growth. In addition to its propitious littoral situation, it was also part of a principal trans-Anatolian highway system that had been in use for centuries (Birmingham 1961). In Strabo's words it was a "common road constantly used by all who travel from Ephesus toward the East" (*Geog.* 663). The fact that Republican period milestones from Asia used Ephesus as the point of origin for measuring distances portrays the continuing significance of this site as a travel hub at the period contemporary with nascent Christianity. Furthermore, the city was also the hub of regional urban development. Ephesus had successfully annexed several adjacent suburban areas; NW to Metropolis, S toward Magnesia and Priene, and E 40 km into the Cayster valley. However, unlike other Ionion cities such as Miletus (Boardman 1980: 238–55), Ephesus is not known to have established colonies in other regions, though Hecataeus notes an island in the Nile river named Ephesus.

B. Historical Survey

Greek migrations to Ionia seem to be the best explanation for the beginnings of Ephesian settlement in the LB, though the presence of Mycenaean artifacts suggests some form of pre-Greek occupation, a perspective preserved in Pausanias' account (*Descript.* 7.2.6–8). The extant legends place the influx of Greek settlers at the dawn of the 1st millennium under the direction of Androclus, son of the Athenian king Codrus (Strabo *Geog.* 633). The 12 cities colonized comprised the Pan-Ionic League, with Ephesus serving, in Strabo's words, as "the royal seat of the Ionians" (*Geog.* 633). In the late Archaic Period Ephesus, as other Ionian cities, came under the influence and control of the Lydian kingdom. The city itself was beseiged by the last Lydian king, Croesus, who, in spite of harsh treatment of the Ionians in general, was a primary benefactor in the construction of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. This Lydian influence "produced at Ephesus a more thoroughly mixed culture, part Greek, part Asiatic, than we know anywhere else in the Greek East" (Dunbabin 1957: 63). After the defeat of Croesus by Cyrus and during subsequent Persian hegemony, Ephesus enjoyed better relations with the Persians than did other Ionian cities. Between the time of the defeat of the Persians at Salamis (480 B.C.) and the later ascendancy of Alexander's successor, Lysimachus (ca. 290 B.C.), over Ephesus, the city was involved in various internecine Aegean conflicts.

Under Lysimachus' insistence the city of Ephesus was relocated to the area between two hills, Panayir Dagh and Bülbül Dagh. The residents were reluctant to move, but Lysimachus' strategy of flooding the city's streets forced its denizens to relocate. Lysimachus' new city was arranged according to the Hippodamian plan, and this arrangement was to remain the warp and woof of civic administration and urban life for well over half a millennium (Paus. *Descript.* 1.9.7; Strabo *Geog.* 640). Lysimachus also enclosed the city within an impressive city wall, stretching approximately 9 km over hills and valleys and standing 7 m tall and 3 m thick, parts of which are yet in situ. Between the death of Lysimachus (ca. 280 B.C.) and the Roman acquisition of all Asia in the will of Attalus III (133 B.C.), both the Seleucids and the Ptolemies forcefully exerted their control over Ephesus and W Anatolia.

During the Roman Republic Ephesus vacillated in its relations with Rome. On the one hand, there was veneration of Dea Roma and Roman officials during the final century of the Republic. On the other hand, the city suffered from the fallout of troubles in Italy as well as insurrection in the provinces. The city had to pay a high price for its collaboration with the supporters of Mithridates, king of Pontus, who fomented revolt that eventuated in a one-day slaughter of 80,000 Romans in Asia. Moreover, the city ceremoniously welcomed visits from the soon-to-be-vanquished Antony and Cleopatra as late as the winter of 33–32 B.C.

Beginning immediately with Augustus' ascendancy, Ephesus entered into an era of prominence and prosperity. It served as the capital of the Roman province of Asia and received the coveted title "First and Greatest Metropolis of Asia." The elevation of Ephesus in the dramatic urbanization policies of Augustus is revealed in its architecture. This revitalization included construction of aqueducts, repavement of streets, and Hellenization, including at times enlargement of agoras. As the political centerpiece of the province of Asia, Ephesus' burgeoning architectural program also encompassed triumphal monuments honoring C. Memmius, son-in-law of the Roman general Sulla, and M. Vipsanius Agrippa, adopted son and ally of Augustus. The new political realities of the early Empire were

strikingly evident in the comprehensive romanization of the civic space in the State Agora (58 × 160 m). This "strategy of incorporating the emperor into the public space" (Price 1984: 143) is reflected in the juxtaposition of the Royal Basilica, the temple of Roma and Julius Caesar, the temple of the Flavians (= "Domitian's temple"), and the temple of Augustus with the city's pre-Roman Prytaneion, Bouleterion, and agora.

Beginning in the late 1st century A.D., Ephesus received its first of four imperial Neocorate temples. On a rotating basis Ephesus also served as the seat for the long-standing and very influential provincial institution known as the Koinon of Asia. The office of high priest of Asia in the Ephesian imperial cult was filled by both men and women of Ephesus, demonstrating anew that women of the period held public office (Magie 1950: 1518, n. 50). Reexamination of inscriptional evidence vitiates the traditional view that the high priestesses of the imperial cult in Asia held that title only because of their marriage to the high priest of the imperial cult. Recent investigations of the numismatic and epigraphic evidence are also calling into question the older majority view that the office of provincial high priest was identical with that of the Asiarch (cf. Acts 19:31; Kearsley 1986: 183–92; 1987; see ASIARCHS).

Generally speaking, Ephesus prospered under the succession of various Roman emperors from late 1st century B.C. up to the mid to late 2d century A.D. The plague brought back by Roman troops in the latter half of the 2d century A.D. following the Parthian victory of the emperors Verus and Marcus Aurelius was virulent. Ephesus, along with the Empire in general, was better able to cope with a short-lived, albeit ravaging, plague than with the increasing incompetency and cruelty that characterized the stream of Roman emperors in the late 2d and 3d centuries. A cluster of misfortunes led to the deterioration of the E frontier of the Roman Empire in the 3d century. This included a depletion of political and administrative leaders through assassination, aggressive pogroms against Christians, and the increase of foreign intervention from Parthians in Mesopotamia and from Goths in S Russia. In these matters Ephesus suffered along with the rest of the Anatolian cities. It was during one of these sea attacks from Gothic invaders that the temple of Artemis was heavily damaged, never again to be restored to its former glory. The severity of the situation in the mid-3d century is captured in the observation of D. Magie: "It was the first time that the country had been invaded by an enemy from outside since the Parthian army had overrun it in 40 B.C. and the first time that it had suffered from northern barbarians since the raids of the Galatians in the 3d century before Christ" (1950: 705). The impact of severe earthquakes in the late 4th and 7th centuries led to the partial desertion of the Lysimachan city. In comparison, however, to the fate of cities such as Sardis and Pergamum, Byzantine Ephesus was relatively viable, with one center of city life located near the harbor within the reduced walled city and a second center on the hill of Ayasoluk.

C. History of Excavations

The 18th and 19th centuries saw numerous explorers and dilettantes visit Ephesus. The first serious exploration and quasi-archaeological effort there occurred in the years 1863–74 under the guidance of John T. Wood, an architect who had a long fascination with ancient Ephesus. Wood was commissioned by the British Museum to locate the ancient temple of the Ephesian Artemis. Through the fortuitous discovery of an imperial inscription that adumbrated the route of the Via Sacra leading from the temple of Artemis to the theater at Ephesus and back again by a different route, Wood was able to locate the foundations of the Artemis temple 20 feet beneath the topsoil. His work there also included excavation of the theater and Odeon. With the departure from Ephesus of J. T. Wood, the British Museum terminated support of excavations there, with the exception of the brief work at the site of the Artemis temple conducted by David G. Hogarth in 1904–5.

In 1895 the Austrian Archaeological Institute (Vienna) received permission to begin systematic exploration at the site of Ephesus and has continued to excavate there, interrupted only by world wars and outbursts of regional strife. With the commencement of its excavations, the Austrian Archaeological Institute begin publication of two serial works which have continued to be the principal outlets for the publication of epigraphic, numismatic, architectural, and plastic artifacts. These are the *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* (annually) and *Die Forschungen in Ephesus* (irregular). Annual excavation reports are also published in *Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil.-hist. Klasse), Vienna. The inscriptions are now collected and published in the multivolume *Inschriften von Ephesos* (= *IvEph*), which is part of the series Inschriften der griechischen Städten Kleinasien.

D. Major Excavations and Restorations

1. Temples and Shrines. a. Imperial Temples. At the base of the S slope of Panayir Dagh along the Curetes Street lies a cluster of buildings used to quarter the city's Prytaneion and Bouleterion. Between these two was the single temple for Dea Roma and Divus Julius, probably representing the provincial desire, shortly after Actium, to venerate Augustus. According to Dio Cassius (*Rom. Hist.* 51.20.6) Augustus allowed the Ephesians to erect a sacred precinct for the veneration of Dea Roma and Divus Julius.

Westward along the Curetes Street and situated at the foot of Bülbül Dagh is an immense temple, traditionally called "Domitian's temple." The temple, the altar, and a colossal statue were placed upon a substructure measuring 50 × 100 m and which contained underground shops. Only the foundation of the temple is preserved, indicating a stylobate of 34 × 24 m. With the *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian, his name was removed from all the inscriptions and replaced with the name of Vespasian. Some have suggested that it was at this time Domitian's (?) colossal statue was removed to the subterranean compartments (crypto-porticus) of the terraced area. This temple was apparently the first of several Neocorate temples of the imperial cult in Ephesus. Magie (1950: 1432–34, 18) suggested that the Neocorate temple was originally dedicated to the earlier emperor Vespasian, later usurped by Domitian, and then returned to Vespasian at the time of Domitian's *damnatio*. A collage of weapons and armor covers the remains of the altar of this temple.

Farther westward along the Curetes Street lies "Hadri-

an's temple." It was constructed no later than A.D. 127 and its diminutive size suggests that it surely was not a Neocorate temple. Considerable controversy yet surrounds the proper nomenclature for this edifice dedicated to the Ephesian Artemis, to the emperor Hadrian, and to the Neocorate people of the Ephesians (*IvEph* 429).

b. Traditional Cults. (1) Artemis. The pinnacle of Ephesus' sacred architecture was the temple of Artemis, largest Greek temple in antiquity, and one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world. In its 1200 year history the sanctuary of the Ephesian Artemis underwent fundamental evolution and expansion. Typically the temple's history is divided into five successive periods, temples A–E respectively. Temples A–C were pre-Croesus and are known by only the most meager evidence. Temple D, on the other hand, can be evaluated on the basis of more artifactual evidence as well as ancient literary discussion of the temple. Herodotus noted that King Croesus had donated most of the columns for the new temple (*Hist.* 1.92), a fact supported by the discovery of column fragments from the Artemis temple which read "donated by King Croesus." Strabo (*Geog.* 640) and others report that the Croesus temple was destroyed by an arsonist named Herostratos in 356 B.C. Temple E was standing during the period of nascent Christianity, finally falling as a result of Gothic plunder (ca. A.D. 262) and Christian looting. Its dimensions were 70 × 130 m and it contained 127 columns, each approximately 2 m in diameter and 20 m high. There were originally 36 column bases with relief carvings *(columnae caelatae);* one has been unearthed and is now in the British Museum. Even though the temple foundation was discovered over a century ago by J. T. Wood, it was not until 1965 that the foundation of the temple's altar outside the temple was unearthed. This horseshoe-shaped altar was erected on an area 32 × 22 m. Since most of the temple was plundered, scholars have relied on literary and numismatic evidence for supplementary information. The typanum of the temple's pediment suggests the presence of an epiphany window for the goddess, a motif preserved in numismatic iconography.

(2) Temple of Hestia. At the S foot of Panayir Dagh and directly N of the State Agora lies the Prytaneion, Ephesus' city hall. As goddess of the city's sacred public hearth, Hestia is mentioned in numerous inscriptions excavated at the Prytaneion, where her eternal flame was housed (*IvEph* 1058, 1060, 1070). Certain cosmic qualities were also attributed to Hestia because of her identification with the pervasive and cosmic element of fire.

(3) Temple of Serapis. This temple was located on the SW corner of the Square Agora. It is traditionally interpreted to be a temple of Serapis because of fragmentary inscriptional remains that refer to Serapis and other Egyptian deities and also because of the enormous size of the extant columns and the immense proportions of the overall structure. The forecourt was 16 × 107 m. The entrance to the cella was 5 m wide with a lintel weighing approximately 5 tons. There were eight monolithic-form columns 15 m tall, weighing 57 tons. Since Egyptian cults relied heavily upon the use of sacred water rites, the abundance of water basins and of the symmetrical water canals has also contributed to the Egyptian interpretation of this structure. As the presence of a presbyterium and baptistery demonstrates, this temple was later adapted for Christian usage.

(4) Sanctuary of Zeus and Mother Goddess. On the N face of Panayir Dagh were discovered, some in situ, several archaic inscriptions dedicated to Zeus and the Phrygian mother goddess. The reliefs typically depict a trinity consisting of Cybele the mother goddess, a younger male deity, and an older bearded male deity (perhaps Apollo and Zeus).

2. Private Dwellings. The remains of several important residences have been discovered at Ephesus. Situated above the theater on the W face of Panayir Dagh is the foundation of a peristyle residence 20 × 20 m. The splendid location and size of this residence have suggested to some archaeologists that it may well have been the home of the proconsul. During the Byzantine era a small chapel was erected at this site, including pews and a presbyterium. The partial remains of a small structure with a basin for bathing were also discovered nearby.

The most significant dwellings so far excavated are the slope houses situated adjacent to the temple of Hadrian and the Scholasticia Baths but on the S side of the Embolos (Curetes Street). This area contained two insulae occupied from the late Roman Republic until the late 6th–early 7th centuries.

Insula 1 (East Slope House) was trapezoidal, measuring 47 (S) × 54 (E) × 75 (W) × 50 (N) m, and containing peristyle courtyards with pool, fountains, sleeping quarters, and a *cenatorium* (dining hall). Separating insula 1 and the Embolos was a colonnade consisting of a series of 12 shops *(tabernae)* which were built and renovated from the 1st through 6th centuries. Some contained stairways leading to second floor dwelling quarters. The mosaics of this colonnade were commissioned by a certain Alytarchus and date from the 5th–6th centuries.

Insula 2, situated to the W, has revealed seven opulently decorated peristyle dwellings with no adjoining shops. Dwellings nos. 1 and 2 lay on the S side of insula 2 and were two-story. Dwelling no. 1 contained approximately 700 sq. m of living space. This house contains frescoes with scenes from works of Menander and Euripides as well as typical scenes from mythology. Bedrooms, bathroom (with bathtub), *triclinium* (dining hall with couches), kitchens, and other rooms were discovered in dwelling no. 1 of insula 2. Insula 2, dwelling no. 2 contained approximately 900 sq. m of living space and was originally built in the 1st century A.D. Dwelling no. 2 likewise contains frescoes and mosaics dating from the Roman and Byzantine periods. Dwelling no. 4 dates from the late Roman Republic and later underwent extensive renovation. One of its more interesting rooms is the Socrates room, so named because of a fresco consisting of a stereotypical depiction of the philosopher Socrates. The presence of Socrates' name removes any doubt regarding whom the original artist was intending to depict.

3. Theater. The major theater at Ephesus, seating 25,000, was built in the Hellenistic period into the W face of Panayir Dagh. Major structural alterations were carried out on the theater during the reigns of Claudius, Nero, and Trajan in order to bring it into line with the ideals of Roman theaters. Efforts at modernization included deepening the stage by extending its front edge 20 feet into the

orchestra, constructing an impressive *scaenae frons* "stage front," and enlarging the orchestra at the expense of the front seats so that animal fights and gladiatorial combat could be accommodated (Bieber 1961: 213–20). Fragments of winged Erotes, Amazons, and satyrs, friezes with tragic masks, numerous inscriptions, and a "throne of honor" for prestigious individuals were found among the theater ruins during its original excavations (1897–1900).

As in all cities, the theater at Ephesus served as the site for theatrical performances, for the regular meeting of the city's ecclesia (*IvEph* 27, passim), and for city meetings in times of urban crisis (Acts 19: 23–41). Epigraphic data indicate that Nikes and Erotes were dedicated there (*IvEph* 724); the city's Ephebes conducted their songfest to the emperor Hadrian there (*IvEph* 1145); religious awards (*IvEph* 27, passim) and civic ceremonies (*IvEph* 1408, 1411, 1440, 1452, 1453, 1457, 2003) occurred there. Notwithstanding the widespread notion in popular and scholarly works, there is no historical evidence that the apostle Paul even once preached in the theater at Ephesus. The only text that mentions both Paul and the theater explicitly states that he did *not* go into the theater to preach and defend the gospel (Acts 19:30).

4. Agoras. Two agoras have been located and partly excavated at Ephesus. One is located S of the base of Panayir Dagh and is known as the State Agora. The State Agora is bounded on the W by the monument of C. Sextilius Pollio and the Domitian temple, on the S by the fountain of C. Laecanius Bassus and the Nymphaeum, on the NE by the so-called Varius Baths, and on the N by the Agora Basilica (Alzinger 1974: 26–37; and *IvEph* 404), which separated it from the Bouleterion and Prytaneion, situated at the S base of Panayir Dagh. Begun in the Hellenistic era, the State Agora was modernized in the Roman period. In the Imperial period this agora was 58 × 160 m. A temple foundation 15 × 22 m, dating from the late Republic, was located in the W end of this agora. Some have suggested that it was perhaps dedicated to Egyptian deities, possibly under the influence of Antony and Cleopatra. More recently, scholars suggest that it was the city's temple of Augustus. A Byzantine inscription cleared from the theater by J. T. Wood refers to a forum of Theodosius; some have speculated that the State Agora later carried this appellation.

The second agora is located on the W side of the Marble Road, SW of the Ephesian theater and N of the Celsus Library. Inscriptions refer to this agora as the Square Agora (*tetragona agora; IvEph* 3005, 4123), a term also used in other cities for their agoras. This Square Agora, or commercial agora, arose in the Hellenistic period and was 112 × 112 m. This agora was surrounded on all sides by shops which had arched roofs and were about 12 m deep. The recently restored Mazaeus-Mithridates Gate, named after the two freedmen of Agrippa who paid for its construction, connected the Square Agora with the plaza to the S that was adjacent to the Celsus Library. The agora also had gates on its N, S, and E sides, though these have not been as well excavated and restored as the Mazaeus-Mithridates Gate. The proximity of this agora to the harbor and to its numerous adjacent shops testifies that it was clearly the city's commercial agora. A sundial (*horologion; IvEph* 3004) and numerous statues (cf. *IvEph* 3007, 3019, 3031, 3046, 3047, 3064, 3065, 3067, 3069) originally embellished the Square Agora. It underwent significant modernization under the reign of Caracalla (A.D. 211–17).

5. Library of Celsus. The Celsus Library at Ephesus is one of the visual highlights of the restored city; the approximate dates of construction are A.D. 115–125. It is "thought to represent the standard monumental form of the Roman library" (Johnson 1984: 11). Its facade (21 m long and 16 m high) is over 80 percent original stone. It lay to the S of the Square Agora and E of the Serapis temple. Its facade was oriented toward the E, probably for better lighting (Vitruvius, 6.7.3 *ad orientem autem bybliotecas*). The interior area of the library was 17 × 20 m. Estimates of the Celsus collection at less than 15,000 rolls are small when compared to the hundreds of thousands of rolls collected in the libraries of the Ptolemies and Attalids (*Kl.Pauly* 1: 892–96).

The library was dedicated to Tiberius Julius Celsus Ptolemaeanus, proconsul of Asia, by his son Tiberius Julius Aquila. Aquila's largess paid for the construction of the library (concluded by his relatives after his death), an operations budget for library staff and new acquisitions, and, in addition, annual choral performances in his father's behalf. Impressive statuary was also part of the original dedication. The function of the library as a memorial to Celsus is highlighted by the fact that his sarcophagus was located under the apse (Pliny *Epist.* 10.81.7). In the late 4th–early 5th century it was filled in with debris, while the magnificent facade became the backdrop for a monumental fountain. This remodeling was accomplished under the Christian proconsul Stephanus (*IvEph* 5115).

6. Gymnasiums and Baths. The gymnasium "was a center for mental as well as physical training, and inevitably became a center of general social life, like the agora and the stoas" (Wycherley 1962: 139). Roman imperial urban life depended upon the baths and gymnasiums to furnish a place for education, relaxation, contemplation, entertainment, admiration of plastic and performing arts, public hygiene, exercise, and intensive athletic training and competition. Even before the excavation of certain Ephesian bath-gymnasium complexes, several references to these had appeared in literary and epigraphic sources. These references mentioned an "old gymnasium," the "upper gymnasium," the "Emperor's gymnasium," the "Koressus district gymnasium," and the "new gymnasium." In all probability some of these coincide with extant gymnasium ruins, though the identifications are tenuous at times. All six baths which have been uncovered in Ephesus come from the 1st or 2d century A.D. and have acquired the following names in modern literature: (1) Harbor Gymnasium and Baths, (2) Vedius Gymnasium, (3) Theater Gymnasium, (4) So-called Varius Baths, (5) Scholasticia Baths, and (6) East Gymnasium.

The state of preservation and extent of excavation of these six vary significantly. Each one, nevertheless, conforms to one of two architectural patterns. The first pattern is the symmetrical axis pattern where identical rooms were constructed symmetrically on both sides of an axis which divided the baths. This convention characterized the Harbor Baths, Theater Gymnasium, East Gymnasium, and Vedius Baths. The less dominant style was asymmetrical (Scholasticia and "Varius Baths") so that the bather

could enter and leave the baths through different doors without having to retrace his steps on departure.

The normal configuration of rooms of a Roman bath included: (1) caldarium (warm water), (2) tepidarium (mild water), (3) frigidarium (cold water), (4) apodyterion (changing room with lockers), (5) latrine, (6) natatio (swimming pool), and (7) unctorium or elaethesium (rooms for anointing with oil and unguents). Several Ephesian inscriptions mention oil donations given by benefactors to all the local gymnasiums (*IvEph* 644, 661, 926, 3014; Vitruvius 5.10.1–5; 5.11.1–4; Lucian *Hippias* 4–8 for literary evidence regarding Greco-Roman baths and gymnasiums).

The Greek gymnasium (palaestra) was often attached to a Roman bath and included an expansive area for exercise, jogging, and athletic competition. There were often rooms and auditoriums for rhetorical and musical performances and an "imperial room" usually containing the bust of the emperor and other leaders who perhaps endowed the construction and maintenance of the gymnasium. In this regard the excavation of Ephesian gymnasiums has yielded an impressive collection of statuary and busts.

a. Vedius Gymnasium. This building complex—gymnasium with palaestra and baths—was built in the mid-2d century by the Ephesian couple Publius Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiana. The inscription indicates that it was dedicated to Artemis and to the emperor Antoninus Pius. There were altars and statues of Antoninus Pius and later emperors. The gymnasium was 75 × 135 m and located directly N of the city stadium in the vicinity of the Koressian Gate. A latrine in the gymnasium's SW corner served both the street traffic and those from the inside. The complex contained an exercise room, changing and locker rooms, swimming pool, frigidarium, caldarium, and small shops.

b. Harbor Gymnasium. This large complex (240 × 356 m) was not a single structure architecturally, but rather consisted of three components. The tripartite structure was situated close to the harbor, directly N of Arkadiane Street and was arranged, moving from E to W, with the Verulanus Hall, the gymnasium, and baths. The Verulanus Hall (200 × 240 m) takes its name from a benefactor, Claudius Verulanus, high-priest of Asia, who paid for the marble veneer of the hall during the reign of Hadrian. The hall's principal entrance was situated on the E. The inside roofed perimeter of the Verulanus Hall was used for races and jogging (Vitruvius 5.11), while the uncovered center portion provided the location for training and athletic competition. It was in the Verulanus Hall of this sports complex that Apollonius of Tyana purportedly received a vision of the assassination of the emperor Domitian (Philostratus *Vita Apoll* 8.26). The gymnasium, dating at least from the time of Domitian, contained an inner square 88 × 88 m enclosed by surrounding colonnaded hallways 11 m wide. On the N and S sides lay marble rooms (16 × 32 m) used for the emperor's statue, works of art, and rhetorical presentations consistent with the pedagogical function of Roman gymnasiums.

The baths themselves (70 × 160 m) consisted of dressing rooms, caldarium, tepidarium, and frigidarium. With the discovery of a statue base of the proconsul P. Calvisius Ruso, dated ca. A.D. 93, previous efforts to date the baths in the late 2d century have been abandoned. The baths were renovated in the mid-4th century.

c. East Gymnasium. Located at the base of the SE face of Panayir Dagh and adjacent to the Magnesian Gate, the East Gymnasium was rectangular (50 × 75 m), with a palaestra in the S end of the complex. The East Gymnasium contained the rooms typical for such a complex and was completed probably by the middle of the 2d century A.D.

d. The "Varius Baths." So-called Varius Baths (54 × 100 m) lay immediately E of the State Agora. They were apparently constructed in the 2d century A.D. However, the fragmentary nature of the ruins and the architectural deviations evident in the extant foundation make detailed suggestions tenuous.

e. The Scholasticia Baths. Located adjacent to the "temple of Hadrian" along the Curetes Street, they were, in all probability, constructed during the reign of Trajan or Hadrian. The Scholasticia Baths were laid out differently from most of the Ephesian bath complexes but contained the appropriate rooms for changing clothes, bathing, and swimming. The modern nomenclature, Scholasticia, derives from the name of a Christian woman of the late 4th century who rebuilt the baths and whose statue was erected in the entrance room.

7. Fountains, Wells, and Aqueducts. The water requirements of the earliest settlement at Ephesus were probably met by the water source mentioned by Creophylos (Athenaeus *Deipn.* 8.361c–e) and by the collection of rainwater. In this latter case an Ephesian inscription (A.D. 92) is instructive regarding the volume of rain runoff in the area. In an epigram Claudia Trophime mentions that Mt. Pion drinks in so much rain water and stores it in its ravines, that it is comparable to the greatness of the sea (*IvEph* 1062; Engelmann 1987: 149–50). In the Hellenistic-Roman period the local river Marnas (*IvEph* 414, 415–17, 1530, 4105) and waterway Klaseas (*IvEph* 415–16) were channeled into the city's fountains and gymnasiums; these were celebrated for the first time on coinage during the reign of Domitian.

The early Empire saw the construction of three aqueducts at Ephesus. The emperor Augustus contributed to the construction of the Aqua Iulia (*IvEph* 401) and the Aqua Troessitica (*IvEph* 402), thereby reflecting his well-known attentiveness to the water supply of cities (*Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 20). The wealthy benefactor C. Sextilius Pollio also paid for the construction (ca. A.D. 4–14) of the aqueduct that can still be seen today approximately 4 km S of Ephesus (*IvEph* 3092; Alzinger 1974: 1.21–23). Excavations among private dwellings (e.g., slope houses) reveal the presence of numerous cisterns and fountains.

The most important public fountains and wells in use in the imperial era include:

1. Fountain of C. Laecanius Bassus, built in ca. A.D. 80 (*IvEph* 695).
2. Nymphaeum (S of State Agora), built sometime in 2d century A.D. (*IvEph* 414, 1316–17).
3. Fountain in honor of C. Sextilius Pollio constructed in A.D. 93 (*IvEph* 413, 419).
4. Fountain attached to Memmius Monument. The

fountain dates from early 3d century A.D. (*IvEph* 435).
5. The impressive Trajan Fountain was constructed ca. A.D. 110 (*IvEph* 265).
6. The Hellenistic Fountain, located at the NW foot of the city theater, was built sometime in the 3d–2d century B.C.
7. Roadside Fountain (Strassenbrunnen) was constructed during the reign of Trajan, excavated and reconstructed in 1927 by the Austrian Archaeological Institute, and completely demolished in 1955 by a Turkish road crew in order to construct a highway (*IvEph* 424a; Keil 1964: 138–39).

E. Ephesian Religions

1. Paganism. a. Artemis of Ephesus. Religion was of paramount significance to the city of Ephesus. The city was the cult center of the worship of the Ephesian Artemis. When called upon to do so, the city would vigorously defend the goddess against impious detractors. The origins of the Ephesian goddess are lost in the undocumented centuries of early contacts between the Greeks and their Anatolian neighbors. During the Roman period several facets about the Artemis cult are salient: (1) the goddess was the tutelary deity of the city; (2) the goddess' cult was not characterized by base sensualism or a focus upon sexuality and fertility; (3) the goddess' influence was evident in the city's political, civic, cultural, educational, and economic activities; (4) the goddess' religion was internationally recognized as a premier religion, and her temple was acknowledged as one of the Seven Wonders of antiquity; and (5) the goddess appealed to both the social need and to the personal pietism of the pagan Ephesians.

b. Traditional Deities. Ephesus' religious climate was similar to that of many other large cities in the Greek East. There is documentation—including literature, epigraphy, numismatics, sculpture, and architecture—of a plethora of Greco-Roman and, to a lesser extent, Anatolian deities. These include the following:

	DOCUMENTATION			
NAME	Literature	Coins	Epigraphy	Monuments
Aphrodite	*		*	
Apollo	*	*	*	*
Asclepius	*		*	
Athena	*	*	*	
Cabiri			*	
Demeter	*		*	*
Dionysus	*	*	*	*
Egyptian Cults	*	*	*	*
Ge			*	
God Most High			*	
Hecate	*	*	*	
Hephaestus			*	
Hercules	*	*	*	*
Mother goddess			*	*
Pluton			*	
Poseidon	*		*	
Zeus	*	*	*	*

c. Hero Veneration. The worship of select individuals, sometimes while they were yet alive but more often after death, was a common practice of Greek cities. The motivation for such veneration could be a pious and grateful response to unusual benefaction, to miraculous assistance, to extraordinary civic or political contribution, or to a unique role in the founding and history of the honoring city. Heroes at Ephesus include:

1. Alexander the Great, whose cult was still maintained into the 2d century A.D.
2. Androclus, regarded as the Greek founder of Ephesus
3. Apollonius of Tyana, a Neo-Pythagorean preacher and thaumaturgist, was venerated at Ephesus because of the exorcism he performed to rescue the city of Ephesus from a plague.
4. Pixodarus Evangelus was worshipped with regularity at Ephesus, under the auspices of the city magistrate, because of his singular role in discovering the marble quarry from which the city took the marble for the construction of the temple of Artemis.
5. There existed at Ephesus, even into the imperial era, a cult and priesthood for the former Roman proconsul of Asia (46–44 B.C.), Publius Servilius Isauricus. This honor was in all probability a response to this administrator's just treatment of the city and his advocacy of the city's interests in official issues.

2. Christianity. The early history of Ephesian Christianity can be divided, for the sake of convenience, into periods characterized by the influence of different Christian authors and leaders. The earliest period obviously falls to the apostle Paul. The text of Acts indicates that Paul's efforts played an important role in the early spread of the Gospel in Ephesus (Acts 18–20). This city was not only the site of his longest missionary tenure, as presented in the scheme of Acts, but also was the base of operation for Paul and his associates as they spread the Christian Gospel into the adjacent cities and regions of Asia Minor (e.g., the Lycus valley). The Pauline Corinthian correspondence was written at a time contemporary with the apostle's Ephesian ministry and Romans was written shortly thereafter. Dogmatism in the matter of the provenance of the Pauline "Prison Epistles" seems inadvisable. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the complex issues of authorship, the letters of Ephesians, Colossians, and the epistles of 1 and 2 Timothy provide strong indications of the importance of Ephesus in the Pauline Anatolian ministry and the perception of such in the nascent Christian community.

Less well attested is the role of Ephesus in the final years and ministry of the apostle John. There is no internal evidence in either the Fourth Gospel or the Johannine Epistles that indicates their provenance or destination. While the Revelation of John was written from the island of Patmos, off the coast of W Anatolia, that geographical proximity does not intrinsically bespeak an Ephesian home of its author. In addition, there is no necessity based upon internal evidence of the documents themselves to identify the author of the Fourth Gospel with the author of the Revelation. The *onus probandi* for the historical reconstruction placing the apostle John (as the author of the Fourth

Gospel, Johannine Epistles, and the Revelation) in Ephesus lies in the use of Christian literature of the 2d century. The consensus of 2d-century sources is in favor of placing John in Ephesus in his latter years. It was during these later years of his life that he was exiled to Patmos, wrote the Fourth Gospel, Johannine Epistles, and the Revelation, and combated gnostic heretics such as Cerinthus. However, the matter of John's tenure there was not without dispute in this early Christian period, with the result that certain Christian authors opted for the presence of two different Johns (and later their graves) in Ephesus.

The Ephesian Christian community of the 2d century is documented, in part, by the evidence available in the letter to it from Ignatius of Antioch. The name of the Christian apologist Justin Martyr was also associated with Ephesus in the first half of the 2d century A.D.

3. Judaism. While Judaism thrived in Greco-Roman Ephesus, especially under the legal protection of the Seleucids and Romans, firm evidence of its size, character, and role in Ephesian urban life is difficult to reconstruct. The term *Ephesus* occurs about a dozen times in Josephus, making his record the largest Jewish literary testimony concerning Ephesian Jews (*Ant.* 16 §27–65). Unlike certain other cities of W Asia Minor, Ephesus has yet to yield any synagogue remains. Moreover, there is a dearth of physical evidence (e.g., lamps) and of inscriptional evidence to the presence of Ephesian Judaism in the Greco-Roman era. Both the Pauline corpus and the Acts of the Apostles testify to Jewish-Christian hostilities in this region. For further discussion, see PWSup 12: 248–364, 1588–1704.

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RICHARD E. OSTER, JR.

EPHLAL (PERSON) [Heb *'eplāl*]. Descendant of Judah (1 Chr 2:37) through Perez and the family of Jerahmeel. Considerable scholarly debate surrounds this particular family line. Some scholars maintain that the importance of these names in postexilic times stems from the possibility that they were not originally Hebrews but nomadic Edomites (Elmslie *Chronicles* IB, 353) settling in permanent kraals in S Judah about the time of David (Curtis *Chronicles* ICC, 86–87). The line of descent of which Ephlal is a part is of particular interest because of the prominent way in which women are noted in the genealogies. First, Atarah, the second wife of Jerahmeel, is named specifically. Secondly, Sheshan had no sons and thus gave his daughter, Ahlai, as wife to his Egyptian slave Jarha, from whose line Ephlal descends. Considerable scholarly debate surrounds the nature of these genealogies. While Curtis (*Chronicles ICC,* 83) considers vv 34–41 an appendix to the descendants of Jerahmeel, Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 45) adopts a more cautious and less speculative approach. The meaning of Ephlal is highly speculative. Frequent suggestions include "nicked" and "judgment." It is possible the name

comes from the root meaning "intervene" or "interpose" and producing such words as judge, intercede, and pray.

W. P. STEEGER

EPHOD (OBJECT) [Heb *ʾēpôd*]. An item of priestly apparel. As a noun it appears 49 times in the Hebrew Bible, and it occurs once as a denominative verb (Lev 8:7). In three more instances (Exod 28:8; 39:5; Isa 30:22), a slightly different form of the word is used to accommodate a suffix. Since the word *ephod* refers to a sacred vestment, most of the usages are in the priestly passages of the Pentateuch, mainly in the tabernacle texts of Exodus. However, other individuals involved in cultic activity—notably Gideon (Judg 8:27), the priest of Micah (Judg 17:5; 18:14, 17, 18, 20), Eli (1 Sam 14:3), Samuel (1 Sam 2:18, 28), and David or his priests (1 Sam 21:9; 22:18; 23:16; 30:7; 2 Sam 6:14; 1 Chr 15:27)—are associated with the ephod. In Hos 3:4 it is mentioned, along with the teraphim, independently of a priestly figure.

Most of the information about the ephod's appearance comes in the description of Aaron's wardrobe. Despite the enormous amount of detail provided (mainly in Exodus 28 = Exodus 39), a clear picture of what it looked like is difficult to obtain. It apparently was an apronlike garment, suspended from waist level downward and kept in place by shoulder pieces or straps; it probably completely encircled the lower body. Two onyx stones, each engraved with the names of six of the Israelite tribes, were set into gold bracteates (RSV filigree) and attached to the shoulder pieces. The fabric of the ephod was of the most elaborate kind. It consisted of a multicolored mixture of wool and linen, but the predominant kind of thread woven into it was gold. Because it is mentioned first in the list of materials (Exod 28:8 = 39:2) and because it was evidently woven into all the individual threads of colored wool and linen (Exod 39:3), gold dominated its fabrication (Haran 1955) and certainly made it an object that was heavier and had more of a defined shape than do most items of apparel.

As a golden garment, the ephod clearly had special status in the elaborate series of undergarments, overgarments, and supplementary vestments and headpieces worn by the high priest. It is one of four items of apparel reserved for the high priest alone, in addition to what he wore in common with the other priests. Two other special items were intimately connected with the ephod: the breastpiece was attached to it (Exod 28:25); and one of the high priest's outer garments, "the robe of the ephod" (*meʿil hāʾēpôd;* Exod 28:31) is designated in relation to it. All the items used in the priests' vestments and in the construction of the tabernacle belong to a sequence of workmanship and choice of materials, from simple to intricate, from common to costly (Haran 1978). The most elaborate items are the most holy ones, and the ephod clearly belongs to that category.

The prominence of the high priest's ephod relates to its function and also its symbolic nature. Because the breastpiece containing the Urim and Thummim are attached to it, the ephod is an essential part of the divinatory apparatus of the Israelite cult. That function is clear in many of the passages associating David with an ephod, in which he uses it to "inquire of the Lord" (1 Sam 30:7–8; cf. Judg 18:5).

The symbolic aspect of Aaron's ephod derives from its nature as a costly and intricate golden garment. As such, it is made of materials that, in both ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, were reserved for garments that clothed either the statues of the gods or a very select group of high officials (royalty and top priestly ranks). Several old Assyrian texts from Cappadocia refer to a rich and costly garment called an *epattu* (*CAD* 4: 183), and Anath in Ugaritic literature apparently wears an *ʾipdk* (Albright 1941). In addition, certain elaborate and distinctive items, known as "golden garments," were used in Mesopotamian ritual to drape the statues of deities (Oppenheim 1949). This practice endowed the garment with an aura of sanctity, since it was used to clothe the god or goddess in rituals meant to secure the deity's presence and availability. For ancient Israel, with its aniconic tradition, the use of a distinctive golden vestment for the highest cultic functionary provided an analogous purpose. No image of Yahweh could be specially robed in order to insure divine immanence. But the priest closest to Yahweh was so adorned as a way of symbolizing and securing God's presence.

The references to ephod outside the priestly texts do not say much about its appearance aside from several references to its linen fabric (Heb *ʾēpôd-bād*). But they do indicate both cultic practice and priestly attire. Thus, while they may not refer to a physical item identical to Aaron's ephod, they belong to similar conceptualizations of sacred apparel. The same can be said for references to the ephod apart from a human wearer, as a item along with teraphim or images. Such passages may indicate the ephod's role as a garment for cultic statues that were part of Israelite religion at some stage.

Scholars trying to understand the wide array of biblical information about the ephod have made various proposals about its appearance and function. Because of the apparent incongruities between the ephod in the priestly writings and the ephod elsewhere in the Bible, some have argued that this item is a sacred garment in some places but some sort of distinct cultic object or even an idol in other places (e.g., May 1939; Morganstern 1943–44). Such speculation involves too rigid a classification of garment and cultic objects as separate categories. The ephod was both a special garment and a ritual object, and in either or both of these aspects it functioned symbolically to bring a human representative of the Israelite community into contact with the unseen God. See also BREASTPIECE.

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CAROL MEYERS

EPHOD (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēpōd*]. The father of Hanniel (Num 34:23). The latter was a leader in the tribe of Manasseh selected for overseeing the distribution of the land to the ten tribes. The name has been corrupted in the LXX to read variously *ouphi(d)* and *souphi*. The meaning of the name is obscure, but has been related to the ritual vestment worn by the priests, the ephod.

RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

EPHPHATHA [Gk *ephphatha*]. Found in Mark 7:34 in words attributed to Jesus and addressed to a blind man whom he was healing, the word is there given a Gk translation, *dianoichthēti*, "be opened." Since Wellhausen it has been widely regarded as reflecting the 2d person masc. sing. *Ithpeʿel* (reflexive-passive) of the Aramaic verb *pṯḥ*, "to open," thus meaning "be opened." Wellhausen noted that in the Babylonian Talmud *ephphatha* was the usual contraction for the more formal and expected form [*ʾtpṯḥ*]. Against this view I. Rabinowitz argued that this contracted form did not occur in the Jerusalem Talmud, Midrashim, or the pentateuchal Targums. He proposed instead that it was a 2d person masc. sing. *Nipʿal*, imperative of the Hebrew verb *pṯḥ*, namely, *hpṯḥ*. Z. Ben-Ḥayyim showed that in Samaritan Hebrew this form is pronounced *affeta*. Now the contracted form of the Aramaic is in fact found in the Palestinian pentateuchal Targum ms Cod. Vat. Ebr. 440 at Gen 49:1; whereas, Targum Neofiti has the full form at that point. Whatever else may be said, it is clear that the form in the Vatican Codex is supported by the pronunciation given in Mark 7:34. First century A.D. Palestinian Aramaic inscriptions preserved on four tombs (the Kidron Valley Dipinto, line 4; the Uzziah Tomb slab, line 4; the Kidron Epitaph, lines 2–3; and the Jerusalem Hypogeum Ossuary 1, line b) give what appears to be the contracted form of the *Ithpeʿel* infinitive of Aram *pṯḥ*, namely, in the formula *lʾ lmpṯḥ* (instead of *lʾ lmtpṯḥ*), "not to (be) open(ed)." These inscriptions seem to confirm that in Mark 7:34, *ephphatha* reflects this assimilated pronunciation of the Aramaic. All this is consistent with the view that the word is part of the authentic speech of Jesus. The idea that in Mark 7:34 it is really a "foreign" word, part of the magician's art, has met with support in a number of places but has an air of unreality about it in that such an Aramaic word can scarcely be "foreign" in the setting given to it by Mark.

MAX WILCOX

EPHRAEMI RESCRIPTUS. See CODEX (EPHRAIMI RESCRIPTUS).

EPHRAIM (PERSON) [Heb *ʾeprayim*]. EPHRAIMITES. The second son of the biblical patriarch Joseph, and the eponymous ancestor of the tribe bearing this name. The central hill country of Palestine was called Ephraim after the tribe associated with that region. This entry consists of two articles, one focusing on the topography and history of the region, and another discussing archaeological survey work in the region.

EPHRAIM IN THE BIBLE

A. The Name

The original etymology of the name Ephraim is unknown. The derivation from Heb *prh*, "to be fertile," is based on a popular etymology (Gen 41:52; Hos 13:15). The ending *-ayim* indicates a place or geographical name. Noth (*Joshua* HAT, 145) translates the construction *har ʾeprayim* (Josh 20:7) as "pasturage mountain" (Ger "Weideland-Gebirge"). More plausible is the derivation from *ʾeper* in the sense of "region" (cf. Akk *epēru*), plus the locality ending *-ayim* (Gesenius 1987: 91). But a reliable translation of "Ephraim" would seem impossible.

Ephraim is the proper name of Joseph's second son (Gen 41:52; 46:20), who receives the blessing of the firstborn instead of Manasseh (Genesis 48); thus he received a share of Jacob's inheritance and is reckoned among the tribal eponymous heroes. The tribal territory named after him is situated in the S part of the central W Jordanian massif (the *har ʾeprayim:* Josh 17:15; 19:50; 20:7; etc.); its borders are described in Josh 16:5–10. In connection with Ephraim's N neighbor, Manasseh, the Bible speaks of "the land of Ephraim and Manasseh" (Deut 34:2 and 2 Chr 30:10). In numerous passages in the prophetic writings, "Ephraim" designates the N kingdom of Israel, since Ephraim actually encompassed the real territorial center of this geopolitical region (cf. esp. Isa 7:2, 5, 8, 9, 17; 9:8, 20; 11:13, etc.; see also Jer 31:9, 18, 20; Ezek 37:16, 19).

B. Topography

The region designated by the name Ephraim was considerably larger than the territory originally inhabited by the tribe of Ephraim (cf. 1 Kgs 4:8; Josh 17:15). The "mountain of Ephraim" was made up of the W Jordanian mountainous country stretching approximately from Bethel in the S to the plain of Jezreel in the N; in the NW, Mt. Carmel and, in the NE, Gilboa are probably to be reckoned to the territory as well. The town of Shechem, situated in a valley between Mt. Ebal to the N and Mt. Gerizim to the S, is probably to be seen as the real center of the region. The *har ṣalmôn* mentioned as being in the vicinity of Shechem in Judg 9:48 is not identifiable today. The mountain *gaʿaš* is located in the SW part of the Ephraimite massif, near Joshua's home at Timnath-Serah (Josh 19:50; 24:30). Although certainty in the matter is impossible, the mountain *ṣĕmārayim* (2 Chr 13:4), like the site of the same name (Josh 18:22), was presumably located in the SE part of Ephraim.

From the border of Benjamin in the S until around Shechem the Ephraimite massif is higher than the N section and can only be traversed with difficulty on the E–W axis. Its highest landmark, Baal-Hazor (modern Tell ʿAṣur or *Jebel el-ʿAṣūr*), about 8 km NE of Bethel (mentioned in 2 Sam 13:23), reaches a height of 1011 m. This S part of the Ephraimite massif was the settlement area of the tribe of Ephraim. It is a fertile region, largely composed of cenomanite, an erosion-resistant hard variety of limestone. The main line of communication through the region is the road which traverses the sometimes difficult terrain running N–S along the watershed.

The N part of the Ephraimite massif consists mainly of the rather softer limestone known as senonite, and is not

as fertile as the S part. Numerous valleys offered suitable paths of communication for local traffic and thus encouraged the development of urban centers. In addition to Shechem, mention should be made of Tirzah *(tell el-Fārʿa)*, at the E reach of the Wâdī el-Fārʿa, Dothan in the NW, and to the S, in an especially favorable location on a hilltop in the midst of a kettle-shaped valley, the city of Samaria.

C. History

Ephraim is regarded as the heartland of Israel. It was here, in a fashion entirely independent of developments in Judah to the S, that the history of what was later to develop into the entire people of Israel began. Bethel and Shechem appear as the main loci of the Jacob traditions (Gen 28:10–22; 33:17–20; 34; 35), but some of the narratives connected with Abraham (Gen 12:16; 13:3) also lead through Ephraimite territory. The sanctuary at Shechem was the scene of important symbolic events of great significance to the development of the supratribal "Israel." Joshua's tribal assembly in Shechem (Joshua 24) and the ceremony of curse and blessing on the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (Deuteronomy 27; cf. also Josh 8:30–35) are among the more solid traditions of the central Palestinian tribal league which was also known as the "house of Joseph" (Judg 1:23) and included both Ephraim and Manasseh (Deut 33:17). In the tribal blessings in Gen 49:22–26 and Deut 33:13–17, Joseph receives both a place of honor and a favorable comment.

Shechem was already a political center at an early date. If the reading of the Execration Texts is correct, it was mentioned in them, as well as in the burial inscription of the Egyptian functionary Khu-Sebek, in the days of Sesostris III (ca. 1880–1840 B.C.E.; cf. *ANET*, 230–31). In the Amarna Letters the city is known as the home of the rebellious governor and king(?) Labayu; it possessed an aristocratic organization (cf. Judges 9) until Israelite times, when that organization was ultimately dissolved. However, Shechem did not achieve political ascendancy during the time of the N kingdom in spite of her favorable situation in the center of the region. Instead, the city remained an "uncrowned queen" among the cities of Israel and Palestine (Alt 1925a: 4). Already the first N kings after the partition of the empire established themselves at, first, Tirzah *(tell el-Fārʿa)* and then Penuel *(tulūl eḏ-ḏahab)*, until Omri finally purchased the hill of Samaria and there, in the borderland between Israelite and Canaanite influence, constructed his residence (1 Kgs 16:24; on the fate of the site described and evaluated in detail, see Alt, *KlSchr* 3: 298–302).

In the course of his conquests, probably around the year 733 Tiglath-pileser III appropriated the border regions of the N kingdom and incorporated them as provinces of his empire under the designation *Magiddū* (Megiddo). The regions included were Galilee, *Gal'azu* (Gilead) in the region E of the Jordan (although whether this was an independent province is contested), and *Dū'ru* (Dor), a coastal province S of Carmel. The central region of Ephraim, consisting of Samaria and its immediate environs (often called the "rump state" of Ephraim), was retained by King Hosea until, after the fall of Samaria in 722–721, it, too, became Assyrian.

The attempts by King Josiah, as Assyrian power collapsed at the close of the 7th century, to unify the N kingdom with Judah foundered on the early death of the king (in 609 at Megiddo, at the hands of the N-bound Egyptians) and the subsequent transition of suzerainty over the region to the Egyptians and, later, to the Neo-Babylonian Empire under Nebuchadnezzar.

Probably as a continuation of the efforts of the Babylonian administrators, the Persian province of Samaria arose and attempted to maintain its independence of Judah and Jerusalem. After the conquests of Alexander the Great in Palestine during the last third of the 4th century, the final separation of the Samaritan cultic community from the Judaism which was centered on the temple in Jerusalem took place. When this occurred, an administrative and religio-political opposition between "Judea" and "Samaria" arose and extended into the Roman period. The Romans, however, partitioned off large parts of the areas won from the Hasmoneans in Judea. These included, in addition to the coastal cities and the region of the later Decapolis in the N part of the territory E of Jordan, on the W side of the Jordan also Samaria and its environs. The entire Syro-Palestinian region became the province of Syria and was subject to the rule of a governor.

D. Archaeology

At the beginning of the 20th century, the archaeological exploration of Palestine was concentrated on prominent sites in Ephraim and its periphery. American, British, German, and Danish archaeological societies and institutes, supported by both public and private funding, were involved in the effort. The work continued between the two world wars; it has been intensified since the foundation of the state of Israel and, in the wake of the events of 1967, the entire territory of Ephraim became open for study. Israeli, American, and European archaeological teams have since then participated.

Among the sites that were excavated early on were, above all (including mention of the excavational seasons): SHECHEM *(Nâblus; Tell Balāṭa)*, 1913–14, 1926–27, 1956–69; SAMARIA, 1908–10, 1931–33, 1935; MIZPAH *(Tell en-Naṣbe)*, 1926; SHILOH, 1926, 1929, 1932, 1963, 1981–84; AI, 1933–35, 1964–69; TAANACH, 1902–3, 1904, 1963–64, 1966, 1968; MEGIDDO, 1903–5, 1907–9, 1934; DOTHAN, 1953–60; TIRZAH, 1946, 1950–51, 1954, 1958, 1960. (For the early period of excavation, see Thomsen 1932.)

In recent times further excavations have been undertaken, principally including: Khirbet Raddana on the W side of el-Bireh, 1971–75; BETHEL, 1934, 1954, 1957, 1960; ʿIZBET ṢARṬAH, 1976–78; MT. EBAL, 1983–85. On these recent excavations, with inclusion of the Israelite Conquest in Ephraim, see Finkelstein (1988). In all brevity these studies allow us to conclude the following: the sites mentioned in the Conquest Narratives reveal no traces of the "remains of the Late Bronze period" (Finkelstein 1988: 352–56). Among the regions so thickly settled by Canaanites, there "is virtually no evidence of Israelite settlement prior to the 10th century B.C.E." Recent sociological studies have conjectured that the Israelites emerged at the close of the Bronze Age from the sociopolitical organization of Canaan (see Gottwald 1979; differently, Lemche 1985, 1988). Against this it can be shown that the new inhabitants

of the hill country of Ephraim and Manasseh in the Iron I period came from a pastoralist background. The beginning of Israelite settlement of the region cannot have taken place earlier than the 12th century B.C.E. Ten Iron I sites in Judah and about 12 in Benjamin must be compared with about 120 in Ephraim and about 100 in Manasseh. It can be shown that the ethnic composition of Ephraim during the Iron I period was strongly homogeneous. Although the settlement was regionally diverse, in general the new settlers either established themselves among the earlier populace or else settled in the thinly populated mountainous highlands. Taken together, these observations, which allow us to conclude that the population grew at the beginning of the Iron I period, coincide temporally and spatially and agree with the biblical information concerning the Israelite Conquest. They point to a largely peaceful process of settlement and are accordingly suitable archaeologically to confirm and support a number of observations and conjectures which Alt (1925b, 1939) had made concerning the essential character of the first stage of the course of the settlement. For a more extensive discussion of the archaeological survey of the Ephraimite territory, see below.

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SIEGFRIED HERRMANN

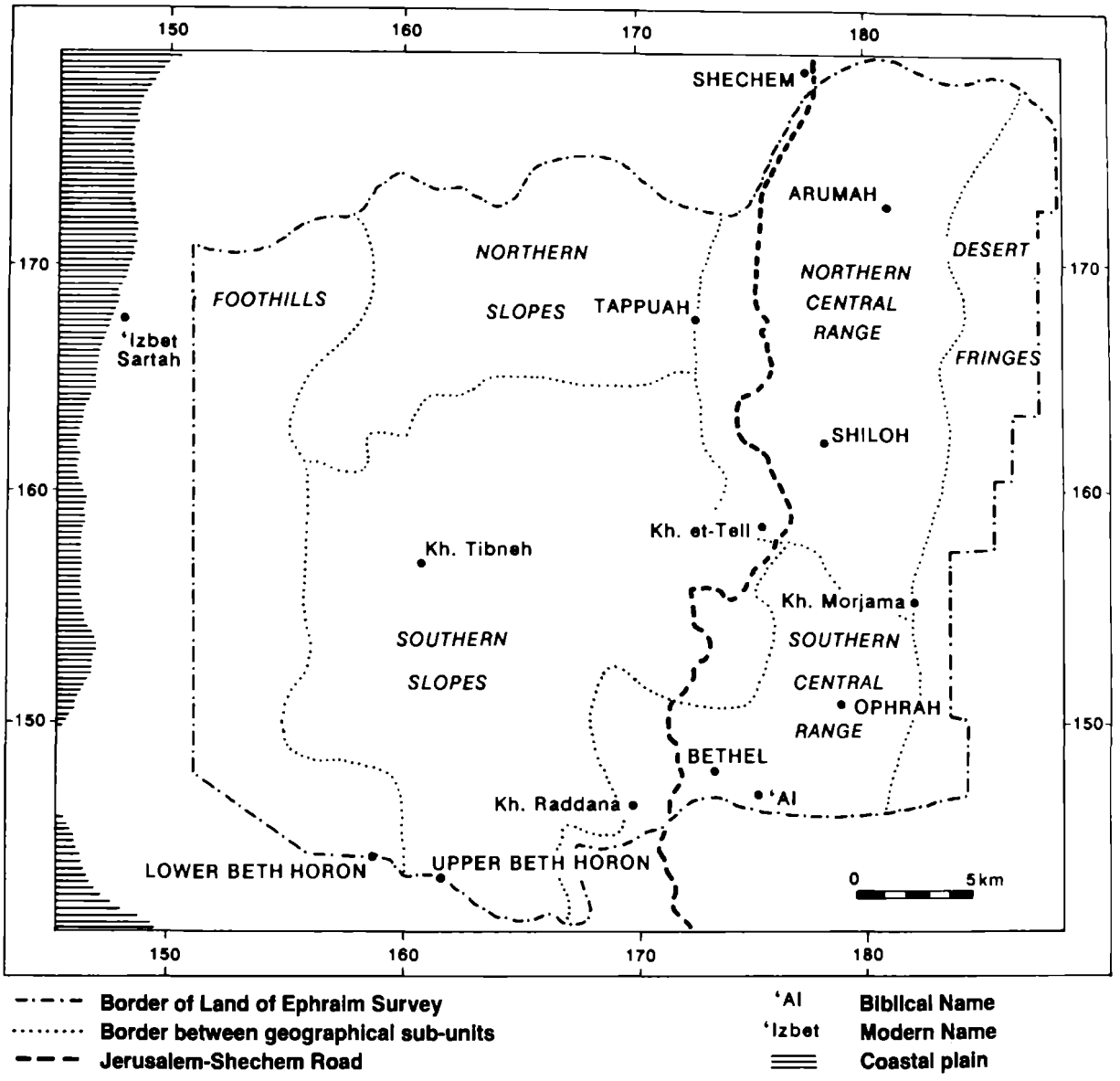
ARCHAEOLOGY OF EPHRAIM

Since 1980, area of the ancient land of Ephraim has been the object of an intensive archaeological survey. Headed by I. Finkelstein, the survey covers an area of approximately 1050 km^2. Its boundaries, which correspond roughly to the biblical borders of the inheritance of Ephraim, run along the Beth-horon–Ramallah–Deir Dibwan road in the S, the Kanah brook and the northernmost reaches of the valley of Beit Dajan in the N, and extend beyond the easternmost of the permanent settlements of the desert fringes in the E; the W border is demarcated by the foothills of the Shephelah. See Fig. EPH.01. The major biblical sites located within the survey area include Bethel, Shiloh, and Tappuah, while Shechem lies just beyond its N border.

To the end of 1985, some 95 percent of the sites in the survey region have been investigated (including the Arab villages) and about two-thirds of the area has been surveyed in detail. A total of some 550 sites have been discovered, enabling a reliable picture of the pattern of settlement to be drawn for each of the various periods of occupation.

The land of Ephraim is located in the heart of the central hill country, a marginal zone for agriculture, since it has neither the arable mountain plateaus of Benjamin nor the broad alluvial valleys of Manasseh. Lithologically, most of the region consists of hard limestone formations, which make it difficult to till the soil. In ancient times much of the region was covered with dense forests, with *Quercus caliprinos* (Kermes oak) and *Pistacia palaestina* (terebinth) predominating, as inferred from the remnants of these forests today and paleobotanical samples from excavated sites. Since these forests had to be cleared before crops could be sown, the presence of these forests was another disadvantage for agricultural settlement.

In order to understand the pattern of settlement through various periods, it is helpful to divide the region into six geographical subunits, each of which has its own distinctive morphological, ecological, and demographic-economic characteristics. (1) The desert fringe on the E is a long, narrow strip between the central mountain range and the Samaritan desert. The land is marginal but has some arable plots. (2) The N part of the central range is a large unit in the heart of the hill country and is characterized by small fertile valleys suitable for agriculture, extending from the valley of Shiloh in the S through the valley of Beit Dajan in the N. (3) The S part of the central range is



EPH.01. Map of ancient territory of Ephraim.

a high plateau in the Bethel hills, which is a continuation of the plateau of the land of Benjamin. Topographically, it is an attractive area for settlement. (4) The N part of the W slopes is a hilly zone between the brook of Shiloh and the brook of Kanah. (5) The S part of the W slopes is a topographically wild zone lying S of the brook of Shiloh, consisting of an E–W series of steep scarps and deep wadis. This is the most difficult area for settlement in the land of Ephraim. (6) The foothills area is a long, narrow strip in the W with low rolling hills descending westwards towards the coastal plain. The central mountain range and the S part of the W slopes are rich in springs; whereas, there are almost no perennial water sources in the desert fringe, the N part of the W slopes, and the foothills.

The subsistence economy in ancient times may be reconstructed for each subregion by analogy with the sources of livelihood of the Arab villages at the beginning of the present century. The villagers living in the E desert fringes were supported by cereal cultivation and grazing. In the interior valleys of the N–central mountain range, the viability of raising field crops is also evident. In the S part of this range, the N part of the W slopes, and the foothills,

acreage was divided equally between cereal crops and olive plantations. In the S part of the W slopes, the economy was based mainly on horticulture (olive groves today, in the past olive groves and vineyards). The sites on the E side of the central range had the advantage that they were able to diversify their economy into the three traditional components: cereal cultivation, horticulture, and grazing.

The first significant human activity known in the land of Ephraim began in the EB Age. So far, some 30 settlements are known from this period; the only large fortified city, however, was Khirbet et-Tell (biblical ʿAi); the rest of the sites were rather small, with an area generally not exceeding 2.5 acres. The sites are concentrated along the desert fringes, the central mountain range, and the foothills. No signs of intensive settlement have yet been discovered in the interior valleys of the N–central range nor on its W slopes, which are almost completely devoid of human occupation. Apparently, most of the region was still heavily forested at this time, and the inhabitants were active mainly on its peripheries without attempting to contend with those areas that were difficult for habitation.

Most of the MB I remains are burial concentrations on the edge of the desert and along the central range. The largest burial site was around ʿAin Samiya. The location of the cemeteries may indicate that the population lived from seasonal pastoralism, transmigrating between the marginal zones in the green, wet winter season and the cooler central range in the summer.

During the MB IIB–C a large settlement wave swept over the region, including the hill country of Manasseh. Almost 60 sites from this period are known, most of them concentrated in the desert fringes, the interior valleys of the N–central range, the NW slopes, and the Bethel hills. During the MB IIB, according to the survey results, small open settlements were established throughout the region. However, many of these settlements were abandoned in the next phase (MB IIC), and their inhabitants concentrated in a smaller number of central sites, some of them fortified. The main fortified sites, which usually extend over 4–5 acres, are Bethel, Khirbet Marjama, Shiloh, Sheikh Abu Zarad (biblical Tappuah), and Khirbet ʿUrmah (biblical Arumah).

During the LB Age there was apparently a serious settlement crisis in this and other parts of the hill country. Only five of the MB centers remained, and most of these seem to have decreased in size and importance. In one of them, at least (Shiloh), there was no real settlement but only a cultic place, as revealed by the recent excavations.

Intensive settlement was renewed in Iron Age I. So far, 110 sites of the settlement period have been surveyed (another 6 are known on the periphery of the coastal plain in the vicinity of ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah). Some 25 of these can be classified as large villages (ca. 1.5 acres each, sometimes larger); another 30 are small villages or hamlets (occupying 0.5–1 acre); and the rest are isolated farmsteads or seasonal campsites. Settlement at this time was concentrated along the desert fringes, around the small valleys in the N–central range, on the Bethel plateau, and on the NW slopes. The settlement pattern, both in its local and overall aspects, indicates a clear preference for cereal cultivation and animal husbandry instead of for orchards and vineyards. A particularly large number of settlements is observable around Shiloh, the religious and political center of the central hill country at this time. Other important sites excavated over the years include ʿAi, Khirbet Raddana, Bethel, and ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah. In the hill country of Manasseh, to the N of Ephraim, there are also a large number of Iron Age I sites. Together these two regions contain nearly 90 percent of the Iron Age I sites of the hill country and some 75 percent of the total number of Israelite settlements W of the Jordan River. It would appear therefore that the N part of the hill country was the focus of Israelite settlement. Its density in the land of Ephraim accords well with the importance attributed to the tribe of Ephraim in the biblical tradition.

During Iron Age II the magnitude of Israelite settlement reached unprecedented proportions. So far, some 185 sites are known in Ephraimite territory, including the majority of the Iron Age I sites. About 15 of these are very large (5 acres or more), another 15 are medium sized (2.5 acres or more), and the rest are small villages (less than 2.5 acres). Population density is particularly observable in the N part of the region. However, fairly vibrant activity also begins in the S part of the W slopes—a classic area of olive groves, fruit orchards, and vineyards. Several olive oil production installations have been found here. In contrast to the increase in the overall number of settlements in our region, there appears to be a decrease in the Bethel hills, perhaps because this was the area of the contested border between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, a condition which resulted in political instability. The volume of activity in the land of Ephraim indicates that almost the entire region was cultivated and that the agricultural scene was fairly similar to that known today.

During the Persian period, after the downfall of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, the population of this region decreased drastically. Only some 80 sites are known, most of them very small in comparison to those of Iron Age II. The center of gravity of settlement activity shifted westwards, perhaps because the coastal plain was flourishing.

During the Hellenistic period the area began to revive; and in the Roman period the number of settlements once again equaled that of Iron Age II, except they were more evenly distributed; and an intensive settlement wave also took place in the S part of the area, apparently due to the influence of the great metropolis of Jerusalem to the S.

Under the Byzantines, the number of sites reached 200 or more, the greatest population density in the history of the land of Ephraim. The center of gravity shifted clearly to the S, with settlement density thinning out in the vicinity of Shechem, probably because of the suppression of the Samaritans. In the SW of the region were a number of monasteries that were probably involved in the production of wine and olive oil.

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ISRAEL FINKELSTEIN

EPHRAIM (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeprayim*]. **1.** One of the tribal territories of Israel, the name of which was often synonymous with that of the N kingdom of Israel. See the EPHRAIM (PERSON) articles.

2. An important town near Baal-hazor; it was at Baal-hazor that Absalom kept his sheepshearers and where he assassinated his half-brother Amnon to avenge the rape of his sister Tamar (2 Sam 13:23). Baal-hazor is usually identified with Jebel el-'Asur (M.R. 177153), 14 miles NNE of Jerusalem. Some have suggested that this village of Ephraim (also N of Jerusalem) might be the same village to which Jesus retreated after raising Lazarus from the dead in Bethany and incurring the wrath of the chief priests and Pharisees in Jerusalem (John 11:45–54). Others, however, suggest that these are separate places (*ISBE* [1929], 963) and that the Ephraim of Absalom may be Eusebius' *Ephraim* (*Onomast.*, 90), 20 Roman miles N of Jerusalem, while that of Jesus may be identified with Eusebius' *Aphra* (*Onomast.*, 28), 5 Roman miles E of Bethel. (The latter may be the same "Ephraim" that Vespasian captured along with Bethel; *JW* 4.9.9 §551.)

Despite the marked difference in the initial consonants, this village of Ephraim has sometimes been equated with the "Ophrah" (Heb *ʿoprâ*) listed in the tribal territory of Benjamin (Josh 18:23), which is also mentioned in Judg 6:11 and 1 Sam 13:17 (Robinson 1856: 444–47). Likewise, Ephraim has been associated with "Ephron" (Heb *ʿprwn*), which lay near Bethel and vacillated between N Israelite and S Judean spheres of political and military control (2 Chr 13:19, note the Qere *ʿeprayin*). To this constellation some add the "Ephron" of 1 Macc 5:46 (in Transjordan), while others add the "Aphairema" of 1 Macc 11:34 (cf. *Ant* 13.4.9 §127), located between Samaria and Jerusalem.

Most scholars identify Ephraim/Aphairema with et-Taiyebeh (M.R. 178151), a village 4 miles NE of Beitin (Bethel) and 15 miles NNE of Jerusalem on a high hill overlooking the plains of Jericho and the Dead Sea to the SE. Albright (1922), however, distinguished between "Ephraim/Aphairema" on the one hand and "Ophrah/Ephron" on the other. While he felt the latter pair could be identified with et-Taiyibeh, he felt that the former pair should be identified with Ain Samieh (M.R. 182155), about 3 miles NE of et-Taiyibeh and closer to the Jordan valley. To Albright, John 11:54 suggested that Jesus needed a warm place in February to winter with his disciples: Ain Samieh (1400 ft. above sea level)—in a warm and secluded valley that was well watered and had numerous grottoes—would have been ideal, a better candidate than et-Taiyibeh (2850 ft. above sea level), where the temperature is often colder than Jerusalem. See also DHAHR MIRZBANEH.

Noting the abundance of tombs in the vicinity of Samieh, Albright suggested that originally a sanctuary of the ewe goddess Rachel (Heb *raḥel*, "ewe") was located here and that in time this came to be identified with the tomb of the matriarch Rachel, who died giving birth to Benjamin (1 Sam 10:2 locates Rachel's tomb in Benjaminite territory N of Jerusalem, although Gen 35:16–20 associates it with Ephrath in Bethlehem [v 19]). The similarity of the older names Ophrah and Ephraim N of Bethel (as well as Ephrath) to Arabic *ʾifrit*, "demon," may have led subsequent Arabs, through the practice of euphemism, to change the older name to et-Taiyibeh ('favor,' 'goodness'; cf. *LBHG*, 121; cf. also Ephron of 1 Macc 5:46, which was identified with the former Efreh, now Taiyibeh).

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

EPHRAIM GATE (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar ʾeprayim*]. A gate of Jerusalem located immediately W of the temple precincts, where the Temple Mount gives way to the Central or Tyropoeon valley, and immediately N of the junction of Hezekiah's broad wall and the wall surrounding the Temple Mount. The Ephraim Gate was so named because it exited immediately to the central ridge route that led to the mountains of Ephraim via the central Benjamin plateau. The gate was first mentioned (2 Kgs 14:13; 2 Chr 25:23) during the reign of Amaziah (798–769 B.C.E.); it was rebuilt during the early return of the exiles under Zerubbabel (ca. 539–536 B.C.E.?) and later dedicated (Neh 8:16; 12:38–39) by Nehemiah (ca. 446–434 B.C.E.).

During the reign of Amaziah, Jehoash of Israel destroyed 400 cubits (ca. 200) of the N defenses of Jerusalem between the Corner Gate and the Ephraim Gate, most probably along the line of Hezekiah's broad wall, built several decades later. The placing, by some, of the Ephraim Gate 200 m E of the Corner Gate is based on the assumption that the entire section of the wall between the two gates measured about 200 m and that Jehoash destroyed the entire section of the wall between these two gates. This is not supported by the texts (note the different prepositional prefix [*bĕšaʿar* in 2 Kgs 14:13 versus *miššaʿar* in 2 Chr 25:23]; see also Avi-Yonah 1954: 243 and n. 25). Many, assuming that the two gates were 200 m apart, have placed the Ephraim Gate near Avigad's excavations in areas W or X–2 (Simons 1952: 234, 255 n. 5, 276, passim), while Avigad would rather identify these gates as Jeremiah's Middle Gate (area W) and Josephus' Gennath Gate (area X–2) (Jer 39:3; *JW* 5.4.2; Avigad 1980: 59, 69).

The reason Nehemiah mentions the dedication but not the rebuilding of this gate may be found in the first building activities of the early returnees under the direction of Zerubbabel (Sheshbazar) and Ezra (Ezra 1:5–11; 3:8). Upon arriving in Jerusalem with the temple treasures that were returned by Cyrus (Ezra 1:5–11; clay cylinder of Cyrus; *ANET*, 315–16), the returnees most probably secured a perimeter for the safekeeping of the temple utensils and for the guarding of the sanctity of the temple enclosure. This rebuilt perimeter may have included the Ephraim Gate years before Nehemiah's complete rebuilding of the walls.

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DALE C. LIID

EPHRAIM, FOREST OF (PLACE) [Heb *yaʿar ʾeprayim*]. The site of the battle where the forces of David defeated the men of Israel who had joined Absalom's rebellion (2 Sam 18:6–8). Presumably it was also there that Absalom met his death (vv 9–15). Because of the direction of David's earlier flight ("toward Mahanaim," 17:27), it would be logical to think that the forest of Ephraim was located E of the Jordan river (cf. 17:24 and 19:15). There may be implicit references to this forest in Josh 17:14–18, although there the forest is associated with the whole tribe of Joseph (both Ephraim and Manasseh), not just Ephraim, and is located in the land of the Perizzites and the Rephaim. Some scholars see these latter as being Transjordanian peoples (Og of Bashan was the last of the Rephaim; Deut 3:12). Leibel (1967) has even suggested that we should instead refer to the "forest of Rephaim" both in the Joshua 17 passage and in the 2 Sam 18:6 battle account. However, these peoples were not restricted to Transjordan: 2 Sam 23:13 refers to the valley of Rephaim near Jerusalem, while Josh 9:1 relates the Perizzites to the Jebusites, etc. Joshua's prediction that the Joseph tribe, in clearing out their new forest, would drive out the Canaanites also seems to point to a possible Cisjordan location (although the Canaanites may have had a broader range of territory). Thus the forest given to the tribe of Joseph and the scene of the battle between David's forces and Absalom's could be W of the Jordan river. However, the Lucianic LXX revised 2 Sam 18:6 to read "the forest of Mahanaim," thereby insisting that the battle was fought E of the Jordan.

Noth suggested that the forest should be identified with the wooded hills S of the Jabbok (*NHI,* 60–61, 201). This would account for the two different routes that the Cushite runner and Ahimaaz took to deliver the battle report to David in Mahanaim (2 Sam 18:19–23): the former ran due N through the forest and over the hills, while the latter ran by way of the Jordan valley ("the plain," v 23).

The nature of this "forest" has been another issue discussed by scholars. The name Ephraim comes from a root meaning "fruit bearing" (plural of Heb *parah*). Of course, by the time of David the name Ephraim may have been traditional, no longer designating an actual fruit-bearing forest. Some have argued that since Absalom's head was caught in a great oak tree, the Hebrew *yaʿar* refers to what in English is meant by "forest," a densely wooded area with many standing trees. Others, however, suggest that *yaʿar* is cognate with Arabic *waʿr,* "rough country," which refers to an area abounding in rocks, stones, scrub, and only occasional trees (*ISBE* [1929], 963).

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

EPHRATHAH (PERSON) [Heb *ʾeprātâ*]. Var. EPHRATH. A wife of Hezron and subsequently of his son, Caleb. All the references to Ephrathah the person appear in the genealogical lists of 1 Chr 2:19, 24, 50; 4:4. At least three problems related to Hebrew genealogies make personal identification difficult: (1) their eponymous nature, (2) the practice of patronymy and papponymy, and (3) the use of *ben,* "son," "child," esp. in the plural, to mean "descendant" in general (see BDB, 120–21). A textual difficulty complicates Ephrathah's identity still further, but the passages do converge to yield a probable meaning consistent with the biblical use of EPHRATHAH (PLACE).

Judah and Tamar (Genesis 38) were the parents of Perez, who had a son named Hezron (1 Chr 2:3–5). The textually corrupt 1 Chr 2:24 (lit. "And after the death of Hezron in Caleb [Heb *bĕkālēb*] Ephrathah and the wife of Hezron her father and she bore to him Ashhur the father of Tekoa") should almost certainly be emended with *BHS* and RSV to read: "And after the death of Hezron, Caleb went in to [Heb *bāʾ* for *bĕ,* haplography, cf. LXX and Vg, and context v 21] Ephrathah, the wife of [omit *waw*] Hezron, his father [add *waw,* haplography], and she bore to him Ashhur, the father of Tekoa." Hence, it seems that Ephrathah was a wife of Hezron in the autumn of his life. After both Hezron and Caleb's wife, Azubah, had died (1 Chr 2:18–19), Caleb married Ephrathah, who was not his mother. Their son Ashhur is perhaps identical with their son HUR, a shortened form of the former (cf. 1 Chr 2:24, 50 [read "sons of Hur," plural, with LXX and Vg], 4:4–5), though this is not clear. At any rate, Ephrathah is portrayed as ancestress of Tekoa and great-grandmother of Bethlehem, Kiriath-Jearim, and Beth-Gader [= Geder?] (1 Chr 2:50–51).

Ephrathah's prominent mention in the traditions of the Chronicler belies the memory of her as a matriarch of Israel. The messianic line passed through her (with Hezron) to Ruth, (with Boaz) to David and Bathsheba. Both her son Hur and her grandson Salma are called fathers of Bethlehem (1 Chr 2:51; 4:4). Mother Ephrathah would leave her name, not only to her clan, but to the region it inhabited.

LAMONTTE M. LUKER

EPHRATHAH (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeprātâ*]. Var. EPHRATH. EPHRATHITES. Area inhabited by the Judahite clan of the same name (Gen 35:16, 19; 48:7). The gentilic form, Ephrathite(s), in 1 Sam 17:12 and Ruth 1:2 (cf. 4:17) refers to the extended family of David from the village of Bethlehem in Judah, and the poetic parallelism of Ruth 4:11 pairs Ephrathah with Bethlehem. Thus it seems clear as a starting point that Ephrathah includes or is in the environs of the village of Bethlehem. (The gentilic form of Ephraim [RSV Ephraimite] spelled *ʾeprātî* in Judg 12:5; 1 Sam 1:1; and 1 Kgs 11:26 is an etymological coincidence.) Micah 5:1—Eng 5:2—addresses Bethlehem Ephrathah as a clan (Heb *ʾelep*) within the tribe of Judah.

The Genesis occurrences of Ephrath(ah) may employ the *he*-locale (cf. BDB, RSV), but this is dubious given the *plene* spelling of the LXX in these verses and of the Hebrew occurrences everywhere else except 1 Chr 2:19 (where LXX also reflects the shorter variant). The only time the Hebrew text of Genesis actually records the abbreviated "Ephrath" is the second occurrence in 48:7 (absent in LXX), and this could easily be due to haplography.

According to the Genesis legend, Rachel died giving birth to Benjamin on the way to (Heb *bĕderek*) and a relatively short distance (Heb *kibrāt-hāʾāreṣ*) from Ephra-

thah while traveling S with her husband, Jacob, from Bethel. The eponymous nature of the tradition would affirm that the patriarch was born in the Benjaminite tribal territory. 1 Samuel 10:2 likewise locates Rachel's tomb in the territory of Benjamin, and Jer 31:15 records a tradition that she was buried at Ramah, midway between Bethel and the Benjaminite-Judahite border. Now 1 Chr 2:24, 50–52; and 4:4–5 recall Ephrathah as the matriarch of Kiriath-jearim, on the border between Benjamin and Judah; of Bethlehem, just S of Jerusalem; of Tekoa, just S of and visible, according to Jerome, from Bethlehem; and of Beth-Gader, which, if equal to Geder, was probably just W of Tekoa. In short, the memory of the region of Ephrathah is the Judahite area surrounding Bethlehem. This is congruent with a LXX verse (Josh 15:59a) lost to the MT due to homoeoteleuton, which assigns Ephrathah to the territory of Judah (see *BHS, NEB*). Similarly, Ps 132:6 pairs Ephrathah with Kiriath-jearim ('the fields of Jaar'), on the N border of Judah and the S border of Benjamin, in poetic parallelism.

This evidence renders von Rad's (*Genesis* OTL) suggestion that the Ephrath(ah) of Genesis is Ophrah, NE of Bethel, highly unlikely. LXX A of Josh 18:23 translates the Heb Ophrah as Aphra, though Gk text B reads Ephrathah; but LXX Judg 6:11, 24; 8:27, 32; 9:5 also translates Ophrah as Ephrathah, and this is clearly a different location. And while the Ephron (Heb *ʿeprôn*) of 2 Chr 13:19 may equal Ophrah, textual evidence does not equate it with Ephrathah: LXX transliterates as *Ephrōn* and the MT Qere is *ʿeprîn*.

A broader assessment of the history of traditions leads to the conclusion that Ephrathah was originally a Judahite clan named after its matriarch which settled in and around Bethlehem, stretching N of Jerusalem to the Benjaminite border at Kiriath-jearim and S to Tekoa; see EPHRATHAH (PERSON). The Davidic family of the clan came from the village of Bethlehem, a fact recalled by LXX, which translates Mic 5:1 with "Bethlehem, house of Ephrathah" (*oikos tou Ephratha*, Heb *bet-ʾeprātâ*). In other words, Bethlehem was a village locale within the greater expanse of the clan Ephrathah. As Israel's tribal structure gave way to the monarchy along with the rise of Ephrathah's most famous family as the dynasty, Ephrathah became more and more identified with Bethlehem, its royal village. Later glossators simply thought the two were synonymous (Gen 35:19; 48:7; Josh 15:59a [LXX]).

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LAMONTTE M. LUKER

EPHRON (PERSON) [Heb *ʿeprôn*]. Son of Zohar, identified as a Hittite, who sold his field containing the cave of Machpelah to Abraham (Gen 23:8–17; 25:9; 49:29–30; 50:13). Abraham's wife Sarah had died, and he urgently needed a place to bury her. He negotiated with Ephron to buy just the cave of Machpelah, but Ephron insisted on selling the field and the cave for 400 shekels of silver. This was a very high price compared with other land sales, cf. Gen 33:19. Although Lehmann (1953: 18) has argued that the negotiations between Abraham and Ephron presuppose an extensive knowledge of Hittite laws and customs, Tucker (1966: 77–84) has convincingly argued that these customs are not specifically Hittite at all. Instead, they are not significantly different from local customs relating to real estate transactions. Furthermore, Hoffner (1969: 32) has shown that the names of persons called "Hittites" in the OT are almost all good Semitic names, e.g., Zohar, Gen 23:8; Judith et al., Gen 26:34; Ahimelech, 1 Sam 26:6; etc. Ephron is also a good Semitic name from *ʿpr* meaning "gazelle." Therefore it is most likely that Ephron was part of a group of Canaanites living in the hills near Hebron during the time of Abraham and not a Hittite from Anatolia.

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JAMES C. MOYER

EPHRON (PLACE) [Heb *ʿeprôn*]. Three places in the Hebrew Bible and the Apocrypha have this name.

1. City captured by Abijah, king of Judah, along with its surrounding villages, from Jeroboam I, king of Israel (2 Chr 13:19). It is usually identified with the Ophrah of Josh 18:23 in Benjamin (not the Ophrah in Manasseh, Judg 8:32) and modern et-Taiyibeh about 4 miles NE of Bethel (M.R. 178151).

2. "The cities of Mount Ephron" (Josh 15:9). It is part of a boundary description of the territory assigned to Judah. This district has been difficult to locate precisely, but Boling and Wright (*Joshua* AB, 369) place it at el-Qastel, near Mozah.

3. A large and well fortified city which attempted to block the passage of Judas Maccabeus, who was on his way from Gilead to Judah along with his army. Judas captured the city, killed all the males, looted the city, and razed it to the ground (1 Macc 5:46–52; 2 Macc 12:27–29). It is located E of the Jordan river about 12 miles SW of the Sea of Galilee (M.R. 217216).

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JAMES C. MOYER

EPIC OF GILGAMESH. See GILGAMESH EPIC.

EPICTETUS. Epictetus was born between A.D. 50 and 60 in Hierapolis (Phrygia) and died between 120 and 140 in Nicopolis. As a youth he was a slave of Epaphroditus, a freedman of Nero. Epaphroditus was the one who enabled

him to attend the philosophy lessons of C. Musonius Rufus and finally set him free. Therefore the well known story that Epictetus' lame leg was a result of torturing by his master (Celsus at Origen, *Cels.* 7.732) is hardly credible. First Epictetus himself taught philosophy in Rome; but when Domitian banished all the philosophers (A.D. 89), he transferred his school to Nicopolis (near Actium). His audience were part of the ruling class of the Empire (*Diss.* 1.11.1; 2.23.38; 3.4.1; 5.3; 7.1; 4.4.1–2).

Epictetus himself did not write anything. Of the originally eight books *Diatribai* (= Dissertationes) four have come down to us. They are notes of lessons, taken by Arrian, who also edited the famous *Encheiridion*, a compilation of the essential doctrines of Epictetus. The letter of dedication of Arrian to Gellius, which precedes the *Diatribai*, claims high proximity to the original lessons (accepted by Hartmann 1905 and the *communis opinio*, doubted by Wirth 1967). Apart from some redactional interferences by Arrian, the notes probably give us quite an authentic picture of Epictetus' philosophy and his way of teaching (Schmeller 1987: 164–66). The doctrine of Epictetus follows the Stoicism of Chrysippus to a great extent but also shows a certain Cynic influence (esp. in the Cynic ideal of the wise man, *Diss.* 3.22). Epictetus pursues popular philosophy, and so orthodoxy is irrelevant for him. Logic, physics, and the interpretation of philosophical texts must have been part of Epictetus' lessons but were apparently of very little importance (*Diss.* 1.4.5–17, 28–29; 17.13–19; 2.21.8–11). The only thing of value was the practical progress in the direction of one's *aretē*, "virtue" (esp. *Diss.* 1.4: *peri prokopēs*, "concerning moral progress").

The contents of Epictetus' philosophy are formed of two central themes, treated in multiple variations: the relation of man to the exterior things and to God. Fundamental to the first topic is his classifying of the reality accessible to man as "up to us" on the one hand (this is the realm of good and evil) and "not up to us" on the other hand *(ta eph' hēmin - ta ouk eph' hēmin)* (*Diss.* 1.22.10). The only thing which is up to us is the inner attitude to the ideas conveyed by our sense organs, the *chrēsis tōn phantasiōn*, "acquaintance of the mind" (*Diss.* 1.1.7): "conception, choice, desire, aversion, and, in a word, everything that is our own doing" (*Ench.* 1.1). Richness, fame, health, etc., however, are exterior and indifferent to man. Epictetus does not join the Stoics in their distinction within the "indifferent things," the *adiaphora*, between the natural and the unnatural ones: in his eyes there is only the one *diairesis*, "distinction," "reckoning," "classification" as one's own things or strange things (*Diss.* 2.6.24; 19.15.17); and happiness depends on the self-restriction to the former (*Fr.* 4; *Diss.* 1.1; 4.1; and often). Liberty consists in "desiring each thing exactly the way it happens. And how do they happen? As he that ordains them has ordained" (*Diss* 1.12.15; cf. 4.1.98–99; and often). The man who has aligned his own will with the divine will in this way is free from any determination by others and at the same time acknowledges the providence of God, who has arranged and guides everything perfectly (*Diss.* 1.6; 16). Every destiny is destined by God (who bears nearly personal traits) and therefore man may, but also has to accept it trustfully (*Diss.* 2.16.42). This includes fulfilling one's duties to the fellow beings (*Diss.* 2.10). Not least because of their "diatribe" style the *Dissertations* are still today a most fascinating piece of literature.

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THOMAS SCHMELLER

EPICUREANISM. A philosophical movement founded by Epicurus (341–270 B.C.). Born at Samos, Epicurus established a school of philosophy called "the Garden" (Gk *kepos*) in Athens after he settled there in 307–306 B.C. Only a few of his many writings have survived. We have three complete letters: *Letter to Herodotus*, a summary of his physics; *Letter to Pythocles*, a summary of astronomical and meteorological teachings; and *Letter to Menoeceus*, an introduction to his ethics. We also have a collection of sayings called *Kyriai Doxai (Authoritative Opinions)*, another collection called "Vatican Sayings," and some fragmentary papyri; the most important papyri are the remains of his 37 books *On Nature*.

Epicurus' physical doctrines are the basis of his ethics. His physics is greatly indebted to Leucippus and Democritus, the founders of atomism in the 5th century B.C. Epicurus held that physical doctrines deal with things that cannot be perceived by the senses. These hidden things, he maintained, must be discovered by the faculty of reason, using as evidence the information provided by the senses. The universe is composed of empty space (void)

and subperceptible bodies, atoms, which are indivisible and cannot change in any way. The atoms have only three properties, shape, size, and weight; they have numerous types of shape but no color, taste, or other perceptible properties. There is an infinite number of atoms, moving in an infinite void.

The atoms move extremely rapidly and collide frequently. By getting entangled with one another, they form complexes of various sizes. The largest type of complex is an entire world system. It is formed when a vast number of atoms come together and the heavier atoms gather in the center to form the earth, whereas the lighter atoms are squeezed out toward the periphery. This gathering and sorting of atoms may be described as a "chance" happening, since it is the spontaneous and necessary result of infinite atoms forming infinite combinations throughout an infinite time. There is an infinite number of worlds in the universe, and worlds are continually being created and destroyed. Nothing is everlasting except the universe as a whole, the atoms in it, and the gods.

Epicurus thought that it is self-evident that there are gods. But since the universe consists of atoms and void and nothing else, the gods are nothing but complexes of atoms. They live outside any particular world system in the spaces that separate one world from another. Most important, the gods never intervene in the affairs of any world. They do not create or destroy worlds, and they have no concern whatsoever for human beings or anything else in the world. They do not punish or reward human beings. This doctrine is summed up in the most famous of Epicurus' sayings, "What is blessed and indestructible neither has trouble itself nor gives trouble to others, so that it is not subject to anger or favor; for all this sort of thing lies in weakness (*KD* 1)." The gods lead a perfectly happy life remote from the world, serving as models of happiness for human beings.

By his physics Epicurus hoped to free humans of their fear of the gods. He also hoped to free humans of their fear of death. The human being, he held, is composed of body atoms and soul atoms; and when a person dies, the soul is destroyed along with the body. There is no afterlife; hence "death is nothing to us" (*KD* 2). Freed of these fears, humans can devote themselves to the pursuit of their natural goal, pleasure. Epicurus held that the supreme good is pleasure, but his hedonism is modified by two considerations. First, he believed that the greatest pleasure is the absence of pain (*KD* 3). Second, he held that one must calculate pleasures carefully, so as to forgo some immediate pleasures for the sake of a maximum of pleasure. The source of all pleasures is a person's body; mental pleasures exist only insofar as they are thoughts about the condition of the body. It is not difficult to achieve a pleasant life since acute pains are of short duration and long-lasting pains admit of a preponderance of pleasure over pain (*KD* 4).

These first four *Kuriai Doxai* form the *tetrapharmakos*, Epicurus' fourfold remedy for leading a happy life. This remedy is the basis of Epicurus' ethics. It follows that justice, wisdom, and other traditionally recognized virtues are desirable only as a means to living a pleasant life (*KD* 5). Political life is to be shunned. The best life is a quiet life, among friends, devoted to the satisfaction of simple desires.

Epicurus' primary aim was to make people happy. To this end he directed his teachings at both the educated and the uneducated. His writings, which range from highly technical works to simple maxims, reflect this broad humanitarian concern. His followers gathered in groups to memorize and study his writings. After his death they celebrated his birthday each year. They regarded Epicurus as a savior who was more beneficent than any god was alleged to be. There was a tendency to accept Epicurus' doctrines as infallible; but there was also considerable dialogue with other philosophical schools, especially in the 2d century B.C. We know of this activity primarily through Philodemus and Cicero in the first century B.C. The best known follower of Epicurus is the Roman Lucretius (ca. 99–55 B.C.), who endeavored to convert the Romans to Epicureanism. He wrote a magnificent poem, *On the Nature of Things*, in which he set out in detail Epicurus' physics and extolled its ethical value.

Although Epicureanism enjoyed its greatest influence in the three centuries before Christ, it continued to have social and intellectual importance for some centuries afterward. The Epicureans continued to be denounced for denying providence and for making pleasure the goal of life. Because they rejected the influence of the gods in the world, they were often erroneously accused of being atheists. They were also denounced for denying the immortality of the soul and, in general, for being uneducated boors. But occasionally, even staunch opponents lauded Epicurus for the simplicity of his life, his courage in confronting a painful death, and his devotion to others. The Stoic Seneca, in particular, recognized ethical nobility in Epicureanism. The Epicureans seem to have gained a new vitality in the latter part of the 2d century (Lucian *Alexander* 61). Evidence of proselytizing activity is a long inscription of Epicurean doctrines put up by Diogenes (2d or 3d century) in the town of Oenoanda in Lycia, Asia Minor.

In Judaism there are traces of anti-Epicurean polemic in rabbinic literature (Bastomsky 1973; Fischel 1973). It is likely that Epicureanism had an influence on Wisdom (Reese 1970: 16, 65–66, 111–12). Philo opposed Epicurus' hedonism and denial of providence (Usener 1887). Josephus (*Ant* 10, §277–81) denounced the Epicureans for "throwing out providence" and "saying that the world moves spontaneously without a guide and administrator" (Unnik 1973). In Christian literature the Epicureans appear as opponents of Paul (Acts 17:18). Generally, Christian writers are hostile to the Epicureans, although there are a few positive evaluations (Schmid *RAC* 5: 780–811). The similarities between early Christians and Epicureans were overestimated by De Witt (1954). There are common features, however, notably the rejection of divination and fatalism (Simpson 1941) and the instructional use of moral sayings (Betz 1985: 11–15).

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ELIZABETH ASMIS

EPIGRAPHY, TRANSJORDANIAN. Transjordanian epigraphy was born in 1868 when a French missionary, Rev. Klein, found the famous Mesha stele at Dhiban (biblical Dibon). The inscription engraved on this stele is still the longest and the most important inscription ever found E of the Jordan. Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite inscriptions were also discovered in controlled excavations, especially after World War II. The publication of many new seals and a careful analysis of their script and iconography, initiated by N. Avigad, permitted clear distinctions between the Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite seals or seal impressions, the ductus of which are different from the Hebrew, Phoenician, and Aramaic seals.

Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite epigraphy do not cover the whole field of Transjordanian epigraphy, either chronologically or geographically. These languages are represented in linear alphabetic inscriptions from the 10th century until about 500 B.C. The corpus under consideration thus does not include either the Deir ʿAlla tablets (Lemaire 1981: 98) or the Baluʿa stele (Drioton 1933; Ward and Martin 1964–65) (both of them still undeciphered and probably to be dated at the beginning of the 12th century B.C.). The Aramaic inscriptions from the Persian period and later (e.g., Ibrahim and van der Kooij 1983: 581; Milik 1958–59; 331–42) are not included here (see ARAMAIC SCRIPT), nor are the N Arabic inscriptions (mainly Thamudic and Safaitic; see INSCRIPTIONS, SAFAITIC).

Also excluded are Aram inscriptions from N Transjordan from the 9–6th century B.C., especially a few small incised inscriptions and the famous inscriptions on plaster found at Deir ʿAlla (Hoftijzer and van der Kooij 1976). The language of these last inscriptions is still a matter of dispute; there have been attempts to relate the language to Midianite, Ammonite, Gileadite, and Aramaic (e.g., Hackett 1984b, 1986, 1988; *BibAT*, 313–70; Puech 1987). According to this last attribution (Lemaire 1987a, 1988a; cf. Garr 1985; Kaufman 1988) the "*Book/text of Balaam son of Beor*, the seer of the gods" could be the oldest example of a literary Aramaic dialect of N Transjordan (Lemaire 1985; see DEIR ALLA [TEXTS]).

The Edomite kingdom, however, occupied not only part of S Transjordan, but also part of S Cisjordan from at least 734 B.C. (the capture of Elat by the king of Edom [2 Kgs 16:6; the reading "Edom" is to be preferred to MT's "Aram"]). Edomites occupied the Negeb in 597 B.C. and the S part of the Shephelah and the Judean mountains in 587 B.C. Edomite inscriptions can be found in Cisjordan as far N as a line from Lachish to Hebron and En-gedi.

Transjordanian paleography is not yet so well known as paleo-Hebrew epigraphy. However, it is possible to distinguish several features which show that separate script traditions arose for Ammon, Moab, and Edom late in the Iron II period (Herr 1980; van der Kooij 1987). The linguistic features of Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite show them to be Canaanite dialects closely related to Hebrew and Phoenician.

A. Ammonite Inscriptions

The identification and study of Ammonite epigraphy started about 1950 with the discovery of a few fragmentary inscriptions and the study of the characteristics of Ammonite seals (Avigad 1952). Today we can list the Amman citadel inscription, the Tell Siran inscription, the Heshbon, Tell el-Mazar, Deir ʿAlla, and Nimrud ostraca, a few fragmentary incised inscriptions, and about one hundred seals. To these texts in Ammonite script and language we may add a few Aram inscriptions containing Ammonite names.

1. Amman Citadel Inscription. This fragmentary stone slab (26 × 19.4 cm) was discovered in 1961 in the excavations of the SW crest of the Amman citadel in an Iron Age level. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Amman (J 9000), this inscription contains fragments of eight lines incised in limestone. The paleographic dating can only be approximate: from mid-9th century (Cross 1969a) to early 8th century B.C. (Horn 1967–68: 83; 1969: 8).

Because of the fragmentary state of this inscription, the reading of some letters is doubtful and the general interpretation unsettled. However, this inscription is probably a kind of building inscription, perhaps a royal inscription recording Milkom's oracle of "building instruction" for new defenses in case of a siege (diverted entrance, doors, ditches, or cisterns . . .) so that the country will be in security and peace.

2. Tell Siran Inscription. This inscription was discovered in 1972 in the excavations at Tell Siran (University campus), about 10 km NW of Amman. It is incised around a 10-cm-long bronze bottle which contained wheat and barley grains (Helbaeck 1974; Thompson 1983). Because the bottle was not found in a stratified context, the inscription's paleographic and historical dating can only be approximated in the late 7th century B.C. The text is complete and the reading certain:

1. "Deeds of Amminadab king of the Ammonites
2. son of Hizzilel king of the Ammonites,
3. son of Amminadab king of the Ammonites:
4. the vineyard and the garden(s?) and the *canal*
5. and the reservoir(s?).
6. May he rejoice and be glad
7–8. for many days and long years."

This inscription on a votive object records the foundation of a "garden of pleasure," a literary motive well known in

Hebrew (Cant 4:12–15; 6:2.11; Qoh 2:4–6) and in Assyrian inscriptions.

3. Heshbon Ostraca. Several Ammonite ostraca, first published by F. M. Cross (1973b, 1975, 1976), were discovered in the Tell Heshban excavations (probably biblical Heshbon).

Ostracon 1 is a list of names: "Son of *Laha[y?];* "ʿUzzîa (or ʿUzzîe[*l*]," "Son of *Rabe[l?],*" "Son of Psammî," "Nanaydan." It is probably to be dated ca. 525 B.C. Ostracon 2, probably also a list of names, though badly preserved, is of the same date.

Ostracon 4 seems earlier and could be dated ca. 600 B.C. It is a list of names connected with various items: small cattle, gum (?), silver, wine, hay (?), cakes (?) and cattle (?) Ostracon 11 (7th century B.C.) is fragmentary; it could mention small cattle and beasts of burden.

The ostracon most recently published by Cross (1986; Jackson 1983: 53–54), is likewise a list of names: "Elram son of *Hô[sha]l,* "Azarel son of [. . .]," "Elazar son of Malakel," "*NQR* son of Elûr," "Elnadab (son of) Baraq . . ."

4. Tell el-Mazar and Deir ʿAlla Ostraca. Several ostraca dating from the 7th to 5th century B.C. have been found during the Deir ʿAlla (Ibrahim and van der Kooij 1983: 581) and Tell el-Mazar excavations: they are Ammonite or Aramaic. One of them, published by K. Yassine and J. Teixidor (1986; Yassine 1988) is a message with formulas close to those found in Phoenician, Hebrew, and Edomite epistolography:

"(Thus) said Palat: say to his brother to Abdâ: are you well? And now . . ."

5. Nimrud Ostracon. Found in the Nimrud excavations in 1957, this ostracon (registered as ND 6231) carries a list of names written in columns on both its sides. Some of the names were identified as Transjordanian by P. Bordreuil (1979) and the whole list as Ammonite by J. Naveh (1980):

> *Recto:* Column I. "(1) [. . .] son of Anael, (2) Hananel son of Anael, (3) Manahem son of B*eya*del, (4) Shabel son of Uzzel, (5) Hananel son of Hazael, (6) GN' son of Menahem.
> Column II. (1) Elnur son of Me(na)hem, (2) Elnur son of *Padie*l, (3) Zakarel son of Zinnor, (4) Nadabel son of Hannun."
> *Verso:* "(1) Menahem son of Elyasha, (2) Elnur son of Mikael, (3) Ayanadab son of Haggay, (4) Eltamak (the launderer), (5) Akbar *s[on of E]l*natan."

Ostracon ND 6231 was probably found in the last Neo-Assyrian level of Fort Salmanasar. According to M. E. L. Mallowan (1966: 407) it could be "a list of foreign workmen employed by the Arsenal in the 7th century B.C." However the paleographic date of this ostracon is disputed and seems rather ca. 700 B.C.

6. Short of Fragmentary Incised Inscriptions. The Amman theater inscription, a triangular stone fragment, was discovered in 1961 in the course of excavations at the Roman Theater at Amman (Dajani 1967–68); it contains remains of two incised lines and is probably to be dated in the late 7th century B.C.

Three incised sherds from the Amman citadel, an incised sherd from Heshbon, an incised bronze cup from Umm Udheinah (Zayadine and Bordreuil 1986), and a still unpublished Deir ʿAlla sherd give the (fragmentary) names of the owners of the vessels.

Eight isolated letters were incised on the backs of the eyes of double-faced heads found in the Amman citadel (Zayadine 1973: 33–35; Bordreuil 1973b); they are to be dated in the late 8th or early 7th century B.C.

7. Ammonite Seals. Since the discovery of a few Ammonite seals in the Adoninur tomb (Driver 1953) and the first identifications of seals of unknown origin as Ammonite by Avigad (1952), the corpus of Ammonite seals identified as such by place of origin, paleography, onomastics, and iconography has continued to grow. The identification of seals as Ammonite according to these criteria can now be considered reliable, although the paleographic dating is still approximate. Several varieties of seals can be distinguished:

- 5 seals of "servants" (of a king): "Adonipelet servant of Amminadab" (ca. 667), "Adoninur servant of Amminadab" (ca. 667), "Beyadel servant of Padiel" (ca. 701), "Menahem son of Samak servant of (the) king" (ca. 700–650), "Milkomûr servant of Baalyasha" (ca. 587).
- 5 seals of various officers: "Abdâ steward (*nʿr*) of Elram" (7th century), "Battush steward of Barakel" (6th century?), "Hatay scribe of Adonur" (7th century), "Shôher the standard-bearer" (late 7th century), "Nazarel the gold/silversmith" (7th century).
- 2 seals of wives: "Alyah (maid)servant (*ʾmt*) of Hananel" (ca. 700–650), "Anamût (maid)servant of DBLBS" (ca. 700–650).
- 6 seals of women with a patronym: "Abyehay daughter of Yenahem" (ca. 700), "Elsagab daughter of Elshama" (ca. 700–650), "Biqeshat daughter of Abdyarah" (ca. 700–650), "Ala daughter of Amar" (ca. 700–650), "Abyehay daughter of Uzziyâ (ca. 600).
- 64 seals of men with a patronym.
- 27 seals with only one name.
- Several seals with various religious formulas: "[*To X son of*] Abnadab who made a vow to Asta(rte) in Sidon. May she bless him!" (late 7th century); "Seal of Mannuki-Inurta *blessed* by Milkom" (ca. 700–650).
- About 10 seals with partial abecedaries. The first four, five, eight, ten, or eleven letters of the alphabet are found. These seals were probably engravers' exercises.

From all these inscriptions, the Ammonite onomasticon is becoming better known (Jackson *WLSGF,* 507–21; O'Connor 1987). The god Milkom was the national god of Ammon, and is mentioned in blessing formulas, but does not figure in the onomasticon. El is the divine name used in many Ammonite personal names.

Ammonite script appears to be a branch of Aramaic script with certain local peculiarities, such as the square *ʿayin,* the flag-shaped *he,* the oval angular *ṭet* with one horizontal stroke, and the *kap* with triangular head. Most of the letters tend to be upright in stance, a feature also found in Phoenician and Aramaic writing. As in Aramaic, the heads of the letters with closed curves (*b, d,* ʿ, *r*) are no longer closed in examples datable to the end of the 7th century. The 6th-century Ammonite script so much resembles Aramaic script that in several cases only the lan-

guage (e.g., Ammonite *bn* instead of Aram *br*) is a clear indication of a text's Ammonite origin.

The influence of Aramaic on the Ammonite culture is further attested by the sporadic use of Aramaic in inscriptions written by Ammonites. This seems the case with the Amman statue inscription (ca. 700 B.C.), which reads:

> "*[I],mage* (or *[S]tatue)* of Yarahazar *[son of Za]kkur* son of Shani*p*."

This is probably the statue of a grandson of the Ammonite king Shanipu mentioned in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser III. The use of Aramaic by Ammonites seems also to be attested by a Neo-Babylonian seal (ca. 600) to be read: "To Tamakel son *(br)* of Milkom." After the fall of the Ammonite kingdom (582 B.C.), the Ammonites seem to have used Aramaic script and language with increasing frequency. So far, we have no evidence of the use of the Ammonite language after ca. 500 B.C.

B. Moabite Inscriptions

Since 1868 Moabite epigraphy has been dominated by the Mesha stele. However, other small inscriptions and several inscribed seals recently identified as Moabite have expanded understanding of Moabite epigraphy.

1. Mesha Stele. This famous stele, discovered in 1868 at Dhiban, was later broken by bedouin. C. Clermont-Ganneau succeeded in sending most of the pieces to the Louvre in Paris, where it was almost entirely reconstructed from a squeeze taken before the stone had been broken (Horn *WLSGF,* 497–505; see also MESHA STELE). The stele is a royal inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, glorifying the king and his accomplishments in the two fields of warfare and construction. This inscription seems to have been written towards the end of Mesha's long and successful reign: not only has the house of Omri been destroyed (by Jehu in 841), but also Israel itself has been annihilated (under Jehoahaz's reign [2 Kgs 13:3–7]); this latter political situation corresponds probably to ca. 815–810 (cf. 2 Kgs 13:20).

2. Fragmentary Inscriptions. Several small fragmentary inscriptions have been found in Dhiban (perhaps mentioning the "temple of Che[mosh]"), in Kerak (with the name of the father of Mesha: "Chemoshyat"), and in Balu^{c}a (Zayadine 1986).

3. Moabite Seals. More than 30 seals can be identified as Moabite on the basis of their origin, paleography, onomastics, and iconography. The most important ones include a title: "To Chemosham (son of) Chemoshel the scribe," "Amoz the scribe," "To Paltî son of Maosh the herald *(mzkr),*" "To Menasseh son of the king." Several of the names include the theophorous element "Chemosh": "Chemoshmaosh," "Chemoshdan," "Chemoshzadaq," "Chemoshyahay," "Chemoshnatan." Most of the Moabite seals employ only one name.

Moabite script was close to Hebrew during the 9th and the beginning of the 8th century B.C., but at the end of the 8th and during the 7th century the ductus of Moabite underwent original development. The tails of letters became more curved, leaned to the left, and shortened, giving letters with descenders a squat shape; *mem* and *nun* developed large heads; and there developed a *het* with the two vertical bars in the opposite direction. Later on, probably towards the beginning of the 6th century B.C., this script was influenced by Aramaic writing. Aramaic influence is perceptible especially in the *šin* executed in three strokes and in the open *^{c}ayin.*

No Moabite inscription currently known seems to be later than the 6th century B.C., but we know from an Aramaic inscription published by J. T. Milik (1958–59) that the cult of Chemosh was still attested in Moab in the late 4th–early 3d century B.C.

C. Edomite Inscriptions

The study of Edomite epigraphy is just beginning. Identification of inscriptions as Edomite is still largely conjectural.

1. Tell el-Kheleifeh Ostracon. The first Edomite ostracon was discovered at Tell el-Kheleifeh (no. 6043) and identified as Edomite by Naveh (1966: 28–30). The text is a list of ten names, the readings of which are sometimes uncertain: "Rael," "Bodqô[s]," "Shalem," "Qôsb[anah]," "Pagaqôs." Paleographically this ostracon is to be dated ca. 600 B.C.

2. Umm el-Biyara Ostracon. Discovered in Umm el-Biyara (Milik 1966), this ostracon contains the beginning of three lines difficult to read and approximately to be dated in the 7th century B.C.

3. Horvat ^{c}Uzza Ostracon. Discovered in Khirbet/Horvat ^{c}Uzza (a site in the Negeb) in a ca. 600 B.C. archaeological context, this ostracon is part of a letter:

> "(Thus) said *Lumalak:* say to *Blbl.* Are you well? I bless you by Qôs.
> And now, give the food. . . ."

4. Fragmentary Inscriptions. An Edomite graffito was found on a small jar at Tell el-Kheleifeh; several fragmentary inscriptions come from Buseirah (Puech 1977); and at least two fragmentary inscriptions containing the DN Qôs have been found in the Edomite shrine of Qitmit in the Negeb (Beit-Arieh and Beck 1987). A small bronze weight inscribed *hmšt* (45, 35g) from Petra is difficult to classify: it may be Aramaic, Ammonite, or Edomite (Pilcher 1922; Bron and Lemaire 1983).

Other probable Edomite (or Aramaic?) ostraca have been found in the S Negeb: in Tell Aroer (Biran and Cohen 1982; Naveh 1985), and in Tell Malhata (Kochavi 1972).

5. Lachish Inscription (?). A small cuboid limestone incense altar found in Lachish is inscribed on one side; the script is Aramaic (end of 6th or beginning of the 5th century B.C.); but the language is probably Edomite or N Arabic: "Incense altar of Iyâsh son of Mahlay the *king.*" After 587, the Edomites occupied S Judah and were later (after ca. 552) probably absorbed and controlled by the Arab confederation of Qedar. Accordingly *Iyâsh* could be either an Edomite prince keeping the title "king" within this confederation, or an Arabic king of Qedar (Milik 1958–59: 334, n. 4; Cross 1969b: 23; Lemaire 1974; 1988b).

6. Khirbet el-Kôm Ostraca? The relationship of the Khirbet el-Kôm ostraca to Edomite epigraphy has been disputed. If the categorization of the Semitic text as Edom-

ite is sustained, the ostraca attest to the use of the Edomite language in Idumea in the early 3d century B.C. See KOM, KHIRBET EL- (OSTRACA).

7. Edomite Seals. About ten seals can be identified as Edomite. One, an early 7th century bulla with the inscription "To Qôsga[bar king of E]dom," is especially precious; the king Qôsgabar is mentioned in Sennacherib's annals (*LAR* 2 876 [667 B.C.]) together with Musuri, king of Moab, and Amminadbi, king of Beth-ammon.

Seven seal impressions on jars found at Tell el-Kheleifeh give us the name of a minister of the Edomite king: "Qôsanal servant of the king" (late 7th century?). A bulla with the same title was found at Buseirah.

Paleographically, the Edomite script seems to have been very close to Moabite and probably influenced by the Aramaic and Phoenician scripts from the 7th century on. However, Edomite script is the least attested of the Transjordanian scripts, making its typology difficult to describe. One feature of the ductus appears to be unique to Edomite: in most of the inscriptions from the 7th or early 6th century B.C., *dalet* is written with the tail pointing upwards, presumably to prevent confusion with *reš*.

Edomite names with the theoporic element "Qôs" appear, starting about the late 6th century, in cuneiform inscriptions (Dalley 1984; Joannes 1987), in Aramaic ostraca from Beersheba (Naveh 1979b) and Arad (Naveh 1981), and in Gk inscriptions (Milik 1958; 1960: 95–96; Israel 1979a) mainly from Marissa (Peters and Thiersch 1905; Oren and Rappaport 1984).

Transjordanian Inscriptions

INSCRIPTION	DATES	BIBLIOGRAPHY
Ammonite		
Amman Citadel	mid-9th/early 8th cent.?	Horn *ADAJ* 1967–68; Cross 1969a; Albright *BASOR* 198 (1970): 38–40; Kutscher *Qadmoniot* 5/1 (1972): 27–28; Puech and Rofé *RB* 80 (1973): 531–46; Dion *RB* 82 (1975): 24–33; Van Selms *BiOr* 32 (1975): 5–8; Fulco *BASOR* 230 (1978): 39–43; Sasson *PEQ* 111 (1979): 117–25; Shea *PEQ* 111 (1979): 17–25; *PEQ* 113 (1981): 105–10; Jackson 1983
Tell Siran	late 7th cent.	Thompson *ADAJ* 18 (1973): 5–13; *AJBA* 2 (1974–75): 125–36; Thompson 1983; Thompson and Zayadine *BASOR* 212 (1973): 5–15; *BA* 81 (1974): 80–85; *RB* 81 (1974): 80–85; Zayadine and Thompson *Berytus* 22 (1973): 115–40; Dion *RB* 82 (1975): 24–33; Krahmalkov *BASOR* 223 (1976): 55–57; Loretz *UF* 9 (1977): 169–71; Shea *PEQ* (1978): 107–12; Coote *BASOR* 240 (1980): 93; Israel *BeO* 22 (1980): 283–87; Baldacci *VT* 31 (1981): 363–68; Becking *BiOr* 38 (1981): 273–76; Emerton AOAT 211 (1982): 367–77; Jackson 1983; Ahlström *PEQ* 16 (1984): 12–15
Heshbon	6th cent.	Cross *AUSS* 7 (1969): 223–29; *AUSS* 11 (1973): 126–31; *AUSS* 13 (1975): 1–20; *AUSS* 14 (1976): 145–48; Cross 1986; Shea *AUSS* 15 (1977): 217–22; Geraty *AfO* 27 (1980): 251–54; Jackson 1983
Tell el-Mazar, Deir ʿAlla	7th/6th cent.	Ibrahim and Van der Kooij 1983; Yassine and Teixidor 1986; Yassine 1988: 137–55
Nimrud	ca. 700 B.C.	Segal *Iraq* 19 (1957): 139–45; Albright *BASOR* 149 (1958): 33–36; Segert *Asian and African Studies* 1 (1965): 147–51; Garbini *AION* 27 (1967): 94–95; Bordreuil *RHPR* 59 (1979): 313–17; Naveh 1980; Jackson 1983
short incisions	8th/7th cent.	Dajani 1967–68; Oded *RSO* 44 (1969): 187–89; Bordreuil 1973a; Zayadine 1973; Fulco *JNES* 38 (1979): 37–38; Jackson 1983; Zayadine and Bordreuil 1986
seals	8th–6th cent.	Avigad 1952; *Sepher Tur Sinai* (1960): 319–24; *BIES* 25 (1961): 239–44; *IEJ* 14 (1964): 190–94; *IEJ* 15 (1965): 222–28; *EI* 9 (1969): 1–9; Avigad *EI* 13 (1977): 108–10; *BASOR* 225 (1977): 63–66; *BASOR* 230 (1978): 67–69; *IEJ* 35 (1985): 1–7; Driver 1953; Hammond *BASOR* 160 (1960): 38–41; Martin *RSO* 39 (1964): 203–10; Tadmor *IEJ* 15 (1965): 233–34; Garbini *AION* 27 (1967): 251–57; *AION* 28 (1968): 453–54; *JSS* 19 (1974): 159–68; Naveh and Tadmor *AION* 28 (1968): 448–52; Horn *BASOR* 205 (1972): 43–45; Bordreuil *Syr* 50 (1973): 181–95; Bordreuil 1986, 1987; Cross *CBQ* 36 (1974): 486–94; Dion *RB* 82 (1975): 24–33; Bordreuil and Lemaire *Sem* 26 (1976): 55–63; *JA* 265 (1977): 17–19; Bordreuil and Lemaire 1979; Heltzer *UF* 8 (1976): 441–42; no. 131 in *The Elie Borowski Collection*, ed. R. Merhav, Tel Aviv, 1987; Puech *RB* 83 (1976): 59–62; Israel *BeO* 19 (1977): 167–70; *OLP* 10 (1979): 143–59; Herr 1978; Abbadi *ZDPV* 95 (1979): 36–38; Hestrin and Dayagi-Mendels 1979; Yassine and Bordreuil 1982; Bordreuil and Gubel *Syr* 60 (1983): 335–41; Jackson 1983; Knauf *BN* 25 (1984): 22–26; Lemaire *Syr* 61 (1984): 255–56; *CRAIBL* (1985): 270–85; *EI* 18 (1985): 29–32; *Syr* 62 (1985): 41–47; *Syr* 63 (1986): 305–25; Lemaire 1987b; *VT* 38 (1988): 220–30; Tushingham 1985; Zuckerman 1987; O'Connor 1987; Israel *Syr* 64 (1987): 141–46; Millard 1988; Yassine 1988: 137–55
Moabite		
Mesha stele	ca. 815–810 B.C.	Clermont-Ganneau 1870; Cooke 1903; Sidersky 1920; Albright in *ANET*, 320–21; Murphy *CBQ* 15 (1953): 409–17; Michaud *VT* 8 (1958): 302–4; *Sur la pierre et l'argile*, Neuchâtel, 1958, pp. 29–45; Bernhardt *ZDPV* 76 (1960): 136–58; Van Zyl 1960; Kuschke *ZDPV* 77 (1961): 24–31; *ZDPV* 78 (1962): 139–40; *PEQ* 99 (1967): 104–5; Segert *ArOr* 29 (1961): 197–267; Schwantes *AUSS* 3 (1965): 158–66; Wallis *ZDPV* 81 (1965): 180–86; Andersen *Or* 35 (1966): 81–120; *KAI* 181; Schottroff *ZDPV* 82 (1966): 163–208; Liver *PEQ* 99 (1967): 14–31; P. D. Miller *Or* 38 (1969): 461–64; Bonder *JANES* 3 (1970–71): 82–88; *TSSI* 1: 71–

		84; Lipiński *Or* 40 (1971): 325–40; *OLP* 8 (1977): 81–117; Lipiński 1978; M. Miller *PEQ* 106 (1974): 9–18; Reviv 1975; Auffret *UF* 12 (1980): 109–24; Blau *Maarav* 2 (1980): 143–57; Timm *ZDPV* 96 (1980): 23–27; Timm 1982; Jaroš 1981; Horn *WLSGF*, 497–505; Demsky *Shnaton* 7–8 (1983–84): 255–57; Beeston *JRAS* (1985): 143–48; H. P. Müller *TUAT* 1/6: 646–50; Dahood 1986: 429–41; Knauf *BN* 31 (1986): 70–95; Lemaire *Syr* 64 (1987): 205–14; Smelik 1987
fragmentary inscriptions	late 9th–7th cent.	Murphy *BASOR* 125 (1952): 20–23; Winnett *BASOR* 125 (1952): 7–20; AASOR 36/37 (1964): 6–10, 23; Reed and Winnett *BASOR* 172 (1963): 1–9; Braslavi *BIES* 28 (1964): 250–54; Freedman *BASOR* 175 (1964): 50–51; Schiffmann *ZAW* 77 (1965): 324–26; Tushingham AASOR 40 (1972): 5–26; Israel *Lateranum* 48 (1982): 106–9; Swiggers *AION* 42 (1982): 305–6, 521–25; Zayadine *Syr* 62 (1985): 155–58; *ADAJ* 30 (1986): 302–4; Smelik 1987
seals	late 9th–early 6th cent.	Herr 1978; Lemaire *Sem* 33 (1983): 18–31; Bordreuil 1986; *AulaOr* 4 (1986): 119–20; Israel 1987a: 101–38; *SMSR* 53 (1987): 5–39; Millard 1988: 44–46
Edomite		
Tell el-Kheleifeh Ostracon	ca. 600 B.C.	Albright *BASOR* 71 (1938): 17–18; *BASOR* 82 (1941): 11–15; Glueck *BASOR* 71 (1938): 3–18; *BASOR* 79 (1940): 2–18; *BASOR* 82 (1941): 3–11; pp. 225–42 in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright*, ed. H. Goedicke, Baltimore, 1971; Naveh *BASOR* 183 (1966): 27–30; Israel *RBI* 27 (1979): 171–205
Umm el-Biyara Ostracon	7th cent.	Bennett *RB* 73 (1966): 372–403; Milik *RB* 73 (1966): 398–99; Israel *RBI* 27 (1979): 171–205
Horbat ʿUzza Ostracon	ca. 600 B.C.	Beit-Arieh and Cresson *TA* 12 (1985): 96–101; Beit-Arieh *Qad* 19 (1986): 31–40; Israel *RBI* 35 (1987): 337–56; Zwickel *BN* 41 (1988): 36–40
short or fragmentary inscriptions	late 8th–early 6th cent.	Pilcher 1922; Kochavi 1972; Bennett *Levant* 6 (1974): 1–24; *Levant* 7 (1975): 1–15; JSOTSup 24 (1983): 9–17; Puech *Levant* 9 (1977): 11–20; Israel 1979a; Biran and Cohen 1982; Bron and Lemaire 1983; Naveh 1985; Beit-Arieh *Qad* 19 (1986): 72–79; Beit-Arieh and Beck 1987
Lachish	late 6th–early 5th cent.	Dupont-Sommer 1953; Milik 1958–59; Cross 1969b; Aharoni *Leš* 35 (1970): 3–6; Naveh *BASOR* 203 (1971): 27–32; Degen *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* 1 (1972): 39–48; Albright 1974; Lemaire *RB* 81 (1974): 63–72; Lemaire 1988a; Israel 1979a
Khirbet el-Kôm	early 3d cent.	Geraty *BASOR* 220 (1975): 55–61; *AUSS* 19 (1981): 137–40; *WLSGF*, 545–48; Skaist *IEJ* 28 (1978): 106–8; Israel 1979a; *RBI* 35 (1987): 337–56
seals	late 8th–early 4th cent.	Driver *QDAP* 11 (1945): 81–82; Avigad *BASOR* 163 (1961): 18–22; Galling *ZDPV* 83 (1967): 131–34; Naveh *BASOR* 203 (1971): 27–32; *IOS* 9 (1979): 182–95; Lemaire *Levant* 7 (1975): 18–19; Biran and Cohen *IEJ* 26 (1976): 139–40; Herr 1978; Israel 1979a; Pratico *BASOR* 259 (1985): 1–32; Becking *UF* 18 (1986): 445–46; Israel *RBI* 35 (1987): 337–56

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ANDRÉ LEMAIRE

EPILEPSY. See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

EPIPHANES [Gk *epiphanes*]. An epithet or title assumed by various Eastern monarchs, it is in ordinary usage an adjective having such meanings as "evident," "conspicuous," "famous," "notable," "coming suddenly into view." Its common occurrence as a descriptive adjective modifying *theos,* "god," as well as, along with its cognate noun and verb, in descriptions of a manifestation of deity or of divine power, indicates that, even when used without *theos,* its full titular sense is "God Manifest."

The most notable, and apparently the first, to employ Epiphanes as a regal epithet were the Hellenistic kings PTOLEMY V of Egypt, who is so titled in the honorary decree of 196 B.C. that is recorded on the Rosetta Stone, and ANTIOCHUS IV of Syria, who ruled the Seleucid kingdom from 175 to 163 B.C. and is notorious in biblical history for his desecration of the temple at Jerusalem and his attempt to hellenize Judea (1 Maccabees 1–6; 2 Maccabees 4–10). Epiphanes was also frequently taken as a royal title by the later Seleucids; and in Roman times we find it, for example, incorporated into the nomenclature of Antiochus Philopappus, the exile prince of Commagene in whose honor the Athenians erected in A.D. 114–116 the splendid monument the substantial remains of which are still in situ on the Hill of the Muses.

Official usage of *epiphanes* was not confined to regal titulature. In 48 B.C. the cities of the province of Asia set up an inscription at Ephesus in which they honored Julius Caesar as a *theos epiphanes,* and Eastern cities later made a practice of so honoring the Roman emperor and members of the imperial family. Hadrian's favorite, Antinous, is in fact described in such inscriptions by both *epiphanes* and its superlative, *epiphane-statos.*

In the NT, *epiphanes* occurs only at Acts 2:20, in the phrase "that . . . notable day of the Lord," quoted from the Septuagint (3:4) of Joel 2:31.

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HUBERT M. MARTIN, JR.

EPISTLES, APOCRYPHAL. One of the literary genres of the writings commonly called "NT Apocrypha," along with apocryphal gospels, apocryphal acts, and several apocalypses. The Apocryphal Epistles appear to imitate the epistles in the canonical NT. However, the epistle

form did not gain the popularity of other genres, and only a few letters are found among the apocryphal material (*NTApocr* 2: 90; and Enslin *IDB* 1, 166–69). Scholarly opinion as to the value and proper classification of the extant epistles varies greatly.

At one time the writings of the Apostolic Fathers were considered NT Apocrypha. Now there is general agreement that they constitute a separate category (Wilson *IDBSup* 34–36). Classification of the Apocryphal Epistles becomes even more difficult with the discovery of the Coptic gnostic library at Nag Hammadi. Several of these documents, such as the *Letter of Peter to Philip*, the *Apocryphon of James*, *Eugnostos the Blessed*, and the *Treatise On Resurrection*, are in epistolary form. Opinions vary as to whether the Nag Hammadi material should be included with NT Apocrypha, but the general consensus is that it should be classified separately (Wilson *IDBSup*, 35).

A fairly comprehensive list of Apocryphal Epistles includes: the *Epistle to the Laodiceans;* the series of 14 letters known as the *Epistles of Paul and Seneca;* the *Apocryphal Epistle of Titus;* the two short *Epistles of Christ and Abgarus* (Abgar); and the *Epistle of the Apostles*. Often a medieval document describing Jesus' physical appearance, known as the *Epistle of Lentulus*, is included among the Apocryphal Epistles. Several epistles are embedded in other writings. Thus *3 Corinthians* appears in the *Acts of Paul;* the *Epistle of Peter* is part of the *Kergymata Petrou;* and the *Epistle of Pontius Pilate to Claudius* is included in the *Acts of Peter and Paul*. English translations of these may be found in James (1924) and/or *NTApocr*.

Further, Schneemelcher (*NTApocr* 2: 91–93) calls attention to a few Apocryphal Epistles known only through references in other sources: Clement of Alexandria (*Prot.* 9.87.4) quotes from a *Letter of Paul to the Macedonians*. The Muratorian Canon mentions, by way of rejection, the *Letter of Paul to the Alexandrians*. A *Letter of Peter* may be mentioned in Opatus Milevis (*De schism. Donat.* 1.5), and a *Letter of John* is referred to in ps. Cyprian (*De Montibus Sina et Sion* c. 13).

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DANA ANDREW THOMASON

EPISTLES, CATHOLIC. This term designates the group of seven NT documents consisting of James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1, 2, and 3 John, and Jude.

Toward the end of the 2d century the term "catholic" was utilized to describe an individual epistle. The first known example of this usage is by Apollonius (d. ca. 184 C.E.), who stated that the Montanist heretic "Themiso . . . dared to compose a catholic epistle imitating the apostle" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.18.5), but it is not clear to which NT letter or apostle he is referring. Clement of Alexandria (d. 215 C.E.) called the letter arising out of the deliberations of the Council of Jerusalem in Acts 15:22–29 a "catholic epistle" written by "all the apostles" (*Strom.* 4.15). Origen, writing in the first half of the 3d century C.E., used "catholic epistle" several times to identify 1 John (*Jo.* 1.22.137; 2.23.149; *or.* 22.2.14–5; etc.) as well as 1 Peter (*Jo.* 6.35.175; *sel. in Ps.* 12.1128.56; cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 6.25.5). Dionysius, a pupil of Origen and later bishop of Alexandria (d. ca. 265 C.E.), suggested that John, the author of Revelation, was not "the apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, who wrote the Gospel entitled 'according to John' and the catholic epistle." Though Dionysius knew of 2 and 3 John, he evidently distinguished them from the Catholic Epistle of 1 John (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 7.25.7, 10–11).

It should be noted, however, that the term "Catholic Epistle(s)" was also used to describe extracanonical letters. Eusebius describes a highly esteemed collection of letters by Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (written ca. 170 C.E.), as "catholic epistles which he drew up for the churches," but they were not considered in any sense to be Scripture (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.23.1, 12). The term was also used for documents which may have been considered authoritative by some but which were later excluded from the NT canon. For example, Origen identifies the *Epistle of Barnabas* by this term: "Now in the catholic epistle of Barnabas, from which perhaps Celsus took the statement that the apostles were notoriously wicked men, it is recorded that . . ." (*Cels.* 1.63).

This early usage of the term to identify certain letters probably arose out of the theological use of "catholic" to distinguish the universal Church from a local congregation (Ign. *Smyrn.* 8:2; *M. Poly.* inscr.; 8:1; 19:2; cf. Cyr. H. *catech.* 18.23). 1 Peter and 1 John, the letter from the Council of Jerusalem, as well as some of the letters of Diognetus, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* were all written to a wider, more general audience. Therefore the term was originally used to identify the encyclical character of a document rather than its canonical or authoritative status. Later, in a work attributed to Leontius of Byzantium (d. ca. 543 C.E.), the author identified seven Catholic Epistles, and explained that "they are called catholic because they were not written to one group, as those of Paul, but generally [*katholou*] to everyone."

In the 4th century "Catholic Epistles" was used to identify the seven NT documents as a collection. After narrating the story of James, Eusebius (d. ca. 340 C.E.) explains that James is "the first of the epistles called 'catholic'. It is to be observed that its authenticity is denied, since few of the ancients quote it, as is also the case with Jude, which is itself one of the seven called 'catholic'; nevertheless, we know that these letters have been used publicly with the rest in most churches" (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.24–25; cf. 6.14.1). Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria (d. ca. 373 C.E.), lists the "seven epistles called catholic" in his NT canon (*Ep. fest.* 39.5; cf. *synops.* 28.292, 405; Epiph. *Haer.* 25.289; 31.251; 37.369; Gr. Naz. *Carm.* 474).

The use of "Catholic Epistles" to identify this collection of NT documents probably developed as a result of a number of factors. The other NT epistles had already been collected together and identified as "the epistles of Paul" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.2; cf. 2 Pet 3:15–16). Certain of the non-Pauline epistles, notably 1 Peter and 1 John, had already been designated individually as "catholic," and the term could be used to describe the encyclical character of

most of them (except perhaps 2 and 3 John, which are addressed to individuals; cf. comment above on Dionysius in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 7.25.10–11). As part of the canonical process, the collective designation was a natural development. But it also suggests that the significance of the term shifted to indicate not only their encyclical character but also their authoritative or canonical status, though this status was still under debate for certain of these documents (cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.2–4). This shift is reflected in the Western Church's use of the term *epistolae canonicae* to identify these same NT documents (e.g., Cassiod. *Div. lect.* 100.8; Childs 1984: 494–95; Kümmel 1975: 497–503).

As a collection, the Catholic Epistles were not always listed or placed in the same location in the NT canon. After the Gospels, Acts, and the epistles of Paul, Eusebius lists 1 John and 1 Peter, then Revelation, and then the "disputed books" of James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.2–3). Athanasius lists the Gospels and Acts and then places the seven Catholic Epistles before the epistles of Paul (*Ep. fest.* 39.5). This order is also found in several canon lists and mss. In fact, except for Codex Sinaiticus, all uncial mss which have both Paul's epistles and the Catholic Epistles place the Catholic Epistles first (Farmer and Farkasfalvy 1983: 7–48, cf. n. 2). Westcott and Hort attempted to restore this order because of its ancient attestation. However, the order still used today demonstrates the dominant influence of the canonical order found in Jerome's Vulgate (Zahn 1890: 376–83; Metzger 1987: 295–300).

As a term identifying this group of NT epistles, the traditional term continues to be a helpful designation. However, its use should not overshadow the specific and diverse situations faced by the different recipients, nor encourage neglect of the distinctive theology and ethical advice offered in each epistle.

On the character, contents, and canonical status of the individual epistles see their separate articles. See also CANON (NT).

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ROBERT L. WEBB

EPITHETS, DIVINE. See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

EPSILON. The seventh letter of the Gk alphabet.

ER (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēr*]. **1.** The firstborn son of Judah and a Canaanite woman named Shua, who married Tamar, possibly also a Canaanite, and who died childless in Canaan when Yahweh slew him for an unnamed wickedness (Gen 38:3, 6, 7; 46:12; Num 26:12; 1 Chr 2:3). The nature of Er's wickedness is unknown, although Skinner (*Genesis* ICC, 451) posits that it was simply an untimely, premature death, and not a crime, which would have indicated Yahweh's displeasure, while Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 31) considers the reference unusual in light of the similar account regarding Onan and his sin, which may indicate haplography. On the origin of the Genesis 38 and 46 accounts see Skinner (pp. 449–50, 493) and Wilson (1977: 188–89). On possible origins of the Numbers account in Genesis 46 and the 1 Chronicles account in Genesis 38, see Budd (*Numbers* WBC, 286–88) and Braun (p. 30) respectively.

2. The son of Shelah, the son of Judah, and the father of Lecah (1 Chr 4:21). This Er is otherwise unknown, although Braun (p. 59) believes there is "nothing improbable in naming a child after his uncle" (see 1 above).

3. The father of Elmadam and son of Joshua according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:28). Manuscript D omits Er, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. The name Er is unknown in the direct line of Jesus in any other biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, although the name is found elsewhere in the Bible (see above; Fitzmyer *Luke I–9* AB, 501). Kuhn's (1923: 214–16) attempt to find in corrupted forms of names in 1 Chr 3:17–18 (MT) a source for Er as part of the group from Neri through Er is particularly unconvincing (even though it is endorsed by Schürmann *Luke* HTKNT, 201, n. 95); there is serious question whether the genealogy at this point is based on 1 Chronicles, which does not have Er in 3:17–18 MT or LXX (Marshall *Luke* NIGTC, 164; cf. Jeremias 1969: 295–96).

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STANLEY E. PORTER

ER-BALA, DEIR. See DEIR ER-BALAH (M.R. 088093).

ERAN (PERSON) [Heb *ʿērān*]. ERANITE. The son of Shuthelah and the grandson of Ephraim who is the eponymous ancestor of the Ephraimite *mišpāḥâ,* "protective association or clan," the Eranites (Num 26:36). Noth (*IPN,* 208) claims that the information in Num 26:36 about the *mišpāḥâ* of Shuthelah and its subgroup the Eranites was not originally part of the basic clan list used to fashion the census list of Num 26:5–51 but was added to show that a segment of the *mišpāḥâ* of Shuthelah became independent. Noth's position is supported by the absence of Eran from

the enumeration of Ephraimites in 1 Chr 7:20–29. Since 1 Chr 7:20–29 is generally regarded as an expansion of Num 26:5–51, the Chronicler probably had a version of the clan list in Num 26:5–51 from which Eran was absent.

The name Eran may mean "protector," "watcher." The LXX, Syriac, and Samaritan Pentateuch read Edan instead of Eran; this variant seems to be an instance of the confusion of *dalet* with *reš* in the old Hebrew script. The name Edan means "joy," "delight" (Noth, 223) and would have been given by parents to express their feelings about the newborn child.

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

ERASTUS (PERSON) [Gk *Erastos*]. Name of three persons in the NT.

1. One of Paul's helpers who, along with Timothy, had been with Paul in Ephesus during his third journey (Acts 19:22). When Paul decided to leave there for Macedonia and Achaia, he sent Erastus and Timothy on ahead.

2. A person said by the author of 2 Timothy to have "remained at Corinth" (4:20). This implies he had been traveling with Paul and that after reaching Corinth Erastus stayed while Paul went on. The mention of Erastus in this epistle indicates he was known to Timothy.

Erastus no. 1 and Erastus no. 2 are very likely the same person, since both are traveling companions of Paul, both are known to Timothy, and both may be connected with visits to Corinth. The link to Corinth raises the question of whether Erastus no. 3, the city treasurer of Corinth (Rom 16:23), might not also be identical to Erastus 1 and 2; but this is uncertain. As will be noted below, he might have been a city-owned slave and thus hardly would have had the freedom to travel with Paul.

3. This man is listed among those sending their greetings to the readers of Romans (Rom 16:23). Since Paul quite certainly wrote Romans 16 from Corinth, Erastus must have been living there. Paul describes him as *ho oikonomos tēs poleōs*, which the RSV renders as "the city treasurer."

Theissen has observed that Paul normally does not speak of the worldly status of a member of the Christian community in his letters; he is usually interested only in services given to the congregation, although he does at times allude to social, for example, slave, status (1982: 75–76). Acts, on the other hand, often supplies such information (e.g., that Aquila and Priscilla were tentmakers, Lydia was a seller of purple). Theissen concludes that the exceptional instance in Rom 16:23 where Erastus' worldly occupation is noted "probably indicates status *worth* mentioning, that is, relatively high status" (1982: 76). Yet others, notably Cadbury, have held that Erastus in his municipal office of *oikonomos* would most likely have been a city-owned slave with very humble financial duties (1931: 51).

These differing assessments reflect a complex and ongoing debate over what can be known about Erastus. At issue is precisely what his social status and functions would have been as an *oikonomos*, a term whose meaning varied in time and place; it could denote either a high city office to which the person was elected or a far less significant post in financial administration normally held by a municipal slave. Related to the discussion about Erastus' role, and taking into consideration that Corinth in the mid-1st century C.E. was a Roman colony and therefore under *Roman* municipal organization, is the question of what Latin term corresponded to the Greek-named office of *oikonomos*. The witness of the Latin Vulgate, which translated the term as *arcarius*, figures prominently but not always conclusively in attempts to resolve that query. No consensus can yet be observed in studies on these matters and the controversy has been complicated by the possible relevance of an archaeological find.

In 1929 an inscription was uncovered in Corinth which mentions an Erastus who had the Latin-named municipal office of *aedilis*, a function usually translated into Greek as *agoranomos*. The inscription, dated to the mid-1st century C.E., is on a long paving block of Acrocorinthian limestone found near the theater where a street from the NE enters a square. The seemingly incomplete text refers to an Erastus who had had the street paved at his own expense in return for his aedileship. Should this *aedilis* be identified with the Erastus of Rom 16:23, i.e., was the Christian Erastus, the *oikonomos/arcarius(?)*, the same man as Erastus the *agoranomos(?)/aedilis?* At issue is the question of identity between an *oikonomos* and an *aedilis*, and, most importantly, in the face of the probable non-equivalence of those offices, the question of whether the same person might have held both successively, the rank of *aedilis* being the higher.

For those who argue the improbability of the Erastus of Rom 16:23 and the Erastus of the pavement being the same person, e.g., Cadbury (1931: 58), the inscription of course adds nothing to our knowledge of the NT Erastus. But for some others who think it likely that the Christian *oikonomos* either (1) was at the time Paul mentioned him, or (2) later became an *aedilis*, the stone is illuminating. For example, Murphy-O'Connor, reflecting the first slant, has commented that since the responsibilities of an *aedilis* included the management of public markets, "it is not impossible that Paul first met Erastus in the latter's official capacity—that is when paying rent or taxes on his work space, which explains why he would call Erastus 'the treasurer of the city' " (1984: 155). Taking the second nuance is Theissen, who theorizes that Erastus could have been the *oikonomos* in the year when Romans was written and later have risen higher in his public career to the position of *aedilis* (1982: 83). This author points out that to be chosen *aedilis* one would have to have been a Roman citizen. Thus in his view Erastus was apparently a successful man who had risen into the ranks of local notables.

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FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

ERECH (PLACE) [Heb *ʾerek*]. The biblical form of the Sumerian city of Uruk (the present-day Warka) built near the Euphrates on the left bank and undoubtedly on a subsidiary branch of that river. The name is cited only once, in Gen 10:10, where it appears with Babel and

Akkad as one of the capitals of the country of Shinar, that is, of Mesopotamia. This unique reference does not correspond at all to the real importance of that city, which played an outstanding role in the process which led to urbanization and to what later became, perhaps for the same reason, one of the great religious centers of Mesopotamia.

First visited in 1849 by William K. Loftus, who conducted an investigation there for three weeks, then again in 1902 by W. Andrae, it was not until 1912 that regular excavations were initiated by J. Jordan on behalf of the German Oriental Society. Interrupted in 1913, the work was not resumed until 1928. From then until 1977, under the direction of A. Nöldeke, E. Heinrich, H. Lenzen, and J. Schmidt, excavations were carried out intensively, except between 1939 and 1954 because of World War II. But since the 33d expedition in 1977, ground surveying and other complementary works seem to have taken precedence over the intensive research and excavation. This is regrettable, given the number of remaining problems the solution of which would require additional study of that site.

The site is one of the largest in Mesopotamia. An irregular city wall almost 10 km long enclosed an area of nearly 5 km^2 which extended more than 3 km from N to S and over almost the same distance from E to W. Three main tells dominated the center of the site: one of these was occupied by the ziggurat of Eanna, the second by the sacred sector of the god Anu, and the last by a large temple from the Seleucid era, called the *Südbau* by the excavators. Nevertheless, these three focal points of the city did not contain all of the most important monuments, since the palace of Sin-kašid, the temple of Gareus, and the palace of the Parthian era had their place in the area which extended between the central sanctuaries and the city wall, an area where the living quarters and perhaps the gardens were found.

According to the investigation carried out in the Eanna sector, the history of this city began early in the Ubaid period in the 5th millennium B.C., but nothing is known of its real importance, or of its characteristics at that time. It was around 3700/3600 B.C. that forms of a new culture appeared which scholars have called "Uruk culture." Until now this is the site which has yielded the most precise information on this phenomenon, and phases 4 to 6 show very clearly the high degree of sophistication attained by the young city. Phase 3, which corresponds to the so-called Jemdet Nasr era, (at the very beginning of the 3d millennium B.C.), shows certain changes in its nature, but no decline. The city seems to have played an important role during the first half of the 3d millennium since the Sumerian King List cites Uruk as the second city after the Flood to have exercised hegemony. Furthermore, the legendary traditions of Enmerkar, Lugalbanda, and Gilgamesh all take place in and around Uruk, also attesting to its fame and importance. It was only during the ED period that the natural dynamism of the first city of Sumer seems to have weakened, but it was still from that place that the first abortive attempt was made to establish an empire by Lugalzaggesi (about 2400 B.C.). It was also this city which was the first to react after the dark era of the Guteans and that, about 2200 B.C., signaled the Neo-Sumerian revival, of which Ur rapidly became the actual center. It was not to play an important historical role from that time on, but continued as an active cult center the sanctuaries of which were the object of particular care by the rulers of the 3d Dynasty of Ur, Babylon, and Assyria.

The ziggurat which stood at Eanna was built on older terraces by Ur-Nammu, and important works of maintenance and restoration were carried out by Hammurabi (18th century B.C.) and later by Sargon II of Assyria (8th century B.C.) In the Seleucid and Parthian eras the city experienced increased economic activity because of the exploitation of its palm groves. The temples of Anu and Antum, the *Südbau*, and the Gareus temple testify to this vitality. Nevertheless, it was actually its role in the origins of urban civilization that gave Uruk its importance. The efforts of German archaeologists have rightly focused on this period by studying two different and complementary work sites, the Eanna and the White temple.

It was at Eanna that the archaeologists defined the phases of the Uruk civilization and the antecedents of the Ubaid period. For the first time Mesopotamia saw the development of complex constructions of several architectural units founded on the association of two types: the first was a tripartite plan inherited from the Ubaid period but pushed to an unequal degree of perfection. It was made up of a large central room of rectangular shape with buildings along the sides. These individual units were built in numbers of two, three, or more, around open spaces or joined to terraces covered by porticoes which represented the second type of construction: a mosaic decoration of cones or a set of redans and of abutments which adorned the front walls or the large indoor rooms. The quality and extent of this architecture, its requirements in lumber, and its suggestion of pomp lead one to think that only a really widespread political or religious power could have accomplished this work. But other novelties that can be understood only in such a context also made their appearance: such were the first cylinder seals which showed the growing role of trade as well as the birth of writing which, initially in the form of pictographs, was progressively transformed into cuneiform writing during the ED period. Economic life was based on the exploitation of the land, undoubtedly in the form of large areas with important shares belonging to the ruling power. But the role of trade in the development of urbanism should not be underestimated; for wood, metal, bitumen, and certain qualities of stone were totally lacking in Sumer; and the rise of the city could not come about without a regular supply of these raw materials. The birth of cities is as much the consequence of the development of agriculture as it is of trade.

There remains a problem that is not yet totally solved. The German excavators, and those who followed them, considered the buildings unearthed in the Eanna precinct as religious in nature. Nevertheless, a strict analysis of the given findings does not make for absolute certainty. Therefore that sector could also be interpreted as the political power center the religious function of which, while generally accepted, is certainly not certain.

On the other hand, the other major section of the city occupied by the White temple is certainly of a religious nature. The building itself clearly appears as a temple of the tripartite plan, equipped with two platforms, one with its back to the furthest wall, the other facing the first one

in the position of an offering table. The temple is set up on a terrace 10 m high, assuring it of a dominant position in the city. The divinity worshipped in this temple could have been Anu, the god of the sky.

Uruk is a key site of the Sumerian period for understanding the birth of urban civilization and also for elucidating the organization of sanctuaries and Middle Eastern forms of worship.

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JEAN-CLAUDE MARGUERON
Trans. Paul Sager

ERI (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēr̂i*]. A son of Gad, grandson of Zilpah and Jacob, and ancestral head of the Erites. His name is entered in the fifth position among the seven sons of Gad in the list of the descendants of Israel that went to Egypt (Gen 46:16; cf., *Jub.* 44:20). Likewise, in the census reported in Numbers 26, he is the fifth mentioned of the seven descendants of Gad whose names were adopted as clan names (Num 26:16—LXX 26:25). The LXX readings in Gen 46:16 (*Aēdis*) and Num 26:25 (*Addei*) reflect the interchange of orthographically similar *reš* and *dalet*, which could easily have occurred at various stages in the development of the Hebrew script.

RICHARD W. NYSSE

ERIDU (PLACE). The name of the southernmost Sumerian city, the present-day Tell Abu Shahrain, situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, about 15 km SW of Ur in a region that was a complete desert at the beginning of this century. Located in a vast field of ruins measuring 5 by 4 km, Tell Abu Shahrain is of roughly circular shape, and about 600 m by 500 m across, and rises to more than 25 m at its highest point.

Archaeological interest was drawn to Eridu because even in antiquity the city was renowned for its old age. According to Sumerian sources it is the world's most ancient city, predating even the legendary Flood. The first campaign, reduced to an impressive number of small investigations scattered around the site, was conducted in 1918 by R. Campbell Thompson. No spectacular discovery was made, but the site's early date was established and the existence of a prehistoric phase was recognized. H. R. Hall led a second expedition there in 1919, lasting only two weeks. It was not until 1946 that another mission, led this time by the Department of Antiquities of Iraq under the direction of F. Safar and S. Lloyd was sent to Eridu. Its results were important for two basic reasons: (1) for the first time a ceramic sequence was established for the Ubaid period in S Mesopotamia and (2) a series of monuments found at the foot of the ziggurat provided data concerning the emergence and development of the Sumerian temple.

Regarding the first point, the stratigraphic sequence obtained at Eridu, the beginning of which shows similarities to the Samarra ceramics and dates back to the last centuries of the 6th millennium B.C., remained the sole source in the S until the undertaking of regular excavations at tell Oueli near Larsa in 1975. Its importance can be seen in archaeological literature; nevertheless, the research carried out over the last decade, particularly at Oueli, but also the comparative studies made with the N sites and with Susa, led the archaeologists to make slight changes in the sequence, and, at times, to modify more drastically the conclusions from the chronology of the Ubaid era based on the testimony of Eridu.

The conclusions concerning the emergence of the Sumerian temple based on Eridu must also be revised. The study of the front of the ziggurat of Ur-Nammu (ca. 2100 B.C.) had led excavators to engage in detailed research at the foot of the ziggurat. They had isolated 17 architectural levels on the elevation of the terrace which supported the temple. Going back in time, it was at levels 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 that a comprehensible architecture was discovered; levels 12, 13, and 14 showed a gap in the evolution; finally levels 15, 16, and 17 yielded elements of monocellular constructions which were considered to be the first temples. But numerous reasons (gap in the phases 12–14, absence of sacred morphological characteristics at levels 15–17, scantiness of excavated areas) led to a sure recognition of temples only in the buildings found at level 8 and also, probably, at levels 9–11 despite the gaps that characterize them. Under these conditions, one would not find at Eridu the first stages in the formation of the temple: when the temple does appear, at level 8 and perhaps a little before, it already possesses its essential features.

Among the other discoveries at Eridu, mention must be made of a house from the Uruk period found in a good state of preservation because it had been filled with sand shortly after being abandoned. Also, a palace from the ED III period was unearthed on one of the tells near Eridu. It showed certain characteristics very similar to those of other palaces of that era, but the city associated with it is unknown; consequently, its role does not appear to be clear.

The site seems to have been more or less deserted in the 2d millennium B.C., but perhaps the worship offered to Ea was carried on in a city devoid of all other activity. Ea, whose Sumerian name was Enki, was in fact a very important god in the Sumero-Akkadian religion: the god of wisdom, friend of man, to whom the organization of the earth is attributed. It is possible that a scribal school functioned in the shadow of his temple, but, to the deep regret of various excavators, nothing of it has been found. Nor does anything prove that the exhumed temple at the foot of the ziggurat was even dedicated to Ea.

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JEAN-CLAUDE MARGUERON
Trans. Paul Sager

ERUPTION. See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

ES-SAIDIYEH, TELL. See SAIDIYEH, TELL ES-.

ES-SAMRA, KHIRBET. See SABRA, KHIRBET ES-.

ESARHADDON (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēsar-ḥaddōn*]. The son of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, who ruled (ca. 681–669 B.C.) after his father's assassination (2 Kgs 19:37 = Isa 37:38). In Assyrian the name is spelled *Aššur-aḫa-iddina* and means "the god Ashur has given a brother." In other words Esarhaddon had one or more elder brothers, a fact borne out by other sources.

Ezra 4:2 provides information otherwise unknown from biblical or Assyrian records, raising some questions about Esarhaddon's relations with Judah. According to Ezra when the exiles were permitted to return to Jerusalem by the Achaemenid Persians, they began to rebuild the temple. The narrative then says "the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin" approached the newly returned exiles offering to participate in the construction program; for, they said, they had worshipped the same god since the days of Esarhaddon "who brought us here." The newly returned exiles refused cooperation and so "the adversaries" began to plot against them. The question is, who were these "adversaries"?

The kingdom of Judah is mentioned only once in the royal inscriptions of Esarhaddon (*ANET,* 291), according to which Manasseh, king of Judah, along with a number of other rulers in Syria-Palestine provided exotic building materials for the royal construction program at Nineveh. The implication is that all of these rulers, including Manasseh, were vassals of Assyria. This impression is borne out by the military activities of Esarhaddon, who campaigned through Syria-Palestine several times in his attempt to conquer Egypt but never mentions hostilities with Judah. Obviously he had a reasonably secure hold over the area.

Returning to the question of the "adversaries" and their claim that Esarhaddon had brought them to Judah, the following is a possible solution. Elsewhere (see SENNACHERIB), it was suggested that Sennacherib, the predecessor of Esarhaddon, led a campaign against Jerusalem late in his reign. In true Assyrian style some of the local population were carried off into exile and replaced by foreign immigrants. This process could have spread over many years into the early part of the reign of Esarhaddon. Relevant to this suggestion is the statement in 2 Chr 33:11–13 that the Assyrians took Manasseh as prisoner to Babylon. This may well have happened at the time that foreigners were transported to Jerusalem in the early reign of Esarhaddon. This proposal is hypothetical, however, and we must await further evidence on this question. See *CAH* 3/2/23.

A. KIRK GRAYSON

ESAU (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēśāw*]. Son of Jacob and eponymous ancestor of the Edomites (Gen 25:25; 36).

A. Etymology

The etymology of the name Esau has not yet been clarified (cf. Nabatean: *ʿsw;* Thamudic/Safaitic: *ʿys* [?]; Minaean: *ʿysw* [?]). Uncertainty concerning the meaning of the name Esau is already evident in Gen 25:25 (cf. Gen 27:11–24), where the explanations of the name—"red" (Heb *ʾadmônî*) and "hairy" (Heb *śēʿār*)—are etymologically related, not to Esau, but to Edom (Heb *ʾĕdôm*) and Seir (Heb *śēʿîr*) respectively. Philo's attempts to provide a suitable etymology—"oak" (Gk *drys*) and "a thing made up" (Gk *poiēma*)—are linguistically unreliable (see also *Sacr* 17; *Congr* 61; *Fuga* 39:42).

B. Israelite Traditions

Esau was Isaac and Rebecca's firstborn son (Gen 25:25) and Jacob's older twin (Gen 25:22–25). In the OT he is described both as an individual person who represents a specific lifestyle (the hunter) and as the eponymous ancestor of a people (Edomites or Idumeans). These two variant representations are amalgamated in the different traditional compilations especially in the Pentateuch, and are seldom distinguished. At the same time the tradition is dominated by an additional theme of the unequal brothers, which, because of the one-sided perspective of the Israelite authors, leads to a relatively negative impression of Esau/Edom. See also Noth 1948: 103–11; Thompson 1974: 280–93; Westermann 1981: 54–62.

The contrast between the twins is already anticipated before their birth in God's proclamation that the older brother will serve the younger (Gen 25:23). The two brothers are clearly distinguished by their physical appearance (Gen 25:25; 27:11–23). The older son is his father's favorite (cf. later *Jub.* 35:13) while the younger is favored by his mother (Gen 25:28). Esau chose the profession of a hunter (Gen 25:27; 27:3, 7, 30), while Jacob became a shepherd, "a cultured man in tents" (Gen 25:27). The younger brother bargained for the older brother's birthright (Gen 25:29–34) in exchange for a dish of lentils, and deceitfully obtained the firstborn's blessing from Isaac (Gen 27:1–40) with his mother's help. Jacob fled to Harran (Gen 27:41–46; 28:1–5) to escape Esau's vengeance. In contrast to Jacob, Esau married several of the "daughters of Canaan" (Gen 26:34; 28:9; 36). After Jacob's return the brothers reconciled (Gen 32:1–22; 33:1–16) and settled in different regions: Jacob in the hilly central area of Palestine and Esau in Seir-Edom of S Transjordan (Gen 32:4; 33:16; 36).

The association of Esau with Edom, alluded to in Genesis 25, becomes the essence of Genesis 36 (cf. 1 Chr 1:35–54). Esau married Edah (36:2) and Basemath (v 3; as well as—in a secondary literary source—Oholibamah, cf. 36:2, 14). Esau's sons, Eliphaz and Reugël (vv 4, 10)—as well as Jeush, Jalam, and Korah (vv 5, 14)—issued from these marriages. The tribal constitution of Edom, wherein the inhabitants of Edom were divided into two tribal units, the "sons of Seir" ("Horites"), and the tribe of Esau, is evident in this schema. Esau appears as the eponymous ancestor both of the tribal units and of the people as a whole. Therefore his sons from Adah and Basamath appear as separate tribes—their sons in turn are considered second-

ary tribes and/or clans. Inasmuch as "Edom" refers to the name of a country, it is apt that Edom could either refer to the geographical boundaries of Edom or the people of Edom (see Gen 36:1, 8, 19; Jer 49:8, 10; Obad 6, 8–9, 18–19, 21).

The equation "(patriarch's son) Esau = country/people Edom" (Gen 25:30; 32:4; 36:1, 8; Jer 49:8, 10; Obad 6, 8–9, 18–19, 21; Mal 1:2–3; 1 Chr 1:35) and Esau's settlement in Seir (Gen 25:25; 27:11, 23; 32:4; 33:14–16; 36:6, 8; Deut 2:2–8, 12, 29; Josh 24:4) represent the Israelites' perspective of their neighbor. This perspective intends to explain the ethnic kinship of the two peoples on the one hand and their political differences on the other. It is probable that Esau, the patriarch's son, originally had little to do with the Edomite tribal ancestor or tribal unit. Like his brother Jacob, Esau was originally at home in Ephraim of Transjordan (cf. Gen 32:3, 31–32; 33:1–16). The negative theme of Jacob vs. Esau of Genesis 25 is especially evident in the political contrast between Israel/Judah and Esau = Edom (and later Idumea) delineated by the oracles about Edom in Jer 49:8, 10; Obad 6–21; and Mal 1:2–3. See Weippert 1971: 230–35, 437–62; *TRE* 9: 291–99; Kornfeld 1985; Maag 1957; Moritz 1926.

C. Jewish and Christian Traditions

God's proclamation transmitted in Mal 1:2–3—"and yet I love Jacob and hate Esau"—retained its effectiveness in numerous variants within many Jewish and Christian sources throughout many ages (cf. Rom 9:13; Ps-Philo *L. A. B.* 32:5). Therefore within Jewish and Christian literature Esau represents the godless and jealous individual who is rejected by God because of wicked deeds and evil disposition (*Jub.* 15:30; 35:13; *4 Ezra* 3:16; Philo *Leg All* III 2, 88–89, 191–93; *Sacr* 17–18, 81, 120, 135; *Ebr* 9–10; *Quod Det* 45–46; *Migr* 208; *Congr* 61, 129; *Fuga* 24, 39, 43; *Virt* 209–10; *Praem* 62; *Sobr* 26–27; *Quod Omn* 57; *b. Šabb.* 145b–147; *b. B. Bat.* 16b; *b. Sanh.* 12a; *b. Giṭ* 57b; Heb 12:16; *1 Clem.* 4:8; *Pre. Pet.* H II 16; *Ps-Clem.* 16:6; *Acts Thom.* 84). In the same manner Esau becomes the symbol for the corrupt age (*4 Ezra* 6:7–10), the evil passions (Philo *Heres* 251–54), or Rome (*j. Taʿan.* 4:8, 68d; *b. ʿAbod. Zar.* 2b; *Gen. Rab.* 65:21, 67:7; *Tanh. Ter.* 3). See also *EncJud* 6: 854–59.

One of the few positive treatments of Esau from this period comes thirdhand from Eusebius of Caesarea, citing a quotation of Alexander Polyhistor on the works of a 1st-century B.C.E. Jewish scholar, Aristeas the Exegete (*p.e.* 9.25.1). Aristeas uses a tradition where Esau marries Bassara from which marriage issues Job. However, other traditions of the period have Jacob killing Esau in a civil war (*Jub.* 37–38 esp. 38:2; *T. Jud.* 9; *b. Soṭa* 13a; *Gen. Rab.* 100: 63d).

The presentation of Esau follows a similar vein within the NT. In Rom 9:10–13 Paul interprets Esau's rejection typologically and undergirds his interpretation with two scriptural proofs (Gen 25:23 LXX; Mal 1:2–3 LXX). Esau and Jacob are children of the same father and mother as well as the same age; their paths of life, however, are completely different. God's sonship and promise, based solely on God's free choice and not on priority of birth or one's own merits, is exemplified in the destinies of the two brothers. Though in Heb 11:20 the author notes that Isaac blesses both Jacob and Esau, yet in Heb 12:16–17 the author maintains the normative Jewish interpretation of Esau. Because Esau's behavior led to a complete loss of God's blessing, he represents therefore the individual who is lewd and godless (see *TDNT* 2: 953–54). See also *Bibel-Lexikon*², 428; *BHH* 1: 437–38.

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U. HÜBNER

ESCHATOLOGICAL MIDRASHIM. See FLORILEGIUM.

ESCHATOLOGY.

Derived from the Gk word *eschatos*, meaning "last" or "final," eschatology is teaching about "the last things." It refers to a time in the future when the course of history will be changed to such an extent that one can speak of an entirely new state of reality. This entry surveys eschatological ideas in the biblical world, and it consists of three separate articles. The first focuses exclusively on the idea as it is expressed in the Hebrew Bible. The second, which picks up on the OT material, mainly surveys the so-called intertestamental writings. The third article focuses mainly on eschatology in the NT. See also APOCALYPSES AND APOCALYPTICISM.

OLD TESTAMENT

A. Introductory Issues
B. Sources of OT Eschatology
   1. Patriarchal Promise Traditions
   2. David-Zion Tradition
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C. Prophetic Eschatology
   1. Preexilic Prophets
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D. Dynamics in OT Eschatology
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E. OT Eschatological Expectations

A. Introductory Issues

At least three things should be said as part of the prologue to a discussion of OT eschatology: (1) the term *eschatology* is used with widely differing meanings; (2) the term, as applied to OT literature, dates only to the 19th century; and (3) despite the previous point, the term sounds vaguely archaic today, reminiscent of overly systematic treatments of ancient Israelite thought. Of these observations, the first especially requires some discussion. The word *eschatology* derives from the Greek term *eschatos,* which has a variety of meanings depending upon the larger frame of reference: farthest extent in space, final element of time, and last piece of money. The term *eschatology* has been prominent in theological discourse as a reference to the last things in a worldwide and historical sense, e.g., an apocalyptic, cosmic cataclysm and a new age of conflict followed by utopian bliss. Of course, it is possible to speak about an individual's ultimate fate, e.g., the afterlife, but this discussion *senso stricto* is not coterminous with eschatology, which is most often innately communal and cosmic in its reference.

Another preliminary issue involves the uniqueness of eschatological notion in ancient Israel. Any discussion of eschatology in the OT must raise the question of whether or not ancient Israel, as reflected in the OT, possessed eschatological notions which serve to distinguish it from other ANE cultures. This particular issue has been important since the earliest discussions of the topic of OT eschatology. For those interested in religio-historical questions, e.g., Gressmann and Gunkel, Israel's religion grew out of its larger ANE environment. Gressmann argued that OT eschatology derived from royal language and ideology common throughout the ANE; whereas, for Gunkel, this larger environment involved perceptions of an *Urzeit* and *Endzeit,* primal time and a return to such time in the final days. Discussions of eschatology were often couched in this conceptual framework. Wellhausen, on the other hand, sought to focus discussion of Israel's eschatology on the unfulfilled predictions of Israel's prophets. As a result, he had no particular reason to discuss eschatology within the larger ANE context. Now, many decades after the work of Gressmann, Gunkel, and Wellhausen, it seems appropriate to maintain that no evidence from ANE civilization attests the level of eschatological expectation which we find in Israel; but this may be a function of lack of evidence, rather than of something wanting in these cultures.

A related but by no means identical issue is the relationship between two conceptual terms *eschatology* and *apocalypticism.* At the outset it seems important to affirm that all apocalypticism involves eschatology, but not all eschatology involves apocalypticism.

All apocalyptic literature in the OT, which may be conveniently subdivided into early (e.g., Isaiah 24–27; Zechariah 9–14; Joel 3–4) and developed (Daniel 7–12), involves some notion of a momentous time during which Yahweh will act decisively to create a time of weal for Israel. Nonetheless, not all literature which has been labeled as eschatological shares the characteristics of this aforementioned apocalyptic literature, whether early or developed. Further complicating the relationship of eschatology and apocalypticism is the fact that whereas one may readily speak of apocalyptic literature, it is much more difficult to use the term *eschatological literature.* The term *eschatological* is not in the first instance appropriate as a literary description. Eschatological notions appear in prose and in poetic texts. There is no constellation of characteristics for eschatology that allows regular literary classification; and this is in contradistinction to the use of the term *apocalyptic literature,* which refers to vision reports such as those found in Daniel 7–12. Nonetheless, it is rare to read a discussion of OT eschatology without finding reference to Amos 5:18–20, a text which is regularly termed eschatological.

B. Sources of OT Eschatology

If by eschatology one means a form of radical orientation to the future, which may involve a sort of social and/or cosmic arrangement fundamentally different from that which currently exists, then it is possible to speak about the development of an eschatological tradition complex in ancient Israel. To pose the issue in this way is to refine the discussion by a reference to a particular method of biblical study, that of tradition history. (See TRADITION HISTORY.) The ingredients which make up the development of an eschatological tradition complex in Israel are several. These elements, in conjunction with the message of the Israelite prophets as well as the catalyst provided by the events surrounding the year 587, the year in which Jerusalem fell, configured the eschatological tradition in its most vigorous form.

1. Patriarchal Promise Traditions. There are at least three important sources for the eschatological tradition complex. First, there are promise traditions often associated with the so-called patriarchs. Although there is considerable debate about the time during which these promises were conceptualized as well as debate about the most original elements of the promise, it seems clear that the form of the promise articulated by the Yahwist involved the promise of both land and progeny. This promise becomes much more specific, however, than the general terms of land and progeny would imply. After a careful examination of the relevant texts, one discovers that the land promised to the patriarchs is in fact the land that Israel controlled during the time of the united monarchy, so Gen 15:18–20. Moreover, the notion of progeny is defined in terms of "a great nation." This phrase, too, suggests a national context for the formulation of the patriarchal promise traditions. Quite apart from chronological considerations, this casting of the promise tradition holds out certain expectations for Israelite existence, national boundaries as well as national identity. From the perspective of the time of Israel's forebears, Israel's true existence lay in the future, namely, during the time of the Monarchy.

2. David-Zion Tradition. Another tradition important for the development of eschatology focuses on the Davidic line and the city of David, Zion or Jerusalem. Through the instrumentality of David and in terms consistent with the notion of the patriarchal promise, Israel secured a place on the ANE map as a nation with certain distinctive boundaries. However, the institution of monarchy in Israel involved more than matters of boundary and nationhood. There was, first of all, regnant in the S kingdom or Judah, the promise that a member of the Davidic line would always reign on the throne, so 2 Samuel 7. Such an expec-

tation was based on the so-called Davidic Covenant or Davidic Promise, a grant by Yahweh to the house of David (see Ps. 132). Secondly, and more generally, the inception of monarchy itself in Israel meant the introduction of some central ANE concepts involving the king, so especially Gressmann. When a just king sat on the throne, there were certain expectations, projections into the future about what would occur—peace, fertility, righteousness, and justice in the land—to name some of the more basic features, cf. Isa 9:2–7; 11:1–9. A third part of the kingship tradition in Israel involved the particular seat of David's rule, the city of David, or Zion. There was, as Gerhard von Rad has clearly shown, a basic expectation concerning this cosmic mountain city upon which the Deity dwelt and from which the Davidic heir ruled. For the expectations concerning the Deity's dwelling, one need only look at Psalm 46 or 48 to discover the notion of the inviolability of this special divine and human royal residence. It was a city which, because of the presence of the Deity, could not be defeated. Such virtual mythic connotations created a special aura for the Davidic heir, as well as a certain expectation about the future fate of the city. In sum, the royal traditions in Judah and, more generally, the united Israel, involved expectations which were not difficult to speak about in the future tense: there would always be a Davidide on the throne, a just Davidide would engender future blessing for Israel, the city of David would exist securely in the future. This tripartite monarchic tradition in Israel involved notions not only specific to Israel, but common to ANE ideas about kingship and the inviolability of the divine dwelling as well. These future expectations therefore entailed both powerful historic as well as mythic elements, linking as they do the patriarchal promise traditions to the inception of the institution of monarchy in Israel.

The Day of the Lord is prominent in many eschatological texts. This notion belongs to the monarchic tradition complex, representing the dual motifs of Yahweh's combat and ensuing victory along with the subsequent enthronement of Yahweh as king. For Israel this day was, early on, a cause for rejoicing. However, the Day of the Lord becomes as well a day of Yahweh's assault on his enemies both inside and outside Israel, see Amos 5:18–20; Isa 2:11–17; Zeph 1:11–2:3; Joel 2:1–2. In postexilic literature, the Day of the Lord entails both positive and negative consequences, e.g., Isa 61:2. The importance of the Day of Yahweh traditions in early apocalyptic literature is suggested by the prominence of the phrase "on that day" in the texts such as Zechariah 12–14.

3. Sinai Covenant Traditions. The third tradition, that of the Sinai covenant, which is important for an understanding of OT eschatology, is not linked genetically with either the promise to the patriarchs or the monarchic tradition complex. E. Sellin emphasized the importance of the Sinai tradition when he argued for the early and specifically Israelite origins of OT eschatology. See COVENANT. Moreover, this covenant tradition often seems to stand in tension with the two aforementioned traditions. The Sinai covenant tradition involved the contract which the people of Israel made with their god, Yahweh. This contract included at its core a series of stipulations which the people had agreed to obey. Put another way, this idea of treaty incorporated the notion of future compliance or noncompliance. These alternate future possibilities were spelled out in the treaty's blessings or curses. Should the people follow the treaty's dictates, then a blessed existence and proper relationship with the Deity would ensue (see Deut 28:1–14). Conversely, should the people not follow the treaty's dictates, then a cursed existence and an improper relationship would eventuate (see Deut 27:16–46). The Sinai covenant has a distinctive future orientation spelled out clearly in the treaty's blessings and curses. Thus, although the Sinai covenant created a community which might be construed as present or existing at any given moment. there were decisive future expectations about the existence of this community, expectations which could be discussed in terms of a blessed and/or a cursed existence in the future.

C. Prophetic Eschatology

1. Preexilic Prophets. All these ingredient traditions: patriarchal promise, monarchy, and Sinai covenant have expectations involving the future. It lay with Israel's prophets to sharpen and even to challenge some of these future expectations. Although it is possible to speak of a prophetic tradition, for the purposes of this discussion it will suffice to think about the prophets as spokesmen utilizing various traditions already identified, in particular, the Sinai covenant tradition. The prophets seemed to have functioned as those who articulated the ways in which Israel had violated the covenant and then spelled out the character of the forthcoming punishment, understood properly as the covenant curses. The character of the Day of Yahweh as a day of negative expectation resounds throughout the so-called classical prophets. In time, the negative picture of the Day of Yahweh becomes so bleak that it sounds as if an entirely new aeon will dawn, one of catastrophic punishment and of national annihilation, so especially the formulations of Amos, Zephaniah, and Ezekiel. Because the future foreseen by these prophets is so different from that which Israel had experienced and had expected—namely, these unexpected eventualities: the forfeiture of national existence, the defeat of Zion, the devastation of the temple, and the loss of a monarch—such views are, not without reason, construed as eschatological, that is, final or of an end time. The picture drawn by the prophets out of the covenant curse scenario does mean an end to a prior mode of existence. Here there was, as it were, a negative eschatology. The good expectations involving kingship, statehood, and a national peaceful existence, are abrogated. The closer one comes to the decisive defeats of Jerusalem in 597 and 587, the more decisive is the punishment for Israel as a nation. An end, an eschaton, of statehood is foreseen. This eschatology which the prophets articulated could be construed as stemming directly out of the Sinai covenant traditions. Nonetheless, at least one of the other traditions, that of monarchy, figured prominently as well. To be sure, there is negative judgment upon individual kings for not having performed their royal duties, so for example, the section on kingship in the book of Jeremiah (Jer 21:11–22:30). The last oracle of this Jeremianic text would seem to preclude the possibility of any Davidide in the future. Nonetheless, this same prophetic tradition, in Jer 23:5–6,

is able to foresee a time during which a Davidic heir will sit on the throne and will rule properly. The Davidic tradition would seem, almost inexorably, to provide not only a means for judging kings but also for thinking affirmatively about some future king who might preternaturally rule with justice and righteousness. Put another way, what seems at first glance to be a uniformly negative eschatology involves, almost inherently, positive future expectations for kingship as well. It is this component of the monarchic tradition which leads to so-called messianic expectations, namely, the expectation of some anointed human leader, in all likelihood a king, who will facilitate weal for Israel. See MESSIAH.

The Sinai covenant traditions, just like the kingship traditions, allowed for both negative and positive expectations. For most of the prophets and for most of the time prior to 587, it was appropriate to speak of covenant curses. According to their oracular preachments Israel had violated the covenant stipulations. And yet, for those Israelites who believed that the covenant relation was still in force even after the catastrophe of defeat and exile by the Babylonians, it became possible to think of a time in which covenantal blessings might be possible, so the exilic texts of Isaiah 35. Such conviction depended, of course, on the presupposition of radical covenant obedience as this was articulated in the texts which describe the so-called new covenant (Jeremiah 31 and Ezekiel 11). Concomitant with this expectation of covenant blessing in the exilic and postexilic periods, it became possible to iterate patriarchal promise traditions which now held out the hope for restored national boundaries and resettlement in the land. It is not too much to say that all three traditions so far adduced, patriarchal promise, monarchy, and Sinai covenant, figure prominently in the strong, positive hopes—one may even say eschatological expectations—which were evoked during the 6th century B.C.E. Prior to the national defeat Israel had expressed the language of eschatological doom. Then, at another and later time, the language of eschatological blessing became appropriate.

2. Postexilic Prophets. During the early restoration period Israel's eschatological traditions, which by this time entailed language of both weal and woe, began to develop in new and decisive ways. With the rededication of the temple, the stage was set for the realization of the eschatology of weal proclaimed most prominently by Deutero-Isaiah. Such realization did not, however, occur. In a dimly understood process, the eschatologies of weal and woe were conjoined and became what some have termed "early apocalypticism." This process in which the eschatological traditions intensified and coalesced was, no doubt, influenced by the frustrated expectations for restoration in the late 6th and the 5th centuries. All one has to do is compare the promises for blessing which date to the time of the Exile, e.g., Isa 54:11 ff., or from the time of the early restoration period, e.g., Hag 2:6 ff., with the realities of the late 6th and 5th centuries B.C.E. to appreciate the contrast between what was expected and what actually happened. The radically new "good time," with the streets paved with gold and with unprecedented crop yield, did not arrive for those who had returned to the land from exile. As a result, these expectations for a blissful restoration were frustrated, though still very much alive. Interestingly, in this development of eschatological traditions into apocalypticism as expressed in apocalyptic literature, the notion of a good future is linked with that of future doom. Zechariah 9–14, for example, envisions prospects for a glorious future, along with prospects for woe within Israel, so for example, Zech 14:2–5. Moreover, the character of what will happen moves beyond the world as humans had known it: "on that day there shall be neither cold nor frost, there shall be continuous day" (Zech 14:6–7a). Such expectations would seem to constitute a major step beyond the notion of a day of defeat or a day of radical covenant loyalty proclaimed by the preexilic prophets. One senses, in such texts as Zechariah 14, the notion of a fundamentally different sort of cosmic and social order, one in which the experience of time, natural order, social existence, religious affiliation, even Yahweh's lordship, will be of a fundamentally different sort from that which had existed earlier. Whereas earlier eschatology had focused on an "end," with apocalyptic literature a new age is foreseen. There is something beyond "the end." Concern with the new time appears as one hallmark of apocalypticism.

From this coalescence of earlier Israelite traditions into the eschatological tradition complex which developed in the late monarchic period, and then from the development of the eschatological tradition complex into apocalyptic literature in the early restoration period, the further step of fully developed apocalyptic visions, which were inherently eschatological, was not a large one. Here, with the eschatological visions of Daniel, there is a specific form—the apocalyptic vision—for articulating the complex conceptual apparatus of a radically new future, that of apocalypticism. With the configuration of the eschatological tradition complex into apocalyptic literature, the history of the development of OT eschatology is at an end. Postbiblical eschatology is prominent in the OT apocryphal literature, in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and in the NT.

D. Dynamics in OT Eschatology

1. Historical Development. At this point in the discussion it seems appropriate to make at least three fundamental observations. First, OT eschatology should be discussed within the context of historical development. Old Testament eschatology is best understood as a complex of traditions evolving out of earlier and discrete Israelite traditions. Old Testament eschatology is not essentially a systematic theological term, and therefore it is difficult to discuss eschatology as if one were describing one basic concept. Israel's eschatological expectations changed considerably over time. In this regard it is important to note that much of OT eschatology during, for example, the 6th century, was an intra-Israelite development. To be sure, there were notions about kingship which were common to the larger ANE environment. However, the patriarchal promise tradition as well as the traditions about the Davidic heir and the Sinai covenant were Israel-specific. Israelite eschatology becomes therefore much different from future expectations discernible in other Syro-Palestinian or Mesopotamian cultures.

2. Social Context. Second, not all Israelites shared OT eschatological expectations. There were other circles in Israel which, especially during the time of the Exile and, even more so, during the time of the restoration, did not

use eschatological or early apocalyptic language. For example, the wisdom circles, as these are preserved in the books of Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes, did not seem to share the notion of a radical historical judgment or a fundamentally different sort of future. Moreover, there were circles whose views are preserved in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah and also in the book of Chronicles, which perceive Israel's existence during the Persian period in noneschatological ways. The same may be said for the so-called Priestly circles associated with the P-source. Put another way, OT eschatology was not an all-Israelite phenomenon but was one important way of perceiving reality. In all likelihood the eschatological perception of reality was experienced by those who were not necessarily in charge of either Israel's political or religious institutions.

3. Historical Period. Third, OT eschatology, namely, the development of a certain tradition complex, seemed to evolve and intensify in particular historical conditions, conditions in which all Israel or even certain groups in Israel were not flourishing. For example, the intensification and the integration of the separate traditions during the time of the classical prophets occurred at a time during which Israel was under threat first by the Neo-Assyrian Empire and then secondly by the Neo-Babylonian Empire. This was a time of dire threat to the independence of Israel, and of course, eventuated in the demise of the nation-state. Then, too, the tradition complex of OT eschatology developed decisively in the Persian period. This too was a time in which the emergent identity of the restored Yahwistic community was under significant threat. Moreover, during this time there appeared to be fundamental dissensions occurring within the Yahwistic community, with various groups vying for leadership and authority. Threat to the community could come from without or from within. With this dual threat during the time of the Persian period, the specific historical contexts were set for the development of the eschatological tradition complex into apocalypticism and its literature configuration as apocalyptic literature.

E. OT Eschatological Expectations

Having described the development of the OT eschatology tradition complex, it is necessary to highlight briefly some of the major features in the fully configured eschatological tradition complex. The eschatological expectation is heavily dependent upon the notion of Yahweh's divine kingship and rule. Yahweh is expected to arrive again and act decisively in the future so as to effect the institution of his realm. Military imagery is a prominent way of describing this action, though interestingly, "natural" events such as famine, drought, pestilence may create submission to his larger purpose. In fact, the entire cosmos may be affected by Yahweh's military action, e.g., Joel 3:15, Isa 34:4. During this conflict Yahweh's enemies, whether inside or outside Israel, will receive their just desserts. Only in later apocalyptic literature does the fate of those loyal to Yahweh become the subject of considerable reflection. Nonetheless, Isa 25:6–9 does hint at the fate of those upon whom Yahweh looks with favor. Since Yahweh's imperium is cosmic, all people have a place in it and therefore all people, including those outside the boundaries of Israel, may be construed as venerators of Yahweh (cf. Isa 2:1–4) and hence included in his kingdom.

With Yahweh enthroned, one expects a time of paradise or peace. Such good times may be understood in terms of the monarchic traditions, namely, through the expectations associated with a just and divine king on the throne. Such expectations include proper administration of justice, fertility for the land, and the lack of military confrontation. Although the emphasis in eschatological tradition is on Yahweh as king, there is on occasion a place for a righteous Davidide, one who will rule with equity and beneficence. This expectation gives rise to so-called messianic texts, literature which attests to the hope of a radically good Davidic ruler, Ps 18:50; Ezek 37:23–24. Yahweh remains, however, the ruler par excellence.

The future time may be described using the language of the covenant, so Isa 34:16, in which the future age is described with explicit reference to what is presumably a covenant text or book. The eschatological future is a time in which the covenant will be obeyed, so Jeremiah 31, which means *eo ipso* that covenant blessings will ensue. The specifics of covenant blessing language are not dissimilar to the sorts of things foreseen as part of Yahweh's just rule. So too, the patriarchal promise traditions figure in the eschatological scenario by indicating that Yahweh's rule will center not on a heavenly throne, nor just in the city of divine residence, but throughout the land which had been promised to Israel's forebears. That Israel will be great in number, the other side of the patriarchal promise, seems to be presumed in much of the eschatological tradition.

By way of summary, two texts, one which predates the destruction of 587 B.C.E. and one which dates to the postexilic era, may serve to encapsulate critical emphases in the OT eschatological tradition complex—Ezek 7:2b–3a, "An end! The end has come upon the four corners of the land. Now the end is upon you . . ."; Zech 14:9a, "Yahweh will become King over all the earth . . ." For further discussion see Smend *TRE*, 10: 254–64.

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DAVID L. PETERSEN

EARLY JEWISH LITERATURE

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A. Introduction

Although the term *eschatology* does not occur in the ancient sources, its widespread use in modern criticism reflects the correct notion that the OT, the Jewish writings of the Greco-Roman period, and the NT frequently assert that God will act decisively in the future and that a different state of affairs will ensure. The term and its traditional use have been misleading, however, because they have often been governed by theological agendas that have attempted to extrapolate from the texts a unified and systematic doctrine about the "end of the world" or one's state and fate at the end of one's life. Also problematic is the implication that *all* the texts designated as "eschatological" envision a decisive end to the present order and the beginning of a totally new order.

Given the variety that contemporary scholarship has begun to discover in the sources, it is appropriate to hear the texts, each on its own terms, and to develop categories that reflect the differences and points of continuity—synchronically among contemporaneous texts and diachronically from the oldest OT strata through the noncanonical Jewish texts to the NT and beyond. This task, which awaits doing, is substantial; in what follows it is possible only to sample typical texts from the Hebrew Scriptures and from the Jewish writings up to ca. 100 C.E. Crucial in the analysis is the assumption that expressions of religious thought must be interpreted with a view toward the specific situations and experiences that gave rise to them and influenced their formulation.

B. The OT

1. Pentateuch. Composing their traditions when Israel already lived in its land, the authors of the J and E strands of the Pentateuch created a narrative world in which God, of old, had made covenant promises that would be fulfilled in the future, when Israel would be a great nation and inhabit the land of Canaan. While the fulfilled promise of land may have been understood as vindicating Israel's covenantal status, the promises of innumerable progeny and a superior relationship to the nations may well have been seen at times to await fulfillment in the future.

The inseparable relationship between present and future is a basic structural component in the covenantal scheme of the Deuteronomist. As initiator and overseer of the covenant, Yahweh deals justly with Israel in the present, rewarding and punishing the people for past action; or Yahweh is expected to do so in the future because of their present actions. This causal relationship between past and present or present and future is explicated in detail in Deuteronomy 28–30, according to two scenarios in chaps. 28–30 and chap. 32. Chapter 28 describes the blessings and curses that will be dispensed alternatively when Israel obeys and disobeys. Chapter 30 posits the chronological succession of blessing and curse, the latter culminating in exile; and it predicts that Israel will repent and God will restore the people to their land. In the Song of Moses (chap. 32) sin is punished through oppression by the enemy, but deliverance is not triggered by repentance, which is never mentioned; the arrogance of the enemy provokes the divine judge to vindicate the blood of the people.

The Deuteronomic scheme, with and without the element of repentance, becomes paradigmatic for later writers; and Jewish texts from the Greco-Roman period explicitly refer to Moses and Deuteronomy to explain or speak to their present situation. The connection between past and present or present and future is cited in several ways. Present prosperity is evidence of Israel's faithfulness and God's blessing, and present calamity indicates a sinful condition that calls for repentance. Alternatively, in good times one may use the threat of punishment to effect repentance of perceived sin, while in bad times one may encourage the righteous to be faithful and await intervention by the vindicator of the covenant.

2. Eighth-Century Prophets. Although the 8th-century prophets (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah) were not primarily predictors of the future, such prediction was essential to their role as critics of a society which they perceived to be violating the stipulations of the covenant. The sinful nation could expect divine punishment.

The time of that punishment is usually vague, but it is imminent enough to constitute a threat to the prophets' audiences. According to Isaiah God will shave Israel with a hired razor (Assyria) before a child soon to be born reaches the age of moral discrimination (7:14–16). Amos warns those who are anticipating salvation in "the day of the Yahweh" that they will experience terror and death (5:18–20); and in a rare usage, he warns of the "end" (*qēṣ*) that awaits the people (8:2).

Occasionally these prophets anticipate divine blessing when Israel's punishment is sufficient and the people have returned to Yahweh. An important aspect of such consolation is the idea that God's action in the future will replicate the past. For Hosea, after a return to the wilderness, Israel will be betrothed again to God, and this covenant will restore primordial peace on the earth (2:14–23). Although an "end" is not mentioned, a new beginning lies in the future.

3. Exilic and Postexilic Prophets. a. Jeremiah. Although the final literary form of Jeremiah interweaves oracles of the 6th-century prophet with Deuteronomistic interpretations, later writers treated it as the work of "Jeremiah." Thus, Jeremiah decries the sins of Judah and Jerusalem and announces that in the imminent future

Judah's leaders will be exiled, the temple and city will be destroyed, and the people will go into captivity.

The prophet also anticipates a restoration of the former state, when the dispersion of Israel and Judah will return to the land from which they had been exiled (23:1–8; 29:10–14), Jerusalem will be rebuilt (31:38–40), and the Davidic king will rule (23:5–6). Like Hosea, Jeremiah expects a replication of the past; but God's new event will supersede the old. The God of the Exodus will be known as the God who has returned the dispersion (23:7–8). In the new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, the Torah will not have to be taught, because it will be written in human hearts (31:31–34). Different from the earlier prophetic books, Jeremiah specifies when the people will return from captivity—after 70 years are completed (29:10), when "you seek me with all your heart" (29:13; cf. Deut 30:2). Although, for Jeremiah, Yahweh is the executor of covenantal curses and blessings, the prophet also depicts this God as the universal judge of the whole human race ("all flesh"; 25:30–33).

b. Ezekiel. Prophesying in Babylon between 593 and 571 B.C.E., Ezekiel interprets the Exile as punishment primarily for idolatry and anticipates an end to that punishment and the return of God's blessing. In his oracles about the future (chaps. 34–37), he elaborates motifs found in Jeremiah. The sheep of Israel, abused by their shepherds and devoured by the wild beasts (the nations), will be sought out by God and returned to the mountains of Israel. There God will make a covenant of peace with them, banish the beasts from the land, and nourish and lead them, placing them under the care of the Davidic shepherd (chap. 34). In 36:22–36 God's restoration is described as a new creation. God will cleanse Israel of its sin, put a new spirit in its people, and replace their heart of stone with a new heart; the desolate land will be made like Eden. Chapter 37 extends the metaphor, describing the resurrection and re-creation of the dead nation. Then Israel and Judah will return to their land and be joined as one nation, governed by the prince and shepherd David in the presence of the God who makes an eternal covenant of peace with them and dwells among them in the sanctuary. The importance of the city and sanctuary are evident in chaps. 40–48, where Ezekiel records an extensive vision that balances chaps. 8–11. The old polluted sanctuary from which God's glory departed (chap. 10) will be replaced by a new temple to which the glory will return (43:1–9). Like Jeremiah, Ezekiel calculates the time when the punishment of Israel and Judah will be complete (4:5–6).

c. Isaiah 40–55. The oracles of this unnamed prophet of the Exile (usually called "Second Isaiah") are devoted entirely to the good news of Israel's deliverance and the punishment of its captor, Babylon. Different from Jeremiah and Ezekiel, this text does not mention the return of the N tribes; central are Mother Zion and her children (51:17–52:3) and the anticipated restoration of Jerusalem (54:11–12), to which God now returns (40:2–5, 10–11).

As in all the earlier texts, the Exile is punishment for sin—now paid in full, indeed doubly (40:2). Thus the return is an act of divine justice, in which Yahweh sets things right with Judah, having also recompensed Babylon, the arrogant and idolatrous conqueror (chaps. 46–47; cf. Deut 32:26–43).

The notion that God's act of deliverance will replicate the past is elaborated as the essence of the text. Constitutive for Israel is the Exodus, which is described, however, in language that is at home in Genesis 1–2; God has "created," "formed," and "made" Israel. God's creation of Israel in the past is the guarantee of the coming salvation, which is depicted in heavily mythical language as a new Exodus led by God (52:11–12; 40:3–5, 9–11) and as a new creation in which the old dragon is conquered (51:9–11), the world is reshaped (40:4; 45:2), and the wilderness is made fertile like Eden (51:3; see also Isaiah 34–35, which derives from this prophet or a disciple). The former things that God did and declared of old are contrasted with the new things God creates and declares (49:3–7). In another metaphor Israel's vindication is described as the servant's resurrection from death (52:13–53:12; cf. Ezekiel 37). As in Jer 23:7–8, Yahweh's new act of salvation will vastly overshadow the old (Isa 43:18–19). One may debate how literally to interpret the prophet's mythical language about re-creation; however, the use of this imagery about the past to color the picture of the future indicates that a new beginning is clearly envisioned.

Although Second Isaiah frequently refers to Yahweh as king—a staple in Israelite royal ideology—these chaps. give no hint that the prophet expects a restoration of the Davidic dynasty. To the contrary, Cyrus is identified as Yahweh's anointed one (45:1), David is demoted to "a witness to the people, a leader and commander for the people" (55:4), and the everlasting covenant with David is democratized and applied to the nation as a whole (55:3).

Whereas earlier prophets were vague about the time of God's future act of judgment and Jeremiah and Ezekiel specified the time of its consummation, Second Isaiah takes the radical step of identifying God's great act of deliverance with a historical event, the rise of Cyrus, the king of Persia. The future has broken into the present.

d. Isaiah 56–66. A disciple of Second Isaiah (called "Third Isaiah") composed these oracles in Judea in the decades following the return from Babylon. The style, vocabulary, literary forms, and concerns of the master have been radically transformed by bitter disappointment; the oracles of hope and promise have not been fulfilled. In the place of Israel, God's "servant" and "chosen one," we hear of the "servants" and "chosen ones," who stand in opposition to the sinners (65:1–16), whose misdeeds in Jerusalem are catalogued at length (chaps. 56–59; 66:1–3). The situation is reflected in mixed oracles of salvation and judgment. In contrast to Second Isaiah's optimistic announcement of the imminent theophany and triumphant return to Jerusalem, this prophet confesses the sins of an impure people and desperately appeals for a theophany (63:15–64:12), in which Yahweh will come with fire and storm to execute judgment on "all flesh" (66:15–16; cf. Jer 25:30–33). This judgment is associated with God's creation of new heavens and a new earth (65:17; 66:22) and a new Jerusalem (65:18–25; see also chap. 60), in which the righteous will live to old age and enjoy the covenantal blessings in a world that will revert to the peace of Paradise (65:25). Like Second Isaiah there is no place

for a Davidic king in Israel's future; the prophet is the one who is anointed (61:1).

Essential to Third Isaiah's message is a sharp contrast between the present evil time, which will end in a universal judgment that will eradicate evil, and the creation of a new cosmos (heavens and earth) in which God's primordial intentions are realized. Although the prophet does not mention an "end" and a new "beginning," the contrast between the present and a future that returns to primordial beginnings seems to justify the term *eschatology*. The term *apocalyptic eschatology* (Hanson 1975) seems problematic, however. Third Isaiah's situation and message have clear parallels in the early apocalypses (see below, C.1); but Isaiah's message is not embodied in the form of a mediated and interpreted revelation (apocalypse), as is the case in the later works. To preserve this distinction, which is an important fruit of recent scholarship (see the articles on APOCALYPSES AND APOCALYPTICISM), it seems better to define Third Isaiah's eschatology as "dualistic," emphasizing the contrast and caesura between old and new, or as "mythical," highlighting the appeal to primordial beginnings.

e. Isaiah 24–27 ("The Isaiah Apocalypse"). This text is actually not an apocalypse but is a collection of prophetic materials of disputed date, placed variously between 500 B.C.E. and the 3d century. Several features are of significance. The description of a broken and disintegrated cosmos exceeds the mythical language of Isaiah 34. Against this background the prophet anticipates a divine judgment that will replicate the Deluge and eventually punish the rebellious hosts of heaven and kings of the earth (24:17–23). The finality of this judgment and of the concomitant punishment and salvation is indicated in the prediction of a resurrection of the righteous in 26:19. Although this could be a metaphor for national restoration (as in Ezekiel 37), the promise that God will swallow up death, the great swallower (25:8), suggests a finality that merits the term *eschatology*. In any case later authors will draw on these texts in Isaiah to inform their descriptions of a resurrection of those who are physically dead.

f. Haggai and Zechariah. These two Judean prophets agree and also significantly disagree with their contemporary, Third Isaiah. Haggai expresses his chagrin over the returnees' failure to rebuild the temple (1:2–6); and like Second and Third Isaiah he uses language of cosmic disturbance to describe the events that will attend its rebuilding (2:6–8), which he and Zechariah anticipate in the very near future. However, different from Second Isaiah and Third Isaiah, Haggai and Zechariah tie their hopes to the Davidide Zerubbabel, whom Zechariah identifies as "the Branch" predicted by Jeremiah (Zech 3:8; 6:12–13; cf. Jer 23:5) and whom Haggai identifies as God's servant and chosen one (2:23). Together with the anointed high priest Joshua, who will preside over the cult, Zerubbabel—like Solomon—will build the temple and sit on the royal throne (Zechariah 3; 6:9–14). Thus, different from Third Isaiah, both prophets see in the present situation and in known historical personages the imminent fulfillment of the exilic prophets' predictions of restoration and rebuilding.

4. The Legacy of Prophecy. The prophets of the 6th century created high expectations through their fantastic and sometimes heavily mythicized scenarios of the future. Among the staples in these scenarios (although they are not always present) were the return of the N and S dispersions; the glorious rebuilding of Jerusalem and its temple; the restoration of the Davidic dynasty and the united kingdom; the universal sovereignty of Yahweh, Yahweh's anointed one, and Yahweh's people; and the gathering of the nations to worship the one God.

The rise of Cyrus and the beginning of a return to Judah were seen as the beginning of the fulfillment of these prophecies and hopes. But the historical experience of the returnees clashed with their expectations, as is evident, for example, in the differences between Second Isaiah and Third Isaiah. As time passed, moreover, it must have become painfully evident that specific predictions had not been fulfilled as expected. Zerubbabel the Davidide disappeared from the scene; much of Israel and Judah remained in dispersion; the scenarios of a new, sinless, and peaceful creation were not being played out. Much of the substance of the divine promises, as enunciated by the prophets, was held in abeyance.

Further evidence for this state of affairs is provided by the 5th-century writings of Malachi, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The contrast between the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah and the oracle of Malachi could scarcely be greater. In Malachi the restored temple, cult, and priesthood are seen to be polluted (chaps. 1–2), and the people violate the Torah (3:5). As a result, the nation suffers the curses of the covenant. The prophet appeals for the repentance that will restore the divine blessings promised in Deuteronomy (Mal 3:6–12). Additionally, the prophet anticipates the epiphany of God's messenger (Malachi, "my messenger," 3:1; cf. Exod 23:20 for the angel of the Exodus), who will cleanse the priesthood, and then the appearance of Yahweh, who will judge between the righteous and the wicked (3:16–4:3). In a late appendix to the book, the messenger and preacher of repentance is identified as the ancient prophet Elijah (4:5–6).

The writings of Ezra and Nehemiah also reflect a critical assessment of the postexilic situation in Judah. The mixed marriages of priests and laity, as well as other sins, violate the Torah and have delayed a return of the covenantal blessing. Both books preserve extensive scenes and prayers of repentance and rededication to the Mosaic Torah (Ezra 9–10; Nehemiah 8–10). While this activity anticipates the return of God's favor, neither Ezra nor Nehemiah, nor indeed Malachi, suggests that the nation's future includes a place for the restored monarchy.

Although Malachi, Ezra, and Nehemiah did not appeal to prophetic scenarios as a source of hope, the optimistic promises of Israel's prophets were not lost and forgotten in the Persian period. To the contrary, the oracles were gathered and edited into written collections, which would emerge by ca. 200 B.C.E. as authoritative deposits of divinely inspired oracles. In the meantime the content of the promises was in the awareness of the collectors, although it is uncertain how these promises may have been mediated to the people. The Psalms, on the other hand, were used in public worship; and in the case of the royal psalms, their ideology and references to the eternal Davidic covenant would have been repeatedly impressed on the minds of the worshipping community. In the absence of a royal

incumbent, one would consider the promise to have been empty or to await fulfillment in the future.

Thus a substantial part of the texts that would eventually emerge as Israel's Scripture were considered to be a corpus that contained divine promises which provided a scenario that awaited fulfillment. *In the Torah* were the promises to the patriarchs and the future-oriented final chaps. of Deuteronomy; *in the prophets* there remained many specific unfulfilled prophecies; *in the psalms,* one found allusions to, or citations of, the royal oracles. The Jewish writings of the Greco-Roman period indicate that these texts were being read in this manner.

C. Jewish Writings of the Greco-Roman Period

Less than a century after the time of Ezra and Nehemiah other Jewish texts which would later be excluded from the Hebrew canon were being composed. Historically, we must consider their views about the future in continuity with texts that were later declared to be canonical.

1. Early Apocalyptic Writings. a. *1 Enoch* 1–35 and 85–105. The early strata of *1 Enoch* indicate significant points of continuity and contrast with the prophetic tradition in particular. First, these authors are aware of most of the texts that will constitute the Hebrew Scriptures. Second, because the fictive setting of these texts long antedates the time of the prophets, the authors never explicitly quote the prophets or employ the pattern of prophecy and fulfillment. Instead, they see in the prophetic texts a valid description of times still to come, and they weave the literary forms and the language of the prophetic texts into their own creations. Third, a major motif that runs through almost all the strata of *1 Enoch* is the coming of the great judgment. Fourth, this judgment forms a caesura between the present time, which is coming to an end, and the future, which constitutes a new beginning. In a clear and meaningful way, one can speak here of "eschatology"—teaching about the end. Finally, for all of their use of prophetic material and motifs, the Enochic texts have almost no place for a Davidic king in their scenarios of the future (the exception is probably 90:37–38).

Although the roots of the myths in chaps. 6–11 are lost in the mist of oral tradition, the present form of the myths was extant in the early 3d century B.C.E.; and the Šemiḥazah story, which forms the narrative framework for these chapters, must have had a viable function during the wars of the Diadochi, ca. 300 B.C.E. Several factors are central to the author's perception of his world: the violence of war threatens the existence of the human race and its environment; the earth (or the Holy Land) is ritually polluted; the revelation of arcane knowledge has broken the appointed boundary between heaven and earth. In a radical appeal to the primordial past, the author parallels the present time with the period before the Flood and posits a new judgment that will exterminate the whole human race, except a righteous remnant, who will begin a new creation. A cue for this idea appears already in Gen 9:1, where Noah and his family, as the first parents, are given essentially the same command (cf. Gen 1:28).

Two peculiarities characterize this author's use of the Genesis traditions. What Genesis places near the beginning of human history is here a transparent fiction for the present time; in this time one anticipates another, imminent end and, beyond it, a new beginning. The latter point is evident, above all, in *1 Enoch* 10. In the new creation that will appear after the judgment, all humanity including the gentiles will become righteous and worship the one God, all evil and defilement will be permanently banished, and blessing, truth, and peace will reign forever. This scenario is fleshed out through the use of language and motifs from Third Isaiah's picture of the new creation and new Jerusalem (Isaiah 65). Like Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who specified times for the end of Exile, the author of *1 Enoch* 6–11 speaks of "70 generations" until the consummation of the great judgment (10:12). The specification of the number suggests a predetermined scheme of ages between the primordial sin of the watchers with its first punishment in the Flood and the time of final judgment.

Several basic features of this text parallel Isaiah 24–27: a time of great evil and oppression that threatens the existence of humanity and the earth; a great judgment like the Flood (Isa 24:18–20); the earth's disclosure of shed blood (26:21); the punishment of the hosts of heaven and the kings of the earth and an extended period of imprisonment in the pit before the final punishment (24:21–22). This last feature, which is a function of *1 Enoch*'s real and fictional time references to primordial and present times, has no clear rationale in Isa 24:21–22. This, along with the other parallels, could indicate that the Isaianic author knew something like the Enochic myth.

According to the account of Enoch's call (chaps. 12–16), the death of the giants releases their ghosts as a host of evil spirits who plague humanity until their judgment and extinction at the end. Thus the postdiluvian world did not provide a new beginning with promise; it began a plague-ridden evil age which a just creator must eventually bring to an end. The promise of that end is guaranteed in a new way in chaps. 17–19; angels conduct Enoch on journeys across the earth, where he sees the places where the angelic sinners are already suffering punishment. A similar tour is recounted in chaps. 20–36, where Enoch sees places of eschatological import for the judgment and final salvation or punishment of human beings. In the segments in chaps. 24–27, Enoch sees the mountain of God and the tree of life, as well as the new Jerusalem, where, at the "consummation," the righteous will live long lives and the blasphemers will suffer in the valley of Hinnom. These visions are described in part with language that is drawn from Isaiah 65–66 (*1 En.* 25:5–6; 27:2–4; cf. Isa 65:18–22; 66:14, 24). Different from Third Isaiah, however, this author uses the form of an apocalypse—a guided tour for the primordial patriarch interpreted by an angel—to undergird the certainty of the oracle uttered by the prophet. Mythical eschatology has become apocalyptic mythical eschatology.

Chapters 1–5 were composed as an oracle to introduce chaps. 6–36 by focusing on the coming judgment of "all flesh." The literary form of the oracle, with alternating blessings and curses, is paralleled in the oracles of Third Isaiah, on the words of which it is often dependent. Different from the prophetic prototypes, its central section of wisdom material emphasizes the faithfulness of the nonhuman creation as a foil to the human sins that will be punished in the great judgment that will usher in a new creation. The notion of replication appears in 1:1, 3–4, 9,

which use the description of the Sinaitic theophany in Deut 33:1–2 to depict God's imminent appearance as judge. Similarly, 1:2–3 recasts the language of the Balaam oracle (Num 24:15–17) so that "Enoch" speaks "not for this generation, but concerning one that is distant . . . ," the time of the righteous and chosen. This fiction asserts that another ancient prophecy was uttered with a conscious view toward its fulfillment at the time of the great judgment of all flesh, which will usher in the new creation envisioned by Third Isaiah (*1 En.* 5:5–9; Isa 65:13–23).

For the author of the Epistle of Enoch (chaps. 92–105), the unrequited sins of the wicked and the related victimization of the righteous are cause for a great judgment, and the deeds and their judgment are described or implied through the use of traditional prophetic forms. The eschatological character of the real author's time and the expected judgment are indicated in the Epistle's superscription, which takes up the motif in 1:2; the patriarch addresses his sons but mainly "the latter generation who will observe truth and peace" (92:1). Characteristic of this time is the existence of the community of the righteous, who receive a revelation about the character of good and evil and their reward and punishment in the judgment (94:1–5; 104:12–13, a reprise of 92:1). This is explicit in the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1–10; 91:11–17), which places the revelation in the 7th week and a subsequent revelation to the gentiles in the 9th week (cf. 105:1–2), both in conjunction with a series of judgments that precede the renewal of the earth and the creation of new heavens. The symmetry of the apocalypse's 10 "weeks" or heptads suggests that the author has in mind a scheme similar to the 70 generations of chap. 10. The predetermined character of the scheme is implied by the prediction's fictive origin in primordial times and by the claim that Enoch's information was derived from heavenly tablets (93:2; see explicitly 81:1–4). Because Enoch mediates heavenly knowledge that was interpreted by angels, we may describe his eschatology as "apocalyptic." The deterministic character of Enoch's eschatology perhaps stands in tension with the epistle's assertions that the prayer of the righteous can trigger divine intervention (97:3–6; 99:3; 104:1–3). In any case the claim that the heavenly apparatus for judgment is already in motion (104:1–8) adds a note of imminence to the promises of judgment.

That the course of history is fixed and that the author's own time is the predetermined end time is expressed nowhere as clearly as in the Animal Vision (*1 Enoch* 85–90). Already in Enoch's time God revealed the events to come, which would culminate in a great final judgment. The primordial rebel watchers will be punished. There will be an end to the long-standing victimization of the Israelite flock by the gentile beasts and the more recent abuse by the 70 shepherds. The present pollution of the cult will cease as a new Jerusalem and temple are built by the God of Israel. To that Jerusalem the gentiles will come, to be subject to Israel; and the dead and dispersed of Israel will return. Then all of humanity, Jews and gentiles, will be transformed to their primordial purity and unity. In this explicit way the seer envisions the end as a return to the very beginning.

Like other parts of *1 Enoch,* this vision employs imagery known from the prophetic texts, especially Ezekiel 34, and the more general expectation of a new Jerusalem. But at one point the author appears to espouse the notion that the end time brings the fulfillment of prophecy. The scheme of 70 successive angelic shepherds, whose periods of influence conclude with the judgment and restoration of Jerusalem, appears to be an interpretation of Jeremiah's prediction of 70 years, which may have been reshaped by the totally different scheme of four kingdoms (see below).

b. Book of *Jubilees*. In this selective paraphrase of Genesis 1–Exodus 15, which purports to be a revelation given to Moses on Mt. Sinai, the author twice summarizes the history of Israel according to the schema of the latter chapters of Deuteronomy. Chapter 1 presents an overview of that history, from Sinai through the occupation of the land, and Israel's sin, and its punishment in the Exile, to the people's repentance and the return from the dispersion, and beyond that to the time of the new creation of the heavens and the earth. The summary in 23:11–31 focuses on the sins of postexilic Israel, which culminate in crisis of the Hellenistic period and specifically in the events of 200–150 B.C.E., during which time the book was composed. Repentance occurs when the people "begin to study the law and seek the commandments and return to the way of righteousness" (23:26), that is, when they discover, accept, and obey the Torah as expounded in *Jubilees' hălākâ* (specific legal prescriptions). Such obedience will lead to the renewal of the creation, which is briefly described in language drawn from Isaiah 65–66. In what way the author's view of the future is locked into a predetermined scheme of ages, or jubilees, is debated. However, the book is significant because Deuteronomy's categories of sin, punishment, repentance, and future salvation are interpreted in terms of the rejection and the return to a very specific understanding of the Torah. History, *hălākâ,* and eschatology are explicitly linked.

c. *Testament (Assumption) of Moses*. For this author history stretches from "the beginning of the creation of the world to the end of the age" (12:4), "the consummation of the end of days" (1:18). All the events of this history and their time frame (10:13) were foreseen by God from the foundation of the earth (12:4–5; 1:13–14). The notion of a real end is tied to the fulfillment of prophecy, which is expressed in the literary form of the book. Writing at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (ca. 168 B.C.E.) in the name of Moses, the author recasts the last chapters of Deuteronomy so that Moses foretells in detail the events of ca. 200–168 B.C.E., which time is identified as the consummation. Thus Moses' prophecy points to the end and provides a scheme for interpreting the events that lead up to it. The finality of imminent events is indicated in chap. 10, where history gives way to a mythical description of the judgment and its consequences. The agents of the judgment are a chief angel and the Deity rather than a human messiah. The sequence—angel and God—is reminiscent of Malachi. Associated with the judgment is the appearance of God's reign (or kingdom) throughout the creation; and after cosmic upheaval and the destruction of Israel's gentile enemies, Israel will be lifted up from earth to the heavenly, immortal realm of the stars. Thus a historical caesura is combined with a cosmic one. The notion of a new creation of heaven and earth is replaced by a division between

earth, turned into the place of punishment, and heaven, the realm of salvation (10:9–10).

d. The Book of Daniel. The eschatological ideas in the *Testament of Moses* appear also in the various strata of the contemporary apocalypse, the book of Daniel. Both Nebuchadnezzar's dream about the colossus (chap. 2) and Daniel's night vision (chap. 7) depict a succession of four kingdoms that will end with God's judgment and the inception of God's universal reign. In chap. 7 the bearer of that reign is a high angel—one who looks "like a Son of Man"—whose heavenly exaltation is simultaneous with the beginning of the everlasting earthly preeminence of Israel, "the people of the holy ones of the Most High" (7:7–14, 26–27). That the details of history are, allegedly, foreseen is evident in the extensive revelation which the angel gave to Daniel in the Exile, forecasting events up to the time of the author (chaps. 10–12). As in the *Testament of Moses,* these events, described in prose, give way to a poetic description of the judgment and its consequences (12:1–3). These verses, presuming the scenario in *1 Enoch* 24–27, allude to the long life of the righteous in the new Jerusalem and to the ongoing contempt to be heaped on the apostates. A decisive break between historical events and that future is indicated by the references to resurrection (12:2) and to the exaltation of the righteous leaders of the community into the realm of the stars (12:3). Although the fulfillment of prophecy does not structure the form of the book, the Deuteronomistic scheme of sin-punishment-repentance-salvation appears in chap. 9 (vv 4–19). Israel's present plight and its future resolution are related to both Moses' prophecy in Deuteronomy and Jeremiah's prophecy about 70 years (9:2, 11–13). Jerusalem is desolate because the people are suffering the covenantal curses foretold by Moses. The length of their period of punishment is calculated through a reinterpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy; 70 weeks of years (490 years) must pass between Manasseh's sin and the restoration of Jerusalem (cf. *1 Enoch* 85–90). Like the *Testament of Moses,* Daniel's revelation has been recorded in order to be revealed at the end time (12:9; cf. *T. Moses* 1:17–18).

e. Parables of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 37–71). This longest of the sections of *1 Enoch* was probably composed in the decades preceding the turn of the era. Its central and all-pervasive theme is the great judgment that will befall "the kings and the mighty," the gentile rulers who are oppressing "the righteous and the chosen." The time of that judgment is tied to an invasion of Israel by the Parthians and Medes (56:5), although the only indication given for the source of this prophecy is the pseudonymous revelation itself. In God's scheme, however, the time is related to the predetermined number of the righteous who must die (47:4). The agent of God's judgment is a transcendent figure who combines the attributes and functions of the Davidic king, Second Isaiah's servant of Yahweh, and Daniel's "one like a Son of Man." Although the author never uses terms like *last, latter,* and *end* in a temporal sense, the events described clearly constitute the end of the present time and the beginning of a new and permanent order. Narrative material about Noah provides a paradigm for the coming judgment (54:7–55:2; 60:1–10; 65–68). Constitutive in the judgment will be a resurrection of the dead (51; 61:1–5), after which the righteous and chosen will dwell on a newly created earth, from which the sinners have been permanently expelled to the darkness and torture of Sheol (38; 45; 50; 58; 54; 63). Although fulfillment of prophecy cannot be an explicit category in this pseudonymous text, the language of Third Isaiah is evident; and the heavenly Chosen and Anointed One is seen as the referent of biblical descriptions (understood as prophecies) of the Davidic king and the Servant of the Lord. Just as important, this author is a bearer and transformer of the traditions generated in the names of Enoch and Daniel.

2. Tobit, Sirach, and Baruch. The fulfillment of prophecy is an explicit category in three texts that are normally categorized as "wisdom" writings. The earliest of these is the book of Tobit (3d century B.C.E.). The central tale about the suffering and healing of Tobit and Sarah is recounted within the context of the broader saga of the Exile and dispersion, which constitute a problem to be resolved in the future, when the nation's chastisement is removed by God's mercy. This future salvation has been predicted by the prophets, whose words await fulfillment in their time (14:5; cf. v 4). The succession of events forecast in 14:4–7, with its remarkable parallels to the Apocalypse of Weeks (*1 Enoch* 93:1–10; 91:11–17), reflects a kind of determinism usually associated with apocalyptic thought rather than Wisdom Literature. Similarly, the language of 14:5 suggests that the times are fixed, although—different from some of the apocalypticists—this author does not indicate that the times themselves have been revealed to human beings. Tobit's scenario for the future culminates in the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple to their former glory, an event which is described in language drawn from Third Isaiah but not ascribed to "Isaiah." Because this restoration is seen to be permanent (13:10; 14:5), one may properly speak of Tobit's eschatology. Consonant with Tobit's dependence on Third Isaiah is the omission of any reference to a restoration of the Davidic dynasty.

For Joshua Ben Sira (*floruit* 198–175 B.C.E.), the prophets are an important group among Israel's heroes (Samuel, Nathan, Elijah and Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve; 46:13–20; 47:1; 48:1–14, 22–25; 49:6–10). Although they spoke primarily to their own situations, they uttered predictions that were shown to be trustworthy (46:15; 49:6). Isaiah, however, "saw the latter things (*ʾhryt*), and comforted those who mourned in Zion, [and] revealed what would happen forever (*ʿd ʿwlm*) and the hidden things before they came to be" (48:24–25). This brief summary of Second and Third Isaiah reflects the notion that the prophets forecast hidden events that still lie in the future. Similarly, the prayer preserved in 36:1–7 laments the Jews' subjugation to the nations, the dispersion, and the present state of Jerusalem; and it awaits the return of God's glory. Thus the sage appeals to God to fulfill the ancient prophecies and thus to reward those who wait for God to vindicate the trustworthiness of the prophets (36:15–16). Ben Sira's scenario of the future includes the reappearance of Elijah, who will calm God's wrath, bring repentance to Israel, and restore the dispersion (48:10; cf. Mal 4:5–6). He also anticipates a restoration of the Davidic dynasty, in keeping with the eternal covenant with David (47:11, 22). By associating this covenant with the priestly covenant with

Phinehas (45:24–25; cf. Num 26:10–13), Ben Sira indicates a conscious pairing of the anointed priest and king, first indicated in Zech 4:14 and later developed in the Qumran Scrolls (see below).

Like Tobit, Baruch is a pseudepigraphic text (probably from the 2d century B.C.E.) that is deeply impressed with the problem of exile and that construes the future in terms of a restoration of Zion. Speaking in the Jeremianic tradition, "Baruch," in the context of prayers that parallel Dan 9:4–19, describes the Exile as realization of the curses that Moses had predicted in Deuteronomy (Bar 1:20; 2:2, 28). But following the scenario in Deuteronomy and the prophecy in Jer 29:10–14; 31:31–34, he anticipates that God's mercy will appear and an everlasting covenant will be made when the people repent in the land of their exile (2:30–35). Identifying Torah as divinely given Wisdom, the author interweaves a traditional wisdom poem (cf. Sirach 24) with the diction of Deut 28–33 (3:9–4:8). The last two chapters employ the language and imagery of Second and Third Isaiah to describe the return of Zion's children and the glorification of Jerusalem (4:9–5:9).

3. The Qumran Scrolls. The collections of texts found at Qumran include works of diverse origin, date, and genre. Some antedate the founding of the community in the mid-2d century B.C.E.; others of later origin may have been brought to Qumran by new members. Although the presence of such texts may indicate what was considered to be compatible with the sect's religious thought and practice, one must exercise caution in using them as evidence for the group itself. Moreover, even the texts that were probably composed by members of the sect do not provide a single witness. They are of diverse authorship and were written over a period of perhaps a century and a half, and they do not clearly speak with one voice on major issues. Finally, of special significance is the evident fact that the Qumranites themselves authored few, if any, apocalypses—the genre that self-consciously presents detailed scenarios of the future.

These difficulties and cautions notwithstanding, it is possible to identify some texts that seem to reflect a coherent sense of how their authors understood their community to be a unique phenomenon of the end time; and it is useful to indicate some points at which these texts agree and diverge in their pictures of the future.

a. Structure of the Ages and God's Foreknowledge. God's foreknowledge of historical events and human deeds and God's foreordination of the structure of the ages are a common topic, expressed in stereotyped language, in at least five Qumran texts: 1QS 3–4; CD 2:3–10; 1QH 1:7–8, 23–25; 4Q180 1; and 1QpHab 7. According to the *Rule of the Community*, "the God of Knowledge" established (*kwn*) the shape of all things before they came to be and appointed (*śym*) two spirits to govern humanity (3:13–16). He has also set a fixed time or end for the existence of perversity (*ntn qṣ*) (4:18). The *Damascus Document* (CD) also ascribes "knowledge" to God (CD 2:3) and then expounds the idea: God knew human deeds before they were created, and God knew the times of their coming and the exact length of their times for all ages (2:9–10). The first column of the *Hymn Scroll*, which may depend on 1QS 3–4, describes God's foreknowledge of human deeds before creation (1QH 1:7–8) and God's creative activity, including the apportionment of the two spirits (1:15–20). Human deeds and the times of their accomplishment, moreover, "are engraved before you on a written reminder" (*ḥqwq lpnykh bḥrt zkrwn*, 1:23–24). The language presumes the existence of written tablets that stand in God's presence. The same notion is evident in 4Q180 1 ("the Ages of Creation"), where the tablets are said to contain a record of the successive ages (*qṣ*) that God has established for the orderly structuring of human history. The commentary on Habakkuk presumes a similar notion: "all the ages (*qṣ*) of God come to their fixed place (*tkwnh*) as he has decreed (or "inscribed," *ḥqq*) them in the mysteries of his wisdom" (1QpHab 7:13–14).

Although these assertions are not made in accounts of revelatory visions, their content parallels the pseudepigraphic historical apocalypses attributed to Enoch and Daniel, as well as Enoch's vision of the heavenly tablets in *1 En.* 81:1–3. The claim of revelation is also present. According to 1QpHab 7:1–5 God "did not make known" to Habakkuk "the end of the age" (*gmr ḥqṣ*), but God did "make known" to the Teacher of Righteousness "all the secrets of his servants the prophets." Similarly, according to 1QH 1:21, "these things I know through your wisdom because you have opened my ears to your marvelous secrets." In the same vein 4Q180 appears to have been an interpretation (*pšr*) of an authoritative text that laid out the structure and length of the ages, perhaps according to a scheme similar to the Enochic Apocalypse of Weeks (Milik 1976: 251–55).

b. The Community's Place in the Last Times. The scrolls widely attest the belief that the Qumran Community was living in the last part of the ages that God had predetermined and created. This belief is reflected in the authors' terminology ("latter generation[s]," "latter days," "latter age," "the age is consummated"), and it is bound up with the conviction that the prophetic oracles described this latter time.

(1) The Qumran Commentaries. This conviction is explicit in the commentaries on the prophets and the Psalms—which are also considered to be prophetic. Running sections of text are quoted and then followed by interpretations that show how the text foretold in detail specific events in the life of the sect. The theory underlying this type of interpretation is spelled out in the exposition of Hab 2:1–2 (1QpHab 7:1–5). Prophecy refers to the last times; the "when" of those times was a "secret" the interpretation of which was revealed to the Teacher. The theory is applied throughout the commentaries, as their authors, following the tradition of the master, see prophecy unfolding in their communal life, which is by definition set in the latter generations.

(2) The *Damascus Document* (CD). Although this text is not a historical apocalypse, it frequently refers to the passing of time and to certain termini which are denoted by the conjunction "until" (*ʿd*). The historical context of the rise of the Qumran community is located in the latter times and associated with the fulfillment of prophecy. Four passages make basically the same point.

In CD 1:1–2:1 the beginnings of the sect are placed at the end of "the age of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after [God] delivered" Israel to Nebuchadnezzar (1:5–6). When the period of punishment predicted in

Ezek 4:5 is completed, in a time of wickedness and apostasy described in Hos 4:1–6 and Isa 30:10–13, God initiates a new beginning by causing a root to spring up from Aaron and Israel—a remnant who repent of their sin and seek (*drš*) God with their whole heart (1:10; Jer 29:13). To this "latter generation" (1:11–12) God sends "a Teacher of Righteousness" to reveal God's way (cf. Isa 30:19–20).

In 3:9–5:19 the author focuses again on the span between the Exile and the rise of the community in the end of days, before the age is consummated (*šlym hqṣ*). It is a time of terrible evil instigated by Belial and marked particularly by fornication, the abuse of wealth, and the profanation of the temple. God makes a covenant with the community and reveals to them the hidden things of the Torah, especially laws about the observance of the Sabbaths and feasts.

A similar collocation of ideas occurs in CD 5:20–6:19, which finds its scenario in Num 21:18; Amos 9:11; and Isa 54:16. The men of Aaron and Israel, "the converts of Israel," have left Judah and the profaned temple in order to sojourn in "the land of Damascus," where they enter the new covenant during "the time of wickedness." To them comes "the interpreter [lit. "seeker"] of the Torah," who may or may not be identical with "the one who teaches righteousness at the end of days." They dig the well of the Torah (cf. 3:16–17), taking heed particularly of purity regulations and the right observance of the Sabbaths and feasts.

An explicit reference to Amos 5:26–27, the source of the references to "the land of Damascus," appears in CD 7:13–21, where "the Interpreter of the Law" is said to be followed by "the prince of the whole congregation," evidently the Anointed One of Judah (Num 24:17).

The last part of this time span is perhaps referred to in CD 19:35–20:1 and 20:13–22—the 40 years (20:15) between the death of "the Teacher of the Community" and the coming of "the Anointed One of Aaron and Israel" (20:1) and, evidently, the great judgment (20:17–22; cf. Mal 3:16–18), when God's glory will be manifest (20:25–26).

In summary, the prophets foretold a latter time, in which God would create a remnant of penitents, to whom would be revealed the right understanding of the Torah. This they would obey (though not without periods of lapse) during a period of unmitigated wickedness, which would conclude with the appearance of the Messiah and with God's visitation of the earth (7:9; 8:2). Beyond that judgment were the ultimate punishment of the wicked (2:5–6) and eternal or long life for the righteous (3:20).

(3) The *Rule of the Community*. In 1QS 8:1–9:11 the community is also placed in an eschatological context. Employing language from Isaiah 28, with its indictment of the rulers of Jerusalem and its announcement of the new cornerstone to be laid in Zion (v 16), the author describes "the council of the community" as a temple that will atone for the land and as the chosen of God's good will (the servant of Isa 42:1), who will function as witnesses and agents of God at the judgment (cf. *1 En.* 93:10). In the meantime they have separated themselves from the wicked to devote themselves to "the study [lit. "the searching"] of the Torah" (*midraš hattôrâ*, 8:15), in keeping with the prophecy in Isa 40:3–5. This situation will continue "until there shall come the prophet and the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel" (9:11). As in the *Damascus Document* (CD), the community is composed of converts who have "entered the covenant" and live in accordance with the right and revealed interpretation of the Torah during the time of Belial's dominion (1:1–3:12; 5:1–20).

c. The Community as the Present Locus of Eternal Life. Since the Qumranites' particular observance of the Torah is based on an eschatological revelation, they can speak of the community as the locus of eschatological covenantal blessings. Several texts in the *Hymn Scroll* employ such a rhetoric (1QH 3:19–38; 6:1–7:5; 11:3–14). Outside the community is the sphere of death and damnation, where one is subject to the eschatological fury of Belial. When one enters the community, one is raised from the destructive Pit (Sheol) to a heavenly height and from dust and worms to the knowledge of God and the company of the angels. Thus entrance into the covenant (1QS 1–2, 5) is here construed as a resurrection from death to the life that is normally placed after the great judgment.

d. The Tension Between Present and Future. The eschatological quality of life in the community does not eliminate the reality of evil in the present time. Even for the authors of the hymns, the consummation lies in the future, as is evident in a number of stylized passages in the *Hymn Scroll* (1:21–23; 3:23–28; 4:29–40; cf. 1QS 11:9–22). The problem is stated in anthropological terms. Although the sectarian has been justified by God and has received the knowledge that saves, he continues to exist as "flesh" and "dust." This notion is explicated in the two-ways section of the *Rule of the Community*, which emphasizes the future dimension of eschatology (1QS 3:13–4:26). Although the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness are subject to the respective dominions of the Prince of Light and the Angel of Darkness, the evil spirit wars against the Angel of Light even in the hearts of the "Sons of Light" (1QS 3:21–24). The respective rewards and punishments of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness, described in language found in some of the apocalypses (eternal life, unending light, the garments of majesty; punishing angels, torture in the flames and dark regions of Sheol), lie in the future (4:15–26). At the time which God has determined for the judgment, those who have been chosen for the everlasting covenant will be purified and given the primordial glory of Adam, and evil and the Angel of Darkness will be definitively annihilated. Until then the battle continues.

e. The Future in Qumranic Eschatologies. Although it is not appropriate to conflate details from the many Qumranic documents into a single detailed picture of the future, a few items call for comment.

(1) The *War Scroll*. A common feature in Jewish writings is the contest between angelic attorneys or chieftains (Nickelsburg 1972). The judicial nature of this contest, attested as early as Zechariah 3, is almost always present in later texts. Increasingly, however, the setting becomes the final judgment, and the opponents are depicted as chieftains of warring armies of angels and demons. This opposition is fundamental in *Jubilees* and the *Melkî-ṣedek*/*Melkî-rešaʿ* documents—both found at Qumran—and is central to the two-ways section of the *Rule of the Community*. All of these texts feature a dualism that makes human beings the point

of contention between opposing angelic chieftains and their benevolent or demonic hordes.

This battle's culmination in the final judgment is the focus of the *War Scroll,* the seven Qumran copies of which indicate its significance for the sect's eschatology. The setting is the End, and the judgment is enacted in a great war, in which the sectarians are co-opted as major functionaries. The scroll's viewpoint stands in an ambiguous relationship with the Enochic writings and the book of Daniel. The warfare between angelic armies parallels Daniel 10–12, but the notion of human participation conflicts with Daniel's more pacifist viewpoint. A military interpretation of angelic activity is less evident in *1 Enoch,* but the Epistle of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 92–105) does espouse such an ideology, and the final form of the Animal Vision (chaps. 85–90) celebrates the activities of Judas Maccabeus.

(2) Messianic and Non-messianic Eschatological Figures. Traditional Christian categories have led scholars to generate a plethora of literature on Qumranic "messianism." What is striking is the variety that, on present evidence, escapes clear and certain categorization and chronological definition. Yet a few tendencies are evident.

Three texts tie their hope of a future Davidic king to biblical prophecy. Thus 4QPBless interprets Gen 49:10 with reference to Jeremiah's prophecy about the "Righteous Branch," who will sit on the Davidic throne in accordance with the covenant recorded in 2 Sam 7:13. A commentary on Isaiah 11 sees in that passage a prediction of the Davidide, "who will arise at the end of [days] and rule over all [the nations] . . . and . . . execute judgment on [all] the peoples (4Q161). The "Florilegium" (4Q174) also interprets 2 Sam 7:13–14 of the "Branch of David who will arise with the Interpreter of the Law . . . and . . . save Israel." To this is added an interpretation of Ps 2:1, referring it to the eschatological battle against the elect ones of Israel. These texts emphasize the king's function as ruler, but also as judge and as Israel's military deliverer from its enemies.

Alongside these texts, which *focus on* the future Davidic king, a significant group of texts *presume* a more complex messianism. Twice, and perhaps three times, the *Damascus Document* (CD) cites the coming of the anointed one of Aaron and Israel as a terminus for the end of the present age ("until the anointed one . . . arises" [*ʿd ʿmwd mšyḥ*]; 20:1; 12:23–13:1; 14:19). A similar formula occurs in 1QS 9:11, which mentions two anointed ones, of Aaron and Israel, along with "the prophet." The triad of prophet, king, and priest (along with their opponent) is presumed in the Testimonium (4Q175) and is tied to Deut 18:18–19; Num 24:15–17; Deut 33:8–11. The first addition to the *Rule of the Community* (1QSa) anticipates two anointed figures who will be present in the community in the last days. In none of this group of texts are the functions of the messianic figures spelled out; it is sufficient to cite their arrival as a highly significant event of the end time.

This Qumranic messianism must be placed in the context of the community's eschatological self-understanding. Because the rise of the community is itself an event of the end time, the Teacher and the other figures mentioned in the *Damascus Document* (CD) are also viewed as eschatological figures of soteriological significance. Their role is to elicit the repentance and obedience that will enable the members of the community to survive the divine judgment that separates the righteous and the wicked. In this sense they are analogous to the messenger of the Lord in Malachi.

Commentators on the scrolls have often noted that the rich collection of Enochic literature at Qumran contains no single ms of the Book of Parables. Also lacking therefore is the transcendent judge and deliverer who dominates this text, the Chosen One, Son of Man, and Anointed One. What is usually not noted, however, is the prominence of another angelic figure, who appears in a number of the scrolls, exercising functions elsewhere attributed to priest and king. In 11QMelch, *Melkî-ṣedeq,* who is evidently identified with Michael, is the opponent of Belial and carries out military and priestly roles. In 4QAmram he is the judicial opponent of *Melkî-rešaʿ.* This military and judicial opposition parallels the Michael-Satan antagonism in the *War Scroll.* The quotation of Isa 52:7; 61:2–3; and evidently Dan 9:25 in 11QMelch may indicate that the term "anointed one," used in that text, does in fact designate a heavenly deliverer, as in the Parables of Enoch. On the other hand, this group of texts ascribes to an angelic figure the kind of eschatological functions attributed to the Davidic king in, e.g., the *Psalms of Solomon* (below C.5). In spite of all the Qumranic references to the anointed one(s) of Aaron and Israel, none of the texts that feature Michael and *Melkî-ṣedeq* (except 1QS, where the Prince of Light has primarily ethical functions) makes reference to an eschatological Davidic king or anointed priest.

(3) The New Jerusalem. Although the Qumranites indicate considerable disenchantment with Jerusalem and its priesthood, the scrolls contain no major references to the future transformation of the holy city in the tradition of texts like Sirach 36 and Tobit 14. Nevertheless, a few hints of such an idea appear. The commentary on Ps 37:21–22 anticipates the time when "the congregation of the Poor . . . will possess the high mountain of Israel . . . and will enjoy [everlasting] delights in his sanctuary" (4Q171 3:11). The reference is noteworthy because the psalm itself does not mention Jerusalem. The idea of a purified Jerusalem also appears in one of the noncanonical psalms in 11QPs^{a} 22. A detailed visionary description of the new Jerusalem in the tradition of Ezekiel 40–48 has also been found (5Q15). These texts notwithstanding, the eschatologically oriented passages in the scrolls are noteworthy, by and large, for their silence about the restoration of Jerusalem. On the other hand, in the spirit of 1QS 8, a commentary on Isa 54:11 interprets language about Jerusalem and its walls to refer to the community and its leaders (4Q164). Perhaps the hope for a restoration was satisfactorily met in such texts as *1 Enoch* and Tobit, which are preserved among the scrolls.

4. 1 and 2 Maccabees. The two historical texts that describe the events of the mid-2d century B.C.E. employ traditional future-oriented material in special ways that reflect the authors' situations and purposes. For both, but in radically different ways, prophecy has been fulfilled and God's future activity is anticipated.

According to 1 Macc 1:64; 2:49 the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes is an expression of God's wrath over the apostasy of the hellenizers who have forsaken covenant and Torah (1:11–61). This wrath is turned aside when

Mattathias and his family obey the commandments, when the zealous Mattathias follows the example of Phinehas and exacts punishment on an idolatrous Israelite (2:19–26; Num 25:1–13), and when Judas takes up his father's command to repay the gentiles (2:68; 3:8). Thus the Hasmonean house has shown itself to be "the family of those men through whom deliverance was given to Israel" (5:62) as well as rightful high priestly dynasty in the succession of Phinehas. For this advocate of the Hasmoneans, God's turn from wrath to mercy is effected by militant human action; and as in Numbers 25 and Exod 32:25–29, this equips one for priestly service. Writing early in the 1st century B.C.E., the author believes that he lives in the time of blessing that follows repentance from apostasy. Thus the hymn in praise of Simon (14:4–15), which is a veritable pastiche of prophetic clichés, strongly suggests that the time of fulfillment of the prophecies of Israel's glory had begun in the years of Simon's rule. The covenantal blessings now rest on Israel, and the high priesthood and the title of "king" are legitimately the possession of the Hasmoneans. In such a context it is deemed unnecessary and inappropriate to mention the future consummation of a new covenant, the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, and the rise of a new and righteous high priest. Of course, 4:46 and 14:41 refer to "a (trustworthy) prophet" who may change things in the future. However, since the Hasmoneans would have a say in judging the trustworthiness of such a prophet, there is a certain safety in their openness to future change in the high priestly dynasty.

The author of 2 Maccabees orders the events of ca. 200–165 B.C.E. according to the pattern of Deuteronomy 28–32 (2 Maccabees 3–15). The action focuses on the sanctuary: God protects it during the righteous reign of Onias (chap. 3); the sins committed in it lead to its desolation and the punishment of the people (5:15–20); the repentant actions of the martyrs facilitate the turning of God's wrath to mercy (7:1–8:5) and the restoration of the cult (10:1–8); in this new situation the temple is again under divine protection (chaps. 14–15). In their use of the Deuteronomic cycle, 2 Maccabees and the *Testament of Moses* are noteworthy for their similarities and their differences. Both authors explicitly impose the cycle on the same set of events, and for both, Moses' promise of deliverance from the curse is effected by the act of repentant obedience which occurs in the martyrs' passive acceptance of unjust death. However, different from the *Testament,* which anticipates future salvation through cosmic upheaval and divine epiphany, 2 Maccabees finds the fulfillment of the last stage of the cycle in the past historical events connected with the victories of Judas Maccabeus. In contrast with the propagandistic author of 1 Maccabees, this writer makes pejorative comments in connection with Simon's activity (10:20; 14:15–17) and gives no indication of accepting the perpetual legitimacy of the Hasmonean dynasty.

References to the future appear in two places. In the second letter preceding the historical account, the author cites a pseudo-Jeremianic account about the burial of the temple furnishings until a new time of God's mercy, when the people are gathered and glory returns to the sanctuary as at the time of Moses (and Solomon) (2:4–8). Thus a pseudonymous tradition is accepted as a genuine prophecy that awaits fulfillment. The second set of allusions to the future occurs in chap. 7 with reference to the resurrection of the seven brothers and their mother. Although God's mercy returns to Israel in the events that follow their deaths, they themselves must be vindicated for their faithfulness to the Torah. This notion is expressed through the use of three motifs from Second Isaiah: creation and redemption, the vindication of the Suffering Servant of the Lord, and the return of the children of Mother Zion. Through the use of this last motif, the author denotes a metaphoric fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy, alongside the literal fulfillment indicated in chap. 2. Although this work shows no love for the priestly and royal pretensions of the Hasmoneans, its scenario for the future time reflects no expectation for a revival of the Davidic dynasty. This is consonant with other texts in the tradition of Second and Third Isaiah.

5. Messianism and Resurrection (*Psalms of Solomon*). Written in the mid-1st century B.C.E., Psalms 2 and 8 of this collection agree with the Qumranic *Damascus Document* (CD) and Habakkuk Commentary that the Hasmonean high priests have polluted the sanctuary (*Pss. Sol.* 2:3; 8:11–13). *Psalms of Solomon* 17:5–6 goes beyond the scrolls in criticizing the Hasmoneans' usurpation of the Davidic throne, and it interprets their expulsion by Pompey as divine punishment for this arrogance (17:4–10). Like the authors of 4QPBless and the Florilegium, this writer cites the eternal covenant with David, here interpreted as an oath (cf. Ps 89:3–4), as the basis for his criticism of the Hasmoneans and his hope for a restoration (17:4, 21). The major part of the psalm (vv 21–43) is a description of the activities of the future "son of David" (v 21), "the anointed one [of] the Lord" (v 32; cf. 18:5, 7). The description is expressed in terminology drawn from Ps 2:9 (17:23–24; cf. 18:7); Isaiah 11 (17:24–25, 35–37; cf. 18:7–8); and Ezekiel 34 (17:40), which are read together as a prophetic scenario to be played out in the future. To the normal military, ruling, and judicial functions appropriate to the future king are added others that may indicate priestly functions: the cleansing of Jerusalem (vv 30, 45) and, perhaps, teaching (v 43; cf. Ps 19:7–10). In addition, the time of the king is associated with the return of the dispersion and reordering of the tribes, who are described in language reminiscent of Isaiah 60 and Ezekiel 40–48 (vv 31, 28). This use of Trito-Isaiah is unusual in a Davidic passage, but it occurs also in *Pss. Sol.* 11. Different from Qumran and the apocalypticists, the authors of these psalms do not claim to know the time of the restoration, which has been fixed by God (17:21).

The resurrection of the righteous to eternal life and the eternal destruction of the wicked (*Pss. Sol.* 3, 13, 14, 15) are an aspect of the eschatology of the *Pss. Sol.* that is never directly associated with their messianism, possibly because they are not functions of the retributive judgment against the enemies which is associated with the coming Davidic king (Nickelsburg 1972: 131–34). Chronologically, the resurrection is placed at the time of God's judgment, when God visits the earth, the day of mercy for the righteous (15:12–13; 14:9). How this is associated with the day of God's mercy at the time of the future king (17:45; 18:9) is unclear (for a similar duplication of terminology in 2 Maccabees, see above).

6. Immortality in Heavily Hellenistic Texts. A group

of thoroughly Hellenistic Jewish texts, possibly all from the 1st century C.E., express a view of immortality that is largely disconnected from the explicit future orientation of most Jewish speculation about a resurrection of the dead. For more details, see RESURRECTION. These texts reflect the typical eschatological concern that God bring to an end death, mortality, and other related human conditions, but that end is usually not associated with a particular future point in history.

a. The Wisdom of Solomon 1–6. The primary example in this treatise on the certainty of divine justice is the case of the persecuted righteous one, who is vindicated when he is exalted in heaven over against his rich and powerful enemies. The precise moment of this post-mortem scene is uncertain because such chronological matters are irrelevant to the author (Nickelsburg 1972: 88–89). Immortality is the *present* possession of the righteous, although it will reach its fruition in God's presence after "they seem to have died" (3:2). Conversely, what the author calls "death" *already* characterizes the wicked and foreshadows their future annihilation. This radicalization of eschatology, while it may be compatible with a Greek notion of immortality, closely parallels the viewpoint of certain of the Qumran hymns.

A temporal historical dimension is not totally absent in Wisdom. The wicked can be punished during their lifetimes (3:10–13, 16–19), and God exacts judgment in historical time and through the forces of the creation. Rulers may be toppled from their thrones or receive divine support, depending on the justice or injustice of their rule (5:17–6:21). One eschatological motif is notably, but not surprisingly, absent in this pseudo-Solomonic text allegedly addressed to kings and rulers. The use of Psalm 2 notwithstanding, the central figure in the text—although he is associated with eschatological functions—is not a future Davidic king, but a righteous spokesman of God patterned after Second Isaiah's servant of Yahweh. See SON OF MAN.

b. *The Testament of Job.* Because Job, here the king of Egypt, has obeyed God's voice and destroyed an idolatrous temple, he becomes the victim of Satan. In this patently unjust situation, the significant soteriological axis is vertical—between earth, where Job is reproached because he has been toppled from his throne into a living death, and heaven, the realm of immortality, where Job's eternal throne is already established as the vindication of his righteousness (chaps. 32–33). Aspects of the narrative recall Wisdom's description of the righteous one (Nickelsburg 1981: 269, n. 35). The vertical dimension is emphasized also when Job distributes to his daughters the magical apparatus that enables them to transcend the things of this world and sing the angelic hymns (chaps. 46–52). In the context of this vertically oriented eschatology, where one participates on earth in the immortal blessings of heaven, there is no place for the horizontal axis of a historically oriented eschatology. Even the bodily resurrection of Job's first children (whatever the literary history of chaps. 39–40) is an accomplished fact rather than a future event of the eschaton.

c. *Joseph and Aseneth.* Different from Wisdom and the *Testament of Job*, life and death are not treated here in a discussion of theodicy (although 4:12–6:7 recalls Wisdom 2 and 5). Rather, through her conversion from idolatry, Aseneth is brought from the realm of death to life, immortality, and incorruptibility. Her physical transformation attests that she is now qualified to marry Joseph, the son of God. Different from the Qumran hymns, where the ordinary Israelite's entrance into the sect brings one from the realm of death to the sphere of salvation and eternal life, here the conversion that confers immortality brings a gentile idolatress into the family of the God of Israel; and the wife of the son of God is seen as the mother of future converts to Judaism.

d. *4 Maccabees.* This hellenized reworking of 2 Maccabees 7 is noteworthy for its concept of immortality. This state, if it is not already present in the earthly life of the righteous, is conferred at the moment of death, which is the eschaton for individuals. There is no need for a future consummation.

7. Writings Associated with the Destruction of Jerusalem. Four major works survive from the time of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E.: *2 Baruch*, *2 Ezra*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, and the *Book of Biblical Antiquities* (Pseudo-Philo). For all of them, contemporary events constitute a crisis of theodicy, and each addresses the problem, using its own nuances to reshape earlier Jewish eschatological traditions. Here we discuss three of these works.

a. *2 Baruch.* Like its sister apocalypse, *4 Ezra*, this work employs a fictional setting at the time of Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of Jerusalem as a paradigm for the Jews' situation after 70 C.E. The problems of theodicy are worked out through a series of conversations or debates between the seer and God, which make the following points. The present situation indicates that the Jews are being justly punished for their sins. Nonetheless, their gentile conquerors are guilty of greater sins; and their victory over the covenant people is a paradoxical contrast to the divine punishment that they themselves deserve. Moreover, if Israel's plight continues, the people will be denied the privileges of their covenantal status. Thus the present situation massively contradicts the axiom of divine justice and offers a classic opportunity for the solution offered by the varieties of Jewish thought about the future.

The author's answers are difficult to schematize and harmonize, because he has assembled traditions whose views of the future stand in tension and even contradiction with one another if they are taken literally. Nevertheless, some general lines are clear. The solution to the present lies in the future, often designated as "the latter (or last) times," or "in the consummation of the times." God's "chastisement" in the present will be alleviated through God's salvation in the future (1:5; 13:10; cf. Tobit). Chapters 49–52 and 53–74 contrast present and future according to two traditional paradigms. The discussion of the resurrection (chaps. 49–52) employs a vertical axis, contrasting this world and its bodies bound to corruption with the heavenly world of incorruption reserved for the transformed bodies of the resurrected righteous. Chapters 53–74 are an extensive historical apocalypse, with a horizontal eschatological axis. Adam's sin brought untimely death, grief, anguish, pain, and related evils into the world (56:5–6). At the time of the judgment, paradisiacal peace will return, and the consummation of the corruptible will lead to the beginning of the incorruptible (chaps. 72–74).

Three passages associate the events of the end time with the appearance of the anointed one. In chaps. 25–30 his time is placed at the end of twelve periods of evil; he will initiate a time of great blessing and fertility on earth, which will be followed by the consummation and the resurrection. Chapters 36–40 locate the coming of the Messiah during the reign of a particularly wicked king who rules over the last of four kingdoms (cf. Daniel 7). He will judge and condemn that king and reign over Israel until the end of the corruptible world. In the long periodized apocalypse in chaps. 53–74, the Messiah also appears as judge of Israel's enemies who will preside over a world returned to primordial peace. The precise relationship between this messianic reign and the world of incorruption is not clear. Common to all of these texts is their complete silence about the humanity and Davidic lineage of the Messiah. Similarities to Daniel 7 and the Parables of Enoch suggest that the author envisions a transcendental deliverer.

More than the authors of any of the previous texts, this author explicates scenarios for a future that is the end of the old and the beginning of a new time that will replicate the first beginning. The reference to a deliverer defined only as "the (or my) anointed one" (29:4; 30:1; [39:7; 40:1; 72:2]) suggests a fusing of separate eschatologies. The use of historical periodization indicates that God has determined the future, although it is unclear whether the author claims to know its precise time. The admonitions to observe the Torah during the time of the teachers who will succeed "Baruch" suggests that, different from many earlier apocalypses, here the time is not thought to be imminent.

b. *4 Ezra*. The author of this apocalypse also reacts to what he considers to be the patent injustices evident in the gentile conquest of Jerusalem. Perhaps the major difference from *2 Baruch* is the persistence and penetration with which the questions are pressed in lengthy dialogues that are reminiscent of, and perhaps as unsatisfactory as, the book of Job. These nagging doubts and this ongoing questioning color the book's discussions of the end time. The seer wishes to know: How long? Do we live closer to the end than to the beginning? Is this sorrowful age near its end? Are our sins delaying the consummation? What are the signs of the end? Could God not have made the judgment happen sooner? The responses to these questions indicate, first of all, that the times are fixed, as is the number of the souls of the righteous. Like the period of human gestation, the moment for the birth pangs of the new age can be neither delayed nor accelerated. That time, however, is near; this world is in its old age. A particular time frame for the end is indicated in chap. 12, which expects the Messiah during the reign of a contemporary Roman emperor.

4 Ezra's messianism is noteworthy for its eclecticism. Chapters 11–13 expand on and elaborate the vision in Daniel 7, dividing it into two separate visions. Chapter 13 retains the notion of a heavenly figure who—different from Daniel, but like the Parables of Enoch—will function as the judge and annihilator of the nations. This idea of a transcendent messiah parallels *2 Baruch*. In chaps. 11–12, however, the Messiah, whose functions parallel those in chap. 13, is identified as a descendant of David. See SON OF MAN. The Messiah's humanity is evident in a different way in chap. 7. He will reign for 400 years, and then he will die when the earth returns to primeval silence before the resurrection and judgment over which God will preside.

The last mentioned passage posits a real end that precedes a new beginning which harks back to creation. Ezra's anthropology requires a radical new beginning, so that humanity may be rid of the evil seed which was sown in Adam's heart and produces ungodliness until the time of threshing (4:28–32). "But the day of judgment will be the end of this age and the beginning of the immortal age to come, in which corruption has passed away" (7:112–14). The formulation parallels *2 Baruch*'s.

c. *The Book of Biblical Antiquities* (Pseudo-Philo = L.A.B.). This work is a retelling of the narratives from Genesis to 1 Samuel rather than an apocalypse that explicitly addresses questions about the end. Nonetheless, it addresses some of the same issues as *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, sometimes employing the same traditions. The crisis of the year 70 is addressed in terms of present and future, but with a special nuance. Do Israel's sin and the plight that has resulted from it mean the end of the nation's covenantal status and the failure of God's promises to the patriarchs? An answer does, in fact, lie in the future, even if one is hard-pressed to find references to that future as the time of an end and a new beginning. However, the Enochic typology of Flood and final judgment appears to underlie *L.A.B.* 3:10, where the resurrection, which marks the end of the world and death, is associated with "another heaven and another earth."

Like the apocalypticists, this author presumes a preordained schedule of divine actions (3:9–10; 56:2; 59:1; 61:3; 62:2–9). Whether the author expected a restoration of the Davidic dynasty is disputed. The book's sudden ending before the reign of David may contradict such an idea, or it may leave the story open-ended, precisely in order to suggest the coming of the Davidic heir.

D. Summary

1. The Future as a Necessary Change. Israelite attitudes about the future are bound up with a negative appraisal of the present, in two ways. The expectation that things will change in the future may stem from the belief that God's justice is absent in the present. Thus one awaits an act of divine judgment that will reverse present unjust conditions. Alternatively, one may believe that present calamities are the deserved punishment for the sins of the people or some group of them. In such a case one appeals for the repentance that will restore blessing from the just God of the covenant.

The description of the present that needs to be changed varies from text to text and is always colored by the author's experience and appraisal of the current situation. Early texts cite the destruction or effective dismantling of significant social, political, and religious institutions (the monarchy and the temple, cult, and priesthood) and, preeminently, exile from the land. Some later texts continue to dwell variously on the absence of a Davidic king, the failed glory of Zion, the perceived ineffectiveness of the cult, and the continuation of the Diaspora. Other specific situations that call for adjudication or the repen-

tance that leads to blessing include: religious persecution and social and economic oppression by one's compatriots; political domination by sinful foreigners; undeserved natural disasters; defilement of the temple; egregious disobedience of the Torah and, worse, the teaching of false interpretations of the Torah which leads others astray.

In the context of these (perceived) conditions, Israelite authors await the inevitable intervention of the righteous God, who will adjudicate these wrongs. The arrogant and disobedient will be punished, the righteous will be rewarded, and those who suffer unjustly will be vindicated. A new day will dawn, in which righteousness and abundant blessing will flourish.

2. Various Eschatological Topics. The 6th-century prophets addressed the disruption and chaos of their times by creating scenarios of the future that were basically restorationist: return from Exile and Diaspora; restoration of the Davidic monarchy over one nation; the glorious rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple; the revival of the cult. When judgment had been effected, sin had been paid for, and the people had repented, these were the ways in which God would restore the promised blessings to Israel.

Thus the prophetic texts provided a range of topics that reappeared in a wide variety of mixtures and with creative transformations and nuances in scenarios of the future that were, in turn, created by writers of the late Persian and Greco-Roman periods. This variety has tended to be obscured by synthetic and topically oriented handbooks—as valuable as these are for their collections of data. The scholarly investigation of Jewish eschatology needs to focus on individual texts and the specific ways in which their authors interpreted their circumstances and posited solutions to what they perceived to be the major problems that characterized their times.

a. Messianism. The issue of Jewish messianism is particularly knotty, and references to a future Davidic king are far less frequent than one might suppose. The texts posit a variety of figures and combinations of figures with a range of judicial and salvific functions: angels and human beings, a king, a priest, a prophet, an interpreter of the Torah. The term *messiah* should perhaps be reserved for figures whose "anointing," whether literal or figurative, places them in continuity with the anointed kings, priests, and prophets of old. Attention to such detail allows one to detect significant discontinuities and distinctions, e.g., between an anticipated Davidide (*Pss. Sol.* 17–18) and a transcendent savior who fills the role that others ascribed to such a royal figure. Similarly, one can track such tendencies as the absence of a Davidic king in texts that are strongly beholden to the traditions of Second Isaiah and Third Isaiah.

b. The Kingdom of God. The notion that God is king and exercises kingly rule even over the nations is a natural concomitant of royal messianism, as the biblical texts, and the psalms in particular, indicate. It is noteworthy therefore how seldom the term and the idea of the kingdom of God appear in texts of the Greco-Roman period. Significantly, however, this term does occur in contexts where no Davidide is evident but where the problem is a (potential) threat by gentile kings (Daniel 2; 7; *T. Moses* 10:1; Wis 6:4). These and other occurrences need to be studied with an eye toward understanding why the term does not appear in other contexts.

c. Resurrection and Eternal Life. While many of the texts of the Greco-Roman period posit God's transcendence over death, their formulations differ widely. Other texts get along handily without any such idea, and texts like Baruch and 2 Maccabees 7 can employ the same Deutero-Isaianic traditions to describe a literal return from dispersion and a resurrection of the dead. Careful study of historical situation, social context, and literary form helps to explain these differences.

3. Development toward Eschatology. The term *eschatology* is problematic. The Hebrew and Aramaic roots *ʾḥryt* and *ʾḥrwn* ('after,' 'latter') need not, in themselves, denote a finality that involves a decisive break with the present. The emergence of the notion that the *latter* times will be the *last* times is difficult to track and is hardly the result of simple evolution. Linguistically it is perhaps most evident in texts—whether original or translations—where *eschatos* ('last') appears as the equivalent of the Semitic terms. More important indicators appear in the content and in the rhetoric or literary form of both Semitic and Greek texts.

a. Replication in a New Beginning. The writings of the 6th-century prophets emphasize with some consistency that the future will be characterized by the replication of a significant past event or situation. A new beginning will correspond to an earlier beginning. One envisions a new exodus, or a new covenant, or, more radically in Second Isaiah and Third Isaiah, a new creation. The repetition of the primordial sequence of judgment and new creation is central to *1 Enoch* and is suggested in Isaiah 24–27. To the extent that such new beginnings imply an *end* to the present order, one may appropriately use the term *eschatology*.

b. Qualitative Distinction Between the Present and the First Beginnings. Increasingly with time, scenarios of the future posit a sharp and qualitative distinction from the present, a caesura that brings closure to the evils that characterize the present time. The new age will be marked by the universal, permanent eradication of evil and the cosmic, eternal sovereignty of God. In its universality and permanency the new order qualitatively exceeds and transcends the first beginnings that have been replicated. Different from the Flood (Gen 9:11 notwithstanding), this judgment will be final because the world that follows it will live up to the Creator's intentions, completely and forever. The distinction between the future and both the present and the first beginnings justifies the term *dualistic* or *mythic eschatology*. An increasing tendency toward such an eschatology is evident in *some* texts from Second and Third Isaiah onward.

Dualistic eschatologies are a function of their historical contexts and express a pessimistic appraisal of the present situation and severe skepticism about the possibility of redeeming the present order. Differences in the manner and locus of eschatological salvation are, functionally, not all that significant. One may live an eternal life in a transformed and immortal body on a newly created earth. One's soul or spirit may permanently ascend from earth to heaven, the realm of immortality and incorruption, which may eventually be separated from earth, which becomes the place of damnation.

Alongside texts that reflect such dualistic eschatologies, others appear that express views of the future that do not differ significantly from their counterparts in the 6th-century prophets. It remains a task for scholarship to identify and seek to explain these differences.

c. Teleology. If one is justified in using "eschatological" to describe dualistic views of the future with their notions of end and new beginning, there is also another sense in which one may see an "end" in the future. When prophecy fails to reach its complete literal fulfillment, one may look for the *telos*, the moment when God's infallible word finds its "goal" and reaches its fulfillment and culmination. This idea of end is clear in the Qumran commentaries on Scripture and, e.g., in Tobit and Sirach. It may be implicit when prophetic language is used to color new scenarios that describe the future (Baruch, as well as *1 Enoch*). It is evident in a different way when the Deuteronomic scheme is imposed on present and imminent events.

4. Time Frames and Their Implications. Jeremiah and Ezekiel are the earliest among the extant prophetic writings to indicate the specific time when a prophecy was to be fulfilled. Second Isaiah follows by identifying the time of salvation (also the end of the Exile) with a historical event that was in the process of happening. Third Isaiah, Haggai, and Zechariah saw God's intervention as imminent. Although prophecy continues to fall short of its complete fulfillment, writers of the Greco-Roman period continue to announce God's decisive intervention in the imminent future. In the case of the apocalypticists, this notion is expressed in sometimes lengthy reviews of history, attributed to figures of the past, which place the eschaton very close to the real authors' own times. Precisely how these authors concluded that they were living in the end times is not clear. A comparison of these texts with non-apocalyptic writings may shed some light on the matter. Daniel 9 indicates a reinterpretation of Jeremiah; the *Damascus Document* (CD) cites Ezekiel's prophecy, perhaps in revised form, and the Qumran commentaries explicitly point to the fulfillment of specific prophecies; the *Testament of Moses* is cast in the form of a paraphrase of Deuteronomy. However, the methods and mechanics of timing the fulfillment of prophecy and the arrival of the end remain obscure.

Two notions about the time of the end stand in tension with one another, although they sometimes appear in the same texts. The first is the relatively common idea that God foresees all of the future and, indeed, that God determined the structure of the ages before creation. This view is implied in historical apocalypses that "predict" events that cover centuries and even millennia; it is evident in Enoch's claim to have seen the heavenly tablets; and it is explicit in a number of Qumranic texts. It may also be suggested in Tobit. Over against these kinds of determinism, one finds references to a variety of eschatological catalysts and deterrents. The end can be brought on by the prayers of the righteous, by conversion to a right understanding and observance of the Torah, and by the resolute deaths of the martyrs. Sin and its judgment can deter the coming of salvation and blessing; or for want of a better explanation, one may speak of the times being extended through the mysteries of God (1QpHab 7:7–11).

As the last cited passage indicates, claims that the end is imminent (and in some cases, to be dated) bring with them the problem that one must with time explain the evident fact that the end has not come. The more precise the prediction, the greater the subsequent necessity to explain. Such explanations in the form of revised calculations appear in Daniel 9 and Dan 12:12–13. In *T. Moses* 6 and *1 Enoch* 90 new material is interpolated to indicate a different time frame for an extant context.

In some cases eschatological awareness is so high that one can rightly speak about a "realized eschatology." The events of the end have already begun to happen. Methodological rigor requires, however, that we employ the term with great caution, making appropriate distinctions between Second Isaiah, the Qumran hymns, and the Epistle of Enoch.

5. Eschatology and Genre. Certain literary genres seem more likely than others to express eschatological ideas. Two implications follow from this. The absence of detailed and significant references to the future may be a function of the purposes and limitations of the genre and need not indicate that the author placed no stock in a change in the future. Ben Sira's wisdom genres tend to obscure his eschatology. On the other hand, one should be careful not to posit belief in a certain eschatological topic in spite of its absence.

Eschatology is often linked with apocalyptic thought. Recent studies of apocalypticism have demonstrated, however, that apocalypses reveal the secrets of the cosmos, as well as the hidden events of the future—although the two may be related. The salutary distinction between the literary genre of apocalypse and the kind of eschatology that typifies some apocalypses needs to be maintained and investigated with greater precision. One blurs careful definition when one speaks of "apocalyptic eschatology" in texts that chronologically precede the documented rise of apocalyptic genres (e.g., Isaiah 24–27; 56–66; and Joel). Similar caution is necessary in the study of later texts that are contemporary with the writing of apocalypses. Do these authors (perhaps in their claims about the nearness of the end) presuppose notions of revelation present in apocalypses? Finally, why did apocalypticists employ new, revelatory genres to embody the mythic and dualistic eschatologies that the prophetic texts had expressed in other literary forms?

6. Social Matrices of Eschatological Thought. Relatively little attention has been given to the social contexts that gave rise to early Jewish eschatological speculation. Qumran is an exception, because the archaeological evidence and the genre of some of the texts provide information that is not available in other texts. These latter texts, however, should be pressed for the evidence they may provide. For example, *1 Enoch* suggests the notion of an eschatological community constituted by a belief that they are the possessors of eschatological revealed knowledge. Although we can know almost nothing about whatever communal structure may have existed, it is important to see in these texts and others like them how an eschatological belief may have created or influenced certain behaviors, ideologies, and social arrangements, or may have resulted from them.

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(See also *RGG* 2: 630–89; *TRE* 10: 254–70; and bibliographies for APOCALYPSES AND APOCALYPTICISM; KINGDOM OF GOD; MESSIAH; RESURRECTION; SON OF MAN.)

GEORGE W. E. NICKELSBURG

EARLY CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY

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A. Introduction

The term *eschatology,* formed from the Gk adjective *eschatos* (meaning "last," "final") was coined in the early 19th century by theologians to refer to that part of systematic theology which deals with Christian beliefs concerning death, the afterlife, judgment, and the resurrection, i.e., *individual* eschatology. The term is now used more broadly to refer to the whole constellation of beliefs and conceptions about the end of history and the transformation of the world which particularly characterized early Judaism, and early Christianity, and Islam, i.e., *cosmic* eschatology. The central foci of these beliefs are the judgment of sinners and the salvation of the righteous. In early Judaism and early Christianity eschatological beliefs were often linked with a sense of urgency in view of the imminent expectation of the end of the age, although the degree of urgency or imminence varies in accordance with the particular social situation in which such beliefs are thought meaningful (e.g., persecution, feelings of alienation, etc.). The future is more important than the present since the existing world order will soon be overthrown.

B. The Morphology of Eschatology

All religions are centrally concerned with *salvation,* though the fundamental problems of human existence perceived by particular communities and the solutions formulated by their religious systems exhibit great diversity. Eschatology is a mythical mode of understanding the complete realization of salvation as a *future* event or series of events which are, nevertheless, somehow linked to the *present.* For this reason, in the belief and myth systems of early Judaism and early Christianity there is always *tension* between the present and future, because the present can always serve as the stage for the inauguration of the eschatological drama and the future can always be drawn into the present through ritual anticipation. Since the emphasis on the imminent expectation of the end is often *increased* in settings of adverse social, economic, and political experience and *decreased* during periods of relative peace and prosperity, it is clear that eschatology had an important social and religious function in ancient Judaism and Christianity. Though the importance and salvation of the individual are not without significance, the eschatology of early Judaism and early Christianity tended to focus primarily on the *social* and *ecological* dimensions of salvation. Eschatology therefore has several important constituent features which require separate discussion.

1. Protology and Eschatology. Many ancient religious traditions produced and preserved mythical accounts of the origins of the gods (theogony) and the world and humanity (cosmogony). They also consciously understood religious rituals as reenactments of archetypal or paradigmatic events, activities, and gestures from a pristine era (Eliade 1959: 21–27; 1963: 392–97), thus providing the basis for possible links between myth and ritual (Fontenrose 1966: 50–60). Comparatively few religious systems share the early Jewish and early Christian view that since the world had a beginning, it must also have an end. For both early Judaism and early Christianity, the idyllic conditions of earlier periods (e.g., the situation of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden before the fall, the relationship between Yahweh and Israel in the wilderness of Sinai, the golden age of David and Solomon) became important sources of language and imagery for describing the ideal conditions of the future. This is the *Urzeit-Endzeit* ("primeval epoch-final epoch") schema, in which the future is expected to parallel idyllic eras of the past. Isaiah's vision of a world free from strife and of Jerusalem as an international center (Isa 2:1–4) is based on this pervasive pattern of thought. Similarly, the imagery of Isaiah's prophecy that "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid" (Isa 11:6), is a vision which conceptualizes the idyllic future in imagery drawn from

the myth of Eden. Thus the conditions of eschatological salvation are usually conceptualized as a *restoration* of primal conditions rather than an entirely new or utopian mode of existence with no links to the past. On the other hand, the apocalyptic conviction that a period of great stress and upheaval will precede the inauguration of the end is also conceptualized using language and imagery from the past. The mythical primordial story of the fall of Helel ben Shachar (RSV: Day Star, Son of Dawn) first appears in Isa 14:12–15. There it is used in a song of taunt to celebrate the fall of the king of Babylon. Understood as a description of the primordial fall of Satan, it is alluded to in Jesus' vision of Satan's eschatological fall (Luke 10:18) and is applied in Rev 12:7–9 to Satan's protological fall. Similarly, the plagues unleashed by the seven trumpets and seven bowls of Rev 8:1–11:14 and 15:1–16:21 are modeled after the ten plagues inflicted on the Egyptians in Exodus 7–12 (an earlier tradition of *seven* Egyptian plagues is preserved in several OT texts: Pss 78:43–51; 105:27–36; Amos 4:1–12; cf. Wis 11:1–19:9).

2. Eschatology and History. Since the focus of eschatological salvation is upon a transformed society living in an ideal environment, the earliest and most persistent forms of Jewish eschatology have a marked temporal and materialistic focus. The Israelite conception of "salvation" centered in the notion of *bĕrākâ* ("blessing,"), which consisted exclusively in temporal benefits: abundance of crops, long life, good health, many children, peace with one's adversaries, and (even better) victory in war (*PI* I: 182–212; Westermann 1978: 15–23). In addition, a strong emphasis on the secure and permanent possession of the land, with its center in Jerusalem, pervades the Hebrew Bible and has remained a focus of Judaism until modern times (Brueggemann 1977).

Though there was a tendency in early Christianity to reject the temple (Acts 7) and to spiritualize the conceptions of the land, the holy city, and the temple (Davies 1970: 366–76), it is, nevertheless, true that for some strands of early Christianity strongly influenced by Judaism emphasis was placed upon the eschatological renewal of the earth and the exaltation of Jerusalem within the context of the land (cf. Rev 14:1–5; 20:1–5; 21:1–22:5), a view particularly at home in Jewish Christianity (Danielou 1964: 377–404). The late 1st- and early 2d-century C.E. emphasis on millenarianism (a term ultimately derived from Rev 20:1–5), at home in Jewish Christian circles, was particularly popular in Christian groups living in the Roman province of Asia. Millenarianism included an idyllic portrait of life on a renewed earth as emphasized by Papias (Iren. *Haer.* 5.33.3–4) and accepted by Justin, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus. This materialistic conception of eschatological salvation, however, antithetical to the Hellenic emphasis on the priority of spirit over matter, was ridiculed by educated Christians (cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.11–13) and, with the demise of Jewish Christianity, was eventually given up.

Frequently Jewish and Christian perspectives on history have been characterized as *linear*, i.e., as portraying history as a line that began with creation and God's first covenants with people and progresses straight to the future eschatological consummation. This is contrasted with the *cyclical* perspective of Greco-Roman culture, which knows no final and nonrepeatable events. This contrast appears to be a vast oversimplification, however; for the historical thought of ancient Israel and early Judaism as well as early Christianity was not fundamentally different from that of ANE nations and Greece. The Stoic view of time in particular shows close similarities with ancient Israelite conceptions of time.

3. Eschatology and Apocalypticism. Both *eschatology* and *apocalypticism* are modern terms used by scholars to describe an important religious perspective characteristic of some but not all strands of early Judaism and early Christianity. When applied to early Christianity, the terms *eschatology* and *apocalypticism* are essentially synonymous, since there is no aspect of cosmic eschatology that cannot also be considered an aspect of apocalypticism, *apart from the element of the imminent expectation of the end.* Yet until very recently eschatology and apocalypticism have frequently been distinguished, with the former regarded positively and the later negatively (e.g., Perrin 1963: 176–78). According to this assessment the most striking difference between prophecy and apocalypticism lies in their respective views of history. While prophecy regards history as the arena of God's saving activity, apocalypticism understands history in mythical terms so that individual events have ceased to be important and the emphasis is on a climactic series of events by which God will bring salvation to his people by bringing history to a cataclysmic conclusion (Perrin 1963: 176–78). Jesus is understood as rejecting the apocalyptic understanding of history and reverting to a prophetic understanding (Kümmel 1961: 88–104; Perrin 1963: 178; Crossan 1973: 26–27).

Old Testament scholars usually make a distinction between the "prophetic eschatology" of the classical Hebrew prophets and the "apocalyptic eschatology" characteristic of early Jewish apocalyptic literature. Until very recently there was a tendency to deny any direct continuities between prophecy and apocalypticism, a denial motivated at least in part by a generally negative attitude toward apocalypticism on the part of biblical scholars. Apocalypticism was consequently regarded, not as an *internal* development within the postexilic Jewish community, but as the result of the pernicious influence of *external* cultural forces (variously assessed as Canaanite, Babylonian, or Persian). "Prophetic eschatology," it was claimed, was essentially an optimistic world view espoused by the classical Israelite prophets, who expected that God would ultimately transform the world by reinstating the lost Edenic conditions. This prophetic optimism was supposedly shattered by the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Solomonic temple in 587 B.C.E. This event, which entailed the exile of many inhabitants of Judea (Jer 52:28–30 reports three deportations totaling 4600 people; a larger, probably exaggerated, figure is reported in 2 Kgs 24:14), began centuries of national subjugation to a succession of Near Eastern empires. Preexilic optimism was replaced with despair and pessimism which found expression in "apocalyptic eschatology." According to this perspective the world appeared to have become so irredeemably evil that only through a cataclysmic intervention and the destruction of the old world could a new and ideal society and environment be created.

One persistent problem is the propriety of using the

term *eschatology* of the message of the preexilic prophets (beginning with Amos and Hosea). In ancient Israelite thought the terms *ʾahărît* ("end,") *ʾahărît yāmîm* ("end of days,") and *yôm YHWH* ("day of the Lord") do not refer to the eschatological consummation or the end of the world but rather to the more or less distant future (Lindblom 1952: 79–114). While the OT speaks of the "day of the Lord," such phrases do not refer to the end of history but rather to a future time (sometimes considered near and at other times more remote), when God is expected to act in human history to accomplish his purpose. Though the precise origins of Jewish eschatology are obscure and a matter of some speculation, it is, nevertheless, clear that earlier *noneschatological* terms and conceptions were later given an *eschatological* significance.

The critical issue for some scholars is whether or not prophets such as Amos and Hosea were prophets of *doom* (McKane 1979: 176 f.). Prophetic eschatology may be defined as "the study of ideas and beliefs concerning the end of the present world order, and the introduction of a new order" (Clements 1965: 105). If the term *eschatology* is restricted to the anticipation of events which follow the consummation of history, then it is an inappropriate designation for describing the element of hope and restoration in Israelite prophecy subsequent to Amos and Hosea. The term *eschatology* can be meaningfully applied to the perspective of the 8th- and 7th-century Israelite writing prophets when the term is broadly defined as the expectation of imminent events brought about by the action of God in history accompanied by the dissolution of the old salvation history. Prophetic eschatology involves the implication that the saving events of the past (e.g., the Exodus; the conquest of the land; the Davidic covenant) are no longer considered adequate or valid (*ROTT* 2: 112–19). It is problematic to label the prophetic anticipations of hope, restoration, and reconstruction (cf. Isa 9:2–7; 11:1–9; 32:1–8; Amos 9:11–12; Hos 2:5) as *eschatological,* since a full and complete *end* is not anticipated. However, the language of prophetic expectation for the future of Israel became increasingly extravagant (cf. Isa 60:1–2; 61:1–7; 66:12–16) and in ignoring historical realities increasingly took on the characteristics of later apocalypticism. Apocalyptic eschatology, then, must be considered primarily as a theological development which took place *within* postexilic Jewish religious thought.

4. Eschatology and Cult. Religious ritual is usually regarded by its practitioners as the conscious repetition and representation of paradigmatic events and activities of the past, serving to restore and invigorate the present (Eliade 1959: 5–6; Zuesse *EncRel* 12: 406–8). In Babylon the annual New Year *Akitu* Festival (preserved in documents from the Hellenistic period, cf. Smith 1978: 72–74) involved a sacred marriage ceremony and a ritual presentation of the primeval battle between the Babylonian god Marduk and the chaos monster Tiamat. The victory of order over chaos assured another year of blessing and prosperity. In ancient Israel and in Judaism, the *šôfār* ("ram's horn") was used in cultic contexts (2 Sam 6:15; Isa 27:13; Joel 2:15; Ps 81:3), where it recalls the Sinai theophany (Exod 19:16; 20:18), and was also used as part of ancient Israelite theophanic imagery (Isa 18:3; Joel 2:1; Zech 9:14; Ps 47:5), a cultic metaphor found also in Rev 1:10.

In early Christianity eschatology was not simply one aspect of a cognitive theological system, but rather was intimately connected with religious experience within the corporate setting of worship. Even though early Christianity (as early Judaism) conceptualized the future in terms of the meaningful paradigmatic or archetypal events and conditions of the significant past, nevertheless, during the first century C.E. the focus was placed on the eschatological consummation in which salvation would be fully and completely realized. Early Christian worship functioned primarily as a vehicle for celebrating the realization of salvation in and through Jesus Christ. The goal of salvation, the complete attainment of the presence of God, was considered the object of eschatological hope, whether in a renewed earthly environment or in the heavenly world (1 Thess 4:16–17; 1 Cor 15:20–28; Heb 12:18–24; Rev 21:22–22:5; *Odes Sol.* 11:16–17; 36:1–2; *Ign. Magn.* 14:1). In Christian worship the anticipated goal of final, eschatological deliverance was drawn into the sphere of present experience and celebrated *as if* it had been fully and finally achieved. In the phenomenology of this worship, past and future collapse into an eternal present; and the spatial distinction between heaven and earth is momentarily obliterated. In the light of this kind of cultic experience, there can be no hard and fast dichotomy between the presence of Jesus in the midst of the worshipping community and the "distant" presence of Jesus at the right hand of God.

At least two major constellations of imagery were used by early Christians to conceptualize the final heavenly gathering of the redeemed (Aune 1976: 455–58). In early Judaism this final gathering before God or his accredited representative was sometimes conceptualized using banquet imagery (1QSa; *1 En.* 62:14; *2 En.* 42:5; *2 Bar.* 29:8; cf. Isa 25:6; 65:13). The cult meal of the Essenes anticipated the coming of the messiah(s) of Aaron and Israel (1QSa 2:17–22; 1QS 6:1–6; cf. *JW* 2.128–33), and is phenomenologically similar to the function of the early Christian celebration of the Last Supper (Kuhn 1957: 65–93). Through the utilization of this messianic banquet metaphor (which early Christians used only rarely), the celebration of the Eucharist could be understood as an anticipation of the eschatological heavenly banquet (cf. Matt 8:11; 26:69; Mark 14:25; Luke 22:16; 18:30; *Didache* 9:4). Yet the primary way of conceptualizing the complete experience of eschatological salvation was not the messianic banquet metaphor, but rather the conception of the final festal gathering of both angelic beings and redeemed people before the heavenly presence of God. Using this imagery, the gathering of a local community for worship could be viewed from a cosmic perspective as *the* final gathering of *the* Christian church before the eternal presence of God. This phenomenon explains some unusual features of Christian worship, such as the belief that angels were present in the midst of the worshipping community (1 Cor 11:10; Heb 12:22; 13:2; Col 2:18; *Herm. Sim.* 9.27.2; cf. Peterson 1964). The eschatological focus was celebrated in various ways in early Christian worship. Even the celebration of the Eucharist, which is often understood more exclusively in terms of the repetition of the Lord's Supper in light of the events of the death and resurrection of

Jesus, nevertheless, has a significant eschatological emphasis in the fragments of the early liturgies which have been preserved (1 Cor 11:26; Mark 11:25 = Matt 26:29 = Luke 22:18; *Didache* 9:4). Some early Christian hymns, such as Phil 2:5–11, have an eschatological perspective in which events which clearly belong to the future are described as if they are already part of present experience. This phenomenon of the blending of the future with the present in the experience of worship suggests that the language of "realized" eschatology (i.e., events and conditions which belong to the eschatological consummation are described as if they already belonged to present experience) may have its origin and primary setting in worship (Aune 1972: 8–23).

5. Eschatology as Folklore. While accounts of the beginning of the gods (theogony) and of the world (cosmogony) are generally recognized as that type of folk literature usually labeled "myth," it is not often recognized that eschatology also belongs to the realm of myth and therefore itself belongs to the category of folk literature. *Eschatology* in the sense that the term is generally used of early Jewish and early Christian conceptions of the end, consists of *narratives* rather than doctrines. Furthermore, since such narratives focus on some time in the future at which the present order will be radically transformed, they are necessarily couched in metaphoric and symbolic terms and include large doses of communal fantasy. Jewish eschatology and Christian eschatology consist primarily in the imaginative projection of folkloristic themes and motifs into the future as constitutive parts of a final salvation presented in narrative form. In an important study the implications of which have yet to be realized L. Hartman (1966) isolated a sequence of five motifs which occur in order in 65 pericopes on the last things found in early Jewish apocalyptic literature (listed in Hartman 1966: 53, n. 13): (1) the preliminary time of evil, (2) divine intervention, (3) the judgment, (4) the fate of the sinners, and (5) the joy of the elect. This structure has two main forms, one in which God intervenes and no messiah is mentioned and the other in which the Messiah has a place in the pattern. Two other frequently occurring motifs are the earthquake motif and the tumult and assault of the heathen. The structural *unity* of the various scenarios consists in the relatively consistent use of this structural pattern and in the extensive use of ancient myths and symbols rather than in any theological or ideological consistency. It is important to emphasize the fact that neither Jewish nor Christian eschatology can in any way be considered a *unified* or consistent system of beliefs and symbols about the saving events of the future.

There are several texts in early Christian literature which narrate a sequence of events associated with the end of the world. Several of these "eschatological scenarios" are found in the Synoptic Gospels: Mark 13; Matt 24–25; Luke 21; 17:20–37.

C. The Jewish Roots of Christian Eschatology

1. Introduction. Eschatology appears to have constituted not only the matrix within which early Christianity developed, but also an inseparable feature of early Christianity itself. One persistent methodological problem in reconstructing the Jewish eschatological setting of Jesus and early Christianity, however, has been the tendency to use the NT itself as a primary source for reconstructing Jewish eschatology for the 1st century C.E. This approach is made even more problematic once it is recognized that early Judaism had no single consistent "eschatology," but rather exhibited a variety of eschatologies. This problematic approach was particularly prevalent in the decades before the discovery and publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which provided a datable body of texts (and texts not subject to revision after ca. 68 C.E.), which attested to several forms of Jewish eschatology which existed in Palestine from the 2d century B.C.E. to the 1st century C.E. In most modern discussions of early Christian eschatology, the emphasis is usually placed on parallels with Jewish eschatology without a suitable emphasis on the distinctive features which Christian eschatologies share. The process whereby Jewish eschatology was transformed began with Jesus of Nazareth. Though Jesus certainly stands within the framework of early Jewish eschatological thought, his distinctive combination of eschatological motifs and themes and the way he related them to his own mission and message produced a new perspective which was inherited and broadened by his followers after his death and resurrection.

2. The Messiah. Until the middle of the 1st century C.E. in Judaism, the term *māšîaḥ* ("anointed one") did not unambiguously refer to the eschatological Davidic messiah, a fact which suggests the relative unimportance of the term for Jewish eschatological expectation (de Jonge 1966: 133 f.). That usage begins to appear toward the end of the 1st century C.E. and becomes dominant in later rabbinic Judaism. In CD 14:11, an ambiguous text, there *may* be a reference to the coming of a single messiah representing both priesthood and people or the text may be understood to expect *two* figures, a priestly messiah and a lay messiah. Nothing in these texts suggests a Davidic messiah. In 1QS 9:11–12 there is a clear reference to *two* messianic figures, a priestly messiah and a lay messiah (i.e., the messiah of Israel is nowhere said to be Davidic): "the coming of a prophet and the messiahs of Aaron and Israel." In 1QSa 2:12–21, a single messiah, the messiah of Israel is mentioned alongside the priest. The *War Scroll* (1QM) contains no mention of any messiah, with the exception that the phrase "anointed ones" (11:1–3) clearly refers to prophets. Similarly the *Hodayot* (1QH) makes no clear mention of a messiah. Elsewhere the notion of a Davidic messiah is found in 4QFlor and 4Q161 and 162. Despite the many fragments and documents which made up the library at Qumran, it is remarkable that references to a messiah or messiahs occur only sporadically and inconsistently. It is useful to understand Jewish messianism in terms of Gershom Sholem's typology, which distinguishes between *restorative* and *utopian messianism*. *Restorative messianism* anticipates the restoration of the Davidic kingdom, while *utopian messianism* expects the creation of a new and perfect world after the destruction of the present evil world.

3. The Combat Myth. The legendary narrative pattern of a combat between a hero and his adversary or the mythical narrative of a primordial cosmic struggle between two divine beings and their allies for sovereignty over the cosmos was widespread throughout the ancient world. The

names of the combatants (as well as their roles) change from culture to culture: in Babylon it was Marduk and Tiamat, or Gilgamesh and Humbaba; in Canaan the combatants were Baal and Yamm. There were many variants of the combat myth in Greece; and some of the combatants included Ouranos and Kronos, Zeus and the Titans, Zeus and Typhoeus, and Helios and Phaethon. Many of the mythical motifs of the combat myth remain constant or are subject to a limited range of variation.

Various versions of the combat myth were adapted first by Israel and later on by Judaism from the various cultures with which they had close contact throughout their historical experience. Jewish apocalyptic literature reflects a renaissance of ancient mythical narratives, of which one of the more important was the combat myth. This myth functioned to ascribe the experience of suffering and evil in the world to an independent cosmic adversary, Satan. Satan is the primary adversary (variously conceived as a rebel, tempter, or tyrant) in early Judaism and early Christianity; his name suggests that his primary role is that of *opposition* (the Gk term *diabolos* means "slander," and the Heb term *śaṭan* means "adversary"). He is of course known by many other names as well, including Beliar, Beelzebul, Abaddon, Apollyon, Lucifer, Sammael, Semihazeh, Asael, and the Devil. In Rev 12:9 he has a long list of aliases, including the Great Dragon, the Ancient Serpent, Devil, Satan, and the Deceiver of the Whole World. In the specifically Christian version of the combat myth, an exalted angelic being challenged the power of Yahweh and now has control of the earth. Christ functions as the divine warrior. Though Satan attempts to defeat him (cf. Luke 22:3: "Then Satan entered into Judas"), Christ has freed humanity through his crucifixion from the tyranny of Satan, though Satan's final banishment has yet to take place. This protological imagery was thus transformed into eschatology in early Christianity.

4. The Paradise Motif. In early Judaism the protological conditions described in Gen 2–3 became the source of imagery for the widespread belief that the ideal conditions which existed before the fall would be restored in the eschaton. In an ideal earthly environment, called the Garden of Eden, but later frequently referred to as Paradise, Adam and Eve possessed perpetual life and were free from disease, pain, sorrow, and the necessity of labor. The process of mythologization further developed each of these ideal features. Paradise was considered a heavenly region (2 Cor 12:2f.; *2 En.* 8:1), so that the expulsion of Adam and Eve was from heaven to earth. Adam was conceptualized as an angelic heavenly being who lost immortality when he was expelled from heaven. Further, the tree of life, first mentioned in Gen 2:9 and 3:23–24, became a recurring symbol for access to eternal life in Judaism (Sir 19:19; *4 Ezra* 7:123; *4 Macc.* 18:16; *T. Levi* 18:11; *Apoc. El.* 5) and in early Christianity (Rev 2:7; 22:2, 14, 19). Whenever the attainment of eternal life was the subject of Jewish eschatological hopes, that life was conceptualized in terms of the restoration of Edenic conditions. In Rev 22:1–5, for example, the New Jerusalem (the dwelling place for the righteous on a re-created earth) is described with imagery drawn from Gen 2–3.

5. The Denationalization of Jewish Eschatology. While Christianity began as a movement within Judaism, by the late 1st century C.E. a polarization had taken place which eventually resulted in the complete separation of Christianity as a distinct entity from Judaism. Christianity then became a distinctive religious phenomenon in the ancient world, a religious cult without a national homeland. Paul had already placed all people into three distinct groups, Jews, Greeks, and members of the church of God (1 Cor 10:32). This tendency culminated in the designation of Christians as the *tertium genus,* "third race" (*Diog.* 5–6; Tert. *Ad Nat.* 1.8).

Since the mythical imagery and motifs of Jewish apocalyptic eschatology were drawn from the ancient *national* mythical traditions of creation and kingship, the separation of Christianity from Judaism also entailed separation from the mythical traditions which defined the Jewish national identity. It is not accidental that Revelation was apparently the *only* apocalypse with close generic ties to early Jewish apocalypses nevertheless produced by an early Christian author (theories proposing that Revelation is basically a Jewish apocalypse with a light Christian redaction have proven unconvincing). While the *Shepherd of Hermas* (particularly *Vis.* 1–4) is an apocalypse, there is little similarity in content with either Revelation or early Jewish apocalypses. Christian "apocalypses" produced in the 2d and 3d centuries C.E. such as the *Apocalypse of Peter,* tend (like Greco-Roman apocalypses; cf. Betz 1983: 594 f.) to focus on tours of heaven and hell in which the eternal states of the righteous and sinners are emphasized as sanctions for present behavior. In several respects the acts of Christian martyrs, with their focus on individual eschatology, replaced the apocalypse as the idiom of an oppressed minority.

D. Eschatology in the Greco-Roman World

Several themes which play an important role in Jewish and Christian eschatology were also the subject of speculation in the Greco-Roman world. Three such themes include (1) the end of the world, (2) the schematization of history into periods, and (3) the anticipation of an idyllic period following a time of decline or repression.

In early Greek thought the expectation of the end of the world was a concern of natural philosophy, not of religious or mythological speculation (Burkert 1983: 240). Stoicism taught a periodic conflagration *(ekpyrosis)* and reconstitution *(palingenesia)* of the cosmos (cf. von Arnim 1964: 2.596–632; Long and Sedley 1987 §46A–P). The conflagration of the world was a view attributed to Heraclitus (Diog. Laert. 9.8). According to the Stoics the world, though imperishable, was subject to an eternal series of world cycles in which all matter was reduced to pure fire *(ekpyrosis).* Chrysippus emphasized the periodic return of the *same* world and the *same* people. Virgil, writing in this tradition, predicts that in the golden age a second voyage of the Argo (from the story of Jason and the Argonauts) will take place, and a second Trojan War will be fought, and a second Achilles will go to Troy (*Ecl.* 4.34–36). The Stoics even spoke of these cosmic cycles in terms of the beginning *(arche)* and end *(telos)* and of significant events which changed the character of the world. Though both Plato and Aristotle held to a conception of the eternity of the cosmos, they both thought that civilization was period-

ically destroyed by natural disasters and thereafter reborn (a view also reflected in Polyb. 6.5.4–9).

The periodization of past epochs was also important for such Greek authors as Hesiod (*Op.* 106–201) and Plato (*Plt.* 273E; *Ti.* 29A). This historical scheme appears in Daniel 7–12 and later Jewish apocalypses and seems to have been borrowed by the Jews from the Greeks and thereafter transformed into an apocalyptic conception (Burkert 1983: 244–51; Momigliano 1984: 77–103). For Plato the present age is perfect and eternal, the third of three successive stages. The first was the period before the great reversal (*Polit.* 269C; 270A; 272E); the second was the great reversal, the Age of Kronos and the Earthborn (*Polit.* 269D–E; 270D ff.; 273A). However, the ideal past periods of human history (followed by periods of decline) were irretrievable. The Great Year, the cycle of time in which all things began again, was a widespread Greek belief. The legendary Musaeus reportedly claimed that "everything proceeds from unity and everything is eventually resolved into unity" (Diog. Laert. 1.3). The Pythagoreans held that everything repeated itself in exact detail.

During the early Roman Empire there was some speculation that the idyllic "Saturnian" era of the past would again be realized in the near future. The poetry from the early Roman imperial period has just three passages concerning the imminent reemergence of the Saturnian age: Virgil *Ecl.* 4.5; Calp. *Ecl.* 1.42–45; anonymous poet in *Anth. Lat.* no. 726, 22–24. In Augustan propaganda, the return of the *aureum saeculum* ("golden age") was associated with Augustus (Virgil *Aen.* 6.791–94):

> Here is the man you've heard so often promised:
> Augustus, son of godhead. He'll rebuild
> a golden age in Latium, land where once
> Saturn was king.

The Romans adapted the god Aion (a deity who was important in Hellenistic Alexandria), the ruler of the universe and god of limitless time who was expected to bring about the return of the golden age.

In the Hellenistic world the notion of immortality, originally understood in the Greek world as the exclusive possession of the gods and one which they jealously guarded, came to be understood as a permanent or ontological property of the human soul. Early Judaism was inevitably influenced by this conception (Wis 3:4; 6:18 f.; *4 Macc.* 9:22; 14:5; 15:3; 16:13; 17:12; Philo *Quaest Gen* 3.11; *Probus* 7.46; *Congr* 18.97). Yet Judaism continued to associate immortality with resurrection at the end of days, and few conceptions were as foreign to Greek and Roman thought as that of physical resurrection.

E. The Eschatology of Jesus

Even though there is wide disagreement regarding what can be known about the historical Jesus and his teachings, two important features of his eschatological orientation have attracted the attention and the speculation of scholars: Jesus' views of the future (i.e., his eschatological perspective) and Jesus' understanding of his own role within the framework of that eschatological perspective. Whether or not Jesus considered himself an eschatological figure, his followers quickly placed him in that category within a relatively few years following his crucifixion in 29 C.E.

1. Models for Understanding the Message of Jesus. The four canonical Gospels are the end result of complex oral and literary processes which have preserved a great variety of traditions about Jesus of Nazareth. While much of this material may be rooted in the teachings and activities of the historical Jesus, most of it has been subject to various degrees of modification by early Christians who transmitted the Jesus traditions. This complexity has made it very difficult to reconstruct the teachings of the historical Jesus with any confidence. It was not until the early 20th century, through the work of such NT scholars as Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer, that the eschatological or apocalyptic character of early Christianity began to be more fully recognized and thereafter to be taken more seriously. This modern rediscovery of the significance of eschatology for early Christianity has been assessed in four very distinctive and influential ways (Chilton 1984: 1–26 contains a succinct survey).

a. The Consistent Eschatology Model. This view, which developed toward the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, was formulated by Johannes Weiss (1971; originally published in 1892; 2d ed. 1900) and Albert Schweitzer (1964; originally published in 1901; 2d ed. 1913), and accepted by a number of prominent NT scholars including F. C. Burkitt, B. F. Easton, M. Dibelius, and R. Bultmann (survey in Perrin 1963: 13–36) and more recently by R. H. Hiers (1970, 1973). Schweitzer eloquently exposed the tendency of liberal scholars to create Jesus in their own image by turning him into a moral teacher who propounded timeless truths. Like Weiss before him, Schweitzer insisted that the eschatological views of Jesus be taken seriously and understood against the background of early Jewish apocalyptic literature (Schweitzer 1964: 367 f.). Ethics and eschatology in the teachings of Jesus and early Christianity, it was argued, are not superficially related to one another as kernel to husk. Both are essential. Jesus was an apocalyptist with an eschatological timetable. The mission discourse which Jesus gave when he sent out the Twelve (Matt 10:5–42) contained an explicit prediction of the imminent coming of the Son of Man (Matt 10:23), identical with the dawn of the kingdom of God, and the sufferings which the disciples would experience (10:34–39); both predictions failed to be fulfilled (Schweitzer 1961: 358–64). Since the tribulations heralding the end which Jesus had anticipated failed to materialize, he resolved to suffer himself in an attempt to force the arrival of the kingdom (Schweitzer 1961: 387–97). Since the end did not arrive, Jesus is an example of a failed prophet. The whole subsequent history of Christianity is in fact based on the nonoccurrence of the Parousia and the consequent abandonment of eschatology (Schweitzer 1961: 360; Werner 1957). While few scholars accepted Schweitzer's thesis in all its details, his emphasis on Jesus as an eschatological prophet has continued to dominate modern conceptions of the historical Jesus.

b. The Realized Eschatology Model. C. H. Dodd proposed that Jesus taught the essential *presence* of the kingdom of God (survey in Perrin 1963: 58–78). Formulated in opposition to consistent eschatology with its view of Jesus as a failed prophet, Dodd's view of the continuing

truth and relevance of the message of Jesus was based on a careful exegesis of the sayings of Jesus in the Gospels, particularly the parables. Though recognizing that Jesus referred to the kingdom of God in some sayings as future and in other sayings as present, Dodd thought that Jesus' emphasis on the *presence* of the kingdom was the most characteristic and distinctive feature of his teaching (Dodd 1961: 34). Dodd therefore objected to understanding the kingdom of God as an apocalyptic concept. The "kingdom of God" is rather "the manifest and effective assertion of divine sovereignty against all the evil of the world" (Dodd 1961: 35), i.e., "history had become the vehicle of the eternal" (Dodd 1961: 159). The real problem for Dodd was not the delay of the Parousia or the de-eschatologization of early Christianity, but rather how such doctrines as the imminent Parousia became such an integral feature of post-Easter Christianity *at all.* While the Synoptic Gospels, Acts, Paul, and the Revelation of John represent the entry of eschatology into Christian belief systems, according to this view the Fourth Gospel and Hebrews retain the original emphasis on realized eschatology as taught by Jesus.

c. The Proleptic Eschatology Model. A number of scholars (J. Jeremias, O. Cullmann, W. G. Kümmel), reacting to the antithetical alternatives posed by Schweitzer and Dodd, proposed that Jesus held a paradoxical juxtaposition of the kingdom of God as *both* a present reality and a future expectation (survey in Perrin 1963: 79–89). Though few scholars explain the relationship between present and future in the teaching of Jesus in precisely the same way, the label "proleptic eschatology" is useful for indicating that there is a tension between present and future in Jesus' understanding of the kingdom of God, in which the present is a critical stage in the full future realization of the kingdom of God. The positions of consistent eschatology and realized eschatology can only be maintained by ignoring or minimizing present or future elements in the eschatological teaching of Jesus. W. G. Kümmel (1961) sought to demonstrate three theses: (a) there is incontrovertible evidence that in the teaching of Jesus the kingdom of God is a future reality which will appear imminently (Kümmel 1961: 19–87); (b) there is also incontrovertible evidence that the kingdom of God is a present reality in and through the words and deeds of Jesus (Kümmel 1961: 105–40); (c) the eschatological message of Jesus must be contrasted with the apocalyptic eschatology characteristic of early Judaism, for Jesus' juxtaposition of present and future means that the redemptive function of the eschatological consummation has already become a present reality in the mission and message of Jesus (Kümmel 1961: 141–55). This view of the paradoxical juxtaposition of both the present and future aspects of the kingdom of God in the teachings of Jesus became dominant in the early 1960s as evident in the almost simultaneous publication of three books in 1963–64, the first two of which are primarily surveys of research (Perrin 1963; Lundström 1963; Ladd 1964).

d. Models De-emphasizing Eschatology. At the present time the proleptic eschatology model (a synthesis of the antithetical consistent and realized eschatology models) dominates the modern understanding of Jesus' eschatological perspective. Yet some scholars have recently criticized the assumption that the outlook of Jesus was primarily determined by eschatology, i.e., he understood his mission and message within the framework of the actual end of the world in his generation (Glasson 1980, 1984; Borg 1986; Mack 1987). This critique is based on several arguments (cf. Borg 1986: 81–102). (1) In recent critical discussions of the coming Son of Man sayings in the Gospels, many scholars have concluded that such sayings are not authentic and that there was in fact no eschatological Son of Man conception in early Judaism to which Jesus could have referred. (2) The conception of an eschatological kingdom of God, which occurs so frequently in the Synoptic teachings of Jesus, is a notion conspicuous by its general absence from early Jewish apocalyptic literature (Chilton 1987: 51–75). Perrin (1963: 168–70) finds just five occurrences: *Pss. Sol.* 17.3; *Sib. Or.* 3.46 f.; *Assum. Mos.* 10.1; 1QM6.6; 12.7 (though a more thorough investigation is found in Lattke 1984: 72–91). The conception of the royal rule of God is completely absent from a surprising number of early Jewish apocalypses (*Martyrdom of Isaiah; 2 Baruch; 3 Baruch; 2 Enoch; 4 Ezra;* cf. Lattke 1984: 78). (3) The notion that Jesus' proclamation of the arrival of the kingdom of God involved the end of the world is a conception which has no basis in the kingdom sayings themselves. (4) The eschatological understanding of Jesus has not been able to account adequately for the strong component of *proverbial wisdom* present in the teachings of Jesus (particularly in Q, the Sayings Source). On the basis of arguments such as these, some scholars have rejected the widespread understanding of Jesus as an eschatological prophet, based on the apocalyptic context of his mission and message, and replaced it with the model of Jesus as a Cynic sage, a model which attempts to deal more seriously with the substantial element of proverbial wisdom preserved in the Synoptic Jesus tradition (Mack 1987:11–22). This construction has many similarities to the earlier liberal view of Jesus to which Weiss and Schweitzer reacted so strongly, as well as to the emphasis on realized eschatology begun by Dodd. A. Harnack, one of the more prominent Protestant liberal scholars, rejected the proposal that Jesus must be understood within the context of Jewish apocalypticism and emphasized instead the religious and ethical elements of the teaching of Jesus which were so prominent in Q (Harnack 1908).

2. Jesus and the Kingdom of God. The kingdom of God, which is the focus of the teaching of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels, was also central in the proclamation of the historical Jesus. Jesus proclaimed the kingdom, explained it through parables, enlisted disciples to help in its proclamation, was involved in disputes with Jewish religious leaders about its meaning, and very probably died as a consequence of the controversy which the proclamation of the kingdom of God generated. Despite this emphasis on the kingdom, the Gospels preserve no sayings in which Jesus explains precisely what he meant by it. Since the term *kingdom* in Judaism referred to the *rule* or *sovereignty* of God rather than to the territory or sphere ruled over by God, a more appropriate translation of the Gk phrase *basileia tou theou* (reflecting the Heb phrase *malkût šāmayim*) would be "*reign* of God." Despite the fact that the specific phrase "kingdom of God" or its equivalent occurs rarely in early Jewish apocalyptic literature (Perrin 1963: 168–70; Lattke 1984: 72–91), it is sufficiently clear that in the

Judaism of the time of Jesus there was a widespread expectation that God would soon act in a decisive way to visit and redeem his people. The many parables in the Synoptic tradition which illuminate various aspects of the kingdom of God suggest that Jesus' own perspective was not one commonly held but required definition and explanation (Matt 13:24–50; 18:23–25; 20:1–16; 22:1–14; 25:1–13; Mark 4:26–34; Luke 13:18–20). The phrase "kingdom of God" occurs just twice in John (3:3, 5) and usually in the form "kingdom of heaven," in Matthew.

Jesus is presented as announcing the *presence* of the kingdom of God in many sayings preserved in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 12:28 and par.; Matt 11:5–6; Luke 7:22–23; Matt 13:16–17 and par.; Luke 4:16–30; 17:20–21; cf. Beasley-Murray 1946: 75–107). A similar emphasis on the presence of the kingdom appears in many parables (Mark 3:27 and par.; Matt 13:44–46; 18:23–25; 20:1–6; 22:1–14 and par.; Mark 4:26–29; cf. Beasley-Murray 1946: 108–46). It is also evident that in many other sayings and parables the *future* arrival of the kingdom of God is emphasized (Matt 6:9–13 and par.; Matt 5:3–12 and par.; Matt 8:11–12 = Luke 13:28–29; Mark 9:1 = Matt 16:28 = Luke 9:27). Many of the parables attributed to Jesus convey a situation of imminent crisis (Mark 4:30–32 and par.; Matt 13:33 = Luke 13:20–21; Mark 4:26–29; Mark 4:1–9 = Matt 13:1–9; Luke 8:4–8; Matt 13:24–30). The many sayings which deal with *entering* the kingdom of God must also be understood in terms of the futurity of the kingdom (Mark 9:43–48 and par.; Mark 10:23 and par.; Mark 10:15 and par.; Matt 5:20; 7:21). Though the problem of the authenticity of many of these sayings will continue to be debated, the sheer volume of such Jesus traditions emphasizing the present or future dimensions of the kingdom of God strongly suggests that Jesus himself understood the kingdom as provisionally present in his own person and message but that complete arrival of the kingdom of God was the object of imminent expectation.

This eschatological conception of Jesus, however, was not as unique in early Judaism as many scholars have thought. In the *Hymn Scroll* from Qumran, there is evidence that the Qumran sectarians held that eschatological salvation had already entered the present age in the history and experience of their community (1QH 3:19–36; 11:3–14; 11:15 ff.; 15; Kuhn 1966: 44–112; Aune 1972: 31–37).

3. Jesus as the Messiah. The central category to which the earliest Christians assigned Jesus was that of *messiah*. Yet precisely *how* this title became a central way of characterizing the religious significance of Jesus is problematic since his career did not cohere well with early Jewish messianic expectations. It is, nevertheless, true that within 20 years after the crucifixion of Jesus, as demonstrated by Paul's letters, *Christos* (the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew term *messiah*) occurs 266 times, usually as a proper name for Jesus, as in the phrase "Jesus Christ," in the quasi-titular usage "Christ Jesus," or as the name for a specific messiah, i.e., Jesus (Rom 9:5). This suggests that Paul had no particular concerns about the messianic status of Jesus. In the Gospels and Acts, on the other hand, the specifically messianic status of Jesus is a central issue. *Christos* occurs 80 times, 16 times as a proper name for Jesus (e.g., Mark 1:1; John 17:3), but also as a title predicated of Jesus (e.g., Mark 8:29 and par.; 14:61 and par.), and a designation for the eschatological Davidic king (e.g., Mark 12:35 and par.; Acts 2:31). The *meaning* of the designation "messiah" when applied to Jesus by Christians was determined primarily by Christian conceptions of Jesus rather than by conventional Jewish ways of understanding that title.

4. Jesus and the Son of Man. The Son of Man designation, found 69 times in the Synoptic Gospels and 13 times in John, is a distinctive designation which Jesus alone used of himself in the Gospels. In just two passages, John 12:34 and Acts 7:56, is the designation used by anyone other than Jesus himself. Further, Jesus is never referred to as Son of Man in the rest of the NT, apart from two allusions to Dan 7:13 in Rev 1:13 and 14:14. The designation is not used in an exclusively eschatological way but is used of the *present* Son of Man (e.g., Mark 2:10, 28 and par.), the *suffering* Son of Man (Mark 8:31 and par.; 9:31 and par.; 10:33–34 and par.), and the future or *eschatological* Son of Man (see below).

The origin and significance of the Son of Man designation has become one of the most hotly debated issues in modern NT scholarship. Up until quite recently most scholars assumed that "Son of Man" was a term for a heavenly eschatological figure expected by apocalyptic groups within Judaism. Since the 1960s it has become increasingly clear that such a concept was quite unknown in early Judaism (Perrin 1963: 164–99; Leivestad 1987: 153–64). References to the Son of Man in *1 En.* 37–71 (the dating of which is uncertain) appear to be based on an exegesis of Dan 7:13 rather than on a current eschatological conception. The Gospels contain a number of eschatological Son of Man sayings, i.e., those which center on his Parousia (cf. Mark 8:38 and par.; Matt 19:33 = Luke 12:8–9; Matt 19:28; 24:27, 37 = Luke 17:24, 26), some of which clearly allude to Dan 7:13 (Mark 13:26 and par.; 14:62 and par.). These latter are often judged to be inauthentic. The fact that the Son of Man and the kingdom of God are motifs which do not occur together in authentic sayings of Jesus has suggested to some that the Son of Man sayings are all secondary, since many kingdom sayings have a strong claim to authenticity (Vielhauer 1965: 55–91). While some scholars argue that *none* of the Son of Man sayings in the Gospels is authentic, others argue that only the eschatological sayings are authentic but contend that Jesus is not speaking of himself but of another, since the sayings are couched in the third person. While Jesus could well have referred to himself as "son of man" in a polite Aramaic idiom for "I" or "me," it appears improbable that he consciously referred to himself as the heavenly redeemer figure of Dan 7:13. Evidence from the Gospels, however, makes it quite clear that this is precisely the category into which Jesus was placed in the sayings tradition.

5. Eschatology and Ethics. The traditional understanding of the message of Jesus links his proclamation of the imminent but *future* arrival of the kingdom of God with repentance evidenced by changed behavior in the *present* (Mark 1:15; Matt 4:17). However, many of the ethical teachings of Jesus appear to have no logical relationship to his proclamation of the kingdom, such as the sayings on divorce (Mark 10:11–12 and par.; Matt 5:31–32). The reconciliation of the eschatology of Jesus with his ethical

teachings occurs in the demand of Jesus that people make a present decision which will affect their future standing with God.

F. Pauline Eschatology

1. Sources and Problems. Seven of the corpus of 13 Pauline letters are widely regarded as authentic (Rom, 1–2 Cor, Gal, Phil, 1 Thess, Phlm). The other six letters, however, including the Pastoral Epistles (1–2 Tim; Titus), as well as Eph, Col, and 2 Thess (all written during the last quarter of the 1st century C.E. or later), are in all probability pseudonymous and reflect the later thought of various individuals and groups of Christians sympathetic to Paul. Though these six letters are valuable sources for the transmission and development of Pauline traditions, they cannot serve as primary sources for Paul's own thought. Acts, though emphasizing the travels, teaching, and preaching of Paul, is of uneven and uncertain historical reliability and can be used as evidence for Pauline thought only when supported by the authentic letters.

There are several problems involved in evaluating the role which eschatology plays in the Pauline letters. First, since it is difficult to place the seven authentic Pauline letters in relative chronological order, the varying eschatological emphasis in them (e.g., the Parousia is not mentioned in Galatians) has led to various hypotheses of the development of Pauline eschatology (Hurd 1967; Longenecker 1985). Second, there is the problem of deciding on the center of Paul's thought and of determining whether apocalypticism is that center (Beker 1980: 15–18; 1982: 10), or what the relationship is between apocalypticism and that center.

2. Transformations of Apocalypticism. Whether or not apocalypticism is the *center* of Pauline thought, the apocalyptic world view certainly provides a framework for his thought (Käsemann 1967a: 82–107; Beker 1980: 143–52); and it is from this perspective that the *gospel,* the central theological emphasis in his letters, must be understood. The eschatological framework of Paul's gospel is clearly reflected in 1 Thess 1:9f., where he relates how the Thessalonians "turned to God from idols, to serve a living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, Jesus who delivers us from the wrath to come." Here the themes of Parousia, resurrection, and judgment are interwoven. This apocalyptic orientation has several significant features: (1) eschatological dualism, i.e., a distinction between "this age" and "the coming age"; (2) cosmic eschatology, i.e., the anticipated victory of God over the created world; and (3) a belief in the imminence of the end (Beker 1980: 135–38).

a. The Two Ages. In continuity with the two ages characteristic of Jewish apocalyptic thought (Bousset and Gressman 1966: 243–49), Paul maintains a dualistic contrast between the present and future age or aeon (Gal 1:4; Rom 8:18; 1 Cor 7:26; cf. Eph 5:16). Paul frequently uses the expression "this age" (Rom 12:2; 1 Cor 1:20; 2:6, 8; 3:18f.; 2 Cor 4:4; cf. Eph 2:2) and speaks of the evil supernatural powers which dominate it (1 Cor 2:6; 2 Cor 4:4). This temporal dualism (the age to come as *future*) coincides with a spatial dualism (the age to come as a heavenly reality); i.e., in Judaism the age to come had two aspects, it was an unseen, heavenly reality, but one which would succeed this age in the future (cf. Davies 1970: 308–20). Paul can also say that "the things that are seen are transient, but the things that are not seen are eternal" (2 Cor 4:18; cf. Phil 3:20; 2 Cor 5:1–5). Paul expected the age to come, which would be introduced by the Parousia of Jesus, to arrive in the near future (Phil 4:4f.; 1 Cor 7:29), though he considered the possibility that he might die before its arrival (Phil 1:23).

However, Paul's conviction that Jesus was the Lord who had already died and risen again meant that he could not simply retain the Jewish apocalyptic conception of the two ages unchanged. The resurrection of Jesus convinced Paul that the age to come had already begun. He did not view the resurrection of Jesus as an isolated event, however, but rather as the first stage in the future resurrection of all the righteous dead (1 Cor 15:20–23). The sharp distinction between the present and future characteristic of much of Jewish apocalypticism has therefore been softened or blurred in his thought, since Christians can experience the future age in the present time (1 Cor 2:6; 7:29–31; 10:11). He regarded the period between Christ's resurrection and the Parousia as an interim period in which the powers of the age to come were present in a hidden way for the community of Christian believers (Beker 1980: 135–81; 1982: 40). Deliverance from "the present evil age" has been made possible by the sacrifice of Christ (Gal 1:4). Thus Christian existence can be called a "new creation" (2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15); for the Christian participates in salvation by being "in Christ," by "putting on Christ" in baptism whereby he dies to sin and shares the promise of resurrection (Rom 6:1–11; Gal 2:20). Even though Christians are in process of transformation (2 Cor 3:18; 4:16), the full transformation will not occur until the Parousia of Jesus (1 Thess 4; 1 Cor 15:51–56; Phil 3:20f.). When Paul speaks of the believer's rising with Christ, he uses what E. Käsemann prefers to call Paul's "eschatological reservation" (Käsemann 1967b: 132–37), in that Paul does not speak of participation in Christ's resurrection as a *past* experience (a view expressed in Deutero-Pauline letters, cf. Col 3:1–3; Eph 2:1–10) but as one which lies in the *future* (cf. Rom 6:4–5).

b. Judgment and the Parousia. The prophetic conception of the Day of the Lord (Amos 5:18–20; Zeph 1:14–16; Joel 2:2; cf. Rowley 1956: 177–201) became the basis for Paul's conception of the impending eschatological judgment of the world (1 Thess 5:2; Rom 2:16). Phrases such as "the Day of Jesus Christ" (1 Cor 1:8; Phil 1:6), however, indicate that for Paul the center of eschatological hope had shifted from God to Christ (Kreitzer 1987: 99–102). Yet the very fact that Paul can refer to the judgment seat of Christ in one place (2 Cor 5:10) and the judgment seat of God in another (Rom 14:10) suggests fluidity and ambiguity in his thought (Kreitzer 1987: 107–12), a phenomenon explicable in part by the application of the term "Lord" to Christ. The expectation of the Parousia, which focuses on the return of Christ as savior and judge rather than on the visitation of God, is a major way of understanding the Day of the Lord. Paul refers to the Parousia frequently in his letters (1 Cor 15:23; 1 Thess 2:19; 3:13; 4:15; 5:23; cf. 2 Thess 2:1, 8). In passages such as 2 Cor 4:4 it is clear that Paul understood that the resurrection of Christ implied the resurrection of believers. In 1 Thess

4:13–18 he depicts the Parousia primarily as a *saving* event signaled by the Lord's cry of command, the archangel's call, and the sounding of God's trumpet (apocalyptic visitation and judgment imagery), at which deceased Christians will rise from the dead and, together with living Christians, will be taken up to the Lord in the clouds. This passage should be understood in light of early Jewish apocalyptic imagery of accounts of translations or assumptions of living people into heaven (for other Christianized accounts, cf. Luke 17:34–35 = Matt 24:40–41; Luke 24; Acts 1; Rev 11:3–13; 12:5); assumption of living people means that they do not have to taste death, while those who are really dead cannot be assumed (Plevnik 1984: 280). If Paul had taught the Thessalonians that at Christ's Parousia they would all experience assumption to the risen Lord, they would have believed that only the *living* could be assumed. Paul's insistence that the dead in Christ will rise first (probably in a transformed state rather than a restoration of earthly life) means that all will qualify for assumption (Plevnik 1984: 280–83). In 1 Cor 15:51–57 the same event is dealt with in a different way (the Parousia itself is not mentioned), though the focus is on eschatological salvation. At the sound of the eschatological trumpet, the dead will be raised and will, with the living, experience a transformed state of existence.

3. Did Paul Expect a Temporary Messianic Kingdom? The conception of an intermediate messianic kingdom which serves as a transition between a temporary age and an eternal age is found in three Jewish apocalypses: (1) Apocalypse of Weeks (*1 En.* 91:1–10; 93:12–17; between 175 and 167 B.C.E.), (2) *4 Ezra* 7:26–44; 12:31–34 (ca. 90 C.E.), and (3) *2 Bar.* 29:3–30:1; 40:1–4; 72:2–74:3 (ca. 110 C.E.). Schweitzer proposed that Paul (particularly in 1 Cor 15:20–28), like John the Seer in Rev 20:1–15, anticipated a temporary messianic kingdom which would be introduced by one resurrection and concluded by a second resurrection (Schweitzer 1931: 65–68, 90–100; cf. Schoeps 1961: 97–110). Schweitzer proposed that Paul anticipated the following sequence of eschatological events: (1) the sudden and unexpected Parousia (1 Thess 5:1–4); (2) the resurrection of deceased believers and the transformation of living believers (1 Thess 4:16f.); (3) the messianic judgment presided over by Christ (2 Cor 5:10), or God (Rom 14:10); (4) the dawn of the messianic kingdom (not described but presupposed by Paul); (5) transformation of all nature (Rom 8:19f.) and a struggle with angelic powers (Rom 16:20) until death itself is conquered; (6) the messianic kingdom ends (Paul does not mention its length); (7) a general resurrection (1 Cor 6:3), followed by judgment upon all people and defeated angels. Schweitzer's reconstruction has been widely criticized (Wilke 1967; Davies 1970: 285–98). First, there is no evidence that Paul expected an intermediate messianic kingdom, and second, there is no evidence that Paul expected a general resurrection. In Pauline thought there is an unforeseen interval only between the resurrection and Parousia of Christ.

4. Eschatology and Ethics. Paul often uses eschatological language as a means of sanctioning certain types of behavior (Gager 1970: 327–37; Meeks 1983b: 687–703). In Rom 8:18–25 Paul argues that the experience of suffering and tribulation is an indispensable condition for glorification (cf. 2 Cor 4:7–12; Rom 5:3–5; 6:5–11). Thus his eschatological perspective provides meaning for negative aspects of present experience. In Gal 5:21, at the conclusion of a list of vices, he claims that "those who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God" (cf. 1 Cor 6:9–10, where the warning precedes a list of types of sinners). Here eschatology provides a direct sanction for discouraging certain unacceptable types of behavior. The relationship between eschatological language and moral exhortation is often more subtle. The social function of such language has been explored in several recent studies (Meeks 1983a: 171–80; 1983b; Jewett 1986). In 1 Thessalonians, for example, apocalyptic language tends to reinforce notions of community uniqueness and solidarity, disposing Christians to act in a manner beneficial to the entire Christian community (Meeks 1983b: 694).

G. Eschatology in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts

The Synoptic Gospels are complex compositions which narrate the life and ministry of Jesus as refracted through decades of Christian tradition and interpretation culminating in the literary activity of each of the Evangelists. The various strata of each gospel exhibit varying emphases on eschatology overlaid on their presentation of the words and deeds of Jesus.

1. The Gospel of Mark. The term "kingdom of God," introduced in Mark 1:15, occurs 14 times in Mark (1:15; 4:11, 26, 30; 9:1, 47; 10:14, 15, 23, 24, 25; 12:34; 14:25; 15:43), while the kingdom of David is mentioned just once (11:10). Despite C. H. Dodd's attempt to interpret Mark 1:15 to mean "the kingdom of God has come" (Dodd 1961: 29f.), subsequent exegesis agrees that though the problematic verb *eggizein* is somewhat ambiguous (Berkey 1963; Perrin 1963: 64–66), it normally has a future reference (Fuller 1954: 21–25). The phrase in Mark 1:15 should be translated "the kingdom of God has come near" or "the kingdom of God is at hand" (Kümmel 1961: 19–25), i.e., it is not present, but imminent. According to Mark 9:1 the disciples will not die before they see the kingdom of God. Similarly, Mark's emphasis on "entering the kingdom of God" (10:23, 24, 25) and on Joseph of Arimathea's expectation of the kingdom of God (15:43) also suggests that it is a future entity. With the possible exceptions of the parables of the Sower (Mark 4:3–9), of the Seed Growing Secretly (4:26–29), and of the Mustard Seed (4:30–32), there is no suggestion in Mark that the kingdom of God is in any sense a present reality. While these parables have been understood to refer to the *presence* of the kingdom in the ministry of Jesus (Dodd 1961: 140–47), that meaning is not evident in the present text of Mark; and if their original meaning is recoverable at all (Linnemann 1966: 117–19), it was oriented toward the *future* (Jeremias 1963: 149–53). The debate is far from over, however, for in a recent study Mack (1987: 29–44) argues that *none* of the kingdom sayings attributed to Jesus in Mark is authentic in the sense that they derive from the historical Jesus. The apocalyptic element, he argues, has been superimposed on an essentially non-eschatological Jesus by Mark and the community he represents.

Mark 13 consists of an eschatological scenario which indicates the apocalyptic orientation of the author. Following Jesus' prediction of the destruction of the temple (13:2), Jesus predicts a series of eschatological events in-

cluding the appearance of false messiahs, wars, earthquakes, and famines, a period of great tribution (13:5–8). The arrest and prosecution of Jesus' followers is predicted, along with persecution even by family members (13:9–13). When the "desolating sacrilege" is set up (an enigmatic reference to the desecration of the temple based on an earlier event recorded in Dan 9:27; 11:31; 12:11), citizens of Judea are advised to flee; for a terrible time of tribulation will ensue, including the appearance of false messiahs and false prophets (13:14–23). Finally, after a cosmic upheaval (13:24–25), the Son of Man will come in the clouds and gather his elect from all parts of the world (13:26–27). Since there is no clear allusion to the fall of the temple in 70 C.E., it may be that Mark was written before that event occurred, i.e., from 65–70 C.E.

2. Q: The Synoptic Sayings Source. The abbreviation "Q," (usually linked to the German word *Quelle,* meaning "source") can be defined very simply as the non-Markan parallels between Matthew and Luke. This double tradition is quite extensive, consisting of about 250 vv found grouped in nearly 50 pericopes. Often referred to as the Synoptic Sayings Source, Q was in all probability a *written* (rather than an oral) source used by Matthew and Luke; it exhibits *literary unity* (Jacobson 1982); it was probably composed in Greek, ca. 50 C.E., very likely in Palestine (Kloppenborg 1987a: 42–64). Since Q probably arose within Palestinian Christianity, scholars often refer to the "Q Community," that is, to the hypothetical Christian community whose theology found expression in this document. Unlike the Gospels, Q consisted primarily of *sayings* of Jesus (and John the Baptist) and lacked the narrative unity provided by a plot. It contains just two miracle stories (Luke 7:1–10 = Matt 8:5–13; Luke 11:14 = Matt 12:22–23). It did not include an account of the last days of Jesus, nor does Q appear to have mentioned the resurrection.

There is a strong and pervasive emphasis on *eschatology* throughout Q (Kee 1977: 87–117), yet there is also a significant focus on *wisdom* (Carlston 1982: 101–19; Edwards 1976: 58–79), as well as *prophecy* (Edwards 1976: 44–57). The relationship between these three emphases remains problematic. The emphasis on eschatology and prophecy has suggested to some that the hypothetical community which produced Q was an apocalyptic sect which lived in imminent expectation of the end (Schulz 1972: 168) and which had undertaken a prophetic mission to Israel.

In the preaching of John the Baptist preserved in Q, imminent expectation consists of three connected motifs: (1) the threat of *judgment,* (2) the fact that this judgment is *imminent,* and (3) the focus on the *coming judge* (Luke 3:7–9 = Matt 3:7–10; Luke 3:16–17 = Matt 3:11–12). One of the more important of these motifs is that of the *imminent expectation of the end* (Hoffmann 1972: 34–49). There are nine Son of Man sayings in Q, six of which focus on the *future coming* of the Son of Man (Luke 11:30 = Matt 12:40; Luke 12:40 = Matt 24:44; Luke 12:8–9 = Matt 10:32–33; Luke 17:24 = Matt 24:27; Luke 17:26 = Matt 24:37–39; Luke 17:28 = Matt 24:37–39). Three describe the *present activity* of the Son of Man (Luke 7:34 = Matt 11:19; Luke 12:10 = Matt 12:32; Luke 9:58 = Matt 8:20), while Q contains no sayings relating to the suffering Son of Man. The Q Community appears to have experienced persecution (Luke 6:22–23 = Matt 5:11–12; Luke 11:49–51 = Matt 18:34–35; Luke 13:34–35 = Matt 23:37–39). A continuing problem which dogs the analysis of Q, and the primary reason for the varied assessments of that source, is the difficulty of determining the extent to which it reflects the self-understanding of the Q Community.

3. The Gospel of Matthew. The Christian community in which Matthew arose was apparently a Jewish-Christian group in conflict with a Judaism in process of reconstruction after the First Jewish Revolt of 66–73 C.E. (Matt 23:1–36). Probably allusions to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. are reflected in the parable of the wedding feast (Matt 22:1–14). For Matthew the Church is the true Israel and the eschatological promises made by God in the OT have been fulfilled in the life and ministry of Jesus (cf. the ten fulfillment quotations in Matt 1:22 f.; 2:15, 17 f.; etc.) The term *kingdom of heaven* ("heaven" is used as a pious circumlocution for "God") is mentioned 32 times, *kingdom of God* 4 times (12:28; 19:24; 21:31, 43); and the term *kingdom* with other modifiers occurs 14 times in Matthew. Though there are several passages which suggest the imminence of the end (10:23; 16:28; 24:34), they have been taken over with little change from sources (Strecker 1971: 41–43). Thus Matthew's expectation of the end is not as imminent as that of Mark. Further, there is little evidence that Matthew understood the kingdom of heaven as present in Jesus. The announcement that "the kingdom of heaven has come near" is made by John the Baptist (3:2), Jesus (4:17), and the disciples (10:7). The phrase "the gospel of the kingdom" (4:23; 9:35; 24:14; 26:13) is Matthew's designation for the message which Jesus and his disciples proclaimed to Israel, though in actuality this phrase refers both to the proclamation of the historical Jesus and that of the post-Easter Church (Kingsbury 1975: 129 f.). A distinctive emphasis of Matthew is that the coming judgment applies even to disciples (13:24–30, 36–43; Bornkamm 1963: 18). The Olivet discourse in Matt 24 (based on Mark 13), is directed to the disciples generally, not to a restricted group of four as in Mark; and it is more sharply focused on "when this will be and what will be the sign of your coming and of the close of the age" (24:3). Matthew emphasizes the theme of eschatological judgment by appending several parables which focus on this theme in his rewriting of Mark 13 (the ten maidens, 25:1–13; the talents, 25:14–30 [= Luke 19:12–27]; the last judgment, 25:31–46). To the five parables of Mark 4, Matthew 13 adds the parable of the weeds (13:24–30) and its interpretation (13:36–46), along with four additional kingdom parables (13:44–52). The author frequently uses the Son of Man designation in its apocalyptic sense for Jesus (10:23; 13:37–41; 16:28; 19:28). Matthew is the first author to use the Gk term *Parousia* in the technical sense of the second coming of Christ (24:3; 24:27, 37, 39). Matthew closely links the coming of the Son of Man with the kingdom (compare Matt 16:28 with Mark 9:1 and Luke 9:27). The imagery of "weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth" as a means of expressing the terrors of eschatological judgment occurs five times in Matt (8:12; 13:42; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30), though elsewhere in the NT it occurs only in Luke 13:28).

4. Luke-Acts. While eschatology is clearly a central issue in Luke and Acts, it is also one of the most complex and

debated aspects of Lukan theology. The central issue is not whether Luke anticipated an eschatological consummation, but whether he conceives of that consummation as belonging to the *near* or *distant* future. Wilson (1969–70) has proposed that Luke inconsistently emphasized *both* the imminence of the end and the delay of the end. This inconsistency results from the fact that his central concern is pastoral and these two emphases deal with different problems caused by the delay of the Parousia. According to Conzelmann (1960) Luke was aware of the problem involved in the delay of the Parousia and rewrote and edited his sources to eliminate or suppress the earlier expectation of an imminent eschatological consummation in favor of a consummation located in the indefinite future.

There are some clear instances in which Luke has omitted or toned down the imminent expectation of the end found in Mark (Mark 1:15; cf. Luke 4:15; Mark 9:1; cf. Luke 9:27). In a saying attributed to Jesus in Luke 17:20–21, the kingdom of God will not come with outward signs, but is "in your midst." Jesus tells the parable of the pounds in Luke 19:11–27 because people thought that "the kingdom of God was to appear immediately" (v 11).

Yet Luke has also included several sayings (admittedly few) which emphasize the imminence of the eschaton. John the Baptist threatens his hearers with the imminence of eschatological judgment (3:7–9, 16–17). Jesus announces the imminent arrival of the kingdom of God (10:9, 11; 21:31) as well as the coming of the Son of Man (17:22–37).

One aspect of Luke's response to the problem of the delay of the Parousia, according to some scholars, is the transformation of macrocosmic eschatology (the end of the world) into microcosmic eschatology (the end of the individual), i.e., the judgment and entry of individuals into heaven or hell (Dupont 1973; Schneider 1975). However, the few passages used to support this view (Luke 12:20; 16:19–31; 23:43–46; Acts 7:55–60; 14:22) provide slim support for such a proposal. The parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31), for example, deals with punishment and reward in the afterlife; but the extent to which Luke's cosmology agrees with that of this traditional story cannot be known. Eschatological language is used in Stephen's dying vision of the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God (Acts 7:55–56). Some have interpreted this passage as involving a private and personal Parousia for Stephen. Yet the literary function of this passage (coming at the end of Stephen's long sermon) is to emphasize the divine judgment which will fall on those who do not heed Stephen's message, rather than simply to depict the Son of Man as standing to receive the soul of the dying martyr. Jesus' words to the dying thief, "today you will be with me in paradise" (Luke 23:43), and his final words, "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit" (Luke 23:46; cf. Acts 7:59b), suggest that God receives the spirit of the righteous person upon death. Though individual eschatology is involved in these last passages, it is not without parallel elsewhere in the NT (Phil 1:23). Following Conzelmann, some scholars have argued that all traces of a belief in an imminent end have been eliminated by Luke (Kaestli 1969). Yet Luke has not completely shifted eschatological expectation from a near to a distant future, and there is a strong emphasis in Luke-Acts that promised eschatological events have been partially fulfilled.

Some passages in Luke which have played an important role in the theory of the delay of the Parousia are Luke 13:22–30; 14:15–24 (the parable of the Great Feast); 19:11–27. Other important passages are Acts 1:6–8; Luke 22:69; Luke 9:27; Luke 21:32. Luke 21:32 is a saying which does not fit well with the notion of an indefinitely delayed Parousia: "Truly, I say to you, this generation will not pass away till all has taken place." Yet this is the *only* passage in Luke-Acts suggesting imminence, and it is not part of Luke's editorial work but a traditional saying which he has retained relatively unchanged from Mark.

In Luke-Acts the expectation of an Israelite messianic kingdom with Jesus as the Davidic messiah is part of the plan of God (Luke 1:32–33, 68–71; Acts 2:30–36; 3:20–21; 13:22–23, 32–34). Jesus' predictions that he must suffer and be rejected are not understood by the disciples (9:22, 44–45; 17:25; 18:31–34; 22:22). This misunderstanding kindles false eschatological expectations. The disciples mistakenly expect the imminent arrival of the kingdom of God when Jesus triumphantly enters Jerusalem as messianic king (Luke 19:11; 24:21). Their disappointed expectation of the inauguration of the Davidic eschatological kingdom is momentarily rekindled after Jesus' resurrection (Acts 1:6). When he arrives in Jerusalem, Jesus is recognized as king (19:37–38). As the immediate result of the rejection of Jesus, the "restoration" of the messianic kingdom is delayed (Luke 19:41–44; Acts 1:6–7). In Acts the necessity of repentance becomes a condition for the arrival of the messianic kingdom (Acts 3:19–21), though this emphasis is found only here in Acts. Those who predict the coming of the Son of Man (Luke 17:23) or who announce that "the time is near" (Luke 21:8) are false teachers.

In Mark and Matthew the fall of Jerusalem (alluded to by reference to the "abomination of desolation," which refers to Dan 9:27 and 12:11) is an apocalyptic event which is part of the eschatological program culminating in the Parousia of Jesus (Mark 13:14; Matt 24:15). For Luke, on the other hand, the destruction of Jerusalem is a historical event separate from the events of the eschatological consummation. Whereas Mark was probably written shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., Luke-Acts was probably written much later, ca. 90 C.E. For Luke the fall of Jerusalem was the fulfillment of a prophetic oracle (Luke 21:20; cf. 13:34–35; 19:41–44; 23:27–32). Yet Luke has portrayed the capture of Jerusalem in 19:42–44 and 21:20–24 in biblical language and imagery describing the conquest of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.E. (Dodd 1968; Reicke 1972).

Eschatology is little emphasized in Acts. Aside from several general references to the resurrection (Acts 23:6; 24:15, 21; 26:6–8) and vague references to the hope of Israel (Acts 1:6; 28:20), the author refers to the eventual return of of Jesus from heaven in a manner analogous to his ascension (1:11). According to 3:19–21 repentance will hasten the arrival of the messianic kingdom; and according to 10:42 and 17:30–31, Jesus, acting as God's agent, will one day judge the living and the dead.

H. Johannine Literature

The eschatology of John is dominated by the presence of Jesus, who demands decision and belief on the part of

characters in the narrative as well as on the part of the readers (John 20:30–31). A positive response to this invitation results in the present appropriation and enjoyment of the eschatological gift of eternal life.

Just as in the Synoptic Gospels, the title messiah is of central significance for the christology of the Fourth Gospel (20:30 f.), since for the Fourth Evangelist the coming of the Messiah is an essential aspect of Jewish eschatological expectation (1:20, 25, 41; 3:28; 4:25, 29; 7:26 f., 31, 41 f.; 9:22; 10:24). These references, however, tell us more about the *Christian* conception of the messianic role of Jesus than they do about early 1st-century *Jewish* messianic expectation. Since the author clearly identified Jesus with the Christian conception of the Messiah of Jewish expectation (20:31), the title functions as a key to understanding the realized eschatology of John. Though "Christ" is twice used as a name for Jesus (1:17; 17:3), a usage characteristic of Paul, the term *messiah* is also used in a creedal or confessional way (9:22; 11:27; 20:31). Many aspects of traditional future eschatology are found in John. Several times reference is made to "I will raise him up on the last day" (6:39, 40, 44, 54). Two aspects of the Parousia of Jesus are described in 14:23. The future resurrection is referred to in 5:28–29. The second coming is mentioned in 14:3 and 21:21–23. Judgment is referred to in 12:48, the Parousia in 14:18. The element of futurity is possibly retained in John 4:14, 36; 5:29, 39; 6:27; 12:25; 1 John 2:25.

While the Gk text of the gospel of John contains eschatological statements which refer *both* to the present and to the future, the phenomenon of "realized eschatology" is clearly dominant. Since realized eschatology refers to the realization in present experience of blessings normally regarded as belonging to the eschatological future, the author and the community he represents have transformed traditional Christian eschatology. The benefits of future eschatological salvation were experienced as present realities by the Johannine community in four primary ways. (1) Since the spirit of God is understood as an eschatological gift, the *presence* of the Spirit-Paraclete means that an aspect of the eschaton is present. (2) Since "(eternal) life" is understood as a *future* blessing of eschatological salvation both in early Judaism and in pre-Johannine Christianity (Mark 10:17, 30, and par.; Matt 19:16, 29; Luke 18:18, 30; Matt 25:46; Luke 10:25; cf. Mark 9:43 and par.; Matt 18:8; Mark 9:45), the emphasis in John of the *present* possession of that life represents a radical modification of traditional Christian eschatology. The key phrase in John is "to have/possess (eternal) life" (John 3:15, 36; 5:24, 40; 6:40, 47, 53, 68; 10:10; 1 John 3:13, 15; 5:12, 13, 16). (3) Since judgment is an event normally associated with the eschatological consummation, the belief that divine judgment occurs in the present suggests that another important eschatological feature is regarded as part of present experience (3:36). (4) Since the Parousia or "coming" of Jesus as Son of Man to save and to judge is one of the central features of the eschatological consummation for traditional Christianity, references to the present "coming" of Jesus must be understood as realized eschatology.

There are several ways of assessing the significance of realized eschatology in John. (1) Since realized eschatology is characteristic of Johannine theology, any references to apocalyptic eschatology can be regarded as foreign intrusions inserted in the text by later interpolators or redactors (Bultmann). (2) The presence of some features of apocalyptic eschatology in the present text of John and its supposed connection with Revelation have led a few scholars to accentuate the role of futuristic eschatology (van Hartingsveld 1962). (3) Most scholars, recognizing the presence of both present and future eschatology in John, accept the existence of a tension between these two aspects of Johannine thought (Corell 1958; Cullmann 1967: 268–91).

I. The Revelation of John

Revelation is the only Christian apocalypse in the NT (the name of the genre "apocalypse" was derived from Rev 1:1). The main portion of the book (4:1–22:5) is a complex vision report stitched together from earlier Jewish and Christian eschatological traditions of various lengths and complexity. The overall plan of Revelation is a sequential narrative of future events of the type which characterizes the eschatological scenarios in revelation discourses (Mark 13 and par.; 1 Thess 4:13–18; 2 Thess 2:1–12; *Didache* 16). As in such revelatory discourses, the primary emphasis is on the eschatological punishments which will afflict the enemies of God's people (Rev 6:1–16:21). The anticipated destruction of Babylon-Rome is savored with particular glee (Revelation 17–18). The Parousia is presented as a final battle between Christ, depicted as a field marshall leading the heavenly armies, and his opponents, both earthly and supernatural (Revelation 19). Satan's defeat ushers in a millennial kingdom (20:1–6), which is concluded by the final defeat and punishment of Satan and his allies (20:7–10), followed by a great judgment scene (20:11–15). Following the destruction of the first heaven and earth, a new heaven and earth are created, and the heavenly Jerusalem descends from heaven to earth (Revelation 21), providing a restored Eden where Christians can enjoy eschatological salvation in the eternal presence of God and the Lamb (22:1–5).

Revelation is permeated by a sense of urgency. The eschatological events described in the book will occur shortly (1:1, 3; 22:10). Christ reiterates the claim that he will come soon (2:16; 3:3; 16:15; 22:7, 12, 20). Moral exhortation, concentrated in Revelation 2–3, in the proclamations to the seven churches, is sanctioned by the rewards and punishments which will be meted out at the final judgment (21:5–8). While Jesus is sometimes referred to as the Messiah (11:15; 12:10; 20:4, 6), he is more frequently referred to as the Lamb (28 times), obviously with the intention of including the suffering and sacrifice of Christ (5:6, 9, 12; 7:14; 12:11). Yet the Lamb is also associated with messianic imagery; he shares God's throne (22:1, 3), he shepherds the people of God (7:17; 14:1–5), and he is a mighty warrior (17:14).

J. The Problem of the Delay of the Parousia

In the view of many scholars, the *delay of the Parousia* was the single most important factor for the transformation of early Christian eschatology from an emphasis on the *imminent* expectation of the end to a vague expectation set in the more distant future (Schweitzer; Werner 1957: 3–27. The Gk word *parousia* means "coming," "arrival," and was

frequently used of the ceremonial arrival of a king, emperor, or highly placed government official. In the NT the term is applied to the eschatological return of Christ, a term widely used in early Christianity (1 Thess 4:15; 2 Thess 2:8; 1 Cor 15:23; Matt 24:3; Jas 5:7; 1 John 2:28; 2 Pet 3:4). According to this view early Palestinian Christianity lived in the imminent expectation of the return of Jesus as Son of Man to bestow salvation and execute judgment. With the passage of time, the process of institutionalization, and the expansion of Christianity into the world of Roman Hellenism, the fervency and imminence of eschatological expectation began to diminish so that the significance which eschatology once had in Christian belief became increasingly less important. The widespread realization of the problem of the delay of the Parousia necessitated a theological adjustment. Thus the delay of the Parousia has been regarded as the single most important factor in the transformation of early Christianity. Since the imminent arrival of the end which was announced by Jesus in the Gospels (Mark 1:15; 9:1) and an early consummation expected by Paul (Rom 13:11; 1 Cor 7:29; 1 Thess 4:15) did not occur, awareness of the problems involved in this delay necessitated a readjustment in expectation. (See also Fitzmyer *Luke I–9* AB, 28.)

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D. E. AUNE

ESDAR, TEL (M.R. 147064). A small site on a low hill 2.5 km N of Tel ʿAroʿer in the Negeb. It was excavated in 1963–64 by M. Kochavi, who discovered five periods of occupation.

Stratum IVb consisted of silos and ash pits. These contained pottery and other finds from the Chalcolithic period typical of the Beer-sheba culture.

Stratum IVa dates from the EB II period and yielded occupational evidence of pebble floors. A hoard of very large incised tabular flint scrapers was found on a floor.

Stratum III dated to the end of the 11th century B.C. and was the most important stratum at the site. Remains of ten houses, built in a circle on the summit of the hill, were observed. At least six more are well attested. Eight houses were excavated, revealing the same architectural traits—long rectangular buildings divided by stone pillars into two or three living spaces. All entrances faced the center of the circle, and the houses were built adjoining one another, with their outer walls forming a kind of defensive wall. The area surrounded by the circular line of houses was left undeveloped and open and could have served as a corral. The settlement was probably destroyed in a sudden attack since all the contents of its dwellings were found smashed on the floors and were fully restorable—a phenomenon explained only by a sudden catastrophe such as an earthquake or a surprise assault.

Stratum II consisted of two buildings on the slope of the hill outside the circular line of stratum III. Its architectural traits and pottery assemblage differed from those of Stratum III. This was a 10th-century B.C. farmhouse with a subsidiary building beside it.

Stratum I was field terraces and scattered pottery sherds of the Byzantine period.

The two earliest periods of occupation at Tel Esdar (stratum IVa–b) do not differ from other sites of the Chalcolithic and the EB in the Negeb. Farmsteads of the 10th century B.C. (stratum II) as well as Byzantine field terraces (stratum I) are also common in the area. The early Iron Age settlement of stratum III, however, was the first to be excavated in the Negeb and is still the best example of an early Israelite settlement there. Its initiation, like that of Arad XII and that Beer-sheba VIII–VII, coincides with the collapse of the large non-Israelite (probably "Amalekite") center at Tel Masos. Early Israelite settlers could settle in the Beer-sheba/Arad plain only after the alien inhabitants of Tel Masos suffered severe blows, probably from Saul and David. After a short period of time, the settlement was totally destroyed. Its destruction could be attributed to the wars of Saul and David against the Amalekites (1 Sam 15:3; 2 Sam 8:12; etc.).

Since no early Iron Age pottery was found at nearby Tel ʿAroʿer, usually identified with biblical AROER, it has been suggested (Biran 1983) that Aroer of the time of King Saul, mentioned in 1 Sam 30:28, should be identified with Tel Esdar.

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MOSHE KOCHAVI

ESDRAELON (PLACE) [Gk *Esdrēlōn*]. Western section of the valleys and plains that separate Galilee from Samaria (Jdt 1:8; 3:9; 4:6; 7:3). The name does not occur in the OT, where the name given to this area is Jezreel. Esdraelon includes the plain of Megiddo, which extends from the N slopes of Mt. Carmel to the plain of Acco, to En-gammin (modern Jenin) as far as Mt. Gilboa on the S and NE to the slopes of Mt. Tabor. The river Kishon runs through the N of the valley. The plain served as a part of a trade route from the earliest times. As part of the Way of the Sea (Isa 9:1), it connected Egypt with the N. As Jezreel in the OT, it was the scene of many battles because of its strategic location. In the Apocrypha the name occurs in the book of Judith as the place where Holofernes camps with his army (Jdt 3:9). It is one of the few place names in the book of Judith that can be identified with certainty.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

ESDRAS, FIRST BOOK OF. A book of the Apocrypha which appears in the standard texts of the LXX as Esdras A or 1 Esdras. In OL and Syriac versions it is also called 1 Esdras. In English Bibles since the Geneva edition of 1560 it is named "Ezra," the same name as that of the canonical book. In 1883 P. Lagarde's *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canonicorum pars prior Graece* refers to the book as Esdras B or 2 Esdras and states that it represents the Lucianic recension of the LXX in which 1 Esdras is Ezra-Nehemiah. Jerome condemned the text but, nevertheless, retained it and placed it after the NT. In Latin Bibles since

his time it is designated 3 Esdras. In the "Great Bible" of 1539, it appears as 3 Esdras while 1 and 2 Esdras refer to Ezra and Nehemiah respectively. For clarity and convenience the book has also been called the "Greek Ezra" to differentiate it from the other Ezra books. This brief summary of the names for this text indicates the complexity attached to the history of the text and the confusion which has characterized its study.

A. Textual Traditions

Various Gk texts of 1 Esdr 3:1–5:6 are to be found in many of the important mss and versions of the LXX. Among the Gk texts which provide a reliable text of 1 Esdras, Codex Alexandrinus (A) is the best. Contrary to a long-standing practice of using Codex Vaticanus (B) as the oldest and best extant copy of the LXX upon which to base a translation of 1 Esdras, Codex A provides the superior text, having suffered less extensive revision than B. Of additional value in studying 1 Esdras are Josephus, the OL, and the Syriac versions. R. Hanhart's critical edition of 1 Esdras in the Göttingen LXX is indispensable for its thorough ms citations on restoring the text.

Of the numerous printed editions of the Gk text, S. Tedesche's critical edition (1928) is noted for its recognition and use of Codex Alexandrinus as the text superior to Josephus', the OL, and Syriac versions. Armenian and Arabic versions also exist, but little work has been done on them. Jellicoe (1968) and Myers (*1–2 Esdras* AB) offer extended discussions of the value of the several ms traditions of 1 Esdras.

B. Contents and Relationships

With the exception of 3:1–5:6, 1 Esdras is a rather free Gk version of the biblical history from the time of Josiah's Passover to Ezra's reforms. In any discussion of the book's origin, literary type, original language, purpose, value, date, and place, it is necessary to note the parallels with the biblical material and to take account of deviations in order and content. Using the RSV versification, the relationship of 1 Esdras and the canonical books of 2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah is shown in the following table:

1 Esdr 1:1–55	=	2 Chr 35:1–36:21
1 Esdr 2:1–15	=	Ezra 1:1–11
1 Esdr 2:16–30	=	Ezra 4:7–24
1 Esdr 3:1–5:6	is without a parallel	
1 Esdr 5:7–46	=	Ezra 2:1–70
1 Esdr 5:47–73	=	Ezra 3:1–4:5
1 Esdr 6:1–7:15	=	Ezra 4:24–6:22
1 Esdr 8:1–9:55	=	Ezra 7:1–10:44 and Neh 7:73–8:12

As the table shows, 1 Esdras and portions of the Chronicler's work constitute duplicate versions, with the exception of the long passage 1 Esdr 3:1–5:6, which is unique to 1 Esdras.

While the content of 1 Esdras parallels material from the canonical 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, it is not in its present form an exact parallel, since 1 Esdras is a truncated version of the Chronicler's work. Some scholars view it as a fragment of the entire Chronicler's work with a rearrangement of some of the material in order to emphasize the role of Zerubbabel and Ezra in the return and rebuilding of the temple and revival of religious reform. The abrupt beginning and ending of the narrative suggest this rearrangement. The superior Gk style of 1 Esdras compared to the LXX version of the canonical Ezra-Nehemiah suggests to some that 1 Esdras and the canonical works stem from a common prototype (Pfeiffer 1949: 245).

1 Esdras has traditionally been of interest mainly for its textual affinity with the canonical books of the Chronicler, and the work itself is canonical for the Eastern Orthodox Church but not for Protestants or Roman Catholics. Most commentators agree it has been preserved in 1 Esdras because it contains the Story of the Three Youths, an element without canonical parallel.

C. Date

While the historical period covered in 1 Esdras is from the reform of Josiah (621 B.C.E.) to the restoration of the Jews from Babylon to their homeland (444 B.C.E.), the book was probably written much later. Linguistic and stylistic affinities to Daniel and Esther make it probable that 1 Esdras was composed after 165 B.C.E. Since Josephus used 1 Esdras for his account of the postexilic period, the book can have been composed no later than the middle of the 1st century C.E.

D. Story of Three Youths

1 Esdr 3:1–5:3 constitutes a third person narrative of a contest of wits at the court of the Persian king Darius. Following a great feast, after which the guests and the king retire to bed, three young men, identified as bodyguards of the king, propose a riddle contest on the subject of the strongest thing in the world. After each youth names what he thinks is the strongest, the answers are put under the pillow of the king who, they believe, will reward the wisest youth with great gifts and honors. The king, upon waking, summons an audience and requests each youth to give a public defense of his answer to the riddle. The third youth, identified as Zerubbabel, delivers the winning speech on the strength of women and truth and accordingly is allowed to make a request of the king as his prize. He requests that the exiled Jews be permitted to return home to Jerusalem, that the city and the temple be rebuilt, and that the temple vessels be returned to the temple. The king grants his request and issues the proper decrees. Zerubbabel then offers thanksgiving to God for his gift of wisdom and prepares to lead the exiles to Palestine. Darius provides an escort. The narrative ends with a list of those returning under Zerubbabel.

Basic to this story is the recognition that the passage is composite, the result of a growth of its various parts. These chapters, which purport to be history by virtue of their location in the middle of the "historical" work of the Chronicler, are in fact a devotional or edifying legend about an important leader of the Jews during the Babylonian Exile. This legend probably circulated independently before it was adopted and identified with Zerubbabel, a historical leader of a return from captivity during the early Achaemenid period. It is impossible to tell whether Zerubbabel's name was attached to this legend while it was circulating independently, or whether it was identified

with the builder of the Second Temple when it was interpolated into the Chronicler's history.

The devotional legend of 3:1–5:3 grew out of a court tale, still discernible in 3:1–4:42. An original tale about a riddle contest at the court of a nameless king was adapted and given a Persian court setting, the king having been identified with an unspecified Darius. Other details of the narrative framework indicate that the unspecified Darius is probably meant to be Darius I (the Great), the organizer of the Persian Empire. The passage on truth was not a part of the original court tale but was adapted to form a legend about the success of a Jew at a foreign court. The three answers of the youths—wine, the king, and women—were probably a part of the original court tale.

The court tale of 3:1–4:42 constitutes Wisdom Literature with common elements of Oriental court tales abounding in the passage—two of these being the great feast (cf. Esth 1:3 and Dan 5:1) and the restlessness or sleeplessness of the king, giving the opportunity for some "wise" individual to provide a remedy. In other Oriental literature Ahikar, Judith, Zerubbabel, Esther, Daniel, and ʿOnchschshonqy seize similar opportunities to exhibit their powers of wit and wisdom.

The basis of the tale is the riddle, "What is the strongest thing in the world?" This riddle constitutes the smallest unit with an independent existence within the entire section and no doubt was widely circulated throughout the ANE. Impersonal in style, the riddle form, along with aphorisms and parables, is characteristic of the wisdom genre. Interrogative form, either explicit or implicit, is basic to riddle speech; and embedding the riddle in a narrative framework is a characteristic means of transmitting riddles in both Hebrew and non-Hebrew literatures. The passage also shows that the original riddle has grown from its early oral stage and moved to the court tale, finally being fixed in a devotional legend. Future research should focus on textual studies and analyses of the "wise sayings" in the speeches of the three youths.

The most enigmatic unit of the Story of the Three Youths is the second speech of the third youth on the power of truth. In this passage the answer has been interpolated into the original, thus making "truth" and not "women" the winning answer. The abstract concept "truth" in the third youth's answer seems to have a cosmic sense as well as an ethical content, a fact which makes a determination of its origin difficult. Asha in Zoroastrian circles, Maat from an Egyptian background, Hokmah of the Hebrews, and Sophia of the Greeks are all candidates as the original subject of the speech in praise of the power of truth in 1 Esdras. The interpolation of truth into the original tale of the riddle contest thus moralizes the tale, removing what appears to have been a purely secular story from the sphere of the profane to serious or even sacred use.

E. Purpose

Temple oriented, 1 Esdras is largely a Gk translation of portions of the work of the Chronicler, except for 3:1–5:6, which is without canonical parallel. This unit is an independent literary unit apart from the rest of the book. Historical material precedes and follows it, with the RSV beginning at 3:1 with "Now King Darius . . . ," thus indicating the beginning of a separate story or episode. The narrator does not seem to be concerned with historical accuracy (a characteristic of the entire book) and does not precisely identify King Darius.

The origin of the material in the elaborated speeches or riddle answers has not been thoroughly studied and provides a subject for further research into parallels with other ANE wisdom material.

Taken as a whole, 1 Esdras preserves some remarkable Wisdom Literature from the ANE in a devotional legend in which Zerubbabel, Sheshbazar, and Ezra, historical figures in the Chronicler's narrative, are presented as "heroes" of the faith. The return from Babylonian Exile, the rebuilding of the temple, the reforms under Ezra, and the beneficent patronage of the Persian monarchs confirm the greatness of "truth," which prevails.

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WILLIAM R. GOODMAN

ESDRAS, SECOND BOOK OF. Also known as "the Apocalypse of Ezra" or *4 Ezra*, this work is a Jewish apocalypse written in the last decade of the 1st century C.E. It has not survived in its Semitic original (probably Hebrew; see Stone 1967: 109–11; Klijn 1983: 9–10), or in the Greek version made from that Hebrew. It was not preserved in rabbinic tradition and is known thanks to its popularity in the Christian churches.

A. Versions

Full-length versions made from the Gk translation survive in Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic; two in Arabic, Georgian, and Armenian. Fragments of a Coptic version have also been uncovered. In addition, the influence of *4 Ezra* is witnessed by a number of tertiary translations. From Latin, translations were made into Arabic (a single fragment), New Greek (chaps. 11–12), Armenian (the second version), Georgian (the second version), and Slavonic. A Romanian version, apparently made from the Slavonic, exists. A third full Arabic version was translated from Syriac.

Ever since the analysis by Robert Blake (1926: 308–14), it has been accepted that the textual tradition divides into two chief families: Latin and Syriac on the one part, and Ethiopic, Georgian, and Coptic on the other. The other translations from Greek are of a less literal character and generally have only secondary importance as textual wit-

nesses. Readings attested by either of the two chief families have a strong claim to have existed in Greek. This is significant, since scholars have tended to attribute disproportionate weight to the Latin version.

B. Use in Jewish and Christian Literature

This wealth of translations reflects the extraordinary impact of *4 Ezra*. This is corroborated by the number of later writings that depend on it, including the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, Apocalypse of Sedrach, Vision of Ezra, Revelation of Ezra, Questions of Ezra,* and further compositions in Ethiopic, Syriac, and other languages.

The most widely known of the versions of *4 Ezra* is the Latin. It was often contained in the Vulgate in the Middle Ages and is usually printed in an Appendix to the Latin Bible, following the NT. *4 Ezra* is included in the Apocrypha of the Church of England and of Protestant churches. The Latin version includes four chapters, more than any other; two of these usually precede the book and two follow it. They are conventionally included in the chapter numbering, though recognized as different works. The title "2 Esdras" is drawn from the English Apocrypha; most usually the Jewish Ezra Apocalypse, i.e., chaps. 3–14 of the Latin, is called *4 Ezra,* while chaps. 1–2 are called *5 Ezra,* and chaps. 15–16 are *6 Ezra.* These latter two writings are not integral parts of *4 Ezra;* and while some scholars raise the possibility that *5 Ezra* is Jewish or Jewish-Christian in origin, more generally both works are considered Christian.

4 Ezra was apparently lost in Greek quite early. It is definitely cited by 2d-century authorities (e.g., *Apostolic Constitutions* 2.14.9 = *4 Ezra* 7:103; 8.7.6 = *4 Ezra* 8:23; Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 1:22 = *4 Ezra* 5:35). Later, definite Gk citations are not known; and, although other quotations from the Gk text have been claimed to exist, they are far from certain. The reasons for the loss of the Gk text remain mysterious. The surviving versions were cited to a greater or lesser extent depending on particular circumstances in the diverse ecclesiastical traditions.

C. General Character

4 Ezra is an apocalypse. Written a generation after the destruction of the temple, it is dominated by this catastrophe. The book is structured in seven parts, conventionally called visions: Vision 1 = 3:1–5:20; Vision 2 = 5:21–6:34; Vision 3 = 6:35–9:25; Vision 4 = 9:26–10:59; Vision 5 = chap. 11–12; Vision 6 = chap. 13; Vision 7 = chap. 14. The first three visions are predominantly dialogues between the seer, identified as Ezra the Scribe, and an angel. In the fourth vision the seer meets a mourning woman, comforts her, and experiences her transformation into the heavenly Jerusalem. The fifth and sixth visions are political and messianic in character, foretelling in detail the downfall of the Roman Empire and of the wicked nations together with the coming of a redeemer. The last vision relates the revelation to Ezra of the sacred Scriptures as well as of 70 secret books, and it concludes with Ezra's assumption to heaven.

D. Chief Critical Issues

The chief critical issues raised in the study of the book over the past century and a half have been those of date, literary unity, and, in recent years, its overall character and purpose.

The *date* cannot be more precisely established on external grounds than to say that *4 Ezra* precedes the oldest definite citations from it, those by Clement of Alexandria and in the *Apostolic Constitutions.* The internal evidence that has been adduced to establish the time of composition has proved debatable in many instances. For example, 3:1 dates the book pseudepigraphically to the 30th year after the Babylonian destruction of the First Temple. Taken typologically, this date might be thought to indicate a date 30 years after the Roman destruction of the Second Temple, i.e., in 100 C.E. But such typological use of pseudepigraphical dates is unknown elsewhere, and *4 Ezra* 3:1 may instead have drawn this date from Ezek 1:1. Other indications have been sought in certain prophecies of messianic woes (e.g., von Gutschmidt 1960: 78; de Faye 1892: 44–45; Wellhausen 1899: 247), but these woes can be shown to be traditional in character.

More convincing are two considerations. The first is that, from its very character and central concerns, the book must have been written not very long after the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple by the Romans in 70 C.E. The other has to do with Vision 5. This is a political vision, like a number of other apocalyptic visions (e.g., *1 Enoch* 89–90; Daniel 7; and others). Such visions tell past history and predict future history up to the eschaton, disguising events behind complex symbolic structures. If it is possible to isolate the point at which the narrative of past events is abandoned for the prediction of future happenings, that point may be regarded as the time of composition. Vision 5 of *4 Ezra* is the seer's dream of a monstrous eagle with 12 wings, 8 little wings, and 3 heads. Each of these is said to represent a Roman ruler, and the peak of Roman wickedness was achieved during the rule of the three heads and particularly of the middle head. The heads are discussed in considerable detail, and can be most admirably identified as the Flavian emperors, and the middle head as Domitian (81–96 C.E.). The vision does not know of Domitian's death, which is taken to indicate that *4 Ezra* was written before 96 C.E. The major arguments in this matter were already assembled by Schürer (*GJV* 3: 241–42), and no argument of substance has been added since then.

The question of *literary unity* is deeply connected with the conception of the purpose of the book and has been a central issue since Richard Kabisch published his source analysis of *4 Ezra* in 1889. The most influential English language scholar to follow this view was G.H. Box (1912), who concluded that *4 Ezra* was composed of five sources combined by a redactor who was also responsible for part of the text. These sources were: (1) *S: A Salathiel Apocalypse* (3:1–31; 4:1–51; 5:13b–6:10; 6:30–7:25; 7:45–8:62; and 9:15–10:57); (2) *E: An Ezra Apocalypse* (4:52–5:13a; 6:13–29; 7:26–44; and 8:63–9:12); (3) *A: The Eagle Vision* (chaps. 11–12 with revisions by redactor); (4) *M: The Son of Man Vision* (chap. 13, with much revision by redactor); and (5) *E2: Second Ezra Piece* (14:1–17a; 14:18–27; and 14:36–47). The redactor composed a number of passages and was responsible for numerous adjustments within the sources.

The criteria applied for drawing these distinctions within the book were both literary and conceptual. On the

one hand, literary unevennesses were highlighted and taken as indications of the inept combination of existing sources. On the other, supposed differences in the eschatological conceptions of the different parts of the book were also taken to demonstrate its composite authorship.

The attack on this view proceeded along various lines. First, the literary difficulties, when examined, proved in no way as serious as Kabisch and Box had claimed (Sanday in Box 1912: vi–vii). Second, the assumptions about the requirements of consistency were questioned on the grounds that (1) they implied a systematic approach unjustified for a work of this genre, and that (2) in any case, very often the supposed contradictions were the result of exegesis designed to highlight differences (Keulers 1922: 46–54; Stone 1965: 12–21; Hayman 1975: 48; Stone 1983, etc.).

Gunkel (1900), while recognizing the differences between the various parts of the book, regarded them not so much as stemming from the combination of different sources, as reflecting the psychological stresses within the personality of the author. This view deeply influenced succeeding scholarship (e.g., Breech 1973). Today, on the whole, this source analysis is no longer accepted, while Gunkel's approach has been both criticized and modified.

It is now almost universally accepted that *4 Ezra* is the work of a single author who probably used some literary sources and some crystallized traditions, incorporating them skillfully into his book. Chief passages reflecting preexisting materials probably include 13:1–13 (Stone 1968); 9:43–10:3 (Gunkel 1900: 334); 4:35–37; 6:49–52; 13:40–47; and perhaps 7:78–99. Such materials have further been detected in 5:1–13 and 6:18–27. This use of preexistent materials is, however, a quite normal and natural phenomenon in the literature of the age. The book is, nonetheless, a very deliberate and considered composition as has most recently been stressed by Brandenburger (1981) and Stone (*4 Ezra* Hermeneia).

E. The Teaching of *4 Ezra*

It is quite evident that *4 Ezra* is wrestling with the problems arising out of the destruction of the temple. Visions 1–3 are dialogues between the seer and an angel in which the seer repeatedly attacks the divine governance of the world as it is evident both in the fate of Israel (e.g., chap. 3) and that of human beings (e.g., Vision 3). In the fourth vision the seer changes and accepts the point of view presented by the angel (see particularly 10:5–17). The vision of heavenly Jerusalem ensues, and this is followed in Visions 5 and 6 by prophecies of the destruction of the wicked kingdom. Finally, Vision 7 contains the story of the revelation of the sacred Scriptures, both exoteric and esoteric (14:37–48) and Ezra's last words to the people *(Abschiedsrede)* in 14:28–36. Although this seems clear enough, the question of the overall purpose and meaning of the book has been much discussed and, in the past a number of rather different interpretations have been offered.

One interpretation is associated with the names of Brandenburger and Harnisch (1969), most recently expanded and refined by Brandenburger (1981). Brandenburger would claim that the book is a carefully developed treatise designed to forward the views set in the mouth of the angel (= God). Ezra, throughout the dialogues, represents an opposition point of view, characterized by him as "skeptical" or "gnosticizing." Ezra remains unmoved throughout the first three visions, and the change in Ezra in Vision 4 is a mysterious act of divine grace in which the opponent is turned to accept the wisdom of God's governance of the world. This change is sustained throughout the following revelations and into the *Abschiedsrede,* where Ezra adopts the views previously set in the mouth of the angel.

This significant theory has been attacked by a number of scholars (e.g., Breech 1973; Hayman 1975; and Thompson 1977). It seems to be unacceptable to regard the figure of Ezra as a literary fiction, used more or less "coldbloodedly" by the author to forward his theological views, which are set in the angel's mouth. This runs against the clear literary intent of the work of which Ezra is the obvious hero. Moreover, although, on the one hand, it is clear that the author cannot ascribe to God or his angel views which, in the final analysis, he rejects; yet on the other hand, Brandenburger and Harnisch offer no explanation for the ascription of these heretical and skeptical views to Ezra the Scribe (Hayman 1975: 51).

It seems most persuasive to regard the book as the "Odyssey of Ezra's Soul." The first three dialogues do not present merely a static conflict, but a dynamic of dialogue and dispute in the course of which Ezra partially accepts certain of the ideas propagated by the angel (Stone 1988). There is development in Ezra's views, though even at the end of the third vision he is far from full acceptance of the angel's position. The fourth vision, rightly viewed by Brandenburger and others as a turning point, describes a major psychological experience of the seer in which he internalizes the teachings he has previously partially accepted. The result of this is precisely the epiphany of heavenly Jerusalem and the command to enter in and see whatever mortal eyes can see (10:55–56).

The dream visions follow, revelations which resolve the basic issues that have motivated the seer from the first part of the book (chaps. 11–13). The main remaining difficulty touches on the final vision. What is its relation to and function in the rest of the book? Brandenburger puts almost exclusive emphasis on the *Abschiedsrede,* Ezra's address to the people. But this is a small part of this vision, which is clearly about the revelation of exoteric and esoteric lore. In the preceding visions the revelation to Ezra has been of esoteric teaching (see 12:36). In the seventh vision at first he is promised esoteric teaching (14:7–8); but only after his special prayer (14:19–22) does God also grant him the revelation of exoteric teaching, the 24 books of the Bible. Only with this does he become equal to Moses. The number of days of the first six visions totals 40, corresponding to the 40 days of the seventh vision (and of course to Moses' time on Mt. Sinai). The seventh vision tells of a revelation that parallels and complements the revelation of the first six visions. Ezra has moved from his doubts to a full prophetic position, indeed to the role of Moses. The transcending of doubts is the transcending of the problems raised by the destruction and the acceptance of divine governance of the world and divine determination of its history.

F. *4 Ezra* in Judaism of its Time

The problems addressed by the book—of divine justice and the fate of Israel—were clearly very much on people's

minds after the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E. As with all the apocalypses, we are quite ignorant of their social context or function (Stone 1984: 433–35). *4 Ezra* does refer to a tradition of esoteric learning, of which the author partakes and which he traces back to Abraham and Moses. Moreover, the Eagle Vision is presented as contemplation on Daniel 7 (12:10); Ezra is commanded to teach it to "the wise among your people" (12:37), and he is told in Vision 7 that the esoteric books are to be taught "in secret to the wise" (14:26; cf. 14:47). Exactly what is reflected by these hints, in terms of social context and function, is beyond our ken. Some sort of social group must have existed, however, which bore and cultivated this tradition. This is corroborated by the fact *4 Ezra* is particularly close to *2 Apocalypse of Baruch*, with which it shares the seven-vision structure and many elements of terminology and language. To a lesser extent it also shows clear affinities to *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*.

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MICHAEL E. STONE

ESDRIS (PERSON) [Gk *Esdris*]. A Jewish commander in 2 Macc 12:36. Esdris is a shortened form of the Heb Azariah. Abel noted that the Eleazar (Gk *Eleazaros*) of 2 Macc 8:23 is also a form of the Heb Azariah as is the variant reading Ezra (ArmLa^{BMP}Vg), which he prefers. Abel thinks this Esdris or Ezra/Eleazar to be Eleazar, brother of Judas Maccabeus, mentioned in 1 Macc 2:5 (1961: 271). Goldstein points out that 1 Macc 5:56 refers to Azariah as a commander (*2 Maccabees* AB, 447). Judas, Simon, Jonathan, and Joseph are mentioned along with Azariah as military commanders in 1 Macc 5:55–56 as they are with Eleazar in 2 Macc 8:22–23. The confusion regarding the names may suggest that the author of the source common to both 1 and 2 Maccabees did not recognize that they were the same person. This confusion was passed on to Jason of Cyrene, whose history was epitomized in 2 Maccabees.

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MICHAEL E. HARDWICK

ESEK (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēśeq*]. The name given to a well dug by the servants of Isaac (Gen 26:20). The name means "contention," "strife," "hostility" and is based on the tradition of conflicts between Isaac's herdsmen and those of Gerar over rights to its water (Matthews 1986). The exact location of the well is, of course, unknown; but the context suggests that it was located between Gerar and Beer-sheba, perhaps somewhere in the Wâdī esh-Sheriah (Naḥal Gerar) E of Tell Abu Hureira (M.R. 112087).

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GARY A. HERION

ESH-SHUNA, TELL (NORTH). See SHUNA (NORTH), TELL ESH-.

ESHAN (PLACE) [Heb *ʾešʿān*]. Town situated in the central hill country of Judah (Josh 15:52), within the same district as Hebron. The only reference to this settlement, the name of which perhaps means "resting place" (from *šʿn*, "to lean," "support oneself"), occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). Based on the alternative reading *sōma* in LXXB, it has been suggested (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 389) that the ancient town might be associated with Khirbet hallat Sama, located approximately 17 km SW of Hebron. Considering the difficulty in understanding the differences between the two readings and the lack of archaeological verification, the identity of the ancient town must remain enigmatic.

WADE R. KOTTER

ESHBAAL (PERSON) [Heb *ʾešbaʿal*]. The youngest son of Saul ben Kish and Ahinoam bat Ahimaaz, who succeeded his father to the throne of Israel. The name Eshbaal occurs in the Saulide genealogy in 1 Chr 8:33; 9:39. In 2 Samuel the same individual is consistently named ISH-BOSHETH. The alternate English form Ishbaal never appears in the Bible; it is a hypothetical reconstruction of the original name. The etymology of the name Eshbaal is disputed, with three possibilities proposed for understanding the initial element *ʾeš-*. The first suggests that it is a form of the Heb verb *ʾwš*, "to give"; the second, that it represents the noun *ʾîš*, "man"; and the third, that it derives from a verbal element corresponding to the more common *yēš*, "(he) exists" (Schoors 1972: 8; McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 86). It is commonly assumed that the second element, *baʿal*, "lord," is an epithet for Yahweh, rather than a reference to the Canaanite deity Baal.

The battle of Gilboa, in which Saul unsuccessfully attempted to capture the city-state of Beth-Shean, ended with most of the Saulide royal house decimated. Saul and his three eldest sons, Jonathan, Abinadab, and Malchishua, were killed. Only the youngest son of Ahinoam, Eshbaal, and two sons born to Saul by his concubine Rizpah, Armoni and Mephibaal, remained alive as male offspring of the former king; they could be considered as immediate dynastic candidates to succeed Saul to the throne. In addition, an infant grandson born to Jonathan and five grandsons borne by Merab, Saul's eldest daughter, were available as possible candidates for the throne.

Abner, the general of the Saulide army and Saul's cousin, managed to survive the battle and sent the surviving troops to Mahanaim (modern Telul edh-Dhahab el-Garbi) in Transjordan. He then escorted Eshbaal from an undisclosed location in Cisjordan, probably the Saulide capital, across the Jordan to Mahanaim, where he was acclaimed king by the troops (2 Sam 2:8). The army was used on other occasions to represent a quorum of the Israelite citizenry for purposes of coronation (1 Kgs 16:16; 2 Kgs 11:4–12).

According to the accession formula in 2 Sam 2:10, Eshbaal was 40 years old when he began to reign; and he ruled for two years. It is likely that the reported age at accession is a round figure meant to imply maturity rather than a precise age. Even so, the figure is almost certainly inaccurate. Eshbaal's absence from the battle of Gilboa, requiring Abner to detour probably to the capital to retrieve him so that he could be crowned king by the surviving troops who were in Mahanaim, strongly implies that Eshbaal was under 20—the legal age for military service (Num 26:2, 4)—at his accession. His youth tends to be confirmed by other considerations. Jonathan, the eldest of Saul's sons and heir-elect, appears to have only been in his twenties when he died, as indicated by his having a single infant child at the time of his death. As the youngest son of Ahinoam, Eshbaal could not have been 40 when crowned. In addition, Eshbaal's failure to produce an heir during his two-year reign, before his premature death, also suggests a youthful age at the time of his accession.

It is commonly assumed that Mahanaim served as the capital of Israel throughout Eshbaal's reign and that the Philistines' victory at Gilboa led to their regaining political hegemony over Saul's Cisjordanian holdings (e.g., Ewald 1853: 144; Soggin 1975: 36–37; Miller and Hayes *HAIJ*, 146–47). However, neither of these ideas is explicitly supported by textual evidence. Abner's dispatching of the remaining troops to Mahanaim immediately after the defeat at Gilboa may have been determined more by his desire to secure this strategic site than by the Philistines' presumed overrunning of Cisjordan in the aftermath of Saul's defeat. Mahanaim controlled access to the iron-rich Ajlun region (*HGB*, 273), and Abner may have been primarily concerned with maintaining Saulide control over this vital resource. In view of the probable loss of a large portion of the Israelite army in the Jezreel valley, Mahanaim would have become a prime target for both the Ammonites and the Philistines.

The list of Eshbaal's districts in 2 Sam 2:9 tends to refute the assumed large-scale Philistine seizure of Saulide land in Cisjordan. During his brief two years on the throne, Eshbaal was able to control Benjamin, Ephraim, Jezreel, and the Asherites in Cisjordan, in addition to Saulide territory in Gilead. It seems unlikely that he would have been able to recapture such extensive territories from the Philistines in such a brief period, especially since a sizable portion of his career is reported to have been preoccupied with war against David (2 Sam 3:1). The historicity of the claim that the Philistines seized Israelite settlements "on the other side of the valley," i.e., the N side of the Jezreel

or Beth-Shean valley immediately after Saul's death at Gilboa (1 Sam 31:7; 1 Chr 10:7) is now open to question in light of the recent archaeological survey work in SW Galilee. No settlements were found that could be dated to the period of Saul (Gal 1982: 80). It seems that this comment is literary embellishment intended to emphasize Saul's crushing defeat. The presumed widespread Philistine occupation of Israelite land in the wake of Saul's death does not appear to have historical foundation.

The suggestion that there was a 5.5-year interregnum prior to Eshbaal's coronation, during which Abner was engaged in regaining lost Israelite territory from the Philistines and rebuilding the Israelite army, can also be dismissed as unlikely (Ewald 1853: 144–45; Soggin 1975: 37). The idea is derived from 2 Sam 2:11, where it is reported that David's reign over the house of Judah from Hebron lasted 7.5 years, while Eshbaal's reign was only 2 years. It presupposes that David only became king in Hebron at Saul's death, which is consistent with the larger narrative portrayal of Saul as king over all the territory associated with the twelve tribes constituting premonarchic Israel but which may derive from the ideology of the biblical writer rather than reflect the historical situation. The narrative evidence for Saul's firm control over most of the territory of Judah is ambiguous. There is no unequivocal basis for rejecting David's establishment of Judah as a rival state to Israel during the last 5.5 years of Saul's reign.

The site of Eshbaal's capital is not specified in tradition, but it is not necessary to assume that he remained at Mahanaim after his coronation. Having secured continued control over the iron ore near Mahanaim, it is likely that Eshbaal would have returned to the established Cisjordanian capital so that he could regulate affairs of state in the heart of his state. The account of the representative battle that took place at Gibeon immediately after Eshbaal's coronation (2 Sam 2:12–32) may hint that the latter site was the capital and that Eshbaal returned in the wake of David's unsuccessful attempt to take control over it. No reason is given for David's sending his general Joab with troops to Gibeon. The action would be understandable, however, had Gibeon been the Saulide capital.

Eshbaal's removal to Mahanaim to be crowned by the remaining troops would have left the capital temporarily vulnerable to outside attack, and David appears to have attempted to take advantage of this situation. Abner apparently realized the danger and quickly sent a contingent to guard Gibeon after the coronation, only to find David's men already there, ready for a challenge. The issue under dispute would have been who was to control the newly forged state of Israel by controlling its capital: David or Eshbaal. The use of representative combat (2 Sam 2:12–16) (Sukenik 1948; Eissfeldt 1951) indicates that neither side wanted to destroy the city; each wanted to use it as the continuing seat of power. Although the battle was a draw, with all 24 representatives left dead and even though Eshbaal is said to have lost more men in the fighting that ensued than David (2 Sam 2:30–31), the ultimate result was victory for Eshbaal, who maintained Saulide control over the city, thwarting David's challenge. It seems warranted to conclude that Eshbaal would have returned to Gibeon in the aftermath of the withdrawal of David's troops to claim his rightful place on the throne of Israel's capital.

Eshbaal's youth and inexperience would have led him to rely heavily on his uncle Abner's judgment and leadership as general of the Israelite army; and Abner seems to have decided to attempt to take direct control of the throne for himself, perhaps in collusion with David (see ABNER). As Saul's cousin and a proven military leader within Israel, Abner would have been able to garner support for his ambitions from portions of the Israelite populace and particularly from the army. His overt move to depose Eshbaal is reported to have been made by his taking over control of Saul's former harem (2 Sam 3:7). Possession of the royal harem was a symbol of kingship in the ANE. Eshbaal, clearly aware of the political overtones of Abner's move, is said merely to have rebuked his uncle (2 Sam 3:8) but apparently was able to quash the attempted takeover. It was in the wake of his failure to gain the throne that Abner met an untimely death at the hands of Joab, the commander of David's army, during a visit to David at Hebron (2 Sam 3:22–30).

David's request that Eshbaal return Michal, his elder sister who is reported to have been married to David briefly during Saul's reign (2 Sam 3:18), would have taken place after Abner's death. David is reported to have requested Michal's return in his earlier private negotiations with Abner (2 Sam 3:13). His renewed interest in Michal seems to have been sparked by the possibility that he could claim as Saul's son-in-law to be a legitimate dynastic candidate for the throne of Israel through the practice of optative affiliation (Morgenstern 1929: 97). David's public demand that Eshbaal return Michal would appear to have been a declaration of his intentions to challenge Eshbaal's possession of the Saulide throne. Perhaps he was aware of growing discontent with the inexperienced king among the Israelite citizenry; and with Abner conveniently out of the way, David, the former Israelite army commander and son-in-law to the king, became an attractive alternative.

Soon after Abner's death, Eshbaal was assassinated by two of his own raiding captains, Baanah and Rechab, from Beeroth. The men slipped into the palace, slew and beheaded Eshbaal while he was napping, and then took his head to David at Hebron (2 Sam 4:5–7). The parenthetical comment in vv 2–3 tends to imply that the two captains were working on their own out of revenge for Saul's attempt to remove the Gibeonites from within the boundaries of Israel (2 Sam 21:1–2). One wonders, however, if this is not a deliberate attempt to disassociate the assassins from David, who may have plotted the murder to eliminate Eshbaal permanently from the throne after his unexpected success in thwarting Abner's initial, bloodless attempt to gain the throne. The men's immediate delivery of Eshbaal's head to David might imply his collusion in the murder (2 Sam 4:8); and David could have purposely recruited the two men because of their background, to be able to have blood revenge appear to be the primary motive for the murder (VanderKam 1980). With both Eshbaal and Abner dead, David had a clear path to gaining the throne of Israel himself two years after his unsuccessful bid in the event at Gibeon.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

ESHBAN (PERSON) [Heb *ʾešbān*]. A clan name in the genealogical clan list of Seir the Horite. This person appears in Gen 36:26 as well as the matching genealogy in 1 Chr 1:41 as second of four sons of the clan chief DISHON and is thus considered the grandson of Seir. These elaborate genealogies may reflect tribal alliances or territories within the Edom region rather than actual blood kinship. For discussion of the Horite clans, see JAAKAN.

VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

ESHCOL (PERSON) [Heb *ʾeškōl*]. A brother of Aner and Mamre, who were allies of Abram (Gen 14:13, 24; see ANER). Eshcol is a personification of the place name *naḥal ʾeškōl*, "valley of grapes" (Num 13:23, 24; 32:9; Deut 1:24) near Hebron in the same way as the name of Mamre, another locality near Hebron, was used as a man's name in the same vv of Genesis 14. See also MAMRE.

MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

ESHCOL (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeškōl*]. Name of a valley in the vicinity of Hebron from which the Israelite spies brought back a cluster of grapes so large that two men were required to carry it between them on a pole (Num 13:22–24). The text claims that the valley received its name Eshcol ("cluster") from this remarkable cluster. The area around Hebron, especially to the N, is well suited to viticulture, and its importance to the economy of that region continues even into modern times. Two other texts also refer to the valley of Eshcol in connection with this espionage mission (Num 32:9 and Deut 1:24). Eshcol, together with Aner and Mamre, also occurs as a personal name in Gen 14:13, 24; but since Eshcol and Mamre, at least, were place names from the immediate vicinity of Hebron, one should probably understand their significance here as personifications of the place names.

WESLEY I. TOEWS

ESHEK (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēšeq*]. A Benjaminite, a descendant of King Saul according to the genealogy in 1 Chr 8:39. The name Eshek is unique to this person and its etymology is unclear. (Rudolph [*Chronicles* HAT, 80]; Noth [*IPN*, 254] find the translations "oppression," "a forced groan" unacceptable.) This might explain why different names are found in the LXX (Codex Vaticanus, *asēl;* Codex Alexandrinus, *eselek;* Gk minuscules *esēl*). Eshek appears in the very last section of the genealogy of Benjamin in chap. 8; he is lacking in the Benjaminite genealogy in chap. 9, which is generally parallel to 1 Chr 8 (see AHAZ #1). 1 Chr 8:39–40 are concerned with the military prowess and the numerous progeny of the clan of the Benjaminites; this is related to the tradition of Benjaminite warriors in 1 Chr 12:1–7 and broadly parallels the list of David's warriors in 1 Chr 11:10–47 (Ackroyd, *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* TBC, 43). However, the traditions in 1 Chr 8:39–40 are largely independent of 1 Chr 12:1–8 (except for Eliphelet in 8:39, who might possibly be identified with Pelet in 12:3); and it is best to see 1 Chr 8:39–40 as an independent genealogy of a subbranch of the Benjaminites which was tacked on as an appendix or conclusion to the Benjaminite genealogy.

MARC Z. BRETTLER

ESHTAOL (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeštāʾôl*]. ESHTAOLITE. A town in the E part of the territory of Dan (Josh 19:41). Along with Zorah, Eshtaol comprised the core area of Danite settlement in the Judean foothills. It is this area which forms the backdrop for the activities of Samson (Judg 13:25), and it is from this area that the Danites sallied forth to conquer Laish (Judges 18). Subsequently, Eshtaol was considered Judahite territory (Josh 15:33; 1 Chr 2:53 [Heb *ʾeštāʾulî*]), settled by Eshtaolites of the Calebite clan of Kiriath-jearim. It has been identified with Khirbet Deir Shubeib (M.R. 148134), near the village of Ishwa (M.R. 151132), which retains elements of the ancient name (Kallai *HGB*, 368).

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RAPHAEL GREENBERG

ESHTEMOA (PERSON) [Heb *ʾeštĕmoʿa*]. **1.** The son of Ishbah listed in the genealogy of Caleb (1 Chr 4:17). This figure is otherwise unknown.

2. A Maacathite, the grandson of Hodiah listed in the genealogy of Caleb (1 Chr 4:19). This figure is otherwise unknown. See also ESHTEMOA (PLACE).

JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

ESHTEMOA (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeštĕmōaʿ*]. Fourth Levitical city in the Judah/Simeon list (Josh 21:14; 1 Chr 6:42—Eng 6:57). Outside the Levitical city references Eshtemoa is mentioned in two other texts in the OT. The first is in Josh 15:50, where Eshtemoa is one of the cities in the hill country allotted to Judah. The second occurrence is in 1 Sam 30:28, when Eshtemoa, like Jattir, received some of the booty from David after his defeat of the Amalekites and return to Ziklag. There are no references to Eshtemoa outside the Bible.

This biblical city has been identified with es-Samûʿ (M.R. 156089), 8 km NE of Khirbet ʿAttir and 14 km SW of Hebron in the hill country of Judah. It is 10 km from the modern town of Zahariyeh. Today the modern village of Eshtemoaʿ covers the ancient occupation. Es-Samûʿ lies on top of a hill at the edge of a mountain which rises to the S. To the N and E deep ravines isolate the village from surrounding neighbors. Because of its location in the hill country, es-Samûʿ provides the people with an adequate defense. Important to this village are the roads and valleys that make up the communication network in the hill country (Peterson 1977: 500–58). One of the longitudinal roads runs the entire length of the country from Shechem to Hebron. At Hebron this road forks into two branches; the E branch turns from Hebron and passes Juttah and modern Eshtemoaʿ and then descends into the Negeb towards Arad. At es-Samûʿ a wadi flows just to the N of the town and there are several cisterns dotting the landscape near modern Eshtemoaʿ.

The first to identify es-Samûʿ with biblical Eshtemoa was Robinson (1841: 626–27), and his identification has never been contested. Most of the archaeological interest at es-Samûʿ has centered around the 4th-century synagogue, but in 1928 the Inspectors from the Palestine Department of Antiquities started to make frequent visits to es-Samûʿ. The pottery identified was predominantly Roman and Byzantine, but Iron Age, Greek, and Cypriot potsherds were also found, and several test-shafts foundation trenches were dug. In 1971 Yeivin carried out further repairs on the synagogue. During his work he found two vessels dated to the 9th–8th century B.C. There can be no doubt that this small village in the hill country of Judah is the biblical city of Eshtemoa.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

ESHTON (PERSON) [Heb *ʾeštôn*]. A descendant of Judah, the son of Mehir, and father of Bethrapha (1 Chr 4:11, 12). His ancestry is traced to a certain Chelub, which many, on the basis of the LXX, suspect is a variant of Caleb. Nothing concerning Eshton is otherwise known.

H. C. LO

ESLI (PERSON) [Gk *Esli*]. The father of Nahum and son of Naggai, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:25). D omits Esli, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 in Luke 3:23–31. Esli appears as Gk *hesli*, occasionally with *-ei* ending, in many mss and versions. The name Esli occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of 17 otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke I–9* AB, 500). See also ELIAKIM. Kuhn (1923: 211) also notes a number of possible variant Hebrew and Greek forms of Esli in 2 Kings 22:3; 1 Chr 34:8; Gen 46:24; Num 26:48; 1 Chr 7:13; Num 26:48; 1 Chr 12:4. But as Kuhn admits, there is no exact form of Gk *esli*. With no textual variants for Esli and Eliakim to support confusion of the two, Kuhn's theory has little plausibility.

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STANLEY E. PORTER

ESSENE GATE. In his famous description of the walls of Jerusalem, Josephus describes the course of the oldest ("the first") wall to the S of the Hippicus Tower: "Beginning at the same point in the other direction, facing west, it descended past the place called Bethso to the Gate of the Essenes *(Essēnōn pylēn)* and thereafter facing south, extended above the fountain of Siloam" (*JW* 5.145). To mark variations in the course of the "first" wall, the Jewish historian names respectively two or three nearby places (cf. *JW* 5.144–45). For this reason it is possible to locate the Essene Gate quite unequivocally (Riesner fc.): it was located at the point where the "first wall" altered its N-S course to an E-W orientation and near an area called Bethso.

Because of this information early 19th-century investigators usually looked for the Essene Gate on the SW hill of the ancient city of Jerusalem (e.g., Conder 1879), which has been called "Zion" at least since the beginning of the 2d century C.E. (Riesner *ARNW* fc.) and which today lies beyond the Turkish city wall. In 1894 on the property of the Gobat School (today the American Institute for Holyland Studies), F. J. Bliss discovered a gate with several superimposed thresholds, which he originally identified as the Essene Gate (1895: 12). He later attributed the entire gate to the Byzantine period but thought in spite of this that the Essene Gate had stood at this place or nearby (1898: 16–20, 322–24). The excavation was soon filled in, but since then almost all topographers have searched for the Essene Gate on this SW hillside (e.g., Dalman 1930: 86–87; Simons 1952: 278–81; Vincent and Stève 1954: 65). An exception was M. Avi-Yonah (1956: 307), who like E. Robinson (1841: 473–74) identified the Essene Gate with the Dung Gate (Neh 2:13; 3:13–14; 12:31). Consequently, he looked for it near Shiloah, a location which conflicts completely with the description of Josephus.

The dimensions used in the Roman construction caused A. Strobel to doubt the Byzantine dating of the underlying gate threshold (1974: 356–58). In 1977 B. Pixner again exposed the gate discovered by Bliss (1981: 5–7); and in 1979 ongoing, systematic excavations resumed (Pixner, Chen, and Margalit fc.). A few results have by now become

certain: (1) the wall in which the gate is located belongs to the Hasmonean period; (2) an even older (preexilic?) wall lies below it; (3) the gate was built into the existing wall for the first time in the early Herodian period as an afterthought; (4) in the time of the late Roman Aelia Capitolina this gate took the shape of a simple gateway; and (5) in the Byzantine period a very weak wall was erected on top of the Hasmonean wall, and the gate itself was repaired. These five considerations conclusively refute the earlier view of Kenyon (1974: 199–203), already abandoned by her for other reasons, that the SW hill along with the traditional room of "the Last Supper" *(coenaculum)* was not included in the city wall until the reign of Herod Agrippa I, 41–44 C.E. (1967: 155–62). The most recent view of Yadin (1985: 180–82), in contrast to his earlier opinion (1975: 90–91) which sought the Essene Gate in the middle of the Western Wall rather than at its SW corner (1985: 180–82), also has proved to be unnecessary. A gate found by M. Broshi near the SW corner of the present-day city wall (1977: 12) derives presumably from the late Roman period (Pixner, Chen, and Margalit fc.).

During the Herodian phase the Essene Gate, accessible only to pedestrians, was possibly located at an inconvenient place above the steep incline of the Hinnom Valley. Numerous investigators believe (e.g., Vincent and Stève 1954: 65, 69–71; Michel and Bauernfeind 1963: 246) that the Essene Gate bears the name of an Essene settlement in the immediate vicinity. The archaeological data support the assumption that this quarter was erected at the beginning of the reign of Herod the Great (39–34 B.C.E.), who, according to Josephus, had a friendly attitude toward the Essenes (*Ant* 15.371–78). For the duration of his reign the monastic settlement at Qumran remained abandoned, a circumstance that would also support the possibility of an Essene settlement in the holy city (Pixner 1981: 3–5; Riesner 1985: 69–70). The Gk designation *Bethso* in Josephus also points to an Essene quarter located in the immediate neighborhood of the Essene Gate. Only in the *Temple Scroll* from Qumran is there a parallel to this name, specifically in the prescription for the construction of latrines (11QTemple 46:13–16). This evidence confirms the earlier view based on the Aramaic that the original place name was *beth so'a* (Dalman 1930: 86). Also in favor of locating the Jerusalem Essene quarter in this area are the ritual pools both inside and outside the wall (1QM 7:6–7; cf. Deut 23:13–15) as well as the *Copper Scroll*'s treasures caches nos. 1–18 (3Q15 1:1–4, 5). All of this evidence fits the SW hillside (Pixner 1983: 342–47).

The assumption of an Essene quarter at this place is especially interesting, because a trustworthy topographical tradition locates the first assembly center of the early Christian community in Jerusalem and the room of Jesus' Last Supper quite near this area (Riesner 1985: 64–69; *ARNW* fc.). The similarity of certain early Christian rules of conduct (Acts 1–6) to those of Qumran has always attracted attention and might be explained by the conversion of some Essenes (cf. Acts 2:5 ff.; 6:7) to a new messianic belief. Besides other consequences these recent archaeological discoveries could shed light on the chronology of Jesus' last Passover meal (Ruckstuhl 1985) and the shared communal life of the early Christian community (Capper 1986).

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RAINER RIESNER
Trans. Phillip R. Callaway

ESSENES. A Jewish sect which is known to have flourished from the mid-2d century B.C.E. to the time of the First Jewish Revolt against Rome (66–70 C.E.). They are described by a number of Greek and Latin authors, of whom the most important are the Jewish writers Philo and Josephus and the Roman Pliny (see *HJP* 2:555–74). The site of Qumran is widely believed to have been an Essene settlement, and the Dead Sea Scrolls are thought to have once constituted an Essene library. See also QUMRAN; DEAD SEA SCROLLS.

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A. Etymology

The name of the sect is variously given as *Essaioi* (Philo) or *Essēnoi* (Josephus, Dio, Hippolytus) in Greek, *Esseni* in Latin (Pliny). Epiphanius mentions both *Essēnoi,* which he identifies as a Samaritan sect, and *Ossaioi* or *Ossēnoi* from the vicinity of the Dead Sea (*Adv. Haer.* 19.1–4). The etymology of the name remains an enigma although several proposals have been put forward. Philo suggested that it was derived from the Gk *hosiotēs,* "holiness" (*Quod Omn* 75). Josephus seems to imply a pun on *semnotēs,* "sanctity" (*JW* 2.8.2 §119). Most scholars have assumed that the name is of Semitic origin, like Pharisee and Sadducee. The more popular suggestions include the following.

(a) The word *Essenes* could be derived from the Aram *ḥsy'* (pl. *ḥsyn* or *ḥsyy'*), "pious," the equivalent of the Heb *ḥasîd.* This would suggest a connection between the Essenes and the *ḥasîdîm (asidaioi)* mentioned in 1 Macc 2:42; 7:12–13 and 2 Macc 14:6, but this idea is open to the objection that *ḥsy'* is never used in this sense in Jewish Aramaic.

(b) The Aramaic *'syy',* "healers" has been proposed especially by Vermes. Philo says that they were "therapeutae of God" (*Quod Omn* 75) and describes another community called Therapeutae *(Vita Cont),* but he understands the word in the sense of religious service rather than healing. It is not apparent that healing was such a dominant interest of the Essenes that they would derive their name from it.

(c) The Hebrew verb *'śh,* "do" yields a participial form *'ōśin* in rabbinic Hebrew. It has been suggested that this might be an abbreviation for "Doers of the Law" or some such phrase (Goranson 1984). This form suggests the name *Ossēnoi* given by Epiphanius, but the word is too general and is not related to the Essenes by specific evidence.

(d) The word *ḥsh,* "to trust" is likewise only of general relevance. Other suggestions, such as *ḥzzy',* "seers" or *ḥšyy',* "silent ones" are likewise inconclusive.

It should be noted, however, that the name Essene is only attested in Greek and Latin, and hence the possibility of a Greek derivation deserves serious consideration. Two possibilities deserve mention.

(a) Josephus (*Ant* 3.7.5 §163–71) uses the word *essēn* for the high priest's breastplate (Heb *ḥošen*) and says that the word signifies *logion,* "oracle." He adds that God foreshadowed victory in battle by means of the shining of the 12 stones, which the high priest wore upon his breast stitched into the *essēn;* hence the signification "oracle." The *essēn* ceased to shine about 200 years before the time of Josephus, i.e., in the late 2d century B.C.E. We will see below that Josephus attributed to some Essenes the ability to foretell future events. He does not, however, say that they used the *essēn,* or that their name was derived from it. A composition dealing with the shining of the *ḥošen* has now been found at Qumran (Strugnell fc.). It was not necessarily composed there, however, and it does not prove that the community attached any more importance to the *ḥošen* than did Josephus. An association of the name Essene with the priestly *essēn* is an intriguing possibility, but no more.

(b) The term *essēnas* is attested as a designation for functionaries in the cult of Artemis at Ephesus, who had to observe an ascetic lifestyle while in office (Paus. 8.13.1; Jones 1985: 97; Kampen 1986: 61–81). We will see that the accounts of the Essenes in Philo and Josephus were written for hellenized readers and were assimilated to Hellenistic models to some degree. Nonetheless, the cult of Artemis at Ephesus seems a rather remote model for the identification of the Jewish sect.

B. The Sources

Philo provides two descriptions of the Essenes, in *Quod Omn* 75–91 and *Hypothetica* 11.1–18. There is considerable overlap between these accounts. Philo does not claim to have firsthand knowledge of the Essenes, and he is evidently dependent on a source or sources. Further, he portrays the Therapeutae in *Vita Cont* as people who bear some similarity to the Essenes but are located in Egypt and lead a less active life.

The most extensive account of the Essenes is preserved by Josephus (*JW* 2.8.2–13 §119–161). A parallel to this account is found in the *Philosophoumena,* which is attributed to Hippolytus (*Haer.* 9.18.2–28.2). Many scholars have held that Hippolytus is dependent on Josephus, but Morton Smith has shown decisively that this is not so. Some of the differences between the two accounts are due to confusion on the part of Hippolytus (he identifies the Essenes with the Zealots) or to editorial censure (he deleted apparent references to sun worship). Hippolytus' account of Essene eschatology, however, may well include authentic information which is omitted by Josephus. Some minor differences between the two accounts can be explained by positing a common source which was originally in Hebrew (Smith 1958: 290–91). Josephus confirms most of the points mentioned by Philo but goes into greater detail. Another, shorter, account is provided by Josephus in *Ant* 18.1.5 §18–22. He also refers to individual Essenes at several points (*JW* 2.20.4 §566–68; 3.2.1 §9–12; *Ant* 15.10.5 §371–79) and once to the "Essene Gate" in Jerusalem (*JW* 5.4.2 §142–45).

Despite Josephus' claim that he personally made trial of the three major sects (*Life* 9–11), he can never have been a member of the Essenes. He claims to have undertaken the

three courses at age 16, then spent three years with Bannus in the wilderness, and returned to Jerusalem at age 19. He evidently then did not have time to complete even the initial year of the Essene process of admission. With the possible exception of the testimony to their endurance in the war against Rome (*JW* 2.8.10 §151–52), his knowledge of the Essenes was based on sources. These sources were probably available to him in hellenized form. Both Josephus and Hippolytus make comparisons with Pythagoras and with the Greek conception of the isles of the blest.

The most important notice by a pagan author is that of Pliny the Elder, in his *Natural History* (5.15.73), which was completed in 77 C.E. Pliny had probably been in Palestine with Vespasian in 68 C.E. He speaks of the Essenes in the present tense, but his information was probably gathered before 70. He mentions them in the context of a topographical survey of Judea and locates them on the W bank of the Dead Sea between Jericho and En-gedi (En-gedi is said to be "below" them; this should be understood as southward, in view of the direction in which the description moves). Pliny's one-sentence description of the Essenes confirms some aspects of the accounts in Josephus and Philo, but he exaggerates their rejection of worldly goods when he says that they live "without money" and also the duration of the sect as through "thousands of centuries."

Except for the enigmatic (probably confused) notice in Epiphanius which we have mentioned in connection with the etymology, the other ancient notices (Synes. *Dio* 3.2; Heges. *Hypomnemata, Apos. Con.* 6.6.1–8; Jerome, *vir. ill.* 11 and *adversus Jovinianum* 2.14) add nothing of significance to the 1st-century sources. (All these and some later witnesses are conveniently collected by Adam and Burchard; note also the Syriac account of Dionysios Bar Salibi discussed by Brock.)

C. Description of the Sect

The classical sources are primarily concerned with the customs of the sect. Josephus also provides some information about its organization and discipline. We are given relatively little account of doctrines and beliefs.

1. Location and Extent. Both Philo and Josephus say that the Essenes were spread throughout the country. Philo says that they lived in villages and avoided the iniquitous cities; Josephus, on the contrary, says that many lived in each city, but they had none of their own. The discrepancy here may be due to an idealizing tendency in Philo. Pliny, as we have noted, located the Essenes by the Dead Sea. Dio, as reported by Synesius, repeats this location but may depend on Pliny. Epiphanius says the Essenes were from Samaria but puts the *Ossaioi* in the vicinity of the Dead Sea. In view of Pliny's notice, we should assume that there was a major settlement by the Dead Sea; but evidently Essenes were not confined to one location. Both Philo and Josephus give their number as "more than four thousand." This figure was presumably derived from a common source which must have been extant in the early 1st century C.E.

2. Organization. Josephus introduces the Essenes as one of three Jewish "philosophies." They are listed among the *haireseis* (whence heresies) of the Jews by Hegesippus and Epiphanius. (Josephus refers to the *hairetistai* of each philosophy—i.e., those who choose to follow it.) The modern term *sect* is influenced by the Christian usage and has the disadvantage of implying a normative orthodoxy, which is anachronistic for Judaism in the era before 70 C.E. Nonetheless, *sect* is accepted as a more appropriate label for the Essenes than for the Pharisees or Sadducees, since it is clear from Josephus that they had a distinct organization with clear procedures for admission and expulsion and also that they were at variance with the Jerusalem temple, which was the focal point of Judaism at the time. We have as yet no better term than *sect* to describe this organization.

The procedures for admission are described by Josephus *JW* 2.8.7 §137–42). For the first year the postulant was required to follow the way of life but remain outside the community. After this there was a further probationary period of two years before final admission. Upon admission "tremendous oaths" were required. These included promises to "forever hate the unjust and fight the battle of the just," to be loyal to those in authority, to conceal nothing from other members, and to guard their secrets, including their books and the names of the angels. There was also provision for expulsion, which had dire consequences, because the expelled person was still prevented by oaths from partaking of common food.

The sectarian way of life was characterized by some form of communal property. According to Josephus (*JW* 2.8.4 §122) "the individual's possessions join the common stock and all, like brothers, enjoy a single patrimony." Philo comments that "they stand almost alone in the whole of mankind in that they have become moneyless and landless by deliberate action" (*Quod Omn* 77). Pliny states that they live "without money." All three 1st-century witnesses also attest the celibacy of the sect. Josephus says that they shun marriage but do not condemn it in principle (*JW* 2.8.2 §120–21) but also informs us of a second order of Essenes that practiced marriage (2.8.13 §160–61). Philo declares categorically that "no Essene takes a wife" (*Hypothetica* 11.14) and is apparently unaware of exceptions. Pliny says that they live "without any woman" and renounce sex. He marvels that a community in which no one was born could still perpetuate itself through generations. Philo gives as a reason for celibacy that marriage was perceived as a threat to communal life.

Much of the lifestyle of the sect follows from the requirements of communal living. Josephus emphasizes the hospitality extended to sectarians from other communities. Avoidance of wealth and distinction led to rejection of oil (which was also considered defiling) and to extreme frugality in dress (*JW* 2.8.4 §123–27). The cohesion of the community was ensured by strict obedience and deference to elders (*JW* 2.8.9 §146) and by a well-defined hierarchical order (2.8.10 §150). Both Philo and Josephus mention the rejection of slavery (*Quod Omn* 79; *Ant* 18.1.5 §21). Philo suggests that they also avoided weapons or at least refrained from making them (*Quod Omn* 78), but Josephus reports that they carried weapons on their journeys for self-defense (*JW* 2.8.4 §125). A figure called John the Essene appears as an officer in the war against Rome (*JW* 3.2.1 §9–12; 2.20.4 §566–68).

3. Religious Practices. The attitude of the Essenes to animal sacrifice and temple worship has been a matter of

much controversy. Philo says that they worshipped God "not by offering sacrifices but by resolving to sanctify their minds" (*Quod Omn* 75). This would seem to imply a rejection of sacrifice in principle, but it may mean only that sacrifice was not central to their piety. The testimony of Josephus is confused by textual variation. The Gk mss say that they "send votive offerings to the temple, but perform their sacrifices employing a different ritual of purification. For this reason they are barred from those precincts of the temple that are frequented by all the people and perform their sacrifices by themselves" (*Ant* 18.1.5 §19). The *Epitome* (an abbreviation of the *Antiquities* which is thought to date from the 10th century) and the Latin translation of Cassiodorus read a negative: "they do *not* perform their sacrifices." (Cassiodorus, however, only says that they did not sacrifice in the temple; see Black 1961: 40.) From this evidence it would seem that the Essenes were excluded from the official temple cult. However, the evidence could be interpreted to mean that they still offered sacrifice, either in a special part of the temple area or elsewhere, on their own.

The preoccupation of the Essenes with purity is evident in many of their practices, including celibacy and avoidance of oil (see above). Josephus mentions their ritual baths in cold water (*JW* 2.8.4 §129), notes that novices were allowed to share a purer kind of holy water after their year of postulancy (2.8.7 §138), and mentions that if a senior member of the community was touched by a junior, he had to take a bath "as after contact with an alien" (2.8.10 §150). He also reports their custom of burying their excrement (so as not to offend the rays of the deity) and of avoiding bowel movements on the Sabbath (2.8.9 §148). Even those expelled from the community were apparently still bound by purity regulations (2.8.8 §143–44).

Perhaps the most distinctive custom noted by Josephus is the custom of praying towards the sun before dawn "as if entreating him to rise" (*JW* 2.8.5 §128). They are said to pray "towards" *(eis)* not "to" *(pros)* the sun and so should probably not be regarded as sun worshippers. Nonetheless, the practice is surprising in a Jewish context and is reminiscent of the custom condemned in Ezek 8:16. The parallel passage in Hippolytus makes no reference to the sun, a fact which is probably due to editorial intervention.

A more conventional aspect of the Essences' piety is their devotion to the law. They are said to hold Moses in reverence second only to God (*JW* 2.8.9 §145) and to display an extraordinary interest in the writings of the ancients (2.8.6 §136). Philo claims that the exposition of the law at the sabbath services was allegorical (*Quod Omn* 82), but his description of the Essene assembly does not differ greatly from his account of the assembly of the Therapeutae in the *Vita Cont* (75–78) or of the Jewish people in *Hypothetica* (7).

Finally, the common meals of the community had religious significance. Josephus comments that, after their ritual bath, "pure now themselves, they repair to the refectory as to some sacred shrine" (*JW* 2.8.5 §129). The meal is ritualized by the prayers of a priest both before and after. Philo mentions the common meals as factors which further the unity of the members (*Quod Omn* 86; *Hypothetica* 11.5); but in his description of the related group, the Therapeutae, he dwells at length on the meal, which he calls a "sacred symposium" (or banquet) (*Vita Cont* 71).

4. Religious Beliefs. The 1st-century accounts of the Essenes are primarily concerned with the practices of the sect. Philo gives us scarcely any information about their beliefs but he does state that they believed that the godhead is the cause of all good things and nothing bad (*Quod Omn* 84). This belief may imply a dualistic view of the universe. The main account of the beliefs of the sect is found in Josephus (*JW* 2.8.11 §154–58), and there is some additional information in *Ant* 18 and in Hippolytus.

Josephus clearly asserts that the Essenes believed in the immortality of the soul and regarded the body as a prison house (compare *Ant* 18.1.5 §18). He compares their idea of the abode of the virtuous souls to the Greek isles of the blest and the murky dungeon of the wicked to Hades. The parallel account in Hippolytus, however, goes beyond this and says that they also believed in the resurrection of the body. The sojourn of the soul in the "isles of the blest" is "until the judgment," which would be followed by the *ekpyrosis*, or universal conflagration. Some have suspected that the reference to resurrection is intended to bring the Essenes into line with Christian teaching, but it is by no means clear that Hippolytus would have wanted to make a Jewish sect look like an anticipation of Christianity. The account in *Ant* 18.1.5 §18 emphasizes the determinism of the sect: they are wont "to leave everything in the hands of God."

Josephus and Hippolytus say that some of the Essenes professed to foretell the future. Josephus elsewhere relates incidents involving three different Essene prophets (*JW* 1.3.5 §78–80; 2.7.3 §111–13; and *Ant* 15.10.5 §373–79). In each case the prophecy concerns the fortunes of a king: in the first case, Judas the Essene predicted the murder of Antigonus (about 104 B.C.E.); in the second, an Essene named Simon interpreted a dream of Archelaus (about 6 C.E.); and in the third, Menahem foretold the kingship of Herod and earned the despot's respect for the Essenes. In Hippolytus the notice about prophecy follows immediately on the reference to the final judgment and may have apocalyptic overtones. Josephus also notes their interest in medicinal roots and the properties of stones (*JW* 2.8.6 §136).

Hippolytus also ascribes to the Essenes a fanatic aversion to idols, an inclination to kill the uncircumcised, and an unwillingness to recognize any lord except God. Throughout this passage, however, he appears to have confused the Essenes with the Zealots or Sicarii. Despite this militant portrayal Hippolytus says that they swore not to hate anyone—in sharp contrast to the oath in Josephus which promises always to hate the wicked. It is possible that Hippolytus has introduced some elements of Christian morality into the text in this instance.

D. Correlation with the Qumran Scrolls

The identification of the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls as the Essenes rests on two primary considerations: the location of the Essene settlement according to Pliny and the descriptions of the process of admission both in Josephus and in the Qumran *Rule of the Community* (1QS).

1. Location. Pliny located the Essene settlement between Jericho and En-gedi (assuming that "below" means "to the

South of" in accordance with the direction in which the description is moving). The only oasis between Jericho and En-gedi, is the Ain Feshka oasis, at the N end of which stands Qumran (M.R. 193127). The excavations at Qumran have shown that there was a settlement at the site from the mid-2d century B.C.E. to the time of the Roman conquest (except for an interruption immediately before the turn of the era). The period of occupation at Qumran corresponds well to the period within which the Essenes are mentioned in Josephus. Since there is no other known site which would fit the location given by Pliny, it is reasonable to conclude that he was in fact referring to Qumran. See also QUMRAN.

Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the ruins at Qumran were thought to be part of a military fort. This theory has recently been revived by Golb (1985), who points out that Qumran was violently destroyed and so had presumably been defended. The standard Essene interpretation, however, can account for the military adaptation of the site, whether by the sect itself or by Jewish revolutionaries, in the face of the Roman threat. On the other hand, the "military fort" theory leaves us with no identification for the site mentioned by Pliny. The assumption that Qumran was an Essene settlement remains the most economical way to account for the evidence.

2. Admission Procedures. The second basic argument rests on the correspondence between 1QS and the description of the Essenes in Josephus. Evidently 1QS is the rule for a distinct community. See COMMUNITY, RULE OF THE (1QS). It is simpler to suppose that this community was located at Qumran, rather than at some other unknown location. The correspondences with the description of the Essenes, then, further confirm the identification of the site. These correspondences are not complete or without problems; but, nonetheless, they are impressive.

The most striking point of analogy between 1QS and the account in Josephus concerns the procedures for admission to the sect. According to 1QS 6:14–23 the candidate is first examined by the overseer, at the head of "the Many" or main body of the community. If he is accepted, he still cannot touch the "Purification of the Many" or mingle his property with that of the community for a year. At the end of this year, his property is handed over to the overseer; but he cannot partake of the drink of the congregation for another year. This account initially seems to posit a two-year, rather than three-year, candidacy. In Josephus' account, however, the first year was spent outside the community. The initial examination by the overseer in 1QS 6 may in fact mark the end of such a postulancy. In Josephus' account the candidate is allowed to share "the purer kind of holy water" after the year as a postulant. If this corresponds to the "Purification of the Many," as seems likely, then there is a discrepancy between the two accounts: either 1QS envisages only a two-year candidacy or it places this stage of admission after the second year of three. The general similarity between the two procedures remains impressive, however, especially since we have no parallels for such a multiyear process of admission elsewhere in ancient Judaism. The discrepancy is most simply attributed to a misunderstanding on the part of Josephus' source, but it is also possible that it reflects a change in practice at some point in the history of the Essenes.

3. Communal Property. Both Philo and Josephus emphasize the sharing of possessions in the Essene community. Some passages in 1QS have a similar theme: "All the volunteers that cling to his truth shall bring all their understanding and powers and possessions into the community of God" (1:11). Again, when a candidate has completed one year in the community, "his property and also his wages shall be handed over to the overseer of the revenues of the Many; but it shall be inscribed to his credit, and shall not be spent to the profit of the Many" (6:18–20). This latter passage does not clarify whether private ownership persists after full admission to the community. The *Rule,* however, presupposes some form of private property, since it requires that a member reimburse the community for damage to the communal property (1QS 7:6).

Some scholars (e.g., Rabin 1957) have seen here a significant discrepancy between the Essenes and the sect of the scroll, since the classical accounts insist that "the individual's possessions join the common stock and all, like brothers, enjoy a single patrimony" (*JW* 2.8.3 §122). Yet the similarity is more striking than the difference. Philo and Hippolytus mention the treasurer (Philo, *Hypothetica,* 11.10) or overseer (Hippolytus, *Haer.* 9.20.2, *proestōta*) who handles the community finances. The common meals, which are attested in the Gk sources and 1QS 6, required common funds. It is easy to see how the existence of a common treasury could have been perceived by a Gk ethnographer to imply a rejection of private property. Even the Gk term *anamemigmenon,* "mingled," which is used by Josephus (*JW* 2.8.3 §122) for the communal pooling of funds, may well be a translation of the Heb *hitʿareb* (1QS 6:17; see Black 1961: 33–36). Rabin argues that *hitʿareb* in 1QS means "to do business," as in 1QS 9:8 it is used of dealings with outsiders. This interpretation does not account for the role of the overseer in 1QS 6.

The role of the common treasury is further restricted in the *Damascus Document* (CD). There "the rule of the Many to provide for all their needs" specifies: "The wage of at least two days a month, this is what they shall pay into the hands of the overseer and the judges. They shall set apart a portion of this sum for orphans, and with the other they shall support the hand of the poor . . ." (CD 14:12–14). The remainder is presumably retained as private property. This, however, is part of the rule for the "camps," for those who live throughout Israel rather than in a monastic settlement. There is no such specification of the amount of the contribution in 1QS. The Gk account of communal property among the Essenes is more likely to have been derived from the regulations reflected in 1QS than from the rule for the camps in CD.

4. Celibacy. Abstention from marriage and sexual activity was one of the hallmarks of the Essenes according to Philo, Josephus, and even Pliny. While Philo says flatly that "no Essene marries" (*Hypothetica* 11.14), Josephus adds, in an epilogue to his account, that there is a second order of Essenes which differs in this regard (*JW* 2.8.13 §160–61) and says that even the celibates do not condemn marriage in principle (2.8.2 §121). (The notice in the Syriac author Dionysios bar Salibi [cited by Charlesworth 1980: 216] that the Essenes did not approach their wives again after they had become pregnant, is evidently based on a misunder-

standing of Josephus.) The scrolls never mention a prohibition of marriage, but 1QS does not mention the subject at all and makes no provision for women in the community. In contrast, the rule for the camps in CD assumes marriage and family life; and the "Rule for the End of Days" (the so-called "Annex to the Community Rule," 1QSa) provides for sexual relations when a man has reached 20 years of age, which is late by rabbinic standards. Here again the variation probably lies between the two orders of Essenes. Thus 1QS is at least compatible with the celibate life described in the Gk sources, while CD and 1QSa can only pertain to the second order of Essenes. The bones of a few women and children have been found on the periphery of the cemetery at Qumran. Their presence may be explained by the hypothesis that Qumran served as a center for Essenes from other locations, and so these women may not have lived there. While the Qumran evidence on this matter gives no positive support to the identification as an Essene settlement, it can be reconciled with this identification. (See further Vermes 1981: 108; de Vaux 1973: 128–29.)

5. Relation to the Temple. We have seen already that the evidence of Josephus is ambiguous, but at least it shows clearly that the Essenes were at variance with the rituals usually practiced in the Jerusalem temple. In 1QS there is silence on this issue (as there is in Josephus' main account in *JW* 2 and in the parallel in Hippolytus). The information in CD is also ambiguous, but can be reconciled with the data in Josephus. In CD 6:11–13 we read that "none of those who have entered the covenant shall enter the sanctuary to kindle his altar in vain." This passage, like *Ant* 18.1.5 §18–19, is open to different interpretations but at least implies dissent from the official temple ritual. The ambiguity lies in the phrase *in vain*: it may be that sacrifice was permitted if the proper (sectarian) regulations were observed, or it may be that all access to the temple was prohibited. The archaeological evidence from Qumran has not clarified this situation. Carefully buried animal bones have been found; some scholars have taken these as evidence for the practice of sacrifice at Qumran (e.g., Cross 1961: 102), but others suppose that they were the remains of religious meals which had been ritually buried (de Vaux 1973: 14). A number of passages in 1QS speak of the life of the community as a substitute for the sacrificial cult (5:6; 8:3; 9:4). While this does not necessarily exclude the practice of sacrifice, it shows how the ritual could have been dispensed with. Josephus' statement that the Essenes sent offerings to the temple would seem to be in accordance with the situation envisaged in CD 11:19: "let there be sent to the altar of holocaust neither offering nor incense nor wood by the hand of a man defiled by any defilement whatsoever, permitting him thus to render the altar unclean . . ." Presumably offerings could be sent if the bearer was not defiled.

6. Religious Beliefs and Ideas. Josephus' statement that the Essenes are wont to leave everything in the hands of God (*Ant* 18.1.5) accords well with the deterministic theology of the scrolls (e.g., 1QS 3:15: "from the God of Knowledge comes all that is and shall be, and before they were, he established all their design . . ."). The main doctrinal issue in the Gk sources, however, is the immortality of the soul, which is mentioned in both *JW* 2 and *Ant* 18. There has been considerable debate as to whether this belief is attested in the scrolls, or even whether some more Semitic conception of an afterlife underlies Josephus' hellenized formulation. The problem concerns the rather vague formulation of personal eschatology in the scrolls. In 1QS 3:7–8 the visitation of all who walk in the spirit of life "consists of healing and abundance of bliss, with length of days and fruitfulness and all blessings without end, and eternal joy in perpetual life and the glorious crown and garment of honor in everlasting light." The language of this passage is reminiscent of the Psalms (e.g., Ps 16:11: "thou dost show me the path of life; in thy presence there is fullness of joy") or of Proverbs (e.g., Prov 8:35: "he who finds me finds life and obtains favor from the Lord"), which are not usually thought to imply a belief in an afterlife. In 1QS, however, the lot of the Children of Light is contrasted with that of the Sons of Darkness. The visitation of the latter "consists of an abundance of blows administered by all the Angels of Destruction in the everlasting Pit by the furious wrath of the God of vengeance, of unending dread and shame without end, and of the disgrace of destruction by the fire of the region of darkness" (1QS 4:12–13). Since this passage clearly implies punishment after death for the wicked, it is hardly conceivable that the "eternal life" of the righteous does not also extend beyond the grave. The "eternal life" of the community certainly involved present participation in the eschatological state, as can be seen from the *Hodayot* (Thanksgiving Hymns), but it also extended beyond death. (Compare also the contrast between the fates of the wicked and the righteous in CD 2:5–6 and 3:20. See further Nickelsburg 1972: 156–67.) This conception could well have been translated into Greek, though not quite accurately, as the immortality of the soul.

Hippolytus further claims that the Essenes believed in bodily resurrection, a final judgment, and universal conflagration (*Haer.* 9.27). A few passages in the *Hodayot* have been interpreted as references to resurrection: 1QH 6:34, "they that lay in the dust have raised up a banner"; 1QH, 11:12 "that this vermin that is man may be raised from the dust to [thy] secret [of truth]." Other scholars, more plausibly, take these passages as references to the present state of the community. Thus 1QS does not clearly speak of resurrection; it simply does not specify whether or not the body will participate in eternal life. Since the scrolls do not make the typical Greek distinction of soul and body, it is likely that they had in mind some conception of a "spiritual body" such as Paul has in 1 Cor 15:44. Here again we can see how an outsider might have construed this, inaccurately, as resurrection of the body. It is also possible that Hippolytus changed his source at this point, under the influence of his own Christian beliefs (see further Nickelsburg 1972: 146–69).

The final conflagration, in contrast, is strikingly illustrated in the description of the torrents of Belial in 1QH 3:29–36. In this case at least, the scrolls seem to support the account preserved in Hippolytus.

7. Further Correlations. There are several other points where the scrolls (esp. 1QS) correspond to the Gk sources (see Beall 1988). These include *ritual bathing* (*JW* 2.8.4 §129; 2.8.7 §138; 1QS 3:4, 9; 5:13); the *common meal* (*JW* 2.8.5 §131–32; *Quod Omn* 86; *Hypothetica* 11:5; 1QS 6:5);

study of the law (*JW* 2.8.6 §137; 2.8.9 §145; *Quod Omn* 80; 1QS 6:6); the *prohibition of spitting* (*JW* 2.8.9 §147; 1QS 7:13); the requirement of *oaths upon admission* (*JW* 2.8.7 §139; 1QS 5:7–8); the *demand to hate the unjust as well as support the just* (*JW* 2.8.7 §139; 1QS 1:9–10); and to *conceal nothing from the members of the sect* but *divulge none of their secrets to others* (*JW* 2.8.7 §141; 1QS 9:17–19). In some cases we can speak of "verbal reminiscences in Josephus of theological clichés in the Qumran texts" (Cross 1961: 96): the use of the verb "hate" with reference to the unjust, the term "mingle" *(hitʿareb, anamignusthai)* with reference to the finances of the community, and the description of the dark netherworld, where the wicked are punished.

Some other points which are not noted in the *Rule of the Community* are otherwise supported by discoveries from Qumran. Philo's statement that the Essenes supported themselves by labor on the land and by crafts is supported by the archaeological evidence from Qumran and nearby Ain Feshka (de Vaux 1973: 60–87). The fact that the secrets of the sect include the names of angels (*JW* 2.8.7 §142) accords well with the general prominence of angels in the scrolls. The biblical commentaries or Pesharim may provide some basis for Philo's assertion that they interpret their writings "through symbols" or allegorically, although Philo's understanding of allegory is very different from that at Qumran. The discovery of horoscopes at Qumran (4Q186) may be of relevance to the Essene interest in predicting the future. A very obscure fragment, the so-called 4Q*Therapeia*, has been adduced as evidence of the Essene interest in superstitious medicine, but that interpretation has been decisively refuted (Naveh 1986).

8. Discrepancies. Apart from the problems noted above relating to the practices of the sect, the most significant discrepancy is that the scrolls provide considerable information about the self-understanding and beliefs of the sect which has no parallel in the Gk sources. Josephus mentions that a priest says grace at meals but otherwise does not hint at the prominence of priests in the community. The theology of the *Rule of the Community* is dominated by the dualistic opposition of Light and Darkness, which will endure until the final judgment. This dualism is never explicit in the Gk sources. It may be implied in Philo's statement that they held the divinity responsible only for good things (*Quod Omn*, 84), while the Essene reverence for the sun is highly appropriate for self-styled "Children of Light."

Yet there is no doubt that the Greek accounts proceed from an understanding of the sect very different from what we find in the scrolls. In broad terms the contrast is between Hellenistic mysticism on the one hand and priestly apocalypticism on the other. In the light of the scrolls, the asceticism of the sect can be seen to arise from a strict adherence to levitical purity, intensified by the conviction that the end of days was at hand. The reference to a final conflagration in Hippolytus suggests that some apocalyptic motifs may have been dropped by Josephus and Philo. Basically, however, the difference between the two portrayals must be attributed to the fact that the Greek accounts, and their immediate sources, were written for Greek readers and that they adapted their material accordingly. As Morton Smith has observed (1958: 290–91), the common source of Josephus and Hippolytus was already a document of Greek ethnography. Some of the material—references to messiahs or to a final war between the forces of Light and Darkness—may have seemed too hostile for gentile readers, or the Hellenistic writer may simply have failed to appreciate the importance of some sectarian beliefs which could not be assimilated to Greek models. Despite the differences the parallels between Josephus' source and 1QS are far closer than those with any other known document.

The discrepancies between the Greek sources and the scrolls, significant though they are, are outweighed by the similarities. The correspondence of geographic location and the extensive similarity of community structure make overwhelmingly probable the identification of Qumran, and of the *Rule of the Community*, as "Essene."

E. History of the Sect

The Essenes appear in Josephus' account from the mid-2d century B.C.E. to the time of the war against Rome. He gives no explanation of their origin; except that he notes their difference from the ritual of the temple; and we might infer that this had some bearing on their separation from the rest of Judaism. Attempts to fill out the history of the Essenes are based primarily on evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls and the archaeology of Qumran. Here we are concerned only with those points at which the Greek and Latin evidence has some bearing on historical reconstruction. There are three such points: (a) the early formation of the sect, (b) the interruption in its sojourn at Qumran, and (c) its survival after 70 C.E.

1. Early Formation. It is evident from the *Damascus Document* (CD) that the sect had some history prior to the settlement at Qumran. On the most widely accepted interpretation of CD 1, the sect arose in the early 2d century B.C.E. ("390 years" after the fall of Jerusalem, granted that the number is not exact). (On the alternative interpretation, which pushes the origin of the sect back into the Babylonian Exile, see the discussion of CD in DEAD SEA SCROLLS.) There was then a 20-year period of uncertainty which ended with the arrival of the "Teacher of Righteousness." Subsequently there was a split in the movement, when some people "departed from the way" and "turned back" with the "Man of Lies." The settlement at Qumran is usually thought to have been initiated by the Teacher, but the evidence on this point is not clear.

The Greek evidence is relevant to this early history at two points. The first concerns the designation of pre-Qumranic material as "Essene." The name, as used in the Greek sources, refers to an organized form of communal life. The designation is most fully warranted when we have a full community rule as in 1QS. It is probably warranted with reference to the "new covenant" of CD, which was probably formed before the arrival of the Teacher. It does not, however, seem to be warranted in the case of pre-Qumran pseudepigraphic works such as the early Enochic writings and *Jubilees*. While this material reflects incipient sectarian movements, which may have been forebears in some sense of the Essenes, it lacks reference to the distinct community structures which are a hallmark of the Essenes.

A second point concerns the split in the early Essene movement. We know from Josephus that there were two orders of Essenes. The evidence of CD, which makes

special provision for "those who live in camps," is compatible with this information. Neither the Greek nor the Hebrew evidence, however, suggests that the distinction of two orders was the result of a schism. In CD, those who live in camps are clearly regarded as part of the Teacher's movement, while the followers of the "Man of Lies" are not. The suggestion that "non-Qumran Essenes" were those who refused to follow the Teacher (Murphy-O'Connor 1974: 235–36) and so were in opposition to Qumran, is not supported by the evidence.

2. Interruption of the Qumran Settlement. Two major developments in the history of the Qumran settlement are known from the archaeology of the site. The first was the expansion of the settlement in the time of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.), presumably to accommodate an influx of new converts. This development has been associated with the persecution of the Pharisees by Alexander Jannaeus reported by Josephus (*JW* 1.4.6 §96–98; *Ant* 13.14.2 §380–83) but is not reflected in the accounts of the Essenes.

The second major development was the destruction of the site and its subsequent abandonment in the reign of Herod. The destruction of the site has been variously attributed to an earthquake (which is known to have happened in 31 B.C.E.) or to the Parthian invasion of 40–39 B.C.E. (see de Vaux 1973: 20–24). We do not know where the community lived while the site was vacant. Since Josephus tells us that Herod held the Essenes in high respect (*Ant* 15.10.5 §378), the question has been raised "should we think of the Essenes as retreating to Jericho and living beside the magnificent Herodian structures that have recently been excavated and restored?" (Charlesworth 1980: 227). In view of the general asceticism of the Essenes, this question should almost certainly be answered in the negative.

3. Survival after 70 C.E. The majority of the Essenes lived at sites other than Qumran. (Philo and Josephus say that there were about 4000 Essenes; the capacity of Qumran was about 200.) It is therefore a priori unlikely that the destruction of Qumran would have brought the sect to an end, but it is possible that the sect dissolved in the general turmoil of the war against Rome. Evidence for the persistence of the Essenes after 70 C.E. is hard to find. The accounts of Josephus and Hippolytus were written in the present tense but they were based on older sources. Pliny's information was probably gathered before 70 C.E. Epiphanius, who preserves some distinctive material, claims to rely on a tradition *(he eis hemas elthousa paradosis)* the origin of which is unknown. Alleged theological and thematic influences on Syriac Christianity (Charlesworth 1980: 231) do not require the continued existence of the sect. The suggestion of Vermes (1975: 28) that a passage in *Midrash Rabbah* 36 be translated to say that Rabbi Meir visited the Essenes and found no copy of Esther among them is intriguing in view of the absence of Esther at Qumran but is very slender evidence for the continued existence of the Essenes. (The usual translation says he visited Asia Minor.) In short, while it is certainly possible that the Essenes continued to exist after the 1st century, we lack firm evidence to confirm that they did.

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JOHN J. COLLINS

ESTHER, ADDITIONS TO. The "Additions to Esther" consist of six extended passages (107 verses) in the Greek version/s which have no counterpart in the traditional Hebrew text. Regarded by both Jews and Protestants as apocryphal, i.e., noncanonical, these Additions (= Adds) never appear in Jewish Bibles; and if printed in Protestant Bibles, they usually appear, along with other apocryphal books, between the two Testaments or after them. By contrast, Roman Catholics since the Council of Trent (1546) have regarded these Additions as authoritative and have called them "deuterocanonical"; and following Jerome's practice in the Vulgate (A.D. 405), Catholic Bibles usually print these six Adds immediately after the canonical text, numbering them as chaps. 11–16.

Designated by a variety of numbering systems, the Adds consist of the following: Mordecai's dream (Add A 1–11) and the discovery of a plot against the king (Add A 12–17); the royal edict dictated by Haman, announcing a pogrom against the Jews (Add B 1–7); the prayers of Mordecai (Add C 1–11) and Esther (Add C 12–30); a description of Esther's going before the king unsummoned (Add D 1–16); the royal edict dictated by Mordecai,

counteracting the edict written by Haman (Add E 1–24); and the interpretation of Mordecai's dream (Add F 1–10) along with the colophon to the Greek version (F 11). These Adds differ from the canonical Esther—as well as from one another—in purpose (i.e., effect), content, and style.

There is one other "addition" in the Greek text which must be mentioned here: God himself. The word or his name occurs over fifty times, mostly in the deuterocanonical sections but sometimes even in the canonical sections (see below). This is in sharp contrast to the Hebrew text where God is not mentioned at all, a fact that has prompted much debate. (On this problem as well as other matters relating to the Hebrew version of Esther, see ESTHER, BOOK OF.

A. Summary
1. Add A 1–11 (=Vg 11:2–12)
2. Add A 12–16 (=Vg 12:1–6)
3. Add B 1–7 (=Vg 13:1–7)
4. Add C 1–11 (=Vg 13:8–18)
5. Add C 12–30 (=Vg 14:1–9)
6. Add D 1–16 (=Vg 15:4–19)
7. Add E 1–24 (=Vg 16:1–24)
8. Add F 1–10 (=Vg 10:4–13)
9. Add F 11 (=Vg 11:1)
B. Canonicity of Esther and Its Adds
C. Secondary Character of the Adds
1. Inconsistencies
2. Contradictions
D. Greek Version/s of Esther
1. The B-Text
2. Colophon to the B-Text
3. The A-Text
E. Original Languages of the Adds
1. Adds B and E
2. Adds A, C, D, and F
F. Purpose/s of the Adds
G. Dates of the Adds
H. Provenance and Authorship
I. Critical Editions

A. Summary

1. Add A 1–11 (=Vg 11:2–12). The Greek version of the book of Esther begins *before* the description of Ahasuerus' banquet (the scene that begins the Hebrew version), recounting that, on New Year's Day in the 2d year of the reign of Artaxerxes the Great, Mordecai ben Jair, a prominent Jew serving in the royal court at Susa, had a dream in which he saw the earth full of cries and chaos. Two great dragons were readying themselves for battle while the pagan nations prepared to war against the righteous nation. Surrounded by darkness and filled with fear, the righteous nation cried out to God. And from their crying there arose a mighty river; then light and sun appeared. Finally, the humble were exalted and devoured the eminent. Realizing that this dream was a portent of what God intended to do, Mordecai puzzled over it all day.

2. Add A 12–16 (=Vg 12:1–6). Also placed before the banquet scene and also set on New Year's Day in the 2d year of Artaxerxes, these verses recount how Mordecai, while in the royal court that evening, overheard Gabatha and Thara, the king's bodyguards, plotting against Artaxerxes. Mordecai promptly informed the king; and after the culprits were executed, Mordecai's good deed was duly recorded; he was also ordered to serve in the king's court and received certain other rewards for his service. But Mordecai's "betrayal" of the eunuchs also earned him the enmity of Haman, son of Hammedatha, a Bougaion who was also the king's favorite, who decided to destroy not only Mordecai but his people as well.

3. Add B 1–7 (=Vg 13:1–7). This florid and rhetorical Add, appearing between what would be verses 13 and 14 of chap. 3 of the MT, transcribes the royal edict dictated by Haman. In it, the Persian king in effect says the following: "Having conquered the whole world (but not out of any power-madness but always with gentle restraint), I was resolved to make the lives of my subjects untroubled by civilizing the land, making all travel safe, and restoring the peace. When I asked Haman, my second in command and an adviser of balanced judgment and consistent kindness, how this might be accomplished, he informed us that there is scattered throughout the empire a certain people whose own laws make them hostile to everyone else and who ignore the royal ordinances and frustrate our noble plans. Realizing that this people, alone, are always acting only in their own interests and are frustrating the good that I would do, and threatening the general welfare of the empire, I do hereby authorize their total and complete destruction—including their women and children—on Adar 13 of the present year. With all of them killed in one day, our government will then be secure and our future untroubled."

4. Add C 1–11 (=Vg 13:8–18). Assured that Esther would intercede for her people, Mordecai left the King's Gate (4:17 of the MT). In the Greek verses immediately following, it is recounted that Mordecai prayed to God, in effect saying: "Lord, king and creator of the universe, not out of insolence or vanity did I refuse to bow down to Haman. For Israel's sake I would have kissed the soles of his feet, but I will bow down only to you, my Lord. God of Abraham, spare your people, your heritage whom you ransomed from Egypt. Turn our mourning into feasting. Lord, don't stifle the voices of those who praise you!" Meanwhile all Israel was also crying out in fear of the impending implementation of the edict dictated by Haman (Add B).

5. Add C 12–30 (=Vg 14:1–9). Terrified at the prospect of approaching the king unsummoned, Esther put on mourning clothes, covered her head with ashes and dung, and prayed, in effect saying: "My Lord and only king, help me who am alone as I risk my life. I have always heard that you treated your inheritance Israel just as you had promised. But when we sinned and extolled the gods of our enemies, you handed us over to them. Not satisfied with our enslavement, they now are resolved to nullify your promises to us by destroying both the temple and us. Lord, don't relinquish your scepter! Frustrate their plot and make an example of Haman. Lord, give me courage! Make me persuasive before the 'lion' and make him hate our enemy and his supporters. You know that I detest the pomp of the wicked and the bed of the uncircumcised. As for the royal turban I wear at court, I loathe it like a menstruous rag! I have not dined at Haman's table or partied or drunk the royal libations. God of Abraham, I

have always delighted only in you. Save us from the wicked—and, Lord, protect me from my fears!"

6. Add D 1–16 (=Vg 15:4–19). This Add, an expansion of 5:1–2 of the MT, reports that on the third day, when Esther's prayers were finished, she dressed in her finest outfit and, with one maiden preceding her and another carrying her train, she finally stood before the king—radiant, regal, but unsummoned. But when the king turned livid at the sight of her, she turned pale and keeled over on her maid. God instantly changed the king's rage to gentleness so that Artaxerxes leaped from his throne and, gathering her up in his arms, assured her that everything would be all right. "My lord," she said to the king, "I saw you like an angel of God, and I was upset." As she sagged with relief, the king and his court continued to reassure her. The Greek then follows the MT (5:3–8:12), recounting how Esther asked that the king and Haman come to her dinner, how the second dinner culminated with the execution of Haman, and how the king authorized Mordecai to issue a pro-Jewish edict to counterbalance Haman's earlier anti-Jewish edict.

7. Add E 1–24 (=Vg 16:1–24). These verses transcribe in diffuse and florid style the edict that Mordecai dictated. It begins with Artaxerxes greeting his governors and all his subjects throughout the empire. He then goes on to say, in effect: "Some arrogant men, excessively honored by overly generous benefactors, scheme even against their own benefactors. Puffed up by flattery, they hope to escape the evil-hating justice of the omniscient God. Occasionally these malicious scoundrels through their guile and persuasiveness mislead even the most well-intentioned and highest officials. A case in point is Haman, son of Hammedatha, a Macedonian without a drop of Persian blood or goodness in him, who was not only treated as a guest but was even addressed in public as 'our father' and was ranked second only to the king himself. In his arrogance, Haman schemed to rob us of both kingdom and life. He tried to destroy not only Mordecai, benefactor of the king, and Queen Esther, but their people as well. Then he would have had the hegemony pass from the Persians to the Macedonians! We now know that the Jews maligned and consigned to destruction by Haman are not criminals but are governed by the most just laws and are sons of the most high and living God who has always directed the fortunes of our empire. Therefore, ignore the royal decree sent by Haman, for he as well as his family are now hanging from Susa's gates! Post copies of this dispatch in every public place. Also, allow the Jews to follow their own customs—and support them on Adar 12. (The omnipotent God had determined that day to be a joyful one for his chosen people, not a day of destruction; moreover, henceforward that day shall be celebrated by you and by those Persians sympathetic to them.) Any city or province not acting in accordance with the present edict shall be so devastated by fire and spear that it will be forever avoided by both man and beast!"

8. Add F 1–10 (=Vg 10:4–13). This Add, which immediately follows the conclusion (10:3) of the MT, hearkens back to the scene with which the Greek version began. In these verses, the Greek version draws to conclusion with Mordecai realizing that all this had been God's doing. In his earlier dream, the "river" symbolized Esther; the "two dragons" were he and Haman; and the "nations" represented the heathen world who would have annihilated the nation of Israel. The Lord himself had saved his people and done all these things. God had made two lots, one for his people and the second for all the other nations; and at the appointed time of trial he acquitted Israel, his inheritance. Therefore, all Israel should joyfully celebrate Adar 14 and 15 for all time.

9. Add F 11 (=Vg 11:1). This additional verse is a colophon, which literally reads: "In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a priest and a Levite, and his son Ptolemy brought the above book of Purim, which they said was authentic and had been translated by Lysimachus, son of Ptolemy, a member of the Jerusalem community."

The preceding summary has been unusually detailed for three reasons: (1) to provide data enabling us to see how the Adds are frequently inconsistent with or even contradictory to the canonical sections of Esther; (2) to underscore the explicitly religious character of the Adds; and (3) to show how the Adds help to alter dramatically the character and "purpose" (i.e., effect) of the Greek version of Esther. Each of these matters will be treated in detail at some point below.

B. Canonicity of Esther and Its Adds

In the Hebrew version of Esther, the Persian king is mentioned 190 times in 167 verses; but the God of Israel not once. Nor are there mentioned in the MT such distinctive practices and concepts as prayer, *kašrût,* election, law, Jerusalem, temple, or divine intervention (in fact, fasting is the only religious practice mentioned [Esth 4:16 and 9:31]). These glaring omissions undoubtedly contributed to the difficulties the book had in gaining canonicity among both Jews and Christians. For as late as the 4th century A.D. some Jews were still denying the book canonical status, as were a number of Eastern Church Fathers as late as the 9th century (for further details, see ESTHER, BOOK OF).

Just as the canonicity of the Hebrew version of Esther had long been debated by both Jews and Christians, so the canonical status of the Adds has also been a matter of dispute. With respect to the Adds, Esther's questionable canonical status was both their cause and an effect: on the one hand, the book's contested canonical status made it possible for editors to tamper with the text by creating the Adds; and on the other hand, the introduction of explicitly religious Adds improved the book's odds of gaining canonicity, at least among some of its critics.

Although Jerome had removed the Adds from their logical positions in the LXX and had relegated them to the end of his Latin translation, further negative judgment on the Adds *per se* was not raised for the next thousand years.

Then in the 16th century, during the period of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Reformations, Protestants, following Luther's lead, looked upon the Adds as apocryphal while Roman Catholics called them "deuterocanonical." Speaking of his church's doctrinal position concerning the Adds, the Roman Catholic biblical scholar Soubigou (1952: 581–82, 597) maintained that, while a Roman Catholic scholar must accept as doctrinally true *the*

inspiration of the Adds, he need not subscribe to the view that they were an original part of the Esther story, the distinction here being that the provenance and original language of the Adds are matters for literary and linguistic analysis, not doctrinal pronouncement.

C. Secondary Character of the Adds

There can be no doubt that the Adds are properly called "additions," for both the internal and external evidence confirm this. As for the external evidence, none of the standard translations regularly based on the Hebrew text has them, i.e., neither the Talmud, Targums, nor the Syriac has these particular Adds. Nor are these Adds found in Aquila, Theodotion, or Symmachus, these being 2d century A.D. Greek translations based upon the current Heb text (Roberts 1951: 120–27). The so-called "ancient" Heb version of Adds A and C in *Sefer Josippon* is actually a product of the Middle Ages and is based upon the LXX (Moore 1977: 154).

By contrast, those ancient versions universally recognized as being based upon the LXX (i.e., the OL, Coptic [i.e., Sahidic], the Ethiopic) *do* have these Adds. The Latin Vulgate, which Jerome (340?–420) based upon the Hebrew, also has these Adds; but in a note after Esth 10:3 of his Latin translation Jerome said that these Adds were not in the current Hebrew text.

Earlier, Origen (185?–?254) had reported in *Epistle to Africanus* 3 that neither the royal edicts by Haman and Mordecai (Adds B and E) nor the prayers of Mordecai and Esther (Add C) appeared in the Hebrew text of his day. Whether Adds A, D, and F did exist at that time is unknown; after all, to conclude that A and F did exist because they were not expressly mentioned as being absent is an argument based on silence.

1. Inconsistencies. The intrusive or secondary character of these Adds is also attested by their inconsistencies with the MT. Admittedly, some of the inconsistencies are relatively unimportant.

While in A 1 *et passim* the king is named Artaxerxes, his name in the MT is *ʾḥšwrwš* (i.e., Xerxes). In A 2, Mordecai is described as "a prominent man who served in the king's court"; yet not until 8:2 of the MT can he be so described, albeit he must have had some prior standing to have been identified in 2:21 of the MT as an official (literally, "one who sat at the King's Gate"), unless, as some scholars argue, A 2's characterization of him as one "who served in the king's court" represents an inner-Greek corruption (i.e., Gk *pulē*, "gate," was early misread as Greek *aulē*, "court").

Haman is identified in A 17 as a "Bougaion," which is evidently a term of reproach (Moore 1977: 178), while in 3:1 and 9:24 of the MT he is called an "Agagite." The description of him as a "Macedonian" in E 10 is also a term of reproach, the claim of E 14 notwithstanding (i.e., that Haman had intended to deliver the kingdom into the hands of the Macedonians).

The king's laudatory characterization of himself and his glowing description of Haman in B 2–3 and 6 cannot be considered inconsistent with what is found in the MT. After all, the edict was composed by Haman, who would naturally have spoken favorably about the king; and as Soubigou noted, "The eulogy of Haman was by Haman" (1952: 680).

Esther's concern for the temple and altar at Jerusalem (C 20), her abhorrence at being married to a gentile (C 26), her loathing of all things worldly and courtly (C 25–27), her strict observance of dietary laws (C 28) are not even hinted at in the MT. If anything, one would infer from 2:9 of the MT that at Susa Esther did not observe *kašrût*. The mention in D 2 and 7 of two maids accompanying Esther finds no counterpart in the MT.

Whether the date of Mordecai's dream (i.e., the 2d year of Artaxerxes' reign) contradicts 1:1 of the MT depends upon two things: (1) whether Haman's discovery of the plot by Gabatha and Tharra happened the day after the dream or at some later date; and (2) whether their plot is the same as the plot of Bigtan and Teresh, which, according to the MT, occurred in the 7th year of the king. Fuller (1888: 373) regarded them as separate plots; but the A-Text (see below), Josephus, and the OL report only one.

2. Contradictions. It is, however, the contradictions between the apocryphal and the canonical sections of Esther that prove that the Adds are interpolations. According to Add A 1 and 11–16, Mordecai discovered the plot against the king in Artaxerxes' 2d year (7th year in 2:1 of the MT); he himself informed the king of the plot (in 2:22 of the MT, Esther did so in his name); and Mordecai was immediately rewarded (cf. 6:1–11 of the MT, where Haman was not rewarded until the king's 12th year [3:7]). According to A 17, Haman's hostility toward Mordecai was based upon the latter's informing on the two conspirators against the king; but in the MT it was because Mordecai had refused to bow down to Haman and because Mordecai was a Jew while Haman was an Amalekite (Esth 3:1, 5–6).

What in the MT had been essentially a plot involving court rivalry (3:1–4), intrigue (3:8–9), and long-standing hostility between Jews and Amalekites (3:1, 10, 13; 5:13; 6:13) becomes, implicitly in Mordecai's dream and explicitly in the narrative, an antagonism between Israel and *all* the rest of the world. What was portrayed in the MT as a pogrom in the Persian Empire became in the Greek version a cosmic struggle between the Jews and everyone else.

While saying nothing in his prayer about Haman's ethnic background (i.e., that Haman was either a "Bougaion" [A 17], a "Macedonian" [E 107], or an Amalekite), Mordecai explained his defiance of Haman by maintaining that he could bow down to *any* mortal but reserved that honor exclusively for the Lord, an explanation which is in sharp variance with that in 3:2–6 of the MT.

In 5:1–2 of the MT the king received the unsummoned Queen Esther most cordially, and she displayed no outward signs of fear or anxiety; but in Add D the king was initially so infuriated at the sight of her (D 7a) that she lost her nerve and fainted (D 7b). Fortunately God miraculously changed the king's mood (D 8); but even though the king was very solicitous and reassured Esther of her safety (D 8–11), she had been so upset that she sagged with relief (D 16).

In E 10 it was Haman's intention to hand the Persian kingdom over to the Macedonians that prompted him to mislead the king and to try to destroy Mordecai and the Jews, not his personal rivalry with Mordecai or his ethnic hatred of the Jews.

In the MT, Haman was hanged on the gallows at his own home (Esth 7:9); a year later his ten sons were killed in Susa (9:6) and were exposed on the gallows the following day (9:13–14). But according to A 18, Haman and all his family were promptly executed and their bodies hanged on the gates of Susa at the time of his downfall.

Finally, Add F makes explicit what was implicit in Add A, namely, that the conflict was a universal and cosmic struggle between Jews and *all* the rest of the world (F 5–9).

While the account in the Hebrew is an intelligible and consistent whole, the contradictions and inconsistencies of the Adds clearly argue for their intrusive and secondary nature. Moreover, virtually all modern scholars agree that at least two of the Adds, B and E (see below), are not translations but original Greek compositions.

D. Greek Version/s of Esther

Before more is said about the Adds, a few words should be said about the Greek translations of Esther.

1. The B-Text. Apart from a few Hebraisms which are probably later "corrections" (Moore 1977: 162), the LXX (or B-Text) of Esther is a "literary" translation, in the sense that it has very few readings that remind its reader that it is a translation (but see Esth 3:7; 6:13; 8:9; and 9:28 of the LXX). Ironically, while the Greek text of Esther is noted for its Additions, in point of fact it has even more "omissions," there being scarcely a verse where the translator has not omitted a word, phrase, or clause of the Hebrew version (Moore 1965: 23–54). Totally uninterested in creating a mechanical one-for-one translation of the Hebrew, the Greek translator was evidently content to proceed verse by verse, rendering the sense of each verse but omitting repetitious material. (That his Hebrew text was much like the MT is highly probable but impossible to prove, the oldest Hebrew ms of Esther dating to no earlier than the 11th century A.D.)

2. Colophon to the B-Text. The LXX of Esther is unique in the Jewish Bible for having its own authentic colophon (Bickermann 1944: 329–57), i.e., an inscription at the end of a ms telling about when, where, and by whom it was produced. While the latest possible date for the Gk translation of Esther is ca. A.D. 93 (i.e., the date when the Gk version of Esther was paraphrased by Josephus in *Ant*), the actual date is a century or two earlier. Assuming that the information in the colophon is correct (i.e., that Esther was translated in the 4th year of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra), we can say that the probable date is either A.D. 114 (Fuerst 1972: 168; Moore 1977: 161, 150–52; *HJP*^{2} 3/2, 719) or 77 B.C. (Bickermann 1944: 346–47; Nickelsburg 1981: 173; Collins 1983: 87).

3. The A-Text. In 1883 Lagarde published what he called the Lucianic recension (or A-Text) of Esther. Whatever else this eclectic text was, it was certainly not the Lucianic recension of Esther. Rather, Lagarde's text represented a separate Greek translation of a Heb text which was quite different, at points, from both the MT and the Hebrew text presupposed by the LXX (so Moore 1967: 521–28; Cook 1969: 369–76; but see also Tov 1982). Important though the A-Text is for reconstructing the earliest form of the Esther story, it is of little value for the Additions, since as the Adds were borrowed from the B-Text (Clines 1984: 72–92). For further information on the Greek translations of Esther, see ESTHER, BOOK OF.

E. Original Languages of the Adds

All six Adds were supplied after the completion of the canonical book of Esther. The growing consensus (*HJP*^{2}, 3/2, 718–19) is that Adds A, C, D, and F were originally composed in either Hebrew or Aramaic, and that they were added to the canonical Heb text prior to the latter's being translated into Greek, and that Adds B and E (the edicts dictated by Haman and Mordecai) were originally composed in Greek and were added sometime after the completion of the Greek translation.

1. Adds B and E. With the exception of Schildenberger (1941: 76), who argued that the royal edicts of Haman and Mordecai (Adds B and E) represent the actual edicts sent to Greek-speaking people in accordance with Esth 3:12 and 8:9, virtually all scholars regard Adds B and E as Greek in origin. Add B is so diffuse and rhetorical, so bombastic and convoluted in its literary style that anyone familiar with Greek and Hebrew literature can scarcely doubt that it is Greek in origin. Its literary style stands in sharp contrast to the simple, straightforward style of both the canonical sections and Adds A, C, D, and F. Add B is so reminiscent of Ptolemy Philopator's letter in *3 Macc.* 3:12–29 (see Motzo 1924: 272–90), the latter being Greek in origin (Emmett, *APOT* 1: 155–62), that Barucq (*Judith, Esther* JB, 84) maintained that Philapator's letter is a "Hellenistic imitation of Esther." But a case can be made for saying the reverse, that Add E was inspired by *3 Macc.* (Moore 1977: 195–97; but see *HJP*^{2} 3/2, 720, n. 336). Although the 1 and 2 Targums of Esther (i.e., Aramaic translations dating to no earlier than the 8th century A.D.) offer Aramaic texts of Haman's edict, there is no justification for seeing either the Greek or Aramaic version of Add B as being dependent upon the other (Moore 1977: 195; *HJP*^{2} 3/2, 720). In any event, Add B is a cleverly constructed piece of propaganda, feeding as it does upon men's fear and greed, even though, in contrast to Esth 3:13 of the MT, there is no mention of the possibility of looting Jewish property.

If anything, the Greek of Add E is even more rhetorical and florid than Add B. While it is likely that both had the same author, it is unlikely that it was the same person who did the Greek translation of the Hebrew text (see below). The basic message of Add E (i.e., "allow the Jews to follow their own customs" [E 19]) would have been most appealing to Jews of the Diaspora.

2. Adds A, C, D, and F. That Adds A, C, D, and F were originally composed in a Semitic language was first proposed by Torrey (1944: 1–40), although as far back as 1890 Jacob (p. 257) had shown that another 50-word addition to Esth 4:17 in the OL presupposed a now lost Greek passage which, in turn, was based on either a Hebrew or Aramaic text (Moore 1977: 202). Unfortunately, Torrey offered only two readings to support his view of an Aramaic original for the Adds: (1) the B-Text's *charitōn meston* ("full of graciousness") in D 14 presupposed the Aram *mlʾ rʿtʾ*, since the A-Text (see below) has in the corresponding place *metron idrōtos* ("a measure of sweat"), the *r* in the Aramaic script easily being confused with the *d*; and (2) the B-Text in C 7 has *en hyperēphania* ("out of

arrogance") while the A-Text has *en peirasmō* ("in rivalry"), both renderings being legitimate translations of the same Aramaic word, *b'ithnassā'ah* (Torrey 1944: 8).

Other evidence of a Semitic *Vorlage* is, admittedly, of a much "softer" character. For example, Ehrlich (1955: 69–74) argues that Mordecai's dream in Add A seems to have biblical and Palestinian rather than Egyptian or Mesopotamian imagery, and had either a Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage*, the dream's typology as well as its Hebraisms reflecting a strong influence from Joseph's dream in Genesis 37. And, if one regards the colophon to Esther in F 11 as authentic, then, coming as it does *after* Mordecai's interpretation of his dream, it presupposes the inclusion of Add F, and hence of Add A, in the Hebrew text translated by Lysimachus, the LXX translator of the Hebrew text according to the colophon (Moore 1977: 244–52).

Most persuasive of all, however, are the findings of Martin (1975: 65–72). Using a statistical analysis of syntax developed earlier for distinguishing between translation-Greek and original-Greek, Martin (1974) concluded that Adds B and E were originally composed in Greek; Adds A, C, and D are translations of a Semitic *Vorlage;* and that Add F is either original Greek or a very free translation of a Semitic text.

F. Purpose/s of the Adds

It is virtually impossible to know the intent of the author/s of the Adds, although Nickelsburg (1981: 175) has argued that the Adds were made on analogy of *3 Maccabees* and were intended to substitute the feast of Purim for the festival commemorating the Jews' deliverance from death in the hippodrome. The purpose of the Adds may better be inferred from the effect they have on their readers, although this too can vary from reader to reader. At the very least, the Adds seem to accomplish one of two things: either they compensate for what some readers have called the "religious deficiencies" of the MT by supplying "the religious element that is so conspicuously absent from the Hebrew edition" (Paton, *Esther* ICC, 44–45); or, as more and more scholars are now suggesting, the Adds make explicit in the Greek Esther what is only implicit in the Hebrew version. That is, the Hebrew version of Esther *is* a religious, not a secular, story; God may not be mentioned in the Hebrew text and he may not be onstage with the spotlight focusing on him, but he is clearly in the wings, directing the story and its actors (Cohen 1974: 87–94; Loader 1978: 417–21; Berg 1979: 173–87). For a discussion of the reasons for the absence of religious elements in the Hebrew Esther, see ESTHER, BOOK OF.

In any event, God is quite evident in the Greek Esther, mostly in the Adds but occasionally even in the canonical sections. In the B-Text, he is mentioned in 2:20 ("to fear God and obey his commandments"); 4:8 ("to call upon the Lord"); 6:1 ("and the Lord drove the sleep from the king that night"); and 6:13 ("for God is with him"). In addition, the A-Text also mentions him in 4:14 ("but God shall be their help and salvation"); 4:16 ("propose a service and earnestly beg God"); and 7:2 ("Esther was uneasy about speaking because the enemy was right in front of her, but God gave her the courage for the challenge").

Certainly the Adds provide the opportunity for their respective authors to express their own particular theological views. All the Adds, but especially A and F (i.e., the dream and its interpretation) emphasize God's providential care for his people Israel; Adds A and F, along with Add C, also express a strong anti-gentile attitude (e.g., A 6, C 26–28, and F 5, 8). But then Add C (i.e., the prayers of Mordecai and Esther) also attests to the efficacy of prayer, the concern for *kašrût* in food and marriage (C 26–28), and the importance of the cult and temple at Jerusalem (C 20). Add D, which is the real climax of the Greek Esther (Brownlee 1966: 161–85), describes the miraculous intervention of God on behalf of Queen Esther. That, together with the LXX's downplaying of the establishment of Purim in Esth 8:13–9:32 (Moore 1977: 241–43), shifts the emphasis in the LXX away from the establishment of the Purim festival to God's miraculous and saving acts (see D 8, 6:1; 7:2 of the A-Text; and F 1, 6, 9).

Even though God is not mentioned in Add B, its Greek author used the occasion for describing some of the causes and effects of anti-Semitism. Haman's edict represents a clever piece of propaganda which, feeding as it does on the fears and greed of men (B 4–6), also well illustrates the scapegoat mechanism. By contrast, in Add E, God is mentioned four times: E 4 ("the evil-hating justice of God"); E 16 ("[Jews] are sons of the living God"); E 17 ("an appropriate sentence which the omnipotent God promptly passed on him"); and E 21 ("For the omnipotent God has made this a day of joy for his chosen people").

The Adds have other effects beside making the story explicitly religious. The 16 verses of Add D, which describe Esther's unannounced audience with the king, are far more dramatic and detailed than the corresponding verses in the MT (Esth 5:1–2), and the same can be said for the edicts in Adds B and E in comparison to Esth 3:13 and 8:10–12 of the MT. Then too, whatever the intent of their respective authors, one of the effects of Adds B, D, and E is to "strengthen the trustworthiness" of the story (Bardtke 1973: 18), the logic here being that in antiquity many a naive reader would have concluded that " 'they' would not have written all this if it had not been true."

Recently, Clines (1984), taking the position that the author of the "Proto-Masoretic" story (pp. 115–38) edited out all of the religious elements in the "Pre-Masoretic" story (pp. 93–114), has argued, with some justice, that "the primary effect of the LXX expansions as a whole is . . . to *assimilate the book of Esther to a scriptural norm*, especially as found in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel" (p. 169). But although Clines maintains that a "transformation of [the book's] canonical shape had the effect of affirming its canonical status" (p. 174), the simple fact is that the Esther story, *with the Adds* (i.e., the Greek version) as well as *without the Adds* (i.e., the MT), had difficulty in attaining canonical status.

The presence of the Adds in the Greek version may help to explain the change in the book's title. Whereas the Heb version is frequently referred to by Jews as the "Megillah" (= Heb for "scroll"), Christians, who from the beginning read the Esther story with the Adds (i.e., the LXX or Latin), called it "Esther." It is the Adds—especially Esther's prayer in C 12–30 and her obviously courageous performance in D 1–16—that increase her stature in the Greek vis-à-vis the Hebrew version, although even in the MT she

plays a more dominant role vis-à-vis Mordecai than is generally recognized (Jones 1977: 171–81).

G. Dates of the Adds

It is reasonably certain that the Adds were not composed all at the same time or by the same person. The latest possible date for Adds B, C, D, and E is A.D. 93, because they were paraphrased by Josephus in *Ant.* (Whether Adds A and F existed then but were omitted by him because they were irrelevant to his theme [so *HJP*^{2} 3/2, 719] or because he feared that their anti-gentile character might offend his gentile readers is unknown.) Actually, however, those Adds which were originally in Hebrew or Aramaic would have been translated into Greek by Lysimachus in either 114 or 77 B.C. In terms of the literary style and theology of the Adds, not to mention their anti-gentile spirit, there is little reason not to regard the Adds as dating to the 2d and/or 1st centuries B.C. Nor need every Add have been created all of a piece. For example, the fact that Josephus and the OL, both of which were based upon the Greek, lack A 12–17 and C 17–23 indicates that these particular sections were not present in the Greek text used by their translators. As for Adds B and E (the edicts dictated by Haman and Mordecai), they would not have been composed until, at the very least, the appearance of the Greek translation of Esther. In any event, all six Adds *did* exist by the time of Origen (185?–?254).

H. Provenance and Authorship

Adds B and E (the edicts) were composed by the same person, their style and point of view of subject matter clearly indicating this (Schildenberger 1941: 20). But whoever their author was, he was certainly not Lysimachus of the colophon (but so Torrey 1944: 20); for one can scarcely imagine a stylist so enamored with producing the pseudo-classical style of Adds B and E being content, let alone able, to translate the rest of the book of Esther as simply and unpretentiously as Lysimachus had done (*HJP*^{2} 3/2, 719). But while the distinctive Greek character of Adds B and E may argue for their having originated in some sophisticated Greek Jewish center such as Alexandria (or "in many parts of the Mediterranean diaspora" [*HJP*^{2} 3/2, 720]), there is no reason to think that the remaining Adds had any other provenance than Palestine. Certainly the theological content of the Adds, not to mention the anti-gentile spirit of Adds A and F, is quite compatible with Palestinian Judaism as found in such books as Daniel, Judith, and the sectarian literature of the Dead Sea community at Qumran. Collins (1983: 88), with some justification, characterizes the Greek Esther as "Hasmonean propaganda."

I. Critical Editions

The Greek Esther is fortunate in being one of the very few texts appearing in both the Cambridge (OTG 3/1) and the Göttingen (Hanhart 1966) critical editions of the LXX. While English translations of the B-Text of Esther are easily found, the only translation of the entire A-Text in any language is in Clines (1984: 215–48). Jerome's Latin Vg also has a critical edition of itself (*Libri Hester et Job*, Rome, 1951). Unfortunately, there is no critical edition of the OL, Coptic, or the Ethiopic versions.

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CAREY A. MOORE

ESTHER, BOOK OF. This OT book, which is part of the Writings (the third and final major section of the Hebrew Bible), takes its title from the name of its heroine, Esther (Heb *ʾstr*). Her name is of uncertain origin, it being derived either from the Akk *ištar* (Jensen 1892: 70), the Babylonian goddess of love, or the Persian *stara,* "star," or possibly a postulated Median **astra,* "myrtle" (Yahuda 1946: 174–78). The book is frequently referred to by Jews as *Megillat Esther,* "The Scroll of Esther." The LXX calls the book *Esthēr;* the Vg, *Hester.* The book claims to give the historical origins for Purim, a Jewish festival celebrated on the 14th and 15th of the month of Adar (i.e., the 12th month of the Babylonian calendar and corresponding to March-April).

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A. Summary of Content

One day during a lavish stag party in the courtyard at Susa, Xerxes (= Ahasuerus), king of the Persian Empire, commanded Queen Vashti to put on her finest clothes and come there so that he might show her off to his guests. When she refused, the king was furious. On the advice of one of his seven princely advisers, Memucan, who regarded Vashti's conduct as a personal insult to the king as well as a general threat to the men of the realm whose wives might follow her haughty example, King Xerxes issued an edict on the spot: Vashti was hereby stripped of her rank; a successor was to be sought; and all women throughout the empire were to show their husbands proper respect. Like all royal edicts, this decree was irrevocable (chap. 1).

Soon afterward, King Xerxes launched an empire-wide search for a new queen. Among the bevy of beauties brought to his bed (but only after a year-long beauty treatment) was Esther (or Hadassah), daughter of Abihail, the niece and adopted daughter of Mordecai the Jew. A beautiful and shapely maiden, Esther was not only the favorite of Hegai, the eunuch in charge of the harem, but was also the most popular candidate in the palace. Not surprisingly, Xerxes chose her as his queen.

Some time after this, Mordecai learned of a palace plot to assassinate the king. He told Esther, who in turn informed the king in Mordecai's name, without, however, revealing her own Jewish identity. But though it was officially recorded in the daily record that Mordecai the Jew had saved the king's life, Mordecai went unrewarded at the time (chap. 2).

Later on, Mordecai refused to bow down to the king's new prime minister, Haman, son of Hammedatha. Once Haman was made aware of Mordecai's blatant disrespect for him, he decided to destroy not only Mordecai but all his people as well. To that end, and by simply identifying the Jews to Xerxes as "a certain people," Haman tried to persuade the king to approve a pogrom against them, insisting that they were a major obstacle to the realization of the king's plans for his empire. Moreover, the king was also persuaded by Haman's offer of 10,000 silver talents for permission to carry out his proposal, so Xerxes granted Haman permission to institute the pogrom. Not only did the king permit Haman himself to dictate the decree but he even let him issue it in the king's name and seal it with the royal signet. Thus an edict was sent throughout the empire, declaring that on the 13th day of the month of Adar all Jews—including women and children—were to be wiped out and all their possessions plundered (chap. 3).

As soon as Mordecai learned of the edict, he tore his clothes in an expression of grief and put on sackcloth and ashes as an act of mourning. Arriving at the King's Gate, Mordecai had Esther's trusted servant, Hathach, give her the full particulars, urging her to go to Xerxes and intercede for her people. At first Esther demurred, arguing that anyone who approached the king unsummoned could be executed on the spot and, to make matters worse, for the past month she had not been in the king's favor. But after Mordecai had pointed out that either way (in the pogrom or by approaching the king) she might be killed and that perhaps she had come to her present position for just such a purpose as saving her people, Esther relented and agreed to appear before the king. To increase her chances for success, she insisted that all the Jews in Susa, herself included, observe a strenuous three-day fast, after which she would appear before Xerxes, unsummoned but looking her regal best (chap. 4).

Three days later, when Esther approached the throne, the king received her most cordially and assured her that virtually any wish of hers would be granted. But instead of interceding for her people, Esther simply invited him, along with Haman, to attend a dinner for the three of them in her own quarters.

At the party Xerxes, who was in the mood to grant Esther any request and who said as much, was asked only one thing: that the three of them have dinner again the next day, at which time she would ask the king her favor.

Haman left the dinner elated, flattered by the special

attention he had just received and enjoying the prospect of another such party the next day. But his joy quickly turned to rage when he saw Mordecai the Jew sitting at the King's Gate and acting as if nothing terrible had happened to him or his people—and still refusing to bow down to him! Haman kept his feelings under control until he got home, whereupon he boasted to his wife Zeresh and his friends about all his accomplishments and honors, including the queen's inviting him to intimate parties two days in a row. But none of that, he confided to them, really meant anything to him when he was reminded of that insufferable Mordecai. When they suggested that he build a gallows outside his home and ask the king for permission to hang Mordecai on it, the idea struck him as the most appropriate course of action. He ordered the gallows constructed and resolved to speak to the king about the matter the next morning (chap. 5).

That night, because Xerxes could not sleep, he had the daily record read aloud. When the entry containing Mordecai's discovery of the plot against the king was read, Xerxes realized that absolutely nothing had been done for Mordecai in appreciation. The king then asked Haman, who just happened to be in the outer court, exactly how a king should treat a man he especially wanted to honor. Haman, assuming that he was the intended recipient of the honor, advised that the honoree be given a royal robe and allowed to ride on the king's horse while one of the high-ranking officials went before him throughout the city, crying, "This is what is done for the man whom the king especially wants to honor." Haman was, of course, appalled to learn that Mordecai, whose death he had just come to request, was the intended recipient and that he, Haman, would be that high-ranking official doing the honors.

Later that day, after Haman had returned home and was seeking solace, he described to his wife and friends the whole wretched experience as well as the mortification he felt at leading Mordecai around through the city. They all cautioned Haman that, if Mordecai really was Jewish, then Haman would never get the better of him. The discussion was interrupted by the arrival of those sent to escort Haman to Esther's private party (chap. 6).

If Haman thought his defeats were behind him and only pleasures lay ahead, he was deadly wrong. During the party Xerxes asked for the third time in two days what Esther's request was, promising her that he would grant it. Realizing that it was now or never, Esther begged for her life and that of her people. Asked who her enemy was, she identified Haman as the one who had abused his power and betrayed the king's friendship. So surprised and incensed was the king that he bolted from the room, only to return a minute or two later to find Haman "touching" the queen, begging for his life. Haman was sentenced to death on the spot; and when one of the eunuchs told the king about the gallows Haman had constructed for Mordecai, the king ordered that Haman himself be hanged on it (chap. 7).

Haman's estate was given to Esther, who in turn presented it to Mordecai; the king further rewarded Mordecai by appointing him Haman's successor. Because Haman's edict instituting the pogrom against the Jews on the 13th of Adar could not be revoked, the king did the next best thing: he allowed Mordecai to dictate a new edict, issued in the king's name and sealed with the royal signet, granting the Jews the right to defend themselves on the 13th of Adar and encouraging everyone to support them. Mordecai had copies of this new edict sent throughout the empire, hoping that it would counteract the potential evil of Haman's edict. Although many pagans, including public officials, began siding with the Jews, and some of them became proselytes, not all the enemies of the Jews were deterred by it (chap. 8).

When the fateful day arrived, the enemies of the Jews were still so numerous that the Jews killed 500 men in Susa and 75,000 throughout the empire. However, they did no looting, in spite of the fact that they had permssion to do so. So it was that the next day, the 14th of Adar, Jews throughout the empire celebrated their victory with feasting and the exchange of gifts. But in Susa itself the enemies of the Jews were still so strong that Esther had to get further permission from the king for the Jews to fight there the next day (the 14th) and to expose the corpses of Haman's ten sons on the city walls. Fighting on the 14th, the Jews in Susa killed 300 more of the enemy and so celebrated their victory on the 15th, a day later than the rest of the Jews.

Later on, Mordecai wrote to all the Jews, commanding them to continue to observe Purim (the holiday being named after the *pûr*, or "lot," cast by Haman to determine the propitious day for the pogrom) on the 14th and 15th of Adar. They were to be regarded as days of salvation and deliverance, and they were to be observed with feasting and joy.

Still later, Esther, using her authority as queen to reinforce Mordecai's letter, urged all the Jews to observe forever both days of Purim (chap. 9). With Mordecai as Xerxes' prime minister, the Persian Empire prospered; Mordecai himself increased in power and influence throughout the empire and was held in great esteem by his own people (chap. 10).

B. Preliminary Assessment

As the summary above indicates, the plot is relatively simple and believable, its denouement sudden. The story, in the Hebrew at least, is most effectively told.

1. The Book's Purpose. As the story of Esther currently stands in the MT, its author was primarily concerned with telling a story which would provide the "historical" basis for the festival of Purim, *both* days of it (9:16–19, 20–22, 26–28, 31).

2. Contradictory Assessments. The establishment of Purim being the *raison d'être* of the book, the author's emphasis was more on plot and color than on personality or character. In fact, with the exception of Xerxes, who emerges as a hard-drinking, extravagant, and somewhat careless monarch with a nasty temper, all of the major characters seem rather two-dimensional. Neither Vashti nor Zeresh is a believable life-and-blood individual; they are merely tools the author uses to construct his story. Haman has no great stature or humanity, no redeeming qualities that enable the reader to identify with him or to pity him. The wisdom and goodness of Mordecai as well as the courage of Esther are asserted by the author more than proven. Beautiful and brave, Esther in the Hebrew

account, in contrast to the Greek version (see below), seems to be a Jewish nationalist whose Jewishness is more a fact of birth than of religious conviction (4:16–17 notwithstanding). To say all this, however, is in no way to deny that the story is well told, its great popularity among Jews down through the ages certainly being proof of that.

Nonetheless, the book has had its strong detractors almost from the time of its composition down to the present. In antiquity, a number of Jews and Christians contested its canonicity (see below). From the period of the Middle Ages, the pronouncement of Luther (*WA* 3: 302) stands out:

> I am so hostile to this book [2 Maccabees] and Esther that I could wish that they did not exist at all; for they judaize too greatly and have much pagan impropriety.

Twentieth-century scholars have also been quite critical of the book's moral tone. Paton, who has written the most detailed and comprehensive Esther commentary in English, concluded that "There is not one noble character in the book. . . . Morally, Est. falls far below the general level of the OT, and even of the Apocrypha" (*Esther* ICC, 96). Other scholars have been almost as severe, claiming that Vashti, the deposed queen, was the only honorable person in the entire story. Scholar and rabbi Sandmel confessed that he "should not be grieved if the Book of Esther were somehow dropped out of Scripture" (1972: 44) while the Israeli Ben-Chorin actually advocated that Jews abandon both the book and its holiday, arguing that "Both festival and the book are unworthy of a people which is disposed to bring about its national and moral regeneration under prodigious sacrifice" (1938: 5). All this and much more has been said about a biblical book which the great Jewish scholar Maimonides (1135–1204) ranked as second only to the Pentateuch itself.

C. Canonicity

Both Jews and Christians have been contesting Esther's canonicity almost from the very beginning.

1. Among Jews. Evidently the book was not used by the Jewish Dead Sea community at Qumran (ca. 150 B.C.E.–68 C.E.), for no trace of it—alone of all the books of the Jewish canon—has been found there; nor was the festival of Purim a part of the Essene liturgical calendar. To be sure, Josephus (*AgAp* 1.38–41) said that the Jewish canon contained 22 books; but, unfortunately, he did not enumerate them. In any event, there is not a shred of evidence that the book of Esther was canonized by the Academy of Jabneh (i.e., Council of Jamnia) ca. 90 C.E. As Orlinsky (1974: 274) has noted, when the rabbis of the 2d century C.E. justified Purim as a day of eating and rejoicing, they cited as their authority *Megillat Taanit* (dating to the 1st century C.E.), not the book of Esther (8:15–17); only after the book had entered the canon did the rabbis cite it as an authority for observing Purim as a festival. While Zeitlin (1972) would date the book's canonization to the Academy of Ousha, ca. 140 C.E. (i.e., soon after the Bar Kokhba catastrophe) and Orlinsky (1974) not until around 200 C.E., it should be noted that as late as the 3d or possibly even the 4th century C.E. some rabbis still did not regard the book of Esther as "defiling the hands," i.e., canonical; for in the Babylonian Talmud (*Meg.* 7a) we read that

> Rab Judah said in the name of Samuel: (the scroll of) Esther does not make the hands unclean. Are we to infer from this that Samuel was of the opinion that Esther was not composed under the inspiration of the holy spirit? How can this be, seeing that Samuel has said that Esther was composed under the inspiration of the holy spirit?—It was composed to be recited (by heart), but not to be written.

Rabbi Samuel ben Judah and Rab Judah date to the 3d century C.E.; and we read in *Sanh.* 2 that

> Levi ben Samuel and Rabbi Huna ben Ḥiyya were repairing the mantles of the Scrolls of Rabbi Judah's College. On coming to the Scroll of Esther, they remarked, "O, this Scroll of Esther does not require a mantle." Thereupon he reproved them, "this too savours of irreverence."

Rabbis Levi and Huna belonged to either the 3d or the 4th century C.E. Whatever the reasons may have been for Jews in antiquity having reservations about Esther's canonicity, the simple fact is that they did.

2. Among Christians. At first, Christians were no more unanimous about the canonical status of Esther than were Jews, although on this particular issue the division was more along geopolitical lines: in the Western Church Esther was nearly always regarded as canonical while in the Eastern churches very often it was not, especially in the area of Anatolia and Syria. The book, for instance, was denied canonical status by Melito of Sardis (fl. ca. 167), Athanasius (295–373), Gregory of Nazianzus (329–390) in Cappadocia, Theodore of Mopsuestia (350?–428) in Cilicia, and others. However, it was regarded as canonical by such Eastern Church Fathers as Origen (185?–254), Epiphanius (315–403), bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386), and John of Damascus (675–745). The book was also accepted as canonical by the Laodicene Canons (343–381), the Apostolic Canons (ca. 380), and the Synod of Trullo (692) at Constantinople. Thus, Amphilochius (d. 394), bishop of Iconium, said it best when he observed that Esther was "accepted only by some."

By contrast, Western Fathers and councils nearly always regarded Esther as canonical. Although Clement of Rome (30?–99) alluded to Judith and Esther as examples of brave and godly women (*1 Clem.* 55), that does not necessarily mean that he regarded the book itself as canonical; but the book was so regarded by Hilary (315–367), Ruffinus (345–410), Augustine (354–430), Innocent I (401–417), and others, as well as by the councils of Hippo in 393 and of Carthage in 397.

Even so, the book was not particularly popular among the Church Fathers, for even their casual references to it are quite rare. Interestingly enough, the three earliest Christian references to Esther are made in conjunction with Judith, the latter being a book which had never enjoyed canonical status among Jews (*1 Clem.* 55, Clem. *Str.* 4.19, and the *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* [ca. 380]).

A Christian commentary was not written on the whole book until Rhabanus Maurus' work in 836.

The question of the canonicity of the Greek Additions to Esther (i.e., the six extended passages consisting of 107 verses which have no counterpart in the Hebrew text) was not a matter of debate among Christians until the period of the Reformation in the 16th century. Ultimately, Protestants followed the lead of Luther and called the Additions "apocryphal"; with the result that, *if* the Additions were printed in a Protestant Bible, they were usually placed between the OT and NT. The Roman Catholic Church continued the millennium-long practice of not discriminating against the Additions, and as the result of the decrees of the Council of Trent in 1546, Roman Catholics called the Additions "deuterocanonical" and, after the practice of Jerome, printed them immediately after the canonical version of Esther.

D. Reasons for Ancient Opposition to the Book

Scholars disagree as to why so many Jews and Christians in antiquity rejected the book of Esther. Some argue that it was because of what the book lacked; others, because of what it contained.

1. Its "Deficiencies." Those critical of the book have often observed that its most conspicuous absence is any reference to God. Whereas the Persian king is referred to one way or another 190 times in 167 verses, the Lord God of Israel is not mentioned once. Apart from fasting (4:16 and 9:31), there is no mention of such basic OT themes and institutions as the law, dietary regulations, covenant, election, prayer, the temple, Jerusalem, sacrifice, and the like (however, all these features *are* explicitly mentioned in the Greek version of Esther, mostly in the deuterocanonical sections [see below]).

The absence of any mention of the temple or sacrifice is perhaps understandable; after all, since the Deuteronomic Reformation of 621 B.C.E. sacrifices could be performed only in the temple at Jerusalem, some 800 miles W of Susa. But to have absolutely no mention of the law, covenant, election, or *kašrût* (i.e., permitted or kosher foods) is rather curious. Most significant of all, given the life-threatening situation confronting both Esther (4:8, 11, 16) and her people (3:13–14), one would certainly have expected *some mention* of prayer.

On only one point do all scholars agree, namely, the absence of all these religious elements was no accident. But how can their absence be explained? Probably a distinction should be made between the absence of God's name and that of those ideas and practices so distinctive of biblical Judaism.

With respect to the absence of God's name in Esther, the crucial question is whether it has always been absent from the Hebrew version or was deliberately edited out later. While there can be no certainty on this matter, the likelihood is that God was explicitly mentioned in an earlier stage of the story (see below) and was subsequently edited out. Even in the MT's present form Esther is a religious book, in that certain religious concepts are presupposed, though not explicitly mentioned: the concept of Providence (4:14; 5:1–6), the efficacy of fasting (4:16) and, by implication, of prayer (4:16). In Esther, the God of the Jews is not seen or heard onstage but is surely standing in the wings, following the play and arranging the props for a successful resolution of the play.

A number of scholars have maintained that God's name as well as all the other overtly religious elements in Esther were absent from the Hebrew text because of the joyous, almost abandoned way in which some Jews celebrated Purim. The Mishnah, for instance, says that Jews celebrating Purim are to drink until they are unable to distinguish between "Blessed is Mordecai" and "Cursed is Haman" (*Meg.* 7b). Thus the joyous and carefree way in which Purim was to be celebrated required that distinctly religious elements not be present in the story, lest they be accidentally profaned by overly enthusiastic or inebriated Jews hearing the story read aloud.

While the Mishnaic ruling may be the reason for no mention of the Deity in the present form of the MT, it probably does not suffice to explain the omission of *all* the other religious elements as well. Talmon (1963: 426) may have offered a more persuasive explanation for the latter phenomenon, i.e., Esther is a "*historicized wisdom tale* . . . an enactment of standard 'Wisdom' motifs," and the characters in Esther are the typical stereotypes found in Wisdom Literature. Just as the usual elements of Jewish piety (e.g., the observance of dietary laws, belief in sacrifice and the covenant, and, most important of all, faith in the immanent God who answers personal prayers and who intervenes in Jewish history) are virtually ignored in such Wisdom books as Proverbs, Job, and Qoheleth, so these "religious" ideas and practices were ignored by the final author of the MT version.

Gordis (1981: 375) would explain the absence of any reference to God as well as of Judaic beliefs, practices, and concerns by his hypothesis that the book of Esther represents a heretofore unrecognized biblical genre, to wit:

> *A Jewish author undertook to write his book in the form of a chronicle of the Persian court, written by a gentile scribe.* A Jew of the eastern Diaspora . . . writes the book as if it were an excerpt from the official chronicles of "the kings of Media and Persia" (10:2).

Gordis' thirteen points supporting his thesis are sometimes strained and usually better and more easily explained by less dramatic hypotheses (Moore 1985: 167–68).

Berg (1979; 1980) has offered one such hypothesis. Agreeing with the view of Kaufmann *(KRI)* that the biblical *Weltanschauung* knows a dual causality behind events, Berg (1979: 178) maintains that

> The narrator believed in a hidden causality behind the surface of human history, both concealing and governing the order and significance of events. . . . Because Yahweh's control of history is neither overt nor easily discerned in everyday events, the determination of the shape and dualism of history shifts to human beings. This understanding explains the narrator's emphasis upon individual responsibility for the successful outcome of events. It further provides the logic behind Mordecai's words to Esther in 4:13–14, where he calls upon her to save her people.

Working independently of Berg, Loader (1978: 417–21) arrived at similar conclusions. In his view, "The Book of Esther should be read as a story of God's intervention on behalf of his people, but also as a story of human wisdom and initiative. This is shown by the Exodus model and other religious suggestions . . . which are purposely veiled" (421). The theory of structural-developmental psychology is used by Miller (1980: 145–48) to justify Loader's view that Esther has different levels of meaning.

Last but not least, certain Judaic virtues are also almost totally absent from the book of Esther, especially virtues such as kindness, mercy, and forgiveness. Many students of Esther have remained largely unconvinced by scholarly efforts to soften or rationalize away such things as Esther's unwillingness to spare the life of Haman when he begged her (6:7), her requests both for an additional day to kill more of her enemies in Susa (9:13) and for permission to expose to public view the ten sons of Haman who had been killed the day before (9:13–14), and the storyteller's reporting with approval that "The Jews defeated all their enemies, slaughtering and annihilating them [500 in Susa and 75,000 elsewhere], and treating their enemies as they pleased" (9:5).

Certainly the most troubling passage is 8:11. Gordis (1976: 49–53) would see it not as representing permission for the Jews to do to others what others would do to them but as an actual quoting of Haman's original edict, i.e., "By these letters the king permitted the Jews in every city to gather and defend themselves, to destroy, kill, and wipe out every armed force of a people or a province attacking 'them, their children and their wives, with all their goods as booty.'" This ingenious interpretation is probably not correct; for not only is the traditional interpretation in harmony with the "blood and guts" spirit of the rest of the book of Esther, but Gordis' interpretation does violence to the principle of peripety (Radday 1973; Fox 1983), i.e., the unexpected reversal of affairs, which is so much a part of the book's literary structure from 2:10 (Berg 1979: 110–11) on to the end of the book (cf. 2:10, 20 and 4:17; 3:1 and 10:3; 3:10 and 8:2a; 3:12 and 8:9–10a; 3:13 and 8:10b–12; and 3:14 and 8:13).

To be sure, there are a number of passages and scenes in the book which provide some "comic relief" (Jones 1977). While the humor is sometimes quite obvious (e.g., the king's absurd conduct and ridiculous edict in chap. 1), other times it is more subtle, being in the form of irony (e.g., contrast 1:17–19 and 5:1–2, 8; 6:11–12 and 3:2 and 8:1–2; 5:14 and 7:9–10). Jones has clearly seen all this, although he overstates his case by saying that, with the repetition in 9:12 of the reported fatalities in 9:6, "The effect is almost slapstick" (1977: 180).

In any event, while some of these troublesome passages reflecting a vengeful or vindictive spirit may not reflect reality (see below) but are merely the result of literary considerations, for many readers they still constitute a distasteful part of the book.

2. Its Questionable Contents. As noted above, Esther's many Jewish and Christian critics in antiquity may have been offended by the book's contents. Some, for instance, may have resented, as some of its modern readers certainly have (Anderson 1950: 32–37), the book's vengeful, bloodthirsty, and chauvinistic spirit, although, in this respect, Esther seems no worse than some other biblical books, notably Judges and Nahum. But the fact remains that in Esther intrigue, deceit, hatred, murder, and revenge abound, regardless of whether the spotlight is on Haman, Esther, or Mordecai. An even more damning indictment of the book may have been that its story was simply regarded as untrue (see below).

3. The Possible Pagan Origins of Purim. Esther's canonical status may have been opposed by those Jews and Christians who viewed the book as a defense for a Jewish festival which was actually pagan in origin. The festival's very name, Purim (9:26), which is a Hebraized form of the Babylonian *pûru*, meaning "lot," and secondarily, "fate" (Lewy 1939: 17–24), suggests a non-Jewish origin for the festival. However, most scholars regard 3:7 (where the *pûr*, "lot," is cast) as secondary and not an original part of the Esther story (Clines 1984: 53), although some scholars like Cohen (1974) regard it as quite central to the story. Certainly a pagan origin for Purim would also help to explain the "secular" way in which it was to be celebrated, i.e., with uninhibited and even inebriated behavior (cf. above *Meg.* 7b). Then too, a pagan origin for the festival would also help to explain the absence of various religious elements in the story.

Given the fact of the festival having a Babylonian name, we should not be surprised to learn that many scholars have looked in the direction of Babylon for the origin of the festival. In the 1890s Zimmern (1891) and Jensen (1892) equated Esther and Mordecai with the Babylonian deities Ishtar and Marduk, and Haman and Vashti with the Elamite gods Humman and Mashti. Since then, various Babylonian myths and festivals have been suggested as the prototype for Purim, including the Gilgamesh Epic, the *Enuma Elish*, the Tammuz-Ishtar myth, and the Zagmuk Feast (Paton *Esther* ICC, 87–94).

More recently, scholars have again looked in the direction of Persia for the festival's prototype, although as far back as 1887 Lagarde had suggested that Purim was a Jewish transformation of Farvardigan, the Zoroastrian Festival of the Dead, which was celebrated at the end of the Persian year.

Especially on the basis of his analysis of names and epithets in the Greek texts of Esther, Lewy (1939) suggested that the book of Esther had nothing at all to do with any plots against Jews but rather with dangers confronting Mardukians (i.e., Babylonian worshippers of Marduk at Susa) at the hands of worshippers of the god Mithra, possibly during the Persian festival of Farvardigan (celebrated at the end of the year, from the 11th to the 15th of Adar) in the days of Artaxerxes II (404–358 B.C.E.). Vashti's dethronement and Esther's subsequent elevation to queenship actually reflect the dethronement of the Elamite Mashti by the Babylonian goddess Ishtar. Lewy maintains that the Jews adopted both the Babylonized Farvardigan festival and some Babylonian legends associated with it.

The beginning of the Persian year has also been suggested as providing the pagan origins for Purim by Gaster (1950) and Ringgren (1956), who took certain phenomenological similarities between Purim and various Persian New Year festivals as the basis of their theories.

But even more recently scholars are again looking to

Palestine for the origin of the festival. Lebram (1972), for instance, views the Esther-Mordecai story as being originally two separate and unrelated tales: (1) the older Persian Esther legend in which a Jewish girl is instrumental in saving her people, and (2) a more recent *Palestinian* narrative featuring Mordecai and Haman.

Herst (1973) also views the Esther story as being unhistorical and as having a Palestinian origin. Purim, Herst argues, is an adaptation of the Jewish holiday known as "the Day of Nicanor," a festival celebrating Judas Maccabee's defeat of the Syrian general Nicanor in 161 B.C.E. (cf. 1 Macc 7:26–49 and 2 Macc 14:12–15:36); John Hyrcanus I (135–104 B.C.E.) tried to replace the Day of Nicanor with another February-March festival called Purim, the latter a Babylonian-Persian saga involving Elamite and Babylonian deities. With Herst's mention of Babylonian and Elamite deities we have come full circle.

Although scholars have looked everywhere for the origins of Purim—Greece and Palestine (Paton *Esther* ICC, 77–84), Babylon, Persia, Elam, and the like—they have proven little about the origins of the festival, in part because of the inadequacies of our present sources but also because of the nature of holidays and festivals; that is, holidays are neither constant nor permanent in either form or content.

4. Its Lack of Historicity. A number of the scholars just mentioned reject the historicity of the Esther story. In fact, rare is the 20th-century scholar who accepts the story at face value, Hoschander (1923), Schildenberger (1941), and Barucq (*Judith, Esther* JB) being the most prominent exceptions who come to mind. At first glance, such a situation might be surprising, especially given the fact that there is nothing miraculous or supernatural in the Esther story that might "offend" the modern reader. On the face of it, the story seems true enough. Apart from the supposed irrevocability of the Persian law (1:19), which certainly seems inflexible and crippling to good government and which has no extrabiblical support (but see Dan 6:8, 9, 12, 15) and perhaps the battle fatalities of the enemy for the 13th of Adar (75,000 in 9:16), nothing in the story seems improbable, let alone unbelievable.

Moreover, much of what the ancient author says about the character of Xerxes/Ahasuerus, the only indisputably historical figure in the book, is compatible with what we know from other nonbiblical literary and archaeological sources. Also, the ancient author was aware of various actual practices and institutions of Persian government, including seven princely advisers to the king (1:14), the very efficient postal system of the Persian Empire (3:13; 8:10), the recording and rewarding of the king's "benefactors" (2:23; 6:8), as well as such Persian customs as the observance of "lucky days" (3:7), royal horses with crowns (6:8), and people eating while reclining on couches (6:8). Furthermore, the writer includes a number of Persian words in the text: *prtmym,* "nobles" (1:3); *bytn,* "kiosk" (1:5); *krps,* "cotton" (1:6); *dt,* "law" (1:8); *ktr,* "turban" (1:11); *ptšgn,* "decree" (1:20); *gnzym,* "treasury" (3:9); *ptsgn,* "copy" (3:14); and *ʾhštrnym,* "royal horses" (8:10).

Then too, "Mordecai" was a name of several historical persons, including one Marduk*â*, an accountant who was a member of an inspection tour from Susa as mentioned in an undated text coming probably from either the last years of Darius (522–486 B.C.E.) or the first years of Xerxes (Ungnad 1940–41: 244; 1942–43: 219). Pharshandatha, the name of one of Haman's sons (9:7), is also an authentic 5th-century B.C.E. name which occurs on a Persian cylinder seal in the Aramaic script as *Pršndt* (Millard 1977; 1982: 152). Even though none of the other names in the story has been definitely authenticated by extrabiblical sources, most of them seem to be Iranian in origin; certainly none of them is Greek.

But, taken together, the evidence outlined above provides, at best, only proof of the author's familiarity with Persian history, customs, vocabulary and names—all of which he could have become familiar with by reading such available Greek works as Herodotus' *History,* written during the second half of the 5th century B.C.E., or Berossus' *Babylonica* (ca. 270 B.C.E.). In other words, these Persian elements in Esther do not necessarily establish the essential historicity of the story itself, especially since there is evidence to the contrary.

It is, for example, improbable that a king would have given a lavish feast for leaders lasting 180 days (1:1–3), or that his queen would have disobeyed a royal command given in public (1:12), or that a royal edict would have been sent throughout the entire empire for the "man of the house" to be boss in his own home (1:22), or that non-Persians would have been appointed to the all-important post of prime minister (3:1; 8:2; 10:3), or that the royal edicts would have been sent out in every language of the empire rather than in Aramaic, the official language of the Achaemenid empire (1:22; 3:12; 8:9), or that royal permission would have been granted (a full year ahead of time!) for an entire people to be plundered and annihilated (3:8–15), or that a king would have sanctioned fighting within his own palace complex when neither side was a personal threat to himself (9:11–15).

More serious against the book's historicity is the fact that some of the statistics in Esther are incorrect: Persian satrapies numbered 20, not 127 (1:1); if Mordecai had been part of Nebuchadnezzar's deportation of 597 B.C.E. (so 2:6), then he and, especially, Esther would have been far too old to have accomplished everything attributed to them in the days of Xerxes (486–465 B.C.E.), i.e., some hundred years after the deportation. According to Herodotus, Amestris was queen between the 7th and 12th years of Xerxes (compare Esth 2:16 and 3:7 with Herodotus 3.84) and Persian queens had to come from one of the seven noble Persian families, a custom which would have automatically ruled out an insignificant Jewish woman.

While some of these "improbabilities" can be regarded as simply literary embellishment which can easily be dismissed without discrediting the essential historicity of the story, others cannot, notably the matters concerning the irrevocability of a royal edict, the appointment of two non-Persians as prime ministers, the name and "race" of Xerxes' queen, and on at least two occasions the abandonment of Aramaic as the official language of the Achaemenid empire. Although such anachronisms and errors of fact bother many informed modern readers, it is unknown whether they bothered ancient readers as well, and so could have constituted another strong objection to the book's inclusion in the Jewish canon. If the Purim festival was already suspected by some of them as being a pagan

celebration in origin, then that fact would have created further misgivings as to the historicity of the Jewish account.

Archaeological studies (Oppenheim 1965; Albright 1974; Moore 1975; Millard 1977; 1982: 152; and Hallo 1983: 19–24), while shedding much valuable light on the background and setting of the book of Esther, have, unfortunately, done nothing to confirm the book's historicity. On the positive side, however, the splendid photographs and diagrams in Ghirshman (1964: 129–277) provide the interested reader with marvelous insights into the magnificent setting for the Esther story.

E. Genre

If the book of Esther is not a historical account, then what is it? As we have already seen, a variety of answers have been offered. Some scholars have regarded the book as the historicization of either a myth (Zimmern, Jensen, and Herst) or a Wisdom tale (Talmon), while others have described it as pure fiction (Gunkel, Pfeiffer), and still others as a conflation of several folk tales, parts of which may be historically true (Lewy, Ringgren, Bardtke, Dommershausen, and Lebram).

Cazelles (1961: 17–29) pointed out the phenomenon of "two-ness" (e.g., two banquets [1:3, 5]; two lists of 7 names [1:10, 14], the one list apparently being the reverse order of the other [Duchesne-Guillemin 1953: 105–8]; the "second house" [2:14]; the "second" contingent of virginal candidates [2:19]; Esther's two dinners [5:5; 7:1]; Haman's two discussions with Zeresh and his friends [5:14; 6:13]; and Esther's twice risking her life by appearing, unsummoned, before the king [5:2; 8:3]. Cazelles suggested that this two-ness was the result of the conflation of two texts: (1) a "liturgical" one, centering on Esther, the provinces, and non-Jews near the time of a new year, namely, a bacchanalian type of Persian *Sakaea* (Paton *Esther* ICC, 92–93); and (2) a "historical" text, centering on Mordecai, court intrigues, and a persecution of Susian Jews.

Instead of two stories, Bardtke (*Esther* KAT², 248–52) argued for the conflation of three separate and independent tales: (1) the Vashti story, possibly an apocryphal harem tale; (2) the story of Mordecai, with its court intrigues, jealousies, and persecution of Jews in Susa; and (3) the story of Esther, featuring a Jewish woman who, after becoming a favorite of a Persian king, saved her people from some persecution or destruction. These three tales, as well as many others, were to be found, Bardtke hypothesized, in "a Jewish midrashic source" such as, perhaps, the *Annals of the Kings of Media and Persia* (Esth 10:2). In perfectly good faith and innocence, the author of Esther, maintained Bardtke, identified the "Esther" of the one story with the "Hadassah" (2:7) of the Mordecai story. Such an identification is certainly justified *if*, as Yahuda (1946: 174–78) has argued, our heroine's two names, *ʾstr* and *hdsh*, both mean "myrtle," *ʾstr* being a Hebrew transliteration of a Medic **astra*, "myrtle." On the basis of literary analysis of Esther, Dommershausen (1968: 15–16) also supported the ancient author's use of several sources.

The author of the book of Esther may not have mentioned the God of Israel but was clearly familiar with some biblical books that did. Scholars have seen Esther's style, content, or even its plot as having been strongly influenced by other biblical books.

Almost a hundred years ago Rosenthal (1895; 1897) established that certain phrases and details in the book of Esther had been influenced by the Joseph narrative (e.g., compare Gen 40:22 and Esth 1:3; Gen 39:10 and Esth 3:4; Gen 41:37 and Esth 1:21; Gen 41:35 and Esth 2:3; Gen 41:42 and Esth 3:10; 8:2). Esther's dependence on the Joseph narrative in terms of much larger, clearly discernible literary and thematic units *(Gattungsformular)* has been more recently argued by Gan (1961–62: 144–49) and, especially, by Meinhold (1976: 72–93). Taking a clue perhaps from Humphreys, who viewed the tales of Daniel (Daniel 1–6) and Esther as "expressing the possibility of a rewarding and creative life in a foreign court and in the same moment of the possibility of service and devoted loyalty to one's people and religious identity" (1973: 216), Meinhold viewed the Joseph and Esther stories as "diaspora novellas," which provided models for a general lifestyle, or mode of life, for Jews living in the pagan environment of the Diaspora. However, according to Meinhold, the differences between the Esther and Joseph narratives are more than just the result of the two stories having different settings of time and place (i.e., Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period versus the Achaemenid period of Persia): whereas God saved Joseph (Gen 39:2–5, 21–23; 41:16–43:51), Esther and the Jews saved themselves. Thus, the book of Esther has a secularized, intellectual outlook. Meinhold also maintains that the festival legend of Purim was not originally a part of the Esther story (for a fair and reasonable critique of Meinhold, see Berg [1979: 33–36]).

An entirely different tack has been taken by Gerleman (*Esther* BKAT), who wrote an entire commentary on Esther with the central thesis that Esther's plot, its characterizations, and its major as well as minor "details of fact" were deliberately patterned after the Exodus narrative:

> All the essential features of the Esther narrative are already there in Exodus 1–12: the foreign court, the mortal threat, the deliverance, the revenge, the triumph, and the establishment of a festival (p. 11).

According to Gerleman, because Moses was adopted (Exod 2:9) and had kept his racial identity a secret while in Pharaoh's house (Exod 2:6–10), had at first been unwilling to act on behalf of his people (Exod 3:11; 4:1, 10), and had to appear before Pharaoh several times (Exod 7:14–12:28) before the Egyptian enemies perished in great numbers (Exod 12:29–30; 14:27–28), only to find himself still later opposed by the Amalekites (Exod 17:8–16), so comparable things *had to happen* in the book of Esther. According to Gerleman, Esther is not a godless or profane book; rather, it represents a pronounced and conscious de-sacralization and de-theologizing of a salvation *(heilsgeschichtlich)* tradition (p. 23).

Although the Esther story may very well have been somewhat influenced by the Exodus story—in fact, what ancient Jewish writer could have completely escaped all conscious and unconscious influences of it—the Exodus influence seems neither controlling nor overriding (Berg 1979: 6–8). Andrews (1975: 25–28) seems to be one of the

few scholars subscribing to Gerleman's thesis, and even he has some reservations.

F. Syntax, Style, and Structure

More important than the influences of other biblical books on the author of Esther was the author's own perceptions of what and how something should be said to make a more interesting story. Because he was not restricted to describing accurately an actual historical event, the author could give his imagination full rein, allowing literary and dramatic interests to determine his use of the sources and the shaping of the narrative.

Paton's judgment (*Esther* ICC, 62) that Esther's style is "awkward and laboured" is much too harsh. After all, the plot was cleverly constructed, with clear attention given to increasing the reader's interest and suspense. The author used to good effect such things as emphatic word order, direct address, and short, to-the-point sentences. Repetitiveness, which is one of the literary weaknesses of the book, is also one of its strengths; for the frequent occurrence of identical or synonymous words, phrases, and clauses increases the story's clarity and unity. Thus, parallel phrases and parenthetical expressions are not so much doublets or interpolations as the author's way of increasing the clarity of his story.

Striedl (1937) showed that Esther's syntactical features were characteristic of classical Hebrew, especially of such later books as Chronicles (there are many Persian words and Aramaic formations in Esther, but no Greek words). The word order of its sentences is more characteristic of Aramaic than of classical Hebrew, i.e., subject-verb-object, and the author's preference for the imperfect tense (160 times in 167 verses) may be an effort at archaizing (Striedl 1937: 74), but it also adds life and flow to the narrative (Dommershausen 1968: 138–43). To be sure, the Hebrew vocabulary of Esther is not at all rich or varied: in 167 verses of the book, *mlk* ("king/rule") occurs over 250 times; *ʿśh* ("to do/make") 87 times; *ntn* ("give") and *dbr* ("word/thing/to speak") some 40 times each; and *bw*ʾ ("to come") 35 times. Nonetheless, the book's popularity down through the ages among Hebrew-reading Jews is eloquent testimony to its literary stature.

Whereas Striedl was evidently content to describe sentence structure, Dommershausen (1968) tried to show the specific literary functions and psychological effect of the syntax, emphasizing such poetic features as alliteration, assonance, parallelism, hendiadys, hyperbole, and chiastic constructions. Utilizing the analytical tools of *Formgeschichte,* Dommershausen also isolated much larger component parts or types *(Gattungen),* sometimes to quite good effect, as in his calling 1:10–22 "Wisdom Narrative" and 6:1–14 "Narrative with Wisdom Speech." In other instances, however, his assignment of a *Gattung* helps little: giving something a "label" does not always explain it.

While Esther's chiastic constructions and especially its "synthetic linear progressions" (i.e., the transformation of the same term from a negative to a positive meaning [e.g., *ʾbl* in 4:3 to that of 9:22, or of *pršt* in 4:7 to that of 10:2]) do serve to bind 9:20–10:3, the so-called "appendix of Esther," to all that precedes it (Jones 1978), there is no reason why a "later editor," one imbued with Esther 1–8, could not have written it (Clines 1984: 50–63). Clearly 9:29–32 is the product of just such a later editor (Loewenstamm 1971: 117–24).

A most penetrating rhetorical analysis of Esther has been made by Berg (1979) who, like Dommershausen, has been primarily concerned with analyzing the book's larger component parts. Berg has shown that Esther's dominant motifs of banquets, kingship, and obedience/disobedience create the book's themes, namely, the Theme of Power, the Theme of Loyalty to God and Israel, and the Themes of the Inviolability of the Jewish People and Reversal (pp. 3–121). Berg has, it would appear, successfully demonstrated that, *as the book of Esther currently stands,* feasting (and its auxiliary motif of fasting) is the primary motif of Esther and is found throughout the entire book: there are two separate banquets at the beginning of the story (1:5, 9), two in the middle (5:5; 7:1), and two at the end (9:17–18, 20–22); and fasting is enjoined upon the Jews, both early (4:16) and late (9:31). (This does not necessarily mean, however, that the Esther story was originally a festival legend, only that one of its later editors made it that way [see below].) Equally acute is Berg's view (1979: 106–13) that Esther's literary structure is ordered according to the principle of peripety, i.e., the unexpected reversal of affairs.

G. The "Original" Form of Esther

By combing various methods of analysis—text criticism, source criticism, redaction criticism, and literary criticism—Clines (1984) has offered, in the present writer's judgment, a most convincing case for the evolution of the "original" Esther and Mordecai stories to their present forms in the MT and LXX.

Building upon the seminal work of Torrey (1944) and many other scholars, Clines argues that the present book of Esther has evolved through five major stages. What were probably *two originally distinct and separate stories*—i.e., a court conflict/deliverance tale concerning a "Mordecai" and a success/deliverance tale concerning an "Esther"—(stage one) were successfully combined in *The Pre-Masoretic Story* (stage two). It was also at this stage that another separate tale, the Vashti story (= Esther 1) was added. But although the God of Israel was mentioned at this stage of the narrative's evolution (i.e., in what corresponds to 4:14, 16; 6:11, 13; and 7:3 of MT), "The inclusion of the Mordecai story within the Esther story—or, we might prefer to say, the conception of an Esther story of national deliverance which also included the Mordecai story of personal deliverance and success—tended to emphasize all the more the role of the coincidental" (Clines 1984: 151). The text of this Pre-Masoretic story is best reflected in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek A-Text (see below), ending at 8:17 (= 8:2 of MT) and excluding the six major Additions.

The Proto-Masoretic Story (stage three) introduced the concept of the irrevocability of Persian law (= 1:19 and 8:8 of the MT), with all that that involved, and the discovery of the conspiracy of the two eunuchs (= 2:21–23 of MT), with its ramifications. It was at this stage of the story's evolution that—for reasons that can only be speculated on—an editor removed the so-called "religious elements" from the story. Clines (pp. 153–54), dissatisfied with the various explanations offered by other scholars for the deletion of the religious elements, maintains that

> It is not so much the absence of the name of God from the book as the presence in it of critical coincidences working for the good of the Jewish people that defines its theological position. I would identify two primary elements in the book's theological statement: (i) the providence of God is to be relied on to reverse the ill-fortunes of Israel; (ii) divine action and human initiatives are complementary and both indispensable for success or "salvation."

The Masoretic Story (stage four) took its shape by the addition of three distinct appendices: (1) *9:1–19*, which made the story more realistic and bloody and, at the same time, "demilitarized" it to the point where the significance of the Esther story lies in the joyous celebration to which it gave birth; (2) *9:20–32*, which linked the celebration of the story's events with the traditional festivals of the Jewish year (it was at this stage of the story's evolution that the name of the festival, Purim [9:26], occurred in the story for the first time); and (3) *10:1–3*, which moved "in a quite different direction from the liturgically and religious oriented letters of Mordecai and Esther. Here the issue that is addressed is the significance of the Esther story for Jewish life under foreign rule" (Clines 1984: 167). The fifth and final stage, *The Septuagint Story*, especially with its six Additions, "represents a more thorough and substantial reworking of the story than any [preceding] version" (p. 168); and its primary effect is "to *assimilate the book of Esther to a scriptural norm*, especially as found in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel" (p. 169).

Owing to limitations of space, the preceding description of Clines' hypothesis is admittedly brief and oversimplified; but in the judgment of the present writer it has much to commend itself and, at the very least, is certainly headed in the right direction, especially because it takes seriously the evidence in the Greek A-Text and B-Text.

H. Date(s) for the Book's Composition

If Clines' analysis of the evolution of the book of Esther is essentially correct, then one can distinguish, at best, only two dates: (1) the book's *terminus a quo*, or earliest date; and (2) its *terminus ad quem*, or latest date.

The latest possible date for the book is 94 C.E., that being the date of *Jewish Antiquities*, in which Josephus paraphrased the LXX version, including Additions B, C, D, and E. However, if the colophon to Esther (i.e., F 11) is authentic and accurate, which is most likely the case (Moore *Daniel, Esther . . . Additions* AB, 250–52), then the lowest date for the Greek translation of Esther is either 78 B.C.E. or, more likely, 114 B.C.E., either of which moves the date of the MT back into the 2d century B.C.E.

On the basis of the presence of "Elamite" names and the fact that in Esther the *apadana*, or reception hall, and the court were on the same tell rather than on separate ones, Stiehl (1956: 203–13) would pinpoint the composition date of the MT to between 165 and 140 B.C.E., this being the only time since the Achaemenid period when such a situation had existed. Needless to say, these "Elamite" names could just as easily have been part of the earlier Persian materials; moreover, Esther's topographical details concerning the king's palace are ultimately nondescript.

Most scholars would put the "final" form of the MT prior to the Maccabean period (167–135 B.C.E.), the latter being a time when antagonism toward gentiles ran high among Jews, a situation that does not exist in the MT of Esther. Berg (1979: 170) is certainly correct in saying that

> The scroll displays a generally positive attitude toward foreign masters. Its antagonism is directed specifically against those who seek to harm Jews, and this antagonism cannot be extended to include the Persian administration.

The total absence of Greek words in the MT strongly argues against a Hellenistic date for the "final" form of the MT, unless, as Berg suggests (1979: 170–71), the absence of Greek reflects the author's efforts at archaizing. Then too, the Hebrew of Esther has almost nothing in common with the 2d-century Hebrew at Qumran but is most like that of the Chronicler, which is now being dated to ca. 400 B.C.E. Thus, just as the Daniel stories (Daniel 1–6) probably go back to the 4th century B.C.E. while the visions (Daniel 7–12) date from the 2d century B.C.E., so the "first" edition of Esther probably goes back to the late 4th century B.C.E. (i.e., the late Persian period) while the "final" edition of the MT appeared in the early Hellenistic period. In any event, Esther's not unsympathetic attitude toward a gentile king suggests that it is older than the book of Daniel, which was written in a time when the Jewish people had a most negative attitude toward gentile kings.

Perhaps a word should be said here about putting Esther in the late Persian period. Haman's characterization of the Jewish people as being "scattered, yet unassimilated, among the peoples throughout the provinces of your kingdom" (3:8) certainly fits less well in the early or even the middle Persian period, although here one must keep ever in mind that this verse or other verses could actually be later materials inserted into older narrative. Nonetheless, a late Persian period for the "original" of the Esther story seems a reasonable estimate.

I. Ancient Versions

1. Greek Versions. The LXX, or B-Text, of Esther is strikingly different from the Hebrew text (i.e., the MT) in two ways. In the first place, there are six extended sections (107 verses) in the Gk text which have no counterpart in the MT. These Additions (Adds) differ from one another—as well as from the canonical sections of Esther—in length, purpose, content, and style. Add A describes Mordecai's dream (A 1–10) and his discovery of a plot against *Artaxerxes*, the king's name throughout the Gk version (A 11–17). Add B is the royal edict dictated by Haman, announcing the pogrom against the Jews (B 1–7). Add C contains the prayers of Mordecai (C 1–11) and Esther (C 12–30). Add D describes Esther's unannounced audience with Artaxerxes (D 1–16). Add E is the royal edict, designed and dictated by Mordecai to counteract the effects of Haman's edict (E 1–24). Add F provides the interpretation of Mordecai's dream (F 1–10) and the colophon to the Gk version (F 11).

The most striking addition in the Gk text, at least from a theological point of view, is of course specific reference to God. The word "God" or God's name occurs over 50 times in the Gk text, primarily in the deuterocanonical

sections (but see 2:20; 4:8; 6:1, 13). The general effect of these various types of additions is to make the Gk version of Esther more explicitly religious than the Hebrew, this in spite of the fact that in the LXX the establishment of the festival of Purim is actually deemphasized. For further details on this and other matters relating to the Gk version, see ESTHER, ADDITIONS TO.

Second, there are many "omissions" in the canonical sections; in fact, there is scarcely a verse where the text does not omit a word, phrase, or clause of the MT. Evidently its Gk translator, disliking the frequent repetitions and redundancies of his Hebrew text, deliberately chose to omit many of them. Thus the Gk translator proceeded to translate verse by verse the content but not the exact wording of his Semitic text. Apart from a few Hebraisms which may very well be later "corrections" in the direction of the MT, the translation is literary, with very few places that are so labored or unclear as to remind its reader that it is a translation. The B-Text is thus free rather than literal, sometimes to the point of being quite paraphrastic.

There is another Gk text that should be mentioned here: the A-Text or, as it has been frequently called since the days of Lagarde (1883), the "Lucianic recension." While it is highly probable that the six Additions of the A-Text were borrowed from the B-Text (Clines 1984: 71–92), the relationship of the canonical sections of the A-Text to the B-Text has been much debated, with the majority, including Tov (1982: 169–86), calling the canonical part of the A-Text a recension (i.e., a revision of the LXX), others regarding it as a separate and independent Gk translation of a different Semitic text (Torrey 1944; Moore 1967; *Daniel, Esther . . . Additions* AB; Cook 1969; Clines 1984: 71–92). For an English translation of all of the A-Text, see Clines 1984: 217–48.

2. Other Ancient Versions. For Esther, as for other books of the Bible, the OL, the Coptic (actually the Sahidic dialect), and the Ethiopic versions are translations of the LXX. By contrast, the Syriac and Jerome's Latin Vulgate are based on the Hebrew text and are quite faithful to it, although, given Jerome's claim to having translated his Hebrew text with great fidelity, the Vulgate is not nearly as close to the MT as one would have expected. Sometimes, in fact, Jerome's translation of the canonical sections is quite paraphrastic; and his translation of the Additions, which he held in lesser esteem because they were not present in his Hebrew text, is even more free.

Esther's two *targumim* (Aramaic translations dating no earlier than the 8th century C.E.) are faithful to the MT but also include so much haggadic material that 1 Targum is more than twice as long as the MT, and 2 Targum is twice as long as 1 Targum, with the end result that they tell us much about Talmudic and post-Talmud Judaism but little about Esther. Unfortunately, "critical" or scientific editions exist only for the Greek (*OTG* 3/1; Hanhart 1966) and the Latin (*Libri Hester et Job*, Rome 1951). The end result of all this is that the ancient versions are of far less help in establishing the "original" or even the "final" form of Esther than is the case for many other biblical books.

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CAREY A. MOORE

ET-TWEIN (PLACE). See ABU ET-TWEIN, KHIRBET.

ETA. The fifth letter of the Greek alphabet.

ETAM (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēṭām*]. One of the descendants of Judah (1 Chr 4:3). He is probably also to be associated with the Judean town of the same name (2 Chr 11:6). See ETAM (PLACE).

ETAM (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēṭām*]. Two places in the Hebrew Bible.

1. Town in the N hill country of Judah, listed among the cities fortified by Rehoboam near the beginning of his reign (2 Chr 11:6). An examination of the list of cities fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:5–12) shows that they form a logical and fairly consistent defensive line on the W, S, and E frontiers of Rehoboam's domains, supplemented by additional fortresses at key road junctions (Aharoni *LBHG,* 290–94). This strongly suggests that the editor of Chronicles had access to some sort of official military document delineating the defenses of the kingdom of Judah. The LXX includes Etam in the list of Judean towns within the vicinity of Bethlehem which it inserts after Josh 15:59. Whether this inserted unit represents part of the original list accidentally deleted from the MT or whether it is a later editorial addition based on an independent tradition remains uncertain. Etam also appears as the name of a descendant of Judah in 1 Chr 4:3. The fact that several other nearby places appear in this genealogical summary under the guise of personal names (e.g. Tekoa and Bethlehem) suggests that in this context the name of a town is being used as a metaphor for the kinship ties of its founders. Josephus (*Ant* 18.3.2) indicates that Etam was located approximately 8 Roman miles S of Jerusalem, near the aqueduct built by Pilate to supplement the water supply of Jerusalem. He also states (*Ant* 8.7.3) that Solomon often retreated to Etam when he wished to escape the hustle and bustle of his capital. The description of Etam as being located near Bethlehem, and its connection with the water supply of Jerusalem, has led most scholars to look for ancient Etam in the vicinity of modern Ain Atan, a powerful spring whose name may reflect that of the ancient town. The most suitable site in the vicinity is Khirbet el-Khokh, which stands on a ridge overlooking the spring (Aharoni *LBHG,* 301). It is located about 3.5 km SW of Bethlehem near the modern village of Artas in the vicinity of the traditional Pools of Solomon (M.R. 166121). This Judean town should not be confused with the Rock of Etam, retreat of Samson during his conflict with the Philistines (Judg 15:8–11).

2. Village occupied by the descendants of Simeon (1 Chr 4:32). It appears in the list of Simeonite villages included by the editor of 1 Chronicles in his treatment of various aspects of tribal genealogy (1 Chr 4:24–43). The differences between this list and that of Josh 19:1–9 seem to be merely editorial in nature, suggesting that both are derived from a single document describing the territory of Simeon sometime early in the period of the monarchy, presumably before Simeon was consolidated with the tribe of Judah (*1 Chronicles* AB, 25–31). The omission of Etam in Joshua 19 is most probably a simple scribal error. The location of this ancient settlement is unknown, although it

presumably lay somewhere within the transition zone between S Judea and the N Negeb. As with its northern namesake, it should not be confused with the Rock of Etam mentioned in the book of Judges.

WADE R. KOTTER

ETAM, ROCK OF (PLACE) [Heb *sela*ʾ *ʿêṭām*]. A place to which Samson retired after smiting the Philistines, pursuant to their burning his wife and father-in-law (Judg 15:8). While he was staying in a cave at the Rock of Etam, men of Judah came to Samson in order to deliver him to their Philistine oppressors (Judg 15:11). While the site has not been identified with any certainty, ʿAraq Ismaʿin on the N slope of the Sorek Valley near Zorah (M.R. 148131) is the strongest candidate (Gold *IDB* 2: 153; Kallai *EncMiqr* 6: 187); it was most probably not near either of the two cities named ETAM.

CARL S. EHRLICH

ETH-KAZIN (PLACE) [Heb *ʿittâ qāṣîn*]. Town on the E border of the territory of Zebulun, between Gath-hepher on the S and Rimmon on the N (Josh 19:13). The site of Eth-kazin, or, after the LXX, Ir-kazin (Gk *polis Katesem*)—"the citadel of the commander"—has not been identified.

RAPHAEL GREENBERG

ETHAM (PLACE) [Heb *ʾētām*]. According to Exod 13:20 and Num 33:6–7 the first station on the Exodus route of the Israelites after leaving Succoth. Both citations are accompanied by the comment "on the edge of the wilderness." Num 33:8 mentions three days of wandering in the "desert of Etham." No further information is given concerning the topography. The contextual position of the toponym and its commentary have been associated by M. Noth (*Exodus* ATD, 86; *Numeri* ATD, 210f.) with the work of J (Exod 13:20) and later redactions (Num 33:6–8). It seems more probable, however, that a late Pentateuchal redactor should be responsible for all citations of Etham showing a rather limited insight into the topographical situation of the E Delta (Weimar 1985: 264f.).

Assuming a geographical entity, several attempts have been made to identify and localize the toponym. The literary comment seems to imply only a short distance to the Delta. So Noth argues for a localization within the water area N of *es-suwes* (Suez). Naville (1888: 28) proposed identifying the name with *jdm* in *Egyptian* texts, a toponym, however, which is identical with biblical Edom. The connection with the Egyptian word *ḫtm*, "fortress," which is originally Semitic, leads to some of the Egyptian E fortresses of which Sile (today El-Qantara) is the most important (cf. the well-known illustration on the N wall of the Great Hypostyl of Karnak temple; Papyrus Anastasi 1.27.2 (?); Anastasi 3.6.5; 6.20.1). Other fortresses named *ḫtm* are mentioned in Papyrus Anastasi 1.27.4 (certainly identical with a station along the Way of Horus; cf. Fischer-Elfert 1986: 233), in Anastasi 6.55.60.61 (a fortress named after Merneptah at Tjeku; cf. Sukkoth), and in Anastasi 6.69 (possibly one of the fortified watering places between the Nile and the Red Sea; cf. Caminos 1954: 298). The main objection against this equation may be the phonetic difference between Egyptian *ḫ* and Heb *ʾalep* (cf. Cazelles 1955: 359). Another suggestion, discussed by Cazelles (1955: 359f.) is to combine Etham with "dwelling of the lion" as a name for a watering place along the Way of Horus: Etham being made up of the Sumerian ideogram é for "house," and *Tàm* for the shortened form of the god's name Atum represented occasionally by a lion. This thesis remains problematic because Sumerian ideograms are not otherwise attested in biblical names. It seems better to take Etham as a toponym representing only a special variant of the well-known Pithom, which means "House of Atum," assuming *ʾētām* as the equivalent of a fuller writing of the god's name attested in the form *j3tm* of the 21st Dynasty (Görg 1990). Etham then should be a shortened form without the element *pr* as is the case with the toponym *raʿamsēs* (Rameses) in relation to its fuller Egyptian counterpart *Pr-Rmssw*, "House of Rameses." The meaning "(house of) Atum" and the identification with Pithom fit the well-founded literary assumption of late redactional information about Etham.

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M. GÖRG

ETHAN (PERSON) [Heb *ʾêtān*]. **1.** The son of Zerah, Judah's second son by his daughter-in-law Tamar (1 Chr 2:6; Gen 38:30). Ethan was the father of Azariah (1 Chr 2:8). In the MT, 1 Chr 2:8 reads: "The sons of Ethan"; however, only one name is mentioned.

2. A wise man whose wisdom was surpassed by Solomon's (1 Kgs 5:11—Eng 4:31). Ethan is called the Ezrahite *(ʾezrāḥî)*, and he is associated with Heman, Calcol, and Darda, "the sons of Mahol." These three individuals also were wise men whom Solomon surpassed in wisdom. In 1 Chr 2:6 they are called the sons of Zerah. W. F. Albright (*ARI*, 122) believed that the word "Ezrahite" did not refer to a family name but to the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan and that "the sons of Mahol" referred to a guild of temple musicians. This view seems to be confirmed by the superscription of Psalms 88 and 89 where Ethan and Heman are called "Ezrahite." The LXX renders the word "Ezrahite" in both psalms as "Israelites." These wise men were not Israelites, but because they were associated with the music in the temple they were given place in the levitical genealogies. Heman was included in the family of Kohath, Asaph in the family of Gershon, and Ethan in the family of Merari.

3. A Gershonite who was the son of Zimmah and the father of Adaiah (1 Chr 6:26–27—Eng 6:41–42). Ethan was an ancestor of Asaph. Asaph was one of the leaders of

the three groups of levitical singers who ministered before the ark of the Lord (1 Chr 15:16–17).

4. The son of Kishi, a Levite from the family of Merari (1 Chr 6:29—Eng 6:44). In 1 Chr 15:17 the name of Ethan's father was Kushaiah. According to the Chronicler, when David organized the levitical singers and the musicians in the house of the Lord, they were organized into three groups led by Heman, a Kohathite, by Asaph, a Gershonite, and by Ethan, a Merarite (1 Chr 6:16–33—Eng 6:31–48). In 1 Chr 16:41–42 and 25:1–3, Jeduthun replaced Ethan as one of the singers in the temple. This replacement has led Corney (*IDB* 2: 809) and many other scholars to identify Ethan with Jeduthun.

There seems to be a relationship among these four individuals. According to Cheyne (*EncBib*, 1411–12), during the reorganization of the guilds of singers in the postexilic community, three assumptions guided the thinking of the religious leaders of Israel: (1) that the founders of the guilds were Israelites, (2) that they were singers, and (3) that they were contemporaries of David. Thus the Chronicler made every one of these three singers a contemporary of David by adding names to their genealogies and by making them Levites.

CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

ETHANIM [Heb *ʾêtānîm*]. The seventh month of the Canaanite calendar, roughly corresponding to September and October.

ETHANUS (PERSON) [Lat *Ethanus*]. One of the five scribes whom Ezra was instructed to take with him when restoring the Scriptures (2 Esdr 14:24). Myers (*1 and 2 Esdras* AB) renders the scribe's name as Elkanah, following the Syriac, which reads *hlqn*ʾ. See DABRIA for further discussion.

JIN HEE HAN

ETHBAAL (PERSON) [Heb *ʾetbaʿal*]. King of Tyre, father of Jezebel who married Ahab, king of Israel (1 Kgs 16:31). After the kingdom of Tyre had grown to include the port city of Sidon, Sidon became a general name for the people of the area, hence the designation "king of the Sidonians" in the biblical text. Josephus, drawing his information from the historian Menander, states that Ithobalus, an alternate form of the name Ethbaal, was a priest of Astarte who gained the throne by assassinating Pheles, king of Tyre (*AgAp.* 1.18). He ruled for thirty-two years (887–856 B.C.) and is said to have built two cities: Botrys in Phoenicia and Auza in Libya (*Ant* 8.13.2). Under his rule Phoenician commercial activities were expanded. The effects of a year-long drought which occurred during his reign were also felt in Israel (cf. 1 Kings 17). (See Gray *Kings* OTL; Jones *1 Kings* NCBC.)

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PAULINE A. VIVIANO

ETHER (PLACE) [Heb *ʿeter*]. The name of two places in the Hebrew Bible.

1. Town situated in the Shephelah, or lowlands, of Judah (Josh 15:42), within the same district as Libnah and Mareshah. The only reference to this settlement occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). It is commonly identified with Khirbet el-Ater (Aharoni *LBHG*, 376), located approximately 1.5 km W of Beit Jibrin (MR 138113).

2. Town situated in the transition zone between S Judea and the N Negeb. The only reference to this settlement occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Simeon (Josh 19:7). It is omitted from the parallel list of Simeonite towns in 1 Chr 4:28–32, as well as the more remotely related list of S Judean towns in Josh 15:26–32. The differences between the lists in Joshua 19 and 1 Chronicles are mostly scribal in nature, suggesting that they stem from a single document describing the territory of Simeon sometime early in the period of the monarchy, presumably before Simeon was consolidated with the tribe of Judah (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 25–31). The differences between these lists and that of Joshua 15 are more difficult to explain unless they reflect the political and demographic adjustments made necessary by the consolidation process (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 436–37). The location of the ancient settlement is uncertain, although the ancient name may be reflected at Khirbet Attir (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 438), located approximately 13 km N of Beer-sheba. It is possible that Athach in 1 Sam 30:30 is a faulty reading for Ether, with the *reš* at the end of the word being mistaken for a final *kap*.

WADE R. KOTTER

ETHICS. This entry consists of two articles, one covering ethics in the OT and one covering ethics in the NT.

OLD TESTAMENT

The corpus of ethics of the OT is found in the Pentateuch (= Heb *Torah*). The Hebrew term *tôrâ* originally meant "teaching," "instruction," and "direction" and not "law" as it is translated into English. Torah refers to both the teaching and the content of God's revelation to humanity. What is revealed is a whole way of life lived in accordance with the will of God, not just observance of a set of laws largely of a ritual character. Thus the statutes, precepts, and ordinances in the Torah were intended to act as guidelines on how the Israelites could mold their lives in their ritual, cultic, social, moral, and economic practices to be in conformity with the will of God. Because these statutes and ordinances were strictly enforced, the term *tôrâ* assumed the erroneous meaning "law." The Israelites believed that God created the world with a divine purpose and that he disclosed his will when he elected them and made a covenant with them at Sinai. As their Lord, judge, and king (Isa 33:32), they believed that God demanded that humans strictly obey his divine laws which were summarized in the Decalogue (Heb *haddĕbārîm*). Moreover, they were to teach the statutes, precepts, and ordinances to their children not by word of mouth but by exemplary observance (Deut 6:1–4).

Several factors influenced the Israelites to arrive at this monotheistic moral position. Firstly, they regarded Yahweh as the Creator of the heavens and the earth (Gen 1:1; Exod 19:4–5; Ps 8; Isa 43:5). The Priestly account of creation unequivocally states that when God created the universe, followed by the creatures and humankind, it was good (Gen 1:1–2:4a). According to the Yahwist's version, evil came because of humankind's refusal to regulate life according to the commandment of the Creator (Gen 2:4a–27). Underlying the doing of the will of God is the doctrine of divine retribution based on the inviolable principle of *mišpāṭ*, "justice" (Miller 1982: 134). Divine retribution is the means by which God, the holy one of Israel, rewards people according to their just deserts. Thus God punishes people who transgress his commandments and also rewards those who obey them.

A. God, the Universal Judge
B. Universalism of Ethics
   1. Universalism of Moral Law
   2. God's Universal Justice
C. Covenant and Ethics
   1. The Treaty Formula in the ANE
   2. The Sinaitic Covenant and OT Ethics
   3. The Deuteronomistic Formula of Retribution
D. The Mighty Acts of God
   1. Mythicization of God's Acts
   2. Futility of Idols
E. OT Ethics Based on the God Who Acts
F. God's Holiness
G. OT Ethics and Sexual Conduct
   1. Sex with Animals
   2. Sanctity of Marital Sex
   3. Sanctity of Family
H. Law Concerning Aliens
   1. A Sojourner
   2. Religious Status of a Sojourner
   3. Legal Protection of a Sojourner
   4. Law of the Ban *(ḥerem)*
I. Ethics and the King's Justice
   1. Justice in the ANE
   2. Administration of Justice in Israel
   3. Justice and the Rights of the Poor
J. The Teaching of OT Ethics
   1. Parents as Moral Teachers
   2. Judges and the Torah
   3. Ethical Teaching of the Sages
   4. Priests and Ritual Law
   5. Classical Prophets and Ethical Conduct

A. God, the Universal Judge

The Israelites based their moral law on the premise that God, the judge of all the earth, Heb *šôpēṭ kōl hāʾāreṣ* (Gen 18:25; Judg 11:27), was their king (Isa 33:32). To the Israelites, religion, worship, and praxis were inseparable from their cultural behavior. Life was lived according to religious prescriptions. Because of the persistence of evil, God chose (Heb *yd*ʿ) Abraham in order that he might charge (Heb *yĕṣawweh*) his children and subsequent generations to observe the way of the Lord (Heb *derek Yahweh*, Gen 18:19). The way of the Lord refers to the quality of life which the Israelites must live and which reflects God's justice and righteousness (Heb *mišpāṭ ûṣĕdāqâ*). If Abraham and his household followed the way of the Lord, then Yahweh would fulfill the promise which he had made earlier (Gen 12:2; 15:1). The belief in divine retribution is quite discernible in the J narratives (e.g., Gen 2:16–17). The dialogue between God and Abraham on the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 18:16–33) is elucidated by the principle of divine retribution. The extent of the cry (Heb *ṣaʿăqāh*) coming from Sodom and Gomorrah was so great that the Yahwist depicts God personally going to investigate the cities' wickedness in order that he might mete out an appropriate punishment (Gen 18:21). Yahweh as king was also regarded as the guardian of justice because it was he who determined what was good and evil (Gen 3:5, 22). In accordance with his justice (Heb *mišpāṭ*), God could neither do wrong nor violate his role as the guardian of justice by treating the righteous and the wicked alike (Gen 18:25; cf. Num 16:22). The dialogue on Sodom is meant to underscore the fact that God would not miscarry justice on account of the righteous few living in the midst of the wicked majority should he decide to burn the city (Gen 18:32). At any rate, at no place in the dialogue is it implied that the righteous, by their righteousness, would save the wicked in spite of their wickedness (Ezek 14:14, 20). The narrative does not show us how Yahweh would have meted out retribution to Sodom had there been as few as ten righteous citizens living in the midst of the wicked (Gen 18:32). The fact that Yahweh destroyed Sodom is indicative of the fact that there was no righteous person among the city dwellers. It should not be overlooked that Lot with his household was a sojourner (Heb *gēr*) in Sodom (Gen 13:12b–13). According to the Torah, sojourners enjoyed limited civil rights which did not accord them full citizenship status of the land or city in which they lived (Speiser *Genesis* AB, 90, 139). This law must have been shared by the people of the ANE, judging by the Sodomites' surprise that Lot, who had come to their city to sojourn, should then try to act like a judge to them (Gen 19:9). This same reason demonstrates how Yahweh practiced justice by removing the sojourners, namely, Lot and his household, before annihilating the city with a conflagration (Gen 19:24–29; cf. Num 16:26–33).

An examination of the OT and of extrabiblical literature confirms that humankind regarded the deity as the source and guardian of justice. The juxtaposition of the merciful God, the Creator of the universe, by whose covenant Israel became the chosen nation, with the Israelites' endless cycles of sin and rebellion, elucidates the ethics of the OT (2 Kgs 17:15; Jer 6:19). The belief in the universal God, the Creator, was used by Deutero-Isaiah to rekindle the exiles' waning faith in Yahweh. He stressed that God, the holy one of Israel, was also their king and Creator (Isa 43:15). Against this affirmation Deutero-Isaiah went on to demonstrate to the dispirited Israelites that the God who led their ancestors during the Exodus from Egypt would lead them from the Babylonian captivity back to Zion (Isa 43:5–7). Several psalms also show how, whenever the Israelites were confronting life's predicaments, they cried to God for help, basing their wavering faith on the superiority and mercies of their God, the Creator of the world (Pss 8:1–8; 24:1–6; 42:2; 33:6–9; 89:11–12a; 100:3; 136:69).

B. Universalism of Ethics

It follows that, since God was the Creator of the universe, his divine rule should be regarded as universal. God's laws and statutes were therefore relevant to Israel as well as to people of other nations (cf. Lev 20:23). Amos was the first classical prophet to proclaim God's oracles against the people of Israel and the pagan nations which surrounded them (Amos 1:2–2:16). He shocked the Israelites by telling them that they were like the Ethiopians (Amos 9:7a). In the same way that God had brought the Israelites from the land of Egypt, he had also brought the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir (Amos 9:7b).

1. Universalism of Moral Law. It was the underlying belief in the universalism of God, the Creator, which influenced the Israelites to believe that God had decreed a universal moral law which all the nations of the world were expected to obey (Wright 1950: 52). It was because of their disregard of that law that God was forced to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah. Because God was the universal judge, (Heb *šôpēṭ kōl hā'āreṣ* (Gen 18:25), he could use the Assyrians as his agents to mete out punishment to the Israelites (Isa 10:5–6). But because the Assyrians were also wicked, God would, later on, punish them for their iniquities (Isa 10:12). In this light, God could address Cyrus as his anointed (Heb *mĕšiaḥ*), "whose right hand I have grasped, to subdue nations . . ." (Isa 45:1). Understanding ethics of the OT against the backdrop of the universal sovereignty of God helps to highlight the impact of the covenant which Yahweh made with Israel. God had chosen Israel for a special mission: to be a light to the nations (Isa 49:6), that is, to show them the way of the Lord.

2. God's Universal Justice. The idea of regarding the deity as the source of justice is not unique to Israel. An examination of Mesopotamian and Egyptian texts yields some evidence which indicates that justice issued from the deity. Speiser correctly observed that the correlation between merit and fate was not a question which the Yahwist was the first to broach (*Genesis* AB, 35). Commenting on Gen 18:25, he pointed out that the basic issue was only one aspect of the theme of the suffering just, which Mesopotamian literature wrestled with as early as the Old Babylonian period. That ethical norms were expected even in a civilization where Yahweh was not worshipped is evidenced by the Mesopotamian gods Kittum, "right," "justice," "jurisprudence," and Mēšarum, "fairness," "equity" (Ringgren 1947: 47–55). These deities were the personification of ethical abstract concepts of justice and equity. The Babylonians regarded Shamash as the ultimate god of justice. A bilingual hymn in both Sumerian and Akkadian (Meek, *BA* 6: 1ff.) reads as follows:

> O Shamash, when you come forth from
> the shining heavens,
> May Right stand at your right side,
> May Righteousness stand at your left side.

The Egyptians also presumed that bliss in the land came only after the goddess *m3ʿt* (= Maat, "truth," "righteousness," "right") had successfully repressed all the wicked people and the evil which they caused. The absence of evil and wickedness would create a state of peace and joy for the righteous. A eulogy of the Egyptian king Merneptah (*ANET,* 378) reads:

> All ye righteous: Come that ye may see
> Right [*maat*] has driven out lying,
> Evildoers have fallen (upon) their faces,
> The water stands and is not dried up,
> The Nile lifts up, days are long
> Nights have hours. . . . The gods are satisfied. . . .
> [One] lives *in* laughter and wonder.

These two poems are a sample of several ANE texts which demonstrate that the people of other nations regarded as pagans were, in general, reflecting on the theme of evil and justice, regardless of their religion or the time in which they lived. Various literatures of the ANE exhibit a critical attitude toward the way justice was being executed by the nobles or by the kings and also by the gods (ANET, 438–41). The main difference between these ethical teachings and those found in the Bible lies in Israel's emphasis on the holiness of God and the covenant which he graciously made with human beings.

C. Covenant and Ethics

1. The Treaty Formula in the ANE. It was common practice among the nations of the ANE to make covenants with each other. The covenants in the form of treaties were of two types: (1) the parity treaty was made between monarchs of equal status who therefore exchanged mutual stipulations; whereas (2) the suzerainty treaty was graciously offered by a superior monarch to an inferior. See COVENANT. In the latter treaty, the superior king, as suzerain, stipulated his conditions to his vassal, the inferior ruler and his nation. In return for their loyalty and tribute, the suzerain would protect his vassal against enemy attack. However, should the vassal breach the stipulations of the covenant, then the suzerain would withdraw his military protection and might also punish the rebelling vassal by an invasion.

2. The Sinaitic Covenant and OT Ethics. The Hittite treaty formula illuminates the covenants which God made with Noah (Gen 9:8–17), with Abraham (Gen 15:1–21), with Israel at Sinai (Exod 20:20–23), and with David (2 Sam 7:1–16). Although the Sinaitic covenant is formulated according to the suzerainty treaty, there are fundamental differences. In the covenant between Yahweh and Israel, Yahweh graciously and without obligation made a covenant with the Israelites, freely adopting them as his own people (Exod 19:4–5). The Covenant Code (Exod 20:22–23:33) which God commanded the Israelites to observe specified two types of relationships. The vertical relationship required that the Israelites remain faithful to God and obey his law (Exod 20:3). The horizontal relationship was intended to promote peace among the Israelites by eliminating causes of friction among them. Just as in the Hittite suzerain-vassal treaty, the nations in a covenant relationship with the suzerain were forbidden to engage in hostilities against one another, similarly the people of Israel were prohibited by the covenant stipulations from being unjust to one another (Amos 2:6–16). The same stipulations applied to the neighboring nations such as Edom (Amos 1:11–15), Moab (Amos 2:1–3), and Tyre (Amos

1:9–10), who were covenanted with Israel during the reign of David. The worship of God would be rendered worthless if the Israelites failed to live in harmony with one another (Amos 5:21–24). They were expected to show justice to the powerless: the poor, widows, orphans, slaves, and the resident aliens (Deut 24:19–22; Job 29:12–20). Although Yahweh as Creator was not obligated in any way to make a covenant with Israel, once he made it he was bound by it in the same way the Hittite suzerain kings were bound by the covenants they made with their vassals.

It is significant that all covenants are based on the principle of retribution. In a Hittite suzerainty treaty, fulfillment of the stipulations was rewarded by a defense alliance of the parties concerned. Serious consequences followed a breach of the covenant stipulations. Similarly, Yahweh would bless the Israelites if they observed the laws, statutes, and precepts summarized in the Decalogue (Exod 20:1–17). But if the Israelites transgressed the law God would punish them (Josh 24:19–20).

Loyalty to God is by Israel's own free choice and not made by Yahweh's compulsion (Josh 24:14–15; 1 Kgs 18:21–24). The rationale for choosing Yahweh is based on the fact that he is the God who acts in history and who has shown by his choice of Israel, as well as by his promises and blessings to the patriarchs of Israel, that his might is unequaled by any other deity. His might was demonstrated by his victory over Pharaoh and by his leading the Israelites from Egyptian bondage to freedom in Canaan (Deut 6:22–25; cf. 11:3–12). The Israelites could therefore trust God because it is he alone who can perform great signs and wonders (Deut 4:34): the other gods are nothing (Isa 41:29; 44:9). God would continue to protect the people of Israel if only they remained loyal to him (Lev 20:22). It should be realized that keeping the covenant was of great benefit to the Israelites and was not in any way beneficial to God. This is what makes God's covenant with Israel unique in the ANE. The fact that these laws were useful for harmonious relationships among the Israelites themselves explains why, when giving the commandments (Heb *haddĕbārîm;* Exod 20:1–17), God did not have to justify the reason for the decrees. The exclusive worship of Yahweh was a unitive factor among the tribes of Israel and his decrees promoted harmony (Heb *šālôm*) among the people.

3. The Deuteronomistic Formula of Retribution. According to the Deuteronomist, God's blessings and curses were thought to relate directly to Israel's obedience and disobedience to the law as stipulated in the covenant (Deut 28:1). God administers justice in historical events. The books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings were reformulated to illustrate how God administered justice to Israel and to the nations in historical events. It is God alone who directs and controls the course of history (Wright 1950: 49). It is significant that the same formula is implied in the Sumerian Job in which a wealthy man, who considered himself righteous and wise, attributed his good fortune to be consequent upon the fear of the gods. The OT Job "repudiated not only a simplistic Deuteronomistic view of the historical process in which the mighty acts of God are transparent and history's theme is a simple one of blessing or curse, the way of life or the way of death" (*CHME,* 344). The lesson to be learned from Job's ordeal is that it is not always clear to humans how God administers justice. The most important thing that humans can do, in sickness or in health, or in facing any of life's predicaments, is to pray for the experience of God's sustaining presence and for a lucid vision of his majesty (Job 42:5–6).

D. The Mighty Acts of God

God's absolute claim for the Israelites' loyalty was not based solely on the covenant which he had made with them. It was because the mighty acts which he had performed for the Israelites testified to his sovereignty compared to that of the other gods of the surrounding nations which were idols and not gods (1 Kgs 18:24–30, 39; cf. John 14:11). To the Israelites there was no God like Yahweh, who was transcendent and looked far down upon the heavens and the earth (Ps 113:4–9). It was because the Lord wrought some great works during the process of Israel's redemption from Egypt, followed by God's leadership through the wilderness as well as the conquest of the Canaanite nations, that he had convincingly proved himself to be no match to the idol gods (Isa 44:6–17; cf. Ps 111:6). The redeeming acts of the God who made a covenant with Israel were later embellished with mythical motifs. Israel's crossing of the Reed Sea (Heb *yam sûp,* Exod 15:1–18) became the central event in Israel's history because the event was now associated with the cultic festival of the spring New Year (*CHME,* 123). Being the God who revealed himself through historical events, unusual events convinced the Israelites that indeed God was the Lord: for example, the victories of the Persian king Cyrus which led to Israel's liberation from Babylon (Isa 45:1–8; 47:1–4).

1. Mythicization of God's Acts. A close examination of Exod 15:1–18 highlights the significance of the Exodus in the history and religion of Israel. The poem opens with a vivid description of the combat between Yahweh, the Divine Warrior, and his enemies, the Egyptians, who were self-assured of victory (Exod 15:9). This historical event of the Exodus was later mythicized. God's might at the Reed Sea was later seen as God's splitting (Heb *bq*ʿ) of the inimical sea which was threatening the entire nation of Israel (Neh 9:11). God was no longer seen as dividing the sea by natural forces but, like Marduk, who split Tiamat in the *Enuma elish* to ensure the survival of the gods, God also split the sea to ensure the survival of the Israelites. To assure them that their God was always the same in spite of the vicissitudes of their political fortunes, mythic elements were added to their cultus (Job 41:1; Ps 74:14). This process assured the Israelites of Yahweh's consistent might throughout all generations. To reinforce the Israelites' faith in Yahweh, the only God, all mythical victories were deliberately attributed to him (Isa 27:1). Whenever the Israelites faced any form of oppression or predicament, they appealed to God, who had demonstrated his unsurpassed might diachronically by stunning victories over mythical and terrible dragons (Isa 51:9–11).

2. Futility of Idols. Israel was often driven through fear to worship idol gods. Yahweh's injunction, "Fear not" (Isa 44:2), was based on the mighty acts of God, the first and the last (Isa 44:6). The creation and worship of idols which could neither speak nor hear was therefore a foolish act on the part of Israel (1 Kgs 18:26–29). Idols were nothing

(Heb *tōhû*) and they profited nothing (Isa 40:18–20). To be convinced, the Israelites were called upon to compare Yahweh with the gods of the other nations and then make up their minds as to which deity was supported by tangible evidence of his might and was worthy of their allegiance (Isa 44:7–9).

E. OT Ethics Based on the God Who Acts

According to the Yahwist, God was distinguished from the gods of the other nations in that he was not an idol which had no voice and made no sound (1 Kgs 18:26b; 29b). Israel's God was adored for his unique achievements such as the creation of the world and his redemption of Israel, which was announced in advance (Exod 3:19–22; cf. Isa 44:7). Unlike the lifeless idol gods of the other nations, God revealed himself through historical events because it was he who set history in motion by the creation of the universe and by calling Abraham, Israel's first patriarch, and by promising him and his progeny the land of Canaan (Gen 12:1; 15:1–2). This firm belief in the God whose acts influenced the Israelites to regard him as their king (Isa 33:22) and *judge* (Heb *šôpēṭ*) (Gen 18:25; Judg 11:27), and to be bound by the covenant which they had accepted freely (Exod 19:8; cf. Josh 24:22). The Israelites thus chose to follow Yahweh and promised to observe his law to earn his blessings in this world. But accepting the law also meant that God would punish them for transgressing the law. Israel's ethical norms were therefore believed to issue from the holy God, the Creator and Lord of the universe, who created the world with a divine purpose.

F. God's Holiness

The Israelites regarded God as holy (Isa 41:4; 43:14). This means that they recognized him as the purest and highest standard of holiness and justice. This is evidenced by the use of the word "holy" (Heb *qādôš*) and its derivatives over 600 times. With reference to humans, the word "holy" refers to a perfect moral standard. Because they were his covenanted people, the Israelites were therefore required to be holy. The divine injunction was ". . . be holy because I the Lord your God am holy" (Lev 19:2; cf. Matt 5:48). It is this exhortation which clarifies the rationale behind the whole so-called Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–26). The Israelites would be holy like God if they were righteous and just. Emphasis in the worship of God is laid on actions and not words. By contrast, the gods of the other nations, for example, the goddess Maat of Egypt as well as the gods Kittum and Mēšarum of Mesopotamia, were hypostases of ethical concepts. They were idols and not God. These and many other gods were believed to be motivated by appeasement and by outward show of piety. OT ethics, on the other hand, aimed at changing the heart, that is, the motives of the Israelites, by teaching them to observe the covenant law. Consequently, God was not going to accept or bless those who rendered sacrifices, performed acts of worship, or brought gifts unless their intentions and attitudes conformed to his holiness (Gen 4:5–7; Amos 5:21–24; cf. Matt 5:24). In 1 Sam 16:7, it is clearly stated, and this was repeated by the classical prophets, that what God required of the Israelites was a broken spirit, a broken and contrite heart (Ps 51:17). An outward show of piety would never be accepted as a substitute for holiness (Isa 1:11–18; Jer 7:21–23; Hos 6:6; Mic 6:6–8).

G. OT Ethics and Sexual Conduct

NW Semitic religious practices regarded the divine lovemaking as a solemn act. It therefore behooved the Canaanites to imitate the gods Baal and Asherah by practicing temple prostitution in order to maintain the seasonal cycle. Yahweh, who is asexual, prescribed Israel's worship, which was clearly not to be associated with temple prostitution. In Deut 23:17 sacred prostitution was unequivocally denied a place in Israel's worship. In the worship of Israel, cultic prostitution was regarded in the same way as sexual promiscuity with harlots (Heb *zûnôt*). Not only was that wrong in itself, but even the money earned through acts of prostitution would not be acceptable as payment for a vow to the Lord (Deut 23:18). Prostitution, in general, was punishable by death. So also were a series of other types of promiscuous and incestuous sexual acts. While the women were severely punished for promiscuity, it seems as though men were condoned for being lured by lewd women (Gen 38:12–26; Joshua 2). However, prostitution was shunned and this is why the classical prophets referred to Israel's apostasy as harlotry (Hosea 1–3; Ezekiel 16; 23).

1. Sex with Animals. The Israelites were admonished not to engage in sex with animals (Exod 22:19; Lev 20:16; Deut 27:21). The question regarding this wayward sexual behavior is not to be judged by modern moral and legal standards, which consider a sexual offense to be one that involves sex with an unconsenting partner or that hurts someone in the process. In the religion of Israel, the criterion for deciding the sinfulness of these sexual acts was whether they were in accordance with the holiness of God. To discourage the proliferation of such promiscuous acts, the parties involved were to be stoned in order to purge Israel of such evil and its memory. Stoning the animal, obviously an unconsenting victim, was meant to underscore the gravity of the punishment and to deter potential sexual sinners from committing such a shameful offense. Sin committed in a corporate community, like that of Israel, was regarded as infectious. This explains why people contaminated with sin were to be eliminated from society only by stoning or shooting (Exod 19:13).

2. Sanctity of Marital Sex. The Priestly account in Gen 1:26–27 affirms that God created humankind, male and female, in his own image. God blessed sexuality as a means by which humankind could multiply and fill the earth (Gen 1:28). Unlike animals, marriage among humans was a sacred rite. The Yahwist presents the man whom God created as being lonely in the Garden of Eden in spite of the presence of animals of all kinds (Gen 1:18–20). It was for this reason that God formed a woman and presented her to the man, who exclaimed in joyful amazement: "Bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh . . ." (Gen 2:23). The two became one flesh again in marriage. This explains why extramarital sex or sex with animals was regarded as being against the holy law of God and was severely punished.

3. Sanctity of Family. The religion of Israel regarded the family as sacred, having been ordained by God at the creation of the world. Regulations were instituted in the name of God to maintain the sanctity and stability of the

family. Sexual relations which would cruelly hurt the feelings of a member of the family were punishable by death. In Lev 20:10, the man caught committing adultery with a neighbor's wife would be put to death. The woman who acted as an accomplice to the crime would also be put to death (Deut 22:22). Incest with one's father's wife was prohibited under penalty of death because it violated the very foundation of the family (Lev 20:11). Similarly, sexual intercourse with a daughter-in-law was prohibited (Lev 20:12). The same law prohibited incestuous acts with a sister regardless of whether she was the daughter of the father by another wife or the daughter of the mother by another man prior to the parents' present marriage (Lev 20:17). It can be assumed that prohibition against sexual relations with a woman during her menstrual period was originally made for hygienic reasons (Lev 20:18) and also to observe the sacredness of blood (Lev 17:12–14). At any rate, all the sexual laws were intended to prevent incidents which would create family feuds and would lead up to the disintegration of the family unit.

H. Law Concerning Aliens

There were two types of aliens in Israel: the sojourner and the prisoner of war. Both of them were protected under the Torah.

1. A Sojourner. The OT does not clearly tell how a person became a sojourner (Heb *gēr*). Economic and political reasons could force one to leave one's land of birth to be a resident alien in another country (Ruth 1:1). In search of pasture for his animals, Lot and his household became sojourners in Sodom (Gen 13:11; cf. 19:9). To avoid famine in Canaan, the Israelites became sojourners in Egypt (Gen 46:2–7). A sojourner, according to the Torah, had some citizenship rights, though they were limited. Sojourners were protected by law and had recourse to the seat of judgment (Deut 1:16). The law reminded the Israelites to protect the rights of the sojourner in their midst because they were always to remember that they too had been sojourners in Egypt (Exod 22:21; cf. Deut 10:18–19; 24:17–22). By his compassion God redeemed the Israelites who were being oppressed while sojourning in Egypt. Similarly, the Israelites were required to show compassion toward sojourners. At all events, Yahweh, the Creator of the heavens and the earth, would always intervene on the side of the disadvantaged in the event of a miscarriage of justice by those in authority (Deut 24:15b; Ps 82:1–8).

2. Religious Status of a Sojourner. While sojourners were dwelling among the Israelites, they were expected to observe all the ritual laws and cultic practices of the Israelites. Some laws to be observed related to sexual behavior (Lev 18:26) and to strict observance of the sabbath rest (Exod 20:10; Deut 5:14). The sojourner was to offer an acceptable sacrifice at the door of the tent of meeting in exactly the same way as the Israelites (Lev 17:8–9). Just like the Israelites, the sojourner was forbidden to eat a beast or bird with its blood (Lev 17:12–14), which Yahweh had forbidden. If the sojourners were allowed to practice their own religious customs, they would influence the Israelites to practice pagan worship (cf. 1 Kgs 11:1–4).

3. Legal Protection of a Sojourner. Because sojourner did not have full citizenship rights, they were prone to exploitation by unscrupulous and usurious people. The sojourners were therefore at the risk of losing whatever little they had, a situation which would end in their selling themselves to the rich Israelites in order to earn a living (Lev 25:45). Otherwise nothing limited a stranger from amassing property to the point where he could even acquire an Israelite (Lev 25:47). When sojourners were few in number, it was easy to control them and to monitor their movements. The problem confronting the Israelites was what to do with a whole nation defeated in battle.

4. Law of the Ban *(ḥerem).* The fear of being impacted by pagan religious practices forced the Israelites to observe strictly the law of the ban. This law was attributed to God, who was believed to be directly leading the Israelites in holy war against the Canaanite nations, which did not observe the holy law of God. For this reason all those conquered in battle were to be killed and all their property destroyed (Josh 7:7, 10–13; 1 Sam 15:3). For reasons of security and religion, the Israelites practiced the ban in order to curtail the number of strangers living grudgingly in their midst. Concerning a distant nation, the Israelites could offer peace terms which could lead to coexistence. If a nation refused the terms and waged war, the Israelites would besiege that nation and after conquering it kill all the males; the women and the movable property would be taken as booty (Deut 20:10–15). This exception to the law of the *ḥerem* was necessary for reasons of security and economy. If a distant nation accepted the Israelites' peace terms, its population would immediately become Israelites' laborers (Deut 20:11). By the nation's intransigent behavior, it had exhibited that it was a potential danger to Israel's security. Military operations against such a nation benefited the Israelites in that they would possess all the fruit trees, women, and livestock (Deut 20:19). This military leniency was not extended to the Canaanites, Perizzites, Hittites, Jebusites, Hivites, or Amorites for religious reasons. Conducting their well-organized religious practices in the midst of the Israelites, these nations would be a serious threat to Yahwism (Deut 20:16–18). To preserve the purity of Yahwism, the Israelites interpreted the law of the *ḥerem* as a divine command to annihilate these nations. They were not to save anything that breathed among the Canaanites (Deut 20:16; cf. Josh 10:40; 11:11). A close examination of the process of the conquest of Canaan reveals that this narrative reflects Deuteronomistic exaggeration to underscore the benefits of obeying the commandments of Yahweh. The Israelites regarded other nations and their idol gods as enemies of Yahweh. For this reason the Israelites were not shocked by the callous cruelty they exhibited by killing men and women, young and old, ox and sheep, camel and ass (1 Sam 15:3; Josh 11:40). The goal was to preserve the exclusive purity of the worship of Yahweh.

I. Ethics and the King's Justice

1. Justice in the ANE. In the ANE the gods Shamash and Enlil were regarded as the gods of justice. They appointed kings to act as their representatives in the administration of justice (*ANET,* 159; 164). Among their important responsibilities was to act as guardians of justice especially as it related to the poor, the widow, the orphan, the alien, and the oppressed people (Whitelam 1979: 17–19). This explains why King Urukagina of Lagash re-

ported to his god that, at his accession to the throne, he immediately enforced justice and equity (Akk *mēšerum ukinātum*) by declaring a general amnesty for the poor and by rescinding social and economic constraints which were oppressing the common people and driving them into poverty. In Israel a general amnesty was declared every seven years, during the period referred to as the year of solemn rest (Heb *šĕnat šabbātôn;* Lev 25:5). This was a year of the dropping of debts and obligations (Heb *šĕnat haššĕmittâ;* Deut 15:9). Debtors and slaves were freed and had a new lease on life. The sabbatical year also required that land tilled for six years be left fallow during the seventh year. The plot with its fruit trees and vines reverted to God, who repossessed it for the common good of all the people and animals. For this reason, harvesting the yield of fallow land was prohibited by law. But sojourners, widows, orphans, and the poor in general were free to take the food as long as they did not hoard any for future consumption. In Ugaritic literature, the Kirta epic provides a good example of the role of the king as the guardian of the rights of the disadvantaged, that is, the downtrodden, the widow, and the orphan (*CTA* 16.6.45–57; cf. 2 Sam 15:1–4).

2. Administration of Justice in Israel. The Israelites, like the people of Mesopotamia, regarded Yahweh as the God of justice (Heb *mišpāṭ;* Gen 18:25). The earthly judges (Heb *šôpĕṭîm*) and kings were appointed by and answerable to him (Deut 1:16, 17). This is the reason why King Solomon prayed to God for wisdom (Heb *ḥokmāh*) to rule *(špṭ)* the nation of Israel (1 Kgs 3:19). At any rate, God remained the judge *par excellence,* the *šôpēṭ kōl hā'āreṣ* (Gen 18:25) to whom the oppressed people could directly call whenever they were confronted with injustice (Judg 11:27; Ps 82:8; cf. Gen 16:5). Kings were regarded as Yahweh's representatives and their chief role was to administer justice in the land as his deputies (2 Sam 8:15; cf. 1 Kgs 3:28).

3. Justice and the Rights of the Poor. As in Mesopotamia and Ugarit, kings of Israel were responsible for safeguarding the rights of the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the sojourner (Ps 72:1–4). There are many instances in the OT where these classes of people are mentioned with reference to justice. In Exod 22:21–27, the people of Israel are strongly warned against wronging strangers and the poor in general. If the poor and the strangers were oppressed and they in turn cried *(ṣ'q)* to God, the compassionate king of Israel, he would listen and mete out retribution to the oppressors (cf. Deut 10:18; 14:29; 16:11; Ps 146:9; Isa 1:17; etc.). In Ps 82:1–8, God is portrayed as taking the radical step of deposing the gods (i.e., rulers) from their divine and immortal status to that of humans because of their dereliction of judicial duty as it applied to the poor, the widow, and the orphan. OT ethics aimed at an egalitarian society where every Israelite was compassionate enough to care for those in need. When there was a complete breakdown of justice, the Israelites expected God to intervene directly and restore peace and justice (Ps 82:8). Because Yahweh, the holy one of Israel, was their Lord, it behooved the Israelites to reflect Yahweh's righteousness by being just (Deut 1:16–17).

J. The Teaching of OT Ethics

Several classes of people were entrusted with the responsibility of teaching ethical norms to the people, beginning with the children.

1. Parents as Moral Teachers. OT ethics was to begin at home, where the parents were expected to teach the Torah to their children (Deut 6:1–4). This is the reason why Yahweh had chosen (Heb *yd'*) Abraham so that he might charge (Heb *yĕṣawweh*) his children and his household to carry out the way of the Lord (Gen 18:17–19). The Torah was to be taught not by word only but by practice and example (Deut 6:1–19). The children, after observing their parents' diligent observance of the law, would be provoked to ask the question: "What is the meaning of the testimonies and the statutes and the ordinances which the Lord our God has commanded you?" That is the time when the children are ready to listen and learn to observe the statutes, ordinances, and precepts prescribed in the Torah (Deut 6:17, 20–25). The major reason for Yahweh's displeasure with Eli was that he had failed to teach his children the right ethical standards (1 Sam 3:12–24). Several instructions in the book of Proverbs reveal that parents played a vital role in the teaching of children (Proverbs 2–8). The role parents played in the teaching of the Torah emphasizes the reason why the family unit was considered to be ordained by God at the creation of the universe and why its preservation was to be guaranteed.

2. Judges and the Torah. During the time of the tribal league, the Deuteronomistic Historian attributes the administration of justice and the teaching of the Torah to the so-called judges (Judg 2:17–19). Deborah, who is presented as both a prophetess (Heb *nĕbî'â*) and judge, is portrayed as moving about Israel deciding (Heb *špṭ*) cases. Samuel, who was also a judge, priest, and prophet, moved in a circuit between Ramah, Gilgal, and Mizpah judging *(špṭ)* cases (1 Sam 7:15–17). The judges *(šôpĕṭîm)* served as governors, administrators of justice, and teachers of the Torah. This explains why, during their tenure of office, the Israelites lived according to the will of God and worshipped God alone. Apostasy followed the death or absence of the judge (Judg 2:18–19).

3. Ethical Teaching of the Sages. The sages taught the proper way of conduct to the children of aristocratic families for pay. Their teaching was based on wisdom acquired by education and confirmed by observation and experience (Job 8:8–10; cf. Eccl 7:5; 9:17–18). The sages, like the Deuteronomist who came after them, believed that Yahweh's retribution was administered according to discernible rules. A person's behavior brought with it God's reward or punishment in this world (Job 8:3–6). The key to success was summed up in the proverb: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge . . ." (Prov 1:8). In Matthew's gospel it was explicitly stated that those who seek God's rule and his righteousness first would have all their material needs satisfied (Matt 6:33). OT ethics is clearly theocentric.

4. Priests and Ritual Law. The priests as well as the prophets supervised and gave advice on matters concerning the sacrifices and other ritual acts of worship which were performed in the holy places (1 Sam 9:12; cf. 2:27–30).

5. Classical Prophets and Ethical Conduct. The classical prophets interpreted the Torah in a radically new way. Basing their message on the one universal God who directed historical events, the classical prophets, beginning with Amos and Hosea, emphasized several attributes of

Yahweh which had not been previously stressed. Worship and ritual acts which were performed by people who were devoid of justice were not acceptable to the holy God of Israel (Amos 5:21–24; Mic 6:6–8). Unless the Israelites practiced righteousness (Heb *ṣĕdāqâ*) and good neighborliness among themselves as a covenant community, God would punish them for their iniquities (Amos 2:6–8). True worship of Yahweh demanded a change of heart in those who believed in the holy God (Jer 31:33). This would be evidenced by their showing justice toward the poor, who were being crushed economically by the unscrupulous rich (Amos 4:1–3). Whereas, according to the sages, luxury indicated God's favorable retribution and poverty his punishment for sin (Job 8:1–22), the classical prophets turned the tables and indicated that God was not with the rich but was on the side of the poor and the oppressed (Jer 22:16; Ezek 16:49). See also POOR, POVERTY (OT). The prophets also confronted the Israelites who were constantly transgressing against the covenant, exhausting Yahweh's kindness (Heb *ḥĕsed;* Hos 3:1–5). But because the people of Israel had forgotten what the Lord their God had done for them (Hos 11:3), Yahweh had no choice but to punish them (Hos 11:5–6). The people of Israel could avoid the punishment of God by returning to him (Hos 14:1–2; cf. Amos 5:4–6). For further discussion, see *ROTT*.

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TEMBA L. J. MAFICO

NEW TESTAMENT

In the NT, morality finds its setting in religion. The concept of NT ethics, as well as ethics in general, can be variously defined and must be analyzed in several areas.

A. Definitions of Ethics
B. Sources of NT Ethics
C. Approaches to NT Ethics
   1. Christian "Code"
   2. Universal Principles
   3. Encounter with the Living God
   4. Contextual Response in Love
D. Jesus and the Synoptic Gospels
   1. Jesus' Preaching of the Kingdom
   2. Mark: Suffering Discipleship
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   4. Luke: Forgiveness and Compassion
E. Exhortation in the Pauline Tradition
F. Themes in NT Exhortation
   1. Worship
   2. Relationships within the Community
   3. Sharing Wealth
   4. Sexual Morality
   5. Love of Enemies
   6. Relationship to the World

A. Definitions of Ethics

The philosopher Aristotle insisted that ethics, the study of correct human action, was a form of "practical knowledge." Its intention was to enable persons to conduct their lives and those of their communities well by choosing actions appropriate to the specific circumstances at hand on the basis of reasoned deliberation (*Eth. Nic.* 1.3.1095ab; 2.1.1103b27–29). Stoic and Epicurean philosophers from the NT period argued that the study of philosophy developed moral character by converting individuals from lives dominated by passions and false desires to lives of self-control: "Certainly it teaches one to be above extravagance; it trains one to have a sense of shame, and to control one's tongue, and it produces discipline, order and courtesy, and in general what is fitting in action and bearing" (Musonius Rufus, *That Kings Should Also Study Philosophy* Fr. 8; Malherbe 1986: 31).

In the Hebrew Scriptures the Torah defines how persons should conduct themselves as members of a people living in covenant with God (Exod 20:1–24:8; Deut 10:10–30:20). The prosperity of the nation in the land which Yahweh would give them is seen as a blessing for wholehearted devotion to the Lord and faithful obedience to the commandments and ordinances of the Torah. Justice is not discovered through the reasoned deliberation of morally serious persons as in Aristotle. Rather justice is found through the efforts of persons and the community to enact "what the Lord requires" as made known through the Torah (Isa 1:12–17; Mic 6:8). Job 31 describes the actions of an individual who is just.

The philosophical tradition would agree with the biblical view that the law which establishes a community is its basic expression of justice. Law understood in the broad sense as all that a community of persons holds to be good shapes the habits of individuals so that they will act justly. Both traditions agree that virtuous action is the only way in which humans can attain happiness and well-being. Both traditions see that for the most part human beings do not live and act justly. A conversion is required. The Hebrew prophetic tradition addressed its summons to repentance and renewal to Israel. Failure to live according to the covenant stipulations, though attributed to the actions of individuals, is a failure that touches the whole people. It represents breaking an obligation owed to God. God rightly punishes the people by removing their prosperity or allowing Israel to fall to her enemies. However, punishment is moderated by God's faithful love for the people who should repent and return to the Lord (Hos 11:1–14:9).

Both the imperative to "do justice" as a religious obligation, a way of living in relationship to God, and the call for communal repentance and reform are lacking in the philosophic tradition. Though the philosopher may address kings and persons from the local aristocracy, whose behavior has an impact on the lives of all persons subject to them, the philosophic appeal is made to individuals. Philosophers spoke of themselves as "physicians" of the soul which must be governed by reason rather than passions

and false opinion. Since the "hardships" of the philosophic life lead most people to return to their old ways of living, the philosopher constantly exhorts people to virtue: ". . . never deserting his post of duty, but always honoring and promoting virtue and sobriety and trying to lead all people thereto, partly by persuading and exhorting, partly by abusing and reproaching, in the hope that he may thereby rescue somebody from following low desires and intemperance" (Dio Chrys., *Or.* 77/78.38; Malberbe 1987: 56).

Jews who lived in cities where the education, government, and culture were shaped by Greek thought and institutions often sought to show that their tradition embodied the best of the ethical insights of Greek thought. Writers emphasized aspects of the Torah most likely to win a hearing from sympathetic gentiles: (a) the superiority of monotheism to pagan idolatry; and (b) the high standard of sexual morality among Jews, including opposition to homosexuality, adultery, rape, abortion, and the exposure of children. Jews avoid all forms of divination and astrology; are free from greed and generous in aiding the poor, "fulfilling the word of the great God, the hymn of the Law, for the Heavenly One gave the earth in common to all" (*Sib. Or.* 3.218–47). A counterpart to the Stoic ideal of the "passionless" soul could be found in the single-minded person: "the single-minded person does not covet gold; does not overreach his neighbor; does not long for many luxuries; does not delight in varied clothing; does not desire to live a long life but only waits for the will of God" (*T. Iss.* 4.2–6).

While the formative traditions of the Greek polis and the Hebrew covenant presumed stable, homogeneous communities that would "approve" a single vision of justice, the upheavals of the Hellenistic and Roman periods had fractured the established communities. Persons migrated to cities in which they were outsiders or, like the Jews of Alexandria, formed an organized political minority *(politeuma)* within a city-state *(polis)*. Jewish attempts to attain citizenship in the polis were rejected and even led to episodes of violence. The famous Stoic philosopher Epictetus (ca. 55–135 C.E.) had been the slave of Nero's freedman and secretary. Banished from Rome with other philosophers in 89 C.E., he took up residence in Nicopolis, where he spent the rest of his life teaching Stoic philosophy.

The philosophic response to this social upheaval was to emphasize the "wise person" as a "universal citizen," one who transcends the accidents of birth or fate. Freedom lies within reach if one learns to control the mind and the passions; "And how shall I free myself?—Have you not heard many times that you ought to eradicate desire utterly; direct your aversion to things that lie within the sphere of the moral purpose, and those only; that you ought to give up everything, your body, your property, your reputation, your books, turmoil from office, freedom from office? For if once you swerve aside from your course, you are a slave, you are a subject" (Epict., *Diss.* 4.4.33). The tension evident in Epictetus' definition of freedom between individual self-sufficiency and a life of involvement in public affairs was resolved by those philosophers, like the Epicureans, who advocated withdrawal from public and civic life. Epicureans formed structured communities of "friends" who admonished and supported one another. Their opponents insisted that virtue required willingness to participate in public affairs. Quietism and withdrawal are simply marks of "low status" and "cowardice," not virtue.

Philo of Alexandria pictured Moses as one of the great lawgivers of humanity (*Vita Mos.* 2.12–20). But Philo's allegorical interpretations of the Law transformed the universal validity of Mosaic lawgiving from the external realm of public affairs to the internal one of education for the soul. Just as the "wise person" of Stoic philosophy lived in harmony with the eternal law of nature, so Mosaic law guides the soul to a life of reason in harmony with universal law. Then, drawing upon Platonic tradition, Philo argued that the soul is capable of attaining a vision of God (*Vita Mos.* 1.48; 75–76; *Praem* 24–56).

The turmoil of the 2d century B.C.E. in Palestine produced a different form of "withdrawal" among some Jews, withdrawal into sectarian groups which sought to purify both themselves and a land defiled by foreign occupation, customs, and ideas. The Essene writings discovered at Qumran have provided a fascinating glimpse into the life of a sectarian group which also had adherents in Egypt. Philo treats the Essenes as examples of the superior virtue mediated by Moses (*Quod Omn.* 75–91). Their own community rules and books of biblical interpretation show us a community of the "new covenant" which sought perfect obedience to the will of God: "All those who freely devote themselves to his truth shall bring all their knowledge, powers and possessions into the Community of God, that they may purify their knowledge in the truth of God's precepts and order their powers according to his ways of perfection and all their possessions according to his righteous counsel" (1 QS 1: 11–13).

The Essene writings picture the world and the struggle for moral perfection in apocalyptic terms. God has permitted the world to be torn apart in the conflict between powers of light and darkness. But this dualism is part of God's hidden plan in which God knows those who will become "children of light": "The Master shall instruct all the children of light and shall teach them the nature of all the children of humanity according to the kind of spirit which they possess, the signs identifying their works during their lifetime, their visitation for chastisement, and the time of their reward. From the God of knowledge comes all that is and shall be. Before ever they existed, he established their whole design, and when as ordained for them, they came into being, it is in accord with his glorious design that they fulfil their work. The laws of all things are unchanging in his hands, and he provides them with all their needs. He has created humanity to govern the world, and has appointed for them two spirits in which to walk until the time of his visitation: the spirits of truth and falsehood. Those born of truth spring from a fountain of light, but those born of falsehood spring from a source of darkness. All the children of righteousness are ruled by the Prince of Light and walk in the ways of light; but all the children of falsehood are ruled by the Angel of Darkness and walk in the ways of darkness" (1QS 3:13–21).

This conflict between light and darkness will soon be brought to its end at the judgment. Consequently, persons are called to separate themselves from others who are

walking in darkness: "They shall separate from the congregation of people of falsehood and shall unite with respect to the Law and possessions, under the authority of the sons of Zadok, the Priests who keep the Covenant, and of the multitude of persons of the community who hold fast to the Covenant" (1QS 5:1–3). Isaiah's summons to prepare a path for the Lord in the wilderness was being realized in this community: "This (the path) is the study of the Torah which he commanded by the hand of Moses, that they may do all that has been revealed from age to age, and as the prophets have revealed by his Holy Spirit" (1QS 8:12–17). Despite their withdrawal to create a new community of obedience, purity, and holiness, the lists of virtues and vices found in the community rule might be shared with any moral teacher of the time: "spirit of humility, patience, abundant charity, unending goodness, understanding, intelligence . . . greed, slackness and pride, falseness and deceit, cruelty and abundant evil, ill-temper and much folly and brazen insolence, abominable deeds in a spirit of lust and ways of lewdness in the service of uncleanness, a blaspheming tongue, blindness of eye and dullness of ear, stiffness of neck and heaviness of heart . . ." (1QS 4:3–11).

Such lists indicate there was widespread agreement about the type of behavior that was considered "good" even between groups which disagreed about how persons came to lead a virtuous life. The Essene requires life in a strictly ordered community devoted to study of the Torah. The philosopher requires a life of reasoned analysis and self-control. For the Essene, the urgent imperative behind the moral ordering of human life lies in the impending judgment by God. For the philosopher, however, the moral life itself renders a person like the gods: "Therefore as God, through the possession of these virtues, is unconquered by pleasure or greed; is superior to desire or envy, and jealousy; is high-minded, beneficent and kindly (for such is our conception of God), so also a human being in the image of Him, when living in accord with nature, should be thought of as being like Him, and being like Him, being enviable; and, being enviable, he would forthwith be happy, for we envy none but the happy" (Musonius Rufus, Fr. 17; Meeks 1986: 47).

A sense of cultural agreement about the norms of ethical behavior can be grounded in the Stoic view of "reason as operative in nature" or in the Jewish vision of all creation existing under the sovereign rule of God. Such agreement makes it possible for preachers from one school to appeal to common views accepted by their hearers and even to adopt ethical arguments from other groups. The combination of a Platonic view of the soul's progress toward a vision of the divine and an ethic that is shaped by a Stoic understanding of reason and the passions such as we find in Philo is not uncommon in this period. Christians presume that their decent behavior will influence outsiders (1 Pet 2:12). Conscience enforced common moral norms by castigating the wicked with inward pain (Wis 17:11; *T. Reu.* 4:2–4). The self-scrutiny that was part of an education in the moral life might intensify the warnings of conscience. Philo treats the Sabbath rest as an occasion for such self-analysis: ". . . a seventh day holy, abstaining from other work that has to do with earning a living, and giving their time the one sole object of philosophy with a view to the improvement of character and submission to the scrutiny of conscience. Conscience, established in the soul like a judge, is never abashed in administering reproofs, sometimes employing sharper threats, sometimes gentler admonitions, to guard against a similar lapse in the future, when the misconduct seemed unintentional and the result of want of caution" (*Op.* 128). Paul can argue that the harsh accusations of their "weak conscience" might cause Christians eating meat that has been used in an idol sacrifice to lose their new faith, even though eating such meat in a nonritual context is not an offense against the Lord (1 Cor 8:1–13).

B. Sources of NT Ethics

The NT does not have to create legal or ethical structures to guide the lives of persons. We do not find in its pages a legal interpreter and community founder like the Essene Teacher of Righteousness. Nor do we find there a philosophic rendering of the Torah as in Philo. We are not told how to govern cities or what sort of education is required if the soul is to progress in virtue. However, most of the NT is concerned with ethical exhortation. Its readers are being admonished to live in a way that will be pleasing to a God who stands in judgment on human activity (Matt 7:24–27; 1 Thess 1:10; 3:12–4:1). Conversion to Christianity can be described in terms of the moral reform and conquest of passions advocated by philosophers (1 Pet 4:2–5).

Since the God who judges human conduct is the one who has spoken through the Scriptures, they remain a guide to how human conduct is evaluated by God even though the Christian community is not devoted to Torah observance (Matt 5:17–20; Jas 2:8–13). Its stories served as *exempla* in ethical exhortation (1 Cor 10:1–13; Heb 12:14–17; 1 Pet 3:5–6). The Synoptic Gospels represent Jesus' conflicts with the Pharisees over interpreting the Law as reflecting a higher standard of obedience to God's will than that made possible through the interpretations of the Law advocated by the scribes and Pharisees (Mark 7:1–13; 10:2–12). In some instances, such as the critique of the Pharisees for "manipulating" the Torah to adjust to human concerns rather than the will of God, Jesus' remarks parallel those of the Essenes, who also argue that the immediacy of God's judgment requires a higher standard of human obedience. However, neither Jesus nor his disciples engage in the sustained study and interpretation of the Law which form the basis of that radical obedience among the Essenes.

Unlike the scribes and Pharisees, who gathered students around interpretation of the Torah, Jesus summons disciples from the populace at large (Mark 1:16–20; 2:13–14). His preaching is directed to the people as a whole rather than to persons who will become specialists in the Torah. He uses parables and proverbial sayings (Luke 6:39, 40) which are similar to the use of parable and proverb in Jewish wisdom traditions (Luke 14:34–35 and Job 6:6). Sayings about worthless servants were frequently used in exhortation (Luke 17:7–10 and *m. Abot* 1:3: "Be not like slaves that serve the master for the sake of receiving a bounty; be like slaves that serve the master not for the sake of receiving a bounty but let the fear of heaven be upon you"; and maxims on the treatment of servants such as Sir

33:24, 31). Some of Jesus' sayings have the pragmatic character of wisdom exhortations which seek to instruct one on how to get along in the conflicts with others that make up human life (Sir 8:2; Matt 5:25–26).

Other parables and sayings carry the overtones of apocalyptic warning. The present generation must repent before God's judgment comes. Yet most people will remain deluded by evil and fail to respond to the prophetic warning. Instead they malign God's messengers (Matt 11:16–19, 20–24; 12:33–37, 38–42). Just as the Hebrew prophets castigated the priests for leading people away from justice and bringing certain condemnation on the nation (Jer 5:30–31), Jesus contends with the Pharisees, who are pictured as "blind guides" (Matt 15:10–13). God uproots the unfaithful vine (Isa 5:1–7) or throws out the wicked vineyard tenants who hope to profit by rejecting God's messengers (Matt 21:33–44). Divine judgment plays a role in ethical exhortation in the NT. Faithful Christians are assured of reward or vindication for their suffering when the Lord comes (1 Thess 4:13–18; Phil 3:8–11; 1 Pet 1:3–9; Rev 6:9–11; 21:1–8). They are exhorted to continue lives of virtue, worship of God, and mutual love in view of the coming judgment (1 Thess 5:1–24; Phil 3:12–21; 1 Cor 7:25–31; Eph 5:6–20; Heb 10:19–31; 12:14–29; Rev 2:1–3:22). Those who remain under the domination of sin or who have been enemies of the Christian message will be condemned at the judgment (e.g., 1 Thess 2:14–16; Rom 1:18–2:16; Phil 3:18–19; Jas 5:1–7; Rev 19:1–4, 11–21; 20:11–15).

Jewish apocalyptic writing also contributed to the picture of human bondage to sin and the renewing activity of God's spirit necessary to break free of an evil age that appears in the NT. *1 Enoch* 6–36 contains mythic traditions which appear to have developed in the last two centuries B.C.E. Evil came to dominate the world when the fallen angels of Genesis 6 seduced human women. The angels taught them magical, medicinal, and cosmetic arts that led to deception. They are the cause of passion and sexual immorality. The offspring of this polluted union, the giants of Genesis 6, are the cause of bloodshed, violence, and oppression. Until God eradicates the offspring of this evil from the earth, righteousness and truth cannot flourish (*1 En.* 10:8–22). The whole earth is corrupted and suffers the effects of sin (Rom 8:19–25). The righteous see their suffering as part of the experience of living in a world dominated by sin. When the Lord has cleansed and purified the earth, human toil and anguish will come to an end. A time of abundant harvest will ensue: "And in those days the whole earth will be worked in righteousness . . . and every seed that is sown on her, one measure will yield a thousand. And you cleanse the earth from all injustice, and from all defilement and from all oppression, and from all sin and from all iniquity. . . . And all the children of the people will become righteous, and all nations shall worship and bless me; . . . And the earth shall be cleansed from all pollutions and from all sin and from all plague, and from all suffering; and it shall not happen again that I shall send [these] upon the earth" (*1 En.* 10:17–22).

The moral problem of living in such a world is encouraging the righteous minority to persevere. Life may be described as a choice between two spirits (as in the passage from 1QS 3 above) or as a choice between walking in one of the two ways, righteousness or wickedness, life or death (*1 En.* 94:1–5; Matt 7:13–14; Rom 8:1–8). Woes against the wicked and blessings pronounced on the righteous serve to consolidate such teaching (*1 En.* 94:6–9; 96:1–97:10; 98:9–99:2, 11–16). The apocalyptic view of evil, its demonic embodiment and the cosmic dimensions of its corruption, carries with it two convictions about the possibilities for establishing justice. First, in the world as it exists righteous persons will always be a minority whose lives seem irrational to the wicked. Even the righteous could not persevere without God's help. Second, cleansing the earth of injustice requires God's intervention. The righteous may establish sectarian groups in which they are able to pursue justice, but no human efforts can overcome the pervasive effects of evil. Apocalypses frequently presume that the "last days" in which the addresses are living will be characterized by particularly violent outbursts of evil aimed at destroying the righteous (*1 En.* 100:1–6; Mark 13:5–8, 14–23; Rev 13:11–18). The disorder of the world is too great for human reasoning to advance any claims to discovering the truth (*1 Enoch* 42; Rom 1:18–31).

When the NT adopts the rhetorical forms and content of Greco-Roman philosophical ethic, it does so within the framework of biblical and apocalyptic images of salvation which negate a central claim of the philosopher-preacher. Human reason properly schooled by philosophic conversion is not the source of happiness, justice, or truth. The "renewal of mind" (Rom 12:2) which makes Christian ethical exhortation possible comes through God's saving activity.

However, the general moral consensus of the Greco-Roman world does enable NT writers to draw on ethical material from popular philosophic preaching. For some, the gospel picture of Jesus accompanied by a band of disciples as he wandered from town to town preaching his message would easily be assimilated to that of wandering Cynic philosophers. Paul also makes use of Cynic themes in picturing his own missionary efforts. Like Paul, itinerant philosophers could well emerge from the artisan class, who abandoned their trades to take up the philosopher's cloak. The philosopher is "God's gift" to awaken humanity. A true philosopher will speak boldly even when afflicted rather than flatter the audience. A philosopher might warn the audience of the hardships faced in adopting the philosophic life. The Cynics were well known for their opposition to the conventions of a society which cares only for its own pleasures and remains blind to the pains which stem from their pursuit (1 Thess 2:1–12; Malherbe 1987).

Other elements in early Christian preaching would have reminded the audience of Epicurean circles. Christians formed small groups which met in private households, spoke of one another in affective terminology (more usually with kinship terms like "brother" and "sister" than the Epicurean "friends"), and engaged in mutual exhortation. Paul also commends a quietist withdrawal from the world of public affairs (1 Thess 4:11–12). Paul may have been sufficiently sensitive to the criticisms of philosophic withdrawal to insist that the Christians whose "retirement" involved continuing their trades would gain the respect of outsiders. Instead of using Epicurus' description of the philosopher as "self-taught," Paul has apparently coined

the neologism "taught-by-God" (1 Thess 4:9; Malherbe 1987: 96–106).

Other elements of form and content found in the NT have counterparts in popular philosophic literature. Philosophers of all schools write epistles which advise addressees on moral topics. Lists of virtues and vices as well as summaries of philosophic teaching and collections of gnomic sayings are common forms of instruction. Similar to the short philosophic saying *(gnome)*, the *chreia* was an instructive anecdote illustrating the teaching of a particular philosopher. Many of the controversy stories in the gospels can be assimilated to this pattern (Luke 12:13–14; 17:20–21; 21:1–4). The summaries of the duties of members of the household, "household codes" (Ger *Haustafeln*), in Col 3:18–4:1, Eph 5:21–6:4, and 1 Pet 2:18–3:7, are comparable to philosophic descriptions of a person's duties: ". . . how a man must bear himself in his relations with the gods, with his parents, with his elders, with the laws, with strangers . . . that one ought to reverence the gods, to honor one's parents, to respect one's elders, to be obedient to the laws, to yield to those in authority, to love one's friends, to be chaste with women, to be affectionate with children, and not to be overbearing with slaves" (Plutarch, *On The Education of Children* 7DE; Malherbe 1986: 31). Philosophic exhortation frequently dealt at length with duties toward relatives, diverse responsibilities of men and women in the household, and the management of households generally (Malherbe 1986: 96–104). See also HOUSEHOLD CODES; HAUSTAFELN.

The diatribe style of popular philosophic instruction appears in Paul's letters and in James. Supposed questions or interjections of a questioner (1 Cor 15:35; Rom 4:1; 6:1; 9:19; Jas 2:18) serve to advance the argument. Ironic or satirical remarks also form part of the dialogue style of such preaching (1 Cor 4:8; 2 Cor 11:1; Gal 5:12); or the author may point to common assumptions which the audience should accept (Rom 6:16; 1 Cor 3:16; 6:15; 9:24). Some scholars have even argued that Paul shaped entire letters according to the conventions of Hellenistic rhetoric. Galatians has been described as an "apologetic letter" (Betz, *Galatians* Hermeneia, 14–28); Philemon as an intercessory epistle (Stowers 1986: 51–57; 155).

C. Approaches to NT Ethics

The NT draws upon the diverse resources of its cultural context. Its ethical exhortation cannot be described as the formal development of a particular line of biblical tradition such as a school of legal interpretation. Nor does it fit the mold of a philosophic teacher who expounds the doctrines of a particular school as did Epictetus. Outside the gospels, the teachings of Jesus are only occasionally introduced as explicit warrants for particular actions. The authors of the epistles and Revelation did not present themselves as disciples building upon the teaching of Jesus. Most of the ethical material in the NT has parallels in other writings of the period. The content of NT ethical teaching cannot be described as innovative; nor do NT authors claim uniqueness for their teaching.

Ethical exhortation in the NT fits the pattern of "occasional" treatment of particular themes that is typical of ethical teaching as we find it in the prophets, Wisdom Literature, Jewish apocalyptic as well as philosophic moralists. Unlike the latter, NT writers do not engage in extensive rational arguments for the positions that are advanced on particular issues. Warrants for a given statement may include Scripture, common opinion, usual practice, or the exemplary behavior of Jesus or Paul. Diversity in its sources, lack of systematization in its argument, and ambiguity about the weight attached to the warrants for concrete ethical recommendations make the NT difficult to use as the basis for a synthesis of Christian moral philosophy. A descriptive approach to NT ethics traces the sources, particular themes, and dominant perspectives of individual NT writers or schools. One may also attempt to trace recurring themes in several strands of the NT. Both approaches will be followed in this article.

Most NT writings presume that God's salvation in Jesus makes it possible for those addressed to lead lives worthy of the Lord. They also presume that individuals are members of Christian communities in which mutual exhortation takes place. Ethics is not pursued as an independent topic whose conclusions must recommend themselves to persons who are not part of a religious association which worships God and acknowledges Jesus as Lord. Since NT writers share a soteriological conviction that the decisive salvation humans expect from God has already been realized in Jesus, their rendering of apocalyptic motifs includes the view that the domination of evil powers over the cosmos has already been shattered by the exaltation of the risen Lord to God's throne (Phil 2:6–11; Rev 1:5–20). Matt 28:16–20 invokes the authority of the exalted Lord as the basis for a universal preaching of his teaching. The NT claims general applicability for its ethical exhortation on the basis of what God has done in Jesus, not on the basis of the particular examples of moral teaching used to describe what "walking in the Spirit" or "entering the kingdom of God" requires of persons and communities.

Since NT exhortation follows upon God's eschatological salvation in Christ, its demands upon human action presume that those addressed have been freed from bondage to sin, slavery to passions, and the other handicaps which mar human life in the "present evil age." Its writers do not calculate their advice on the basis of what "weak" and "corrupted" humans might be asked to achieve. Forgiveness of sin has already set persons in a new relationship with God. They are expected to achieve a life which expresses that reality. At the same time, the ongoing process of communal exhortation, forgiveness, and reconciliation (Matt 18:15–35; Gal 6:1–5; Rom 12:14–18; 14:10–15:13; Jas 4:11–12; 5:16, 19–20) shows that transformation of persons presented a continuing process of moral conversion. Early Christians were no more able to generate immediate and stable adhesion to virtue than their philosopher counterparts. However, their religious understanding of salvation and divine judgment provided a more pressing call addressed to a wider range of persons than one finds among those converted to the philosophic life of virtue.

Attempts to divorce NT ethics from its context and the particularity of its treatment of ethical topics usually result in generalities which fail to describe the data. Four approaches to systematizing NT ethics are commonly attempted (Longenecker 1984).

1. Christian "Code." The NT contains passages which

are prescriptive, such as the command to love God and neighbor (Mark 12:29–31), to honor one's parents (Mark 7:10), or to reject divorce (Mark 10:7–8). One cannot object that such demands are "too difficult," since God's will establishes the norms for human obedience. This approach would make the task of NT ethics one of formulating other commands and ordinances which ought to govern the lives of Christians. However, the NT writers never treat prescriptive statements as part of a legal code that is to be elaborated, interpreted, and reapplied. Such involvement with "the Law" seems to be rendered inappropriate by the conviction that Christians live from a standard of righteousness that exceeds anything which could be formulated in legal terms (Matt 5:20; Gal 5:22–23).

2. Universal Principles. The NT contains passages which claim to summarize all that is required by the Law in terms of love and mercy (Matt 5:43–48; 22:34–40; John 13:34–35; Gal 5:14; Jas 2:8). It also affirms an equality of treatment for all persons based on their status as children of God, who loves all equally (Matt 5:43–48; 18:10–14; Luke 15:1–2, 11–32; 1 Cor 8:11–12; Rom 14:1–11). No one is excluded from God's salvation. Jesus' fellowship with sinners and other marginal persons demonstrates the universality of God's love. Such passages are then used to advance general principles which are said to be the normative core of a Christian ethic: (a) God's love for all persons as the basis of their human dignity and equality; (b) the "unity" of all persons as brothers and sisters before God; (c) the claim which all persons have to our love, assistance, and concern. Liberation theologies, which often begin with the image of God as liberator of the oppressed in Exodus, advocate a reading of the "love command" as an option for the liberation of the poor and oppressed.

The various versions of a "universal principles" approach assume that the "specifics" of NT exhortation merely exemplify the general principles. Only the latter translate into binding obligations for Christian action today. In order to maintain the specifically religious context of NT ethics, this approach has to involve the "motivating power" of its appeal to God. Otherwise its principles are indistinguishable from a philosophic humanism or a liberation praxis based on critical philosophy.

3. Encounter with the Living God. NT exhortation flows from a conviction that salvation has been given to humans. God's forgiving word is prior to the moral efforts of human beings, all of whom stand in need of God's righteousness in Christ (Rom 3:9–21). Therefore it is not possible to formalize NT ethics in particular rules or principles. The Christian life of love and service represents a response to the love and forgiveness received in the saving encounter with God. God's free gift of righteousness is matched by an equally free giving of oneself in service and love (Gal 5:1–14; Rom 6:1–14). While this approach preserves the religious emphasis of the NT on conversion and God's free gift of salvation, it negates the obvious need of Christian communities for concrete expressions of what the Lord requires of human beings.

4. Contextual Response in Love. Ethical exhortation in the NT is primarily concerned with relationships between persons. The basic characteristics of such relationships are described in terms of love, reconciliation, humility, placing the needs of another above one's own interests (Phil 2:1–5; Col 3:5–14; Acts 4:32–37). Exhortations to love, service, overcoming hostile behavior and words, impartiality, and the like in the NT epistles are all ways of discerning what the example of God's love in Christ requires for a specific situation. Christians today should emphasize building up communities in which such relationships are the norm. But specific actions cannot be mandated in advance. Christians must discern the appropriate, loving response in each particular context. This approach emphasizes the communal concerns of NT ethics and the self-sacrificing character of love. As such, it challenges the modern preoccupation with individuals asserting their rights in competition with the claims of other individuals. However, if the NT contains only "tactical examples" of how Christians responded in love in the past, then love remains indeterminate. It is not clear how Christians might respond to situations in which none of the options can be described as the expression of love.

D. Jesus and the Synoptic Gospels

The moral urgency of NT exhortation follows from the religious conviction that in Jesus God's eschatological act of salvation has begun. The teaching of Jesus was not preserved as an ethical or legal system. It served as an indication of what is required of those who would be Jesus' disciples, persons who acknowledge the risen Jesus as Lord and anticipate their own participation in that exaltation at the judgment (Matt 19:28–30; Phil 3:20–21; Rev 3:21–22). Before the mission to the gentiles created the form of Christianity which would dominate the movement, household communities of the Greco-Roman cities, Jesus' movement would have been viewed as a Jewish sect devoted to the renewal of Israel and claiming the risen Jesus as God's Messiah. Jesus had summoned persons to repent in light of the impending reign of God (Mark 1:15). Repentance implied breaking with the status quo of the everyday world of human behavior. Without a radical change in one's orientation, a person could not be saved (Luke 13:3–5). As the Synoptics incorporate traditions of Jesus' sayings and deeds into a narrative of his life, they also adapt this tradition of radical discipleship to the settings of largely gentile communities in a Greco-Roman milieu. (John does not preserve any ethical teaching of Jesus except the command to mutual love and service among members of the group; e.g., John 13:12–16, 34–35.)

1. Jesus' Preaching of the Kingdom. Jesus proclaimed that the power of God's reign was already breaking into human experience (Matt 12:28; Luke 17:20). His exorcisms are a manifestation of the liberating power of God overthrowing that of Satan (Mark 3:27; Luke 10:18; 11:20). Jesus' seed parables announce the time of unexpected, "toil-free" harvest and rejoicing that marks God's salvation (Mark 4:3–9, 26–29, 30–32; compare *1 En.* 10:17–22 above). Unlike many Jewish apocalypses, Jesus' preaching does not envisage a "gap" between his ministry and the manifestation of God's rule (Mark 9:1; Luke 10:18) which would lead the "righteous" to speculate about "when" the end would come (Mark 13:22; Luke 17:20). Joyous reception of the reign of God (Matt 13:44–46) makes righteousness more than an effort against the evils of a world doomed to destruction. Jesus' disciples are to live as persons who experience the renewing power of

God. Forgiveness and mercy are characteristics of God's power and its expression in the ministry of Jesus to those who are marginalized and oppressed. Forgiveness becomes a standard of the disciple's own standing before God (Matt 6:14–15; 7:1–2; 18:21–22, 23–34).

From this perspective, Jesus criticizes his contemporaries' Torah interpretation. The rules and distinctions associated with applying the Torah to the activities of persons, such as what constitutes permitted activity on the Sabbath (Mark 3:1–6), valid grounds for divorce (Matt 19:3–10), purity or impurity in food preparation (Mark 7:2–8), a binding oath (Matt 5:33–37), products on which one must pay tithes (Matt 23:23–24) or required provision for aging parents (7:9–13), are all so many diversions from the radical conversion of heart which expresses itself in realizing the true intention of the Torah (Matt 5:21–48; Mark 7:20–23). A number of Jesus' sayings and parables reject the economic arrangements of debt repayment which kept the tenant farmers obligated to wealthy landlords or those from whom they had to buy grain and which made it possible for the creditors to avoid the Torah's own provisions for debt relief and return of land to those whom God had settled there (Leviticus 25; the steward in Luke 16:1–8 provides a negative example of "the system"). One is to lend without demanding repayment (Matt 5:42). Forgiving debts is a condition of receiving God's forgiveness (Matt 6:12; 18:23–34). Jesus' preaching does not attack the Torah as God's expression of justice. It condemns the application and manipulation of the Torah to make it fit the conditions of a world marred by sin.

Other sayings of Jesus represent the radical nature of discipleship by asking people to break with customs which all societies hold sacrosanct, such as the obligation to bury one's parents (Luke 9:59–60). The usual requirements of hospitality to a guest (Luke 10:38–42) and even family ties themselves (Mark 3:31–35) may be suspended in light of the reign of God. The gospels also express the negative or incredulous response of disciples to Jesus' demands. Disciples are reassured that they can put aside anxieties about day-to-day sustenance and rely on God to provide (Matt 6:11, 25–34; 10:16–31). The possibility of such a life depends upon God's power, not upon calculation of human potential (Matt 19:10–11, 16–30).

Many of these sayings suggest that one can only be a disciple of Jesus by breaking with all the normal preoccupations and relationships of society. Such behavior makes Jesus and his band of followers appear much like the Cynic preachers encountered in the Greco-Roman cities (Mark 6:8–11). Some exegetes presume that the earliest Jesus movement represented a symbiosis of radical, itinerant preachers and sympathetic peasant villagers who gave them shelter and responded to their message of God's coming renewal but did not become wandering disciples (Theissen 1978). Others think that the gospel writers created a picture of Jesus as wandering teacher by assimilating the traditions handed down about Jesus to the Cynic model. The relationship between itinerant Christian preachers and those to whom they preached as well as the obligations of villager disciples remain unrecoverable (see Meeks 1986: 106–8). Exegetes committed to uncovering the warrants for liberation theology in the Jesus movements insist that it is the "renunciation" which has been added "from above" by later tradition. Jesus and his disciples emerge from a disenfranchised peasantry in which possible homelessness, hunger, debt servitude, abusive treatment by social superiors whether Jews or Romans, were all part of the crushing realities of life. They might be imprisoned and embittered by the attitudes engendered by their experience (Matt 20:1–15), but they are not implicated in the system (Horsley and Hanson 1985; Schottroff and Stegemann 1986).

2. Mark: Suffering Discipleship. Mark emphasizes Jesus' summons to discipleship (1:16–20; 2:14; 3:13; 8:34; 10:52). The shape of discipleship emerges as the reader learns that the Jesus who appeared as an authoritative teacher (1:27–28; 2:10) and miracle worker (1:32–34; 4:41) has come to suffer and serve (8:31–33). Discipleship requires that Jesus' followers show the same willingness to suffer (8:34–38). References to suffering (Mark 13:9–13) and the need to persevere in times of tribulation (Mark 4:17) suggest that discipleship patterned on the cross emerges from a community which is endangered by persecution. Those attracted by the powerful teaching and miracles of Jesus must learn the harsh lessons of suffering. As the narrative progresses, Jesus' closest disciples prove fearful and hardhearted (4:40; 6:50–51; 8:32–33; 9:32; 10:32; 14:50; 16:8a), while he carries out his entire ministry under the hostile eye of authorities who are seeking to destroy him (3:6; 8:15; 12:13; 14:1–2). Judas' betrayal plays into their hands (14:10–11), but it also enables Jesus to accomplish his mission, offering his life as "ransom for many" (10:45).

Mark 13:5–6, 21–22 warns Christians against responding to the sufferings they experience (13:9–13) by following prophetic figures who might claim Jesus' name or authority. Mark may have in view the prophetic figures active in the turmoil of the Jewish revolt against Rome (66–70 C.E.). The only route to "greatness" lies in suffering as Jesus has done. Power and greatness as exercised by rulers of the nations are rejected (10:35–44). Herod's execution of John the Baptist serves as advance warning of what one might expect from earthly kings (6:17–29). Along with rejection of the desire for power in social terms, Christians are also exhorted to adopt the place of those who count for nothing in Jesus' world, children (10:13–16). The story of the rich man serves as a sad lesson that wealth may keep even a good person from renouncing self to enter the reign of God (10:17–27). Had the rich man been willing to renounce his possession, he would have been able to enter the community of disciples (10:28–31).

3. Matthew: Jesus' Higher Righteousness. Matthew includes the most famous epitome of Jesus' teaching, the Sermon on the Mount (5:1–7:29). The risen Lord commands his disciples to carry this teaching to the nations (28:16–20) and thus removes the earlier restriction of Jesus' ministry to seeking and saving the "lost sheep" of the house of Israel (10:5–6). The gospel has to make its case for Jesus' "greater righteousness" (5:20) on several fronts. Some have adopted an "antinomian" stand. For these deceptive prophets Christianity is a matter of miraculous powers and confessing the name of Jesus without leading a life that bears "fruit" in one's actions (7:15–23). Consequently, Jesus' coming in judgment will mean sorting out the chaff and wheat that have grown up together

within the Christian community (13:36–43; 22:11–14). Others are overly influenced by the teachings and practices of the Pharisees and may even be seeking to establish a form of "Christian Pharisee" within the Church. Matthew counters that threat by intensifying the traditional tensions between Jesus and the Pharisees into bitter accusations against the Jewish teachers for being hypocrites, who only seek to place heavy burdens on the backs of the people and to advance their own honor and glory (6:1–6, 16–18; 23:1–36).

Matthew carefully avoids the dangers of Christian Pharisaism by insisting that Jesus' "yoke" (an expression used of obedience to the Torah) is a light burden (11:28–30). It focuses on what really counts in the Torah: justice, mercy, and faithfulness (23:23). The Christian who follows Jesus' righteousness recognizes that it comes from the "suffering servant" who bears the spirit of God in order to make God's justice victorious among the nations (12:15–21).

The Sermon on the Mount begins with a series of beatitudes (5:3–12). Wisdom traditions used the form "Happy are . . ." to designate the blessings which could be expected by wise and pious persons in life (Psalm 1). Apocalyptic writers contrasted the punishments awaiting the wicked who prosper in this life with the reversal of fortunes that judgment would bring to the righteous (as in Luke 6:20–26). Here the beatitudes express both the situation and the character of Jesus' true disciples. "Poor in spirit" suggests the *ʿanawîm*, "lowly ones," of Hebrew piety (5:3). Mourning, hungering and thirsting for righteousness, and even persecution on its account (vv 4, 6, 10) can also describe the righteous who seek to do God's will in an evil age. Other beatitudes suggest more active traits of character which Matthew may have formulated with Scripture passages in view: mercy (Mic 6:8); meekness (= humility; Ps 37:11); purity of heart (= single-minded devotion to God, not hypocritical; Ps 24:3–4); peacemaking (Ps 34:14; also the effect of God's salvation, Zech 9:9–10). Matt 5:11–12 warns disciples that they must expect to be reviled and persecuted for Jesus' sake. Thus the beatitudes are not simply ethical traits that anyone might cultivate. They represent a new community of discipleship that is coming into being through Jesus.

Matt 5:13–16 makes it clear that the faithfulness of that community is not an indifferent matter. As a light to the nations (Isa 9:1–2), the community continues Jesus' mission. Its exemplary conduct is responsible for bringing the world to acknowledge God. Matt 5:17–20 sets the agenda for what follows. Jesus will make possible a righteousness that does not negate the Torah but brings it to its completion. The epitome of this righteousness which is to follow has been shaped by antitheses and contrasts which indicate the superiority of Christian discipleship to the obedience taught by the scribes and Pharisees. The antitheses which follow do not imply that Jesus rejects the Torah or the formal practices of piety such as prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. Nor do the sayings which follow establish a new Christian legalism. They specify what single-minded devotion to God implies by using concrete examples that contrast acceptable but "old" forms of righteousness with the new discipleship.

Matt 5:21–48 expresses the contrast by gathering sayings of Jesus together in six antitheses. Christians not only avoid murder, they reject anger and hostile words; seek reconciliation with persons they have offended as more important than an act of sacrifice; and adopt the prudent policy of settling disputes before they come into courts (vv 21–26). Christians not only avoid adultery, they root out the lusts of eye and body which provoke it (vv 27–30). Christians will not avail themselves of the Torah's permission for husbands to divorce their wives except in the extreme case of a marriage which involves sexual immorality (vv 31–32). Christians do not require that their word be backed up by the legal apparatus of oaths (vv 33–36). Even more remarkable, Christians do not seek to protect themselves against abuse by others even when the Law permits them some recourse (vv 38–42). Their extraordinary behavior expresses the love which God shows toward all, since it implies loving enemies as well as friends (vv 43–48).

Matt 6:1–18 turns from "love of neighbor," now expanded to love of enemy, to "love of God" as it is expressed in the fundamental expressions of piety: prayer, almsgiving, and fasting. Here the element of "higher righteousness" finds expression in the distinction between behavior which is seen and applauded by others and that which is known only to the individual and God. But Christians are also reminded of two other attributes of their relationship to God which have a bearing on their general conduct. Trust in God to provide the bread needed for one's survival (6:11) makes it possible to overcome the anxieties about material goods which can destroy the life of discipleship (6:19–21, 24, 25–34; 7:7–11). The mercy and forgiveness which disciples expect from God require that they show the same mercy to others (6:12, 14–15; 7:1–5). This emphasis on mercy makes it clear that the holiness required of the Christian community does not require that it become a harsh, perfectionist group, which punishes transgressions. Matt 18:10–35 explains how transgression and forgiveness are to operate within the Church. Only those who are unwilling to accept exhortation and correction from the community are excluded. Otherwise, unlimited forgiveness is the norm. The golden rule (7:12) serves as a conclusion to the section on righteousness. The final section (7:13–27) warns of divisions within the Church, even among those who claim to be teachers. The wise person keeps Jesus' word.

The emphasis on witness to the world (Matt 5:11–16) makes it clear that the "perfection" by which Christians are called to imitate their heavenly Father (5:48) is not simply an individual matter. Nor is it simply oriented toward escaping condemnation in the judgment. This "higher righteousness" has to be proclaimed among the nations. The community itself is the sign of its message about God's righteousness. The parable of the Sheep and the Goats (Matt 25:31–46) suggests that the standard of righteousness expressed in the gospel is ultimately binding on the nations. Some exegetes think that the sufferers aided by the just are identical with the persecuted Christian minority as in Matt 10:40–42. The nations may not be converted by Jesus' preaching, but they will be judged by their response to those who preach God's word. Traditionally, this passage is seen as establishing the basic requirements of social justice for all people. Response to the need of those who are weak and suffering, a response that

forgets all distinctions, is the foundation of God's justice. It is not even necessary that the "just" recognize Christ in those they serve.

4. Luke: Forgiveness and Compassion. The canticles in the Lucan infancy narrative (1:46–55, 68–79; 2:14, 29–32) as well as Jesus' opening sermon (4:16–22) announce that the time of God's salvation is at hand. Salvation is to extend from Jerusalem to the nations. The experience of salvation is frequently presented in the rejoicing of repentant sinners who find forgiveness (5:8; 15:1–6; 19:1–9). God declares the sinner who acknowledges his sin righteous over the Pharisee who takes pride in his piety (18:9–14). Jesus even carries out this ministry of calling sinners back to God while on the cross (23:39–43).

The stories of the early Church in Acts provide a model for the type of Christian community Luke envisages. There we find Christianity established in the households of wealthy patrons in different cities. Such persons are not poor or hungry. Though the apostles suffer persecution for preaching, their local patrons only do so occasionally (Jason in Thessalonica, Acts 17:5). The lesson which these persons must learn is one of compassion and generosity, since they are called upon to support the weak and poor members of the community (Acts 4:32–5:11). Some resistance to the early Christian mission stems from its interference with money earned from idolatrous religious activities (Acts 16:19; 19:23–25). Not surprisingly, Luke 16:14–15 identifies excessive love of money as the primary vice of Jesus' Pharisee opponents. The dramatic parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (16:19–30) illustrates the fate which awaits the wealthy who do not give alms to the poor at their doorstep. Paul tells the Ephesian elders that Christians are to work to meet not only their own needs but those of others (Acts 20:34–35).

When Luke describes forgiveness and love of enemies, he emphasizes compassion as the attitude which motivates persons. Those who love their enemies exemplify God's mercy (6:35–36). Compassion motivates the father to welcome back the prodigal son with joy (15:20). Compassion also moves the Good Samaritan to care for the Jew who had been beaten even though the two groups were deadly enemies (10:33). Christians are expected to act like the Samaritan (10:37).

Luke sets the emergence of the Christian movement on the stage of "world history." Jesus represents true peace in contrast to the promises of the emperor Augustus (2:1, 14). The activities of its apostles are public and well known to governing officials (Acts 26:26). Both Jesus and the apostles are tried before Jewish and Roman officials where, despite abusive treatment suffered by all prisoners, they often find a more sympathetic hearing than their enemies anticipate (23:13–16; Acts 5:34–42; 24:22–23; 25:13–27; 26:28–32). In other cases, the Lord rescues the apostle from his enemies (Acts 12:6–11; 16:25–39).

Luke's narrative includes the violent and capricious elements of Roman administration: beatings before courts, lengthy imprisonment even when the magistrate is persuaded of an individual's innocence, the sharp difference in treatment of subject peoples and Roman citizens, expectation of bribes for favorable judgment, pressuring judges by the local aristocracy. But the Roman trials in Luke-Acts are more ordered and protective of the apostles than the proceedings of Jewish officials or local magistrates. Therefore, scholars have suggested that Luke has a political perspective which is different from the apocalyptic perspective of passages like Mark 13:9 or 1 Thess 2:14–16 where trial before Jewish and gentile authorities shows their hostility to God. In the apocalyptic perspective, the persecuted anticipate the destruction of such enemies. Luke's narrative suggests that Christianity can coexist within the Roman order. That order may even protect Christians from more abusive exercise of power by local officials incensed at Christian preaching. At the same time, Christians are apparently loyal to the regime. Jesus' parents comply with a census aimed at establishing Judea's subordination through direct Roman rule and taxation (2:1–5). Paul's inherited Roman citizenship, and hence superiority to both his accusers and some of his captors, is emphasized in Acts (16:37–39; 22:25–29; 23:27; 25:10–12, 21, 25; 26:32).

E. Exhortation in the Pauline Tradition

For Paul the ethical life of Christians expresses their new identity as persons who are "in Christ," able to walk in the Spirit (Gal 5:25; Rom 8:1–14). Exhortations to be holy, blameless, pleasing to God (1 Thess 3:13; 4:27; 5:23; 1 Cor 1:8; 7:34; 2 Cor 7:1; Phil 1:9–11; 2:15–16) show the importance of shaping the moral life of local communities. This concern was hardly unique to the Pauline mission since it is evident in the exhortation of 1 Peter and James as well. 1 Thess 4:1–12 contains a brief description of holiness which is similar to that of 1 Pet 1:14–22 and 2:11–12. Both authors presume that conversion to Christianity implied adopting a style of moral life in contrast with the individual's past life as a pagan. This life requires holiness, freedom from sexual immorality, and mutual love. It acknowledges God as the judge of all human action. Both agree that such behavior should commend the respect of outsiders.

Love and nonretaliation in the face of such hostility is common (1 Cor 4:12b–13a; Rom 12:14–18; 1 Thess 5:15; 1 Pet 3:9). Christ can be invoked as the model for the disciple's willingness to endure such suffering (2 Cor 4:8–10; 1 Thess 1:6; 1 Pet 2:18–24; 3:13–18; 4:13–14). The expectation attached to such behavior is not that individuals will actually be martyred but that they will come through the suffering sustained by God's power. Such patient endurance may also ameliorate the hostility and suspicion of the persecutor. In situations where Christians are not being persecuted or abused by masters, love may include meeting physical needs of the enemy or outsider (Rom 12:20; 1 Thess 5:15). It extends to the heart of Christians by insisting that not only do they accept hostility without retaliation, even in the verbal form of cursing, but that they actually speak a word of blessing. Christians seek to "convert" their enemies by active concern for their welfare.

This posture of love, nonretaliation, and willing subjection to authority, which is evident in the "household codes" of the NT, formed a fixed topic in early Christian exhortation. Parallels between Romans and 1 Peter indicate that it was widespread. 1 Pet 2:13–3:12 incorporates "household code" material into the series: (a) Christians show respect for all governing authorities including the em-

peror (2:13–17); (b) Christian slaves are submissive even to cruel masters (2:18–25); (c) Christian wives are to win over their husbands by submissiveness and moderate dress and behavior (3:1–7); (d) Christians are to love one another (3:8); (e) Christians bless those who revile or persecute them (3:9–12). Romans picks up three of these themes: (a) Christians are willing subjects of governing authorities even when subjection involves taxation (13:1–7); (b) Christians love one another (12:9–13, 15–16); (c) Christians love their enemies (12:14, 17–21). Exhortations to Christian wives and slaves to be obedient to those who rule over them appear in Colossians and Ephesians. Christian women are told to dress and behave modestly in 1 Tim 2:9–11.

Comparison with popular philosophic preaching shows these themes to be conventional. The good order of society is maintained by submission and obedience of inferiors to their superiors. Women are to dress and behave modestly, managing affairs within the household while their husbands devote themselves to public business. Such advice was even given by women Pythagorean writers: "The temperate, freeborn woman must live with her legal husband adorned with modesty, clad in neat simple white dress. . . . For the woman who strives for virtue must not have her heart set on expensive clothing but on the management of her household . . . a husband's wishes ought to be an unwritten law to an orderly wife, and she should live by them" (Malherbe 1986: 83). When the Stoic, Musonius Rufus (ca. A.D. 30–101), defends the thesis that women who study philosophy will become just, courageous, and more suitable to govern their households and aid their husbands, he has to answer the charge that such study will only turn women into quarrelsome imitators of men: "some will say that women who associate with philosophers are bound to be arrogant . . . in that abandoning their own households and turning to the company of men they practice speeches, talk like sophists. . . . I should not expect women who study philosophy to shirk their appointed tasks any more than men, but I maintain that their discussions should be conducted for the sake of their practical application" (Musonius Rufus, Fr. 3; Malherbe 1986: 134). Christians clearly adopted the same measures to answer objections to the place of women in their groups: women are more devoted to their appointed roles; instruction of women must involve practical exhortation; women are not permitted to "abandon their households" for the male practices of public teaching and dispute (1 Cor 14:33b–36).

Although the standards of Christian behavior represent a conventional understanding of "good order," the Pauline epistles suggest that they are not simply demonstrations of Christian philosophy. There appear to have been persons who insisted that the new life of walking in the Spirit gave Christians the freedom to break with social conventions. Paul's own preaching that Christians become righteous in Christ and not through the Law could have provided fuel for such efforts (Rom 6:15–23). Some exegetes suggest that the Galatians sought to adopt a form of Christian "Jewishness," with circumcision as its sign, to avoid possible abuses of Christian freedom. Paul's own example of "celibacy" would also suggest a radical rather than a conventional approach. Philosophers concerned for the good order of society, like Musonius, insisted that persons have a duty to marry and raise children. The children are future citizens and the households are necessary to the good of the larger society. The Cynics, on the other hand, argued against marriage. It only binds a person to false values, slavery to sexual pleasure, seeking to please a mate, worrying about money and the like.

1 Corinthians 7 suggests that some Christians even sought to dissolve their marriages. Paul defends marriage as an appropriate expression of sexuality, unlike frequenting the prostitutes of the city, which corrupts a body that should be holy to God (1 Cor 6:12–20). But Paul also defends the superiority of his own style of life for those who can follow it since it permits complete devotion to the Lord. When Paul returned the slave Onesimus to his master, Paul argued that Philemon should receive Onesimus as his "brother in the Lord." He certainly implied that the legal penalties against the runaway should be waived and may even have expected Philemon to free the slave or return him to Paul's mission. But 1 Cor 7:20–24 adopts a more conservative view. Slaves and free persons may be equal as Christians, but the Christian slave should not agitate to change his or her social status. Women have clearly been involved in the mission from the beginning, sometimes with their husbands and sometimes as individuals. They are patrons of communities which meet in their homes and are also involved in preaching the message to others (Rom 16:1–16; Phil 4:2–3; Acts 16:14–15; 18:1–4). However, Paul insists that those who are prophets in the assembly dress in ways which reflect the conventions of a created distinction between male and female rather than their unity in Christ (1 Cor 11:2–16). Exegetes have suggested that the elaborate regulations limiting those who can be enrolled as "widows" (1 Tim 5:3–16) are aimed at curbing the tendency of women to follow Paul's advice and not remarry (1 Cor 7:34–35, 38–40). The requirements for public leaders of the community, "bishops and deacons" (1 Tim 3:1–13), show concern for the acceptability of Christians in the eyes of their neighbors. Propriety is the norm.

Exegetes are divided over the significance of eschatological language in shaping Paul's solutions to specific ethical problems. Obedience to political authority is commanded (Rom 13:1–7). But Paul also asserts that that authority is temporary, the day of the Lord is at hand (13:11–14). Remaining unmarried allows one to devote oneself to the Lord without other concerns. Besides, the time which remains is very short (1 Cor 7:29–31). Both married and unmarried are to conduct themselves with a detachment that is born of the "time" in which they live. Christian freedom and detachment appear to be born of the conviction that one lives between God's salvation in Christ, which permits one to walk in the Spirit now, and the coming of God's judgment, which will overthrow all the structures of the world as we know it. The possibility of living in a way that is free from bondage to sin and passion now is grounded in the Spirit. So are the relationships of mutual love, self-sacrifice, and harmony that are the signs of the Spirit's work in building the Christian community. This new reality makes it possible for Christians to live in holiness without reintroducing the Law and the practices which set Jews apart from the pagan world that sur-

rounded them. But Paul's eschatology also has a conservative side. He often rejects radical attempts to change social conventions.

However, Paul does not always favor the status quo. Although the details of the conflict are difficult to reconstruct (Achtemeier 1987), Gal 2:11–14 alludes to an instance in which Paul opposed an accommodation to Jewish food rules by Peter, Barnabas, and other Christians at Antioch. An earlier meeting in Jerusalem had permitted Paul and others to convert gentiles without imposing any Jewish stipulations on the converts (Gal 2:1–10). If the emissaries from James were insisting that table fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians required that the latter observe the minimal rules reflected in the "apostolic decree" (Acts 15:19–21), then Peter and the others who concurred may have felt this change to be an accommodation to conventional behavior, not an affirmation that the Law is necessary for salvation. Paul's violent reaction makes their withdrawal from table fellowship with those who would not accept the requirements a theological issue. They are not only going back on the earlier agreement about gentile churches, they are denying that Christ is the source of righteousness for all, Jew and gentile.

Elsewhere Paul is quite willing to insist that Christians moderate their freedom to the needs of "weaker" persons. One should refrain from eating idol meat if doing so would scandalize the conscience of a weaker person (1 Cor 8:7–13; 10:23–32). One should avoid disputes over matters like food. Paul would even become a vegetarian if another's faith were at stake (Rom 14:1–15:6). Paul's freedom includes adapting his behavior to whatever will serve to bring others to Christ. He is willing to live like a Jew or like a gentile (1 Cor 9:20). It is clear that Paul had to contend with persons who wanted to introduce the requirements of circumcision, food rules, and Jewish holidays into the gentile churches (Gal 5:2–3, 11–12; 6:12; Phil 3:2–19). Paul's failure to win the Antioch church to his side in the earlier dispute, as well as his uncertain relationships with the Jewish Christian leadership at Jerusalem, served the purposes of his opponents.

Paul's refusal to accommodate conventional behavior in the case of Jewish and gentile Christians emerges from what he sees as a threat to the gospel message. The Torah, even in some minimalist form, is understood to be the principle of salvation, of a right relationship with God, in the Jewish community. But the gospel insists that righteousness is God's gift in Christ which is given to Jew and gentile alike. Paul wishes that his fellow Jews would discover that righteousness (Rom 10:1–4). Any suggestion that requirements of the Torah be imposed on gentile Christians, even for the sake of fellowship with their Jewish brothers and sisters, compromises Paul's message. Some exegetes suggest that this case serves as an analogy for other situations in which Christians find themselves obligated to break with the established views of "good order." When the acceptance of slavery or the exclusion of women from public leadership in the community becomes a scandal to preaching the gospel that all persons have been made righteous before God in Christ, then Christians must demand to support the status quo.

F. Themes in NT Exhortation

Christian life requires obedience to the will of God. Conversion and new life "in Christ" presumes that limits to human action expressed in phrases like "bondage to sin" and "hardness of heart" no longer apply. One does not calculate the likely success of a course of action against the probability that others will be dishonest, abusive, fail to return what is borrowed, or the like. One does not accept the view that what corresponds to the will of God can be specified in concrete, legal form so that what the Law permits defines what is "good" human behavior. The Law is made for those who still live under the domination of sin and hardheartedness (Matt 19:8; Rom 7:7–25; Gal 5:18–24; 1 Tim 1:8–11). Nor is the good defined by philosophical arguments about how humans should govern themselves, their households and cities in order to achieve happiness. Such rational constructions of self and world stand under God's judgment. Christian allegiance to them is tempered by the recognition that they are not the source of justice, salvation, or happiness. They are merely the structures of a transitory world, which many NT authors suggest has already been condemned in God's eyes.

Although it is not possible to systematize the ethical exhortation one finds in the NT, some topics recur in different contexts. Christians from different traditions would have recognized that such topics are essential to the new life of holiness. Common themes include: (1) worship; (2) harmonious relationships within the community, including mutual encouragement and support; (3) sharing wealth; (4) sexual morality; (5) love of enemies and active concern for outsiders; (6) relationship to the larger world and its values.

1. Worship. The obligation to worship God forms the first part of the Decalog as well as the first part of the double love command (Mark 12:28–34). Biblical ethics are not motivated by appeal to human reason or self-interest. Justice, mercy, etc., follow from the person's devotion to God. For gentiles, conversion to Christianity required abandoning the gods and goddesses of family, city, trade association, and empire for the one God. Ethical life can also be characterized as obedience to Jesus, the exalted Son of God. In addition to the obligation to worship God alone, we also find exhortations to participate in communal forms of worship (Eph 5:18–20; Phil 4:6; Col 3:16–17; 1 Thess 5:17–21; 1 Tim 2:1–8; Heb 10:25; 1 Pet 4:7). In some cases tensions within the community created by social divisions of rich and poor or the "divisions" in individual endowment with spiritual gifts require affirmation that all persons in the community are equal before God. Signs of status and divisions between members of the community corrupt its identity (1 Cor 11:17–14:40; Jas 2:1–13).

2. Relationships within the Community. NT writers spend a great deal of time addressing the problems of relationships between Christians. The gospel sayings about mutual forgiveness, reconciliation, and authority as service rather than "lording it over subordinates" already point to such concerns. Vice lists frequently point to anger, envy, malice, conceit, drunkenness, quarreling, and other sins of speech which also corrupt the love which is to exist between Christians (Rom 13:13; Gal 5:19–21; Eph 4:25–32; Col 5:9–10; Jas 3:1–18). Positive forms of speech include the mutual exhortation to virtue which was an ongoing part of Christian life (1 Thess 5:14). The peace-

able ordering of the community requires respect and even financial support for those who are its leaders (1 Thess 5:15; Gal 6:6; 1 Tim 5:17–20).

Christian leaders must also be reminded of their obligations toward others in the community. They must not "despise" persons who may have strayed (Matt 18:10–14). They must treat those whom they instruct with appropriate respect (Gal 6:1–5; 1 Tim 5:1–2; 1 Pet 5:1–4). Christians in general must learn to avoid judging and condemning the conduct of others, since God will be the judge of all conduct (Matt 7:1–5; Rom 14:10–12; Jas 4:12). Humility reflects a willingness to consider others and their needs before one's own (Phil 2:1–5; Jas 1:9). These various examples of relationships between Christians also include the material obligations of Christians to aid those who are poor and afflicted (Jas 1:27), as well as the hospitality which traveling Christians might expect from other communities (Rom 12:13; Phlm 22; Rom 16:1–2). Such actions represent the concrete shape which commands to "love one another" could take in early Christian churches.

3. Sharing Wealth. Though the Jesus movement may have emerged among the rural peasantry which looked on local notables, wealthy landowners, and the aristocracy of Herodian and Roman circles from below, many NT authors presume that their audience includes Christians with sufficient wealth to dispose of it for the good of others in the community. They can be required to cancel debts, to invite the poor rather than wealthy friends to banquets, to provide assets for the community to use in supporting its poor and widows, and to provide the place for the community to meet as well as the food for the Lord's Supper. Such persons might also provide material support for Christian missionaries both in the form of money and perhaps persons to assist the apostle as the Philippians did for Paul (Phil 4:10–20). Though Paul also provided for his needs by laboring at his trade, he acknowledges that Jesus' saying that missionaries should be supported by those among whom they preached (Matt 10:9–11) was generally followed by other apostles (1 Cor 9:1–14).

1 Tim 5:4, 16 prohibits enrolling widows who have children, grandchildren, or other family able to support them. This rule suggests that there may have been some who abused the charity of the community. A similar difficulty must lie behind reports of a dispute between Hebrew and Greek-speaking widows over their distribution in Acts 6:1–6, which Luke treats as the origin of the office of deacon in the Church. Paul's refusal to demand money from those among whom he was actively working (1 Thess 2:8–9; 1 Cor 9:12b–18) led to conflict and suspicion about his ministry in Corinth. Though Paul apparently adopts the view of one group of Cynics that the harsh life of the laborer and refusal to depend on others is a mark of freedom, the Corinthians knew that Paul had received aid from other churches. He was also soliciting contributions from his gentile churches for the poor in Jerusalem (1 Cor 16:1–4). The exact accusations made against Paul are unclear (2 Cor 11:7–11; 12:13–18), but they involved some form of deceit in handling money or representing his financial dealings. Paul claims that his freedom from local support sets him apart from other missionaries, who have made abusive demands for support (2 Cor 11:12, 19–20).

Gal 2:10 claims that the collection for the poor at Jerusalem was part of the agreement Paul had reached with James and the others about the gentile mission. 2 Cor 8:1–9:15 contains appeals for those in Corinth and Achaia to contribute to this collection. Apparently the instructions in 1 Cor 16:1–4 had not been sufficient to complete the process. Paul endeavors to "shame" the addressees by reminding them of the great generosity of the much poorer churches in Macedonia. He also assures them that Titus and other unnamed Christians are going to accompany the collection to Jerusalem. They can testify that the funds are used for their stated purpose (8:19–24). This appeal does not mention the former agreement. Instead, Paul uses a more general topos: those to whom God has given material wealth have an obligation to be generous. Such service is reciprocated by the prayers of those who receive the aid. Concern for reciprocity in giving and receiving was fundamental to the ethos of the ancient world. Luke 14:12–14 argues that Christian charity breaks with the normal patterns of obligation. Normally the recipient was under obligation to his or her wealthy patron to render any services required, or, if the gift were from a social equal, to repay in kind at an unspecified future time. Both Paul and Luke present Christian charity as the obligation of the wealthy to God. As such, it does not create the reciprocal obligations that society attached to such exchanges. Since such gifts are really "to God," a superior, the giver remains under obligation to give. Repayment can only be anticipated from God's side. Rom 15:25–33 anticipates Paul's trip to Rome with the collection with some foreboding. There the rationale for the collection is again inserted into Paul's understanding of his mission among the gentiles. It reflects the debt which gentile Christians owe those at Jerusalem for the spiritual blessings that they have received.

Two elements stand out from the ethos of the ancient world in connection with the collection. First, it establishes the principle that one might have material obligations to aid the poor in a community that is not connected to one's own by any of the usual ties of kinship or ethnic origins. Second, it exemplifies the challenge which Christianity posed to the usual understanding of gift giving and exchange. Gifts to individuals created obligations which might link families together for generations. Gifts to religious cult groups, trade associations, or cities created an obligation for the group to provide appropriate honors for the donor: such as a statue, inscription, or titular honors. By insisting that gifts of wealth are really "owed" to God, the Christian community deprived its wealthy patrons of the possibility of obligating the poor members of a community in return for benefits received.

4. Sexual Morality. Jews frequently associated the idolatry of pagans with sexual immorality. Artistic representations in the baths and houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum show that any form of sexual act between humans as well as acts between humans and animals were regularly depicted. Prostitutes were frequently attached to the baths. Since the baths were used by both sexes, such open displays of diverse sexual acts cannot have been limited to "men only." Though philosopher moralists might have argued against submitting to sexual passion and insist that sex was only appropriate for begetting legitimate children, the sexual mores of the Greco-Roman city were almost as open

as the slogan Paul attributes to the erring Corinthians: "All things are permitted." Restrictions came into play only where the legitimacy of a man's offspring was threatened or where marriage or sexual liaisons violated class lines. A woman who had sex with her slave might be condemned to death. A patroness who sought to marry her freedman was to be prevented from doing so by the court. Other liaisons between freedwomen and slaves were denounced, though not necessarily punished. Freeborn women who cohabited with another's slave against the owner's consent were reduced to slavery. But a daughter still under her father's control was only denounced for union with a slave. Otherwise the parent would suffer for an act of his child.

Within this social context, both Jews and Christians insist that holiness requires a much different standard of sexual morality (Rom 1:24–27). Prohibitions against incest were more extensive than in Roman society. These prohibitions may be the reference of the general word *proneia*, "sexual immorality," in the exception made to Jesus' prohibition of divorce (Matt 5:32). The Essenes claimed that unchastity, wealth, and defiling the sanctuary were the three nets by which Satan traps humans (CD 4:12b–5:14a). Unchastity includes divorcing one's wife and marrying one's niece, which the author argues is equivalent to the explicit prohibition against marrying one's aunt (Lev 18:15). Other versions of the divorce prohibition circulated without the exception (1 Cor 7:10–11). The exception in Matthew's version may be intended to permit new converts to Christianity to dissolve marriages that fell within the forbidden degrees of kinship. Early Christians also adopted the Jewish prohibitions against homosexuality and bestiality, though neither appears outside vice lists. Paul does not envisage the possibility of a Christian spouse separating from a pagan who is willing to continue the marriage, but he does permit Christians whose pagan spouses have divorced them to remarry if they choose.

Since marriage was a contractual agreement that could be dissolved if either party were willing to incur whatever stipulations were stated in the original document, opposition to divorce on religious grounds, whether by sectarian Jews like the Essenes or by Christians, probably struck many persons as peculiar. Paul's primary opposition to divorce in 1 Corinthians 7 comes in conflict over religious motivations, not social or legal customs. The main problems are being created by Christians who think that holiness demands that they refrain from sex altogether (1 Cor 7:1). They wish to divorce, to abstain from sex in marriage, or to avoid contracting a promised marriage in order to realize this ideal. Paul answers by insisting that lifelong marriage to one person is the legitimate expression of human sexuality. It does not subject the individual to the imprisoning passions of lust that are evident in the widespread "sexual immorality" which Christians have been told to flee.

5. Love of Enemies. Love of enemies takes on an important place in early Christian exhortation because Christians frequently found themselves objects of suspicion, persecution, or mockery. Christians who were in a subordinate position to a non-Christian, such as wives or slaves, were particularly vulnerable, since they had little recourse against abusive treatment. But other Christians were also told to reject any form of legal or even verbal retaliation against enemies. Instead, the "enemy" should meet with words of blessing and even kind treatment. Those who remain enemies will suffer God's judgment (Rom 12:19–20). But the general motivation for kind treatment does not seem to be vindictive pleasure in God's wrath. Rather, kindness to an enemy may win the person over. It also demonstrates the superiority of Christians to their enemies, since they are not implicated in the anger or the hostility of the relationship (Rom 12:21). They refuse to be persons who "return evil for evil" (1 Thess 5:15; 1 Pet 3:9; Rom 12:17).

6. Relationship to the World. Christians are in an ambiguous position over against the social world in which they live. Conversion has separated them from the normal religious ties to family, trade association, and city that constitute an ongoing part of life. Their break with old associates and patterns of behavior might lead to scorn or even persecution (1 Pet 4:1–5). They are exhorted to reject values and behavior common in the world around them (Rom 12:2). Yet Christians do not withdraw into an isolated sect. They seek to live "peaceably" or "quietly" within that society (Rom 12:18). Doing so apparently involved demonstrating by one's conduct that generally accepted standards of "good" and "honorable" behavior were practiced among Christians (Rom 12:13; Phil 4:8). Their own practice of doing good to others extended beyond group boundaries (Gal 6:10; 1 Thess 4:15).

Negotiating the inevitable tension between radical renewal which challenges the given realities of the world and accommodation to generally accepted views of good behavior was clearly a problem in NT churches. Resolution of particular instances depended upon the discernment, persuasive or prophetic power of individual Christian teachers and communities. The apocalyptic radicalism of Revelation, for example, posed a prophetic challenge to accommodation in the churches of Asia Minor. Rome is not a power whose order can be accepted, even provisionally, as "good." She is the end-time incarnation of Satan, the great beast, the whore of Babylon who drinks the blood of subject nations, including Christ and faithful martyrs (11:7; 13:1–10; 17).

Christians are warned of "harlotry," possibly participating in religious ceremonies sponsored by the trade guilds of their cities (2:6, 15). Citizens in these cities eagerly supported the cult of Augustan emperors. Revelation warns that the "beast" will compel all the peoples on earth to worship it (13:4, 8, 12; 14:9, 11; 20:4). The wealth of the Laodiceans is condemned by Christ (3:17). The *Sibylline Oracles* (3:350–55; 4:145–48; 8:11–92) castigate Rome for bleeding the provinces of Asia of their wealth and even enslaving its populace. Revelation depicts the collapse of the arrogant Roman Empire (17:4; 18:1–16). Faced with such a mammoth incarnation of evil, the prophet requires that Christians withdraw from participation in the life of the flourishing cities of Asia Minor. The "mark of the beast" is depicted as a parody of Christian sealing of the elect (7:1–8). If the "mark" refers to the imperial image on coinage, then the only way in which Christians could avoid it would be to withdraw from economic activity which involved use of Roman currency (14:9–11).

Other forms of withdrawal may be indicated in praise for the "virgin" martyrs, who are permitted to share in the

first resurrection when Jesus reigns on earth (14:1–5; 20:4). Some exegetes have linked this idea of ascetic purity with the author's use of "priests" for Christians (1:6; 5:10). The Essenes extended rules for priestly holiness to all members of their sect, which had also favored celibacy in some of its groups, and withdrawal from the rest of Judaism, which limited one's economic transactions with those who did not belong to the sect. Only God's heavenly forces can destroy the imperial beast which has polluted and corrupted the world. Faithful Christians must divorce themselves from any entanglements with the beast and endure suffering until the end. When they have triumphed, they will share the glorious exaltation of the Lamb. This demand for loyalty rejects the benign coexistence between Christians and the larger socioeconomic world that Paul, Luke, and even the suffering Christians of 1 Peter think is possible. Lydia would hardly be allowed to pursue her trade as seller of purple cloth (Acts 16:4) in Thyatria if John has his way. Indeed, such "lukewarm" Christians are objects of particular scorn (3:16). For Revelation this extreme form of discipleship is the only way in which Christians can defend the truth which they alone know: Christ is the Lord of the kings of the earth (Rev 1:5)—a claim which all NT ethics seeks to express.

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PHEME PERKINS

ETHIOPIA (PLACE) [Gk *Aithiopia*]. ETHIOPIAN. The place name "Ethiopia" (possibly meaning "land of the people of burnt faces," i.e., dark skin; cf. Jer 13:23) appears, as such, only once in the Bible (Acts 8:27), but in the LXX it usually translates the Heb *kūš* (Cush), a name which appears several dozen times in the OT. "Ethiopian" (Gr *Aithiops*) similarly translates *kūšī/kūšīt* (pl. *kūšīm*). The only exceptions are the few instances when the Hebrew words are treated as proper names and transliterated as "Cush" (LXX *chous*, e.g., Gen 10:6–8 = 1 Chr 1:8–10) or "Cushite" (LXX *chousi*, e.g., 2 Sam 18:21–32).

In Egyptian texts Cush (or Kush) appears as a country to the S of Egypt, inhabited by non-Egyptians. See also KUSH (PLACE). The N border of Cush during Egypt's early dynasties lay between the first and second cataracts of the Nile but by the time of the OT had been pushed as far S as the fourth cataract. Cush extended deep into east-central Africa, but its S boundaries were never sharply delineated. From the Roman period onward the region was commonly known as Nubia and apparently comprised much of what today are the Sudan and Ethiopia (also known as Abyssinia). Cush was most easily reached from the Levant by way of the Red Sea or the W coast of the Arabian peninsula. Although Egypt and other nations traded with the region during the biblical period, obtaining from it spices, incense, ivory, rhinoceros horns, ebony, topaz (Job 28:19), gold, slaves, and other commodities, relatively little is known about the history of the country during that time.

A. Geography and Ethnology

Cush occupied a portion of E Africa that was at least as large as the Arabian peninsula. It had widely diverse geographical regions, the characteristics of which have largely persisted to the present day. The N region consists largely of arid steppeland, which gives way in the SW to the Sudd, a vast, virtually impenetrable swamp through which flows the White Nile. To the SE, rising above a torrid coast, is a vast massif with elevations averaging some 7,000–8,000 ft (4,400–5,000 m), where the climate is equable and the land generally arable, with sufficient rain in the winter to produce good crops. Two major sources of the Nile, the Takkaze and the Blue Nile, rise in these highlands, and farther to the S are other rivers.

The migrations of the peoples who inhabited ancient Cush cannot be fully traced, but from an early time there was considerable ethnic diversity. The population of the N portion was, as it is today, predominantly negroid. The Ethiopian highlands probably were inhabited in the 2d millennium B.C. by a local "Cushite" populace which, according to implications in the eponymous ethnic list in Genesis, may also have occupied parts of the W coast of the Arabian peninsula (Gen 10:6–8). During the 1st millennium B.C. there was considerable migration into Ethiopia by Semites from the Arabian peninsula, who made an impact on the languages and other aspects of culture of the highlands (Ullendorff 1973: 45–50). The Ethiopians of this region tend to be tall and slender with dark skin (cf. Isa 18:2), thin lips, and aquiline noses, some of which features are akin to those of the inhabitants of Arabia.

B. In the OT and Intertestamental Literature

Although geographically distant from Palestine, Cush was known to the Israelites not only because of its commercial activity, which was already under way by the time of Solomon in the 10th century B.C. and continued in subsequent centuries, but also because some Cushites frequented Palestine or even settled there. Individual Cushites are occasionally mentioned as having linked their lives with those of Hebrews. A Cushite was among the servants of King David (2 Sam 18:21–32). Jeremiah was released from imprisonment at the behest of one Ebed-Melech, a Cushite (described as a "eunuch," whether in fact or *pro*

forma) who held a responsible position in the household of King Zedekiah of Judah (Jer 38:7–13; 39:15–18). Two other OT persons bear the name "Cushi" (Jer 36:14; Zeph 1:1), but their association with the country of Cush, if any, is unknown. Regarding Moses' "Cushite" wife (Num 12:1), see below.

The OT writers knew of the geographical proximity of Cush to Egypt, and in their literature often paired the two countries (e.g., Isa 20:3–4; Ezek 29:10; 30:4; cf. Dan 11:43; Nah 3:9; and Ps 68:31). Occasionally they mention details about the region, but inasmuch as their knowledge came largely from hearsay or conventional geographical conceptions it is not surprising that information was sometimes imprecise. Gen 2:13 asserts that a primeval river, Gihon, flows around the land (cf. Jub 8:15, 23 and the LXX of Jer 2:18). Isa 18:1 speaks more plausibly of the "rivers of Cush" (cf. Zeph 3:10) and notes that the region beyond these rivers (though presumably still within Cush) sent ambassadors down the Nile "in vessels of papyrus"—a statement that may reflect knowledge that the inhabitants of parts of Cush constructed boats from bundled stalks of papyrus. The same passage also refers to Cush in obscure words that the KJV translates as "land of wings on both sides" and the RSV translates as "land of whirring wings," but which may mean "land of shadows on both sides," that is, a region where, because of S Cush's location near the equator, shadows fall on one side of an object during the summer and on the other in the winter—a phenomenon noted by ancient Greek writers. In Esth 1:1 and 8:9, Cush is named as the W extremity of the Persian Empire. Several OT passages show knowledge of a region to the S of Cush, probably located in present-day Somaliland, which the Egyptians called "Punt" and the OT writers "Put" (e.g., Jer 46:9; Ezek 30:5; Nah 3:9). It is possible that in some OT passages Punt was understood to include a part of the coastal region E of Cush.

During the late 8th and early 7th centuries B.C. Egypt was briefly dominated by a Cushite dynasty which figured considerably in Hebrew history. 2 Kgs 17:4 mentions the attempt of Hoshea, the last ruler of the N kingdom of Israel, to ally himself with "So, king of Egypt," i.e., Sebichus (Shebitku), a pharaoh of the 25th Dynasty. In Isa 20:3–4 Assyria's invasion of Egypt toward the end of the 8th century is treated as an attack on both Egypt and Cush (cf. Nah 3:8–9). Around 689 B.C. Egypt mounted a military campaign in Palestine against the Assyrians. In recording that venture 2 Kgs 19:9 (= Isa 37:9) identifies by name the leader of the Egyptian army, Tirhakah (Eg *Taharqa*), and dubs him "King of Cush."

In view of these circumstances it is not surprising that for some time following the Ethiopian dynasty's control of Egypt, and perhaps even from as early as ca. 750 B.C., "Cush" was sometimes used as a virtual synonym for "Egypt." Amos 9:7 mentions Cushites in a context evocative of the Hebrew exodus, in which case the term may be equivalent to "Egyptians." The references to Cush and Cushites in Zeph 2:12 and 3:10 may similarly allude to Egypt. 2 Chr 14:9–13, a story describing an invasion by an otherwise unknown "Zerah the Ethiopian" that is ostensibly set in the time of King Asa of Judah (913–873 B.C.), is not present in the corresponding account in 2 Kings, and possibly was a postexilic addition to the text; if it is historical, it may originally have alluded to an Egyptian, or possibly Arab, attack made at a later time than Asa's reign, perhaps around the time of the Ethiopian rule of Egypt.

The story of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon's court (1 Kgs 10:1–13) has long been cherished in Ethiopian religion and national tradition (see Hubbard 1957), but the location of Sheba (i.e., the kingdom of Saba) was more likely on the W side of the Arabian peninsula than in Cush (see Ullendorff 1988: 131–45). The association between the Sabeans and the Cushites is not entirely unwarranted, however, and sometimes appears in the OT (e.g., Isa 43:3 and 45:14). A few OT passages seem to link Cushites closely with Arabs of the NW Arabian peninsula, the Negev or Edom. The statement that Moses' wife was a Cushite woman (Num 12:1) is hard to reconcile with the tradition that Zipporah was a Midianite (Exod 2:15b–22) unless "Cushite" is an error for "Cushanite" and therefore is synonymous with "Midianite" (cf. the linking of "Cushan" and "Midian" in Hab 3:7). 2 Chr 21:16–17 briefly narrates an otherwise unknown invasion (not found in the corresponding passage in 2 Kings) made into Judah during the reign of Jehoram (849–843 B.C.) by "the Philistines and the Arabs who are near the Cushites."

The relevance of Ethiopia for the understanding of the OT goes beyond the biblical references to Cush. It has been noted (e.g., Ullendorff 1988) that even into the 20th century the inhabitants of the Ethiopian highlands preserved concepts and practices evocative of the ancient Hebrew culture. Not only have town life, agriculture, and animal husbandry in that region long been broadly evocative of the world of the OT, but details of culture are also sometimes similar, such as an Ethiopian aristocrat's riding on a donkey as a symbol of rank. For centuries the Falashas of Ethiopia have regarded themselves as true Israelites, and Ethiopian Christians also have rites and customs which have affinities with the religion of Israel, among which are the celebration of the Sabbath on the seventh day of the week, the reckoning of the day as commencing at sunset, adherence to preexilic Israelite festivals, and the use of apotropaic devices similar to Hebraic ones (Ullendorff 1988: 2–3, 73130). Such elements in Ethiopian culture have been suspected to have their origin in a community of Jewish merchants or expatriates that was established in Ethiopia during the OT period, perhaps before the Exile.

C. In the NT

Ethiopia, as such, is not mentioned in the NT. The only reference to an Ethiopian is in the story of Philip's baptism of an unnamed Ethiopian who is "a eunuch, a minister of Candace the queen of the Ethiopians, in charge of all her treasure," who had just completed a visit to Jerusalem to worship (Acts 8:27). Although the statement bristles with difficulties, there is no doubt about the fact that Ethiopia (both in the broader and narrower use of that term) had ready contact with Palestine in the 1st century A.D., and that Jerusalem occasionally would be visited by Ethiopians influenced by the Hebrew religion.

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ROBERT HOUSTON SMITH

ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH. Acts 8:26–40 narrates the story of the Ethiopian eunuch who is converted to Christian faith through the agency of the deacon Philip. In addition to the intriguing presentation of the character himself, the story is significant for the questions it has raised regarding the tradition that may stand behind it and for the role it plays in the larger framework of Luke-Acts.

Luke describes the character in some detail: "And behold, an Ethiopian, a eunuch, a minister of Candace the queen of the Ethiopians . . ." (Acts 8:27 RSV). The geographical name "Ethiopian" would signal to Luke's audience that this man was from territories south of Egypt. Since he is also identified as an official of Candace, 1st-century readers would connect him specifically with the kingdom of Meroe, the queens of which traditionally were called "Candace." A late 1st century B.C. military campaign against Meroe, a scientific expedition into the same kingdom in A.D. 62, and another military campaign (planned but not executed) during the reign of Nero would have made Ethiopia a place of contemporary interest. Greek writers had long demonstrated a curiosity about and appreciation of Ethiopians, as is evidenced in Homer's reference to Ethiopians as the "farthermost of men" (*Od.* 1.22–23) and in Herodotus' description of Ethiopians as the tallest and most handsome of all peoples (3.17–20). Luke's audience would have seen in the Ethiopian a positive figure, perhaps one to whom even an element of mystery would be attached because of his distant homeland.

What has puzzled interpreters is that Luke identifies this particular Ethiopian as a eunuch, which means that he cannot have been a proselyte to Judaism (cf. Deut 23:1 and Joseph. *Ant* 4.290–91), despite the fact that he has been to Jerusalem to worship and is reading from a scroll of Isaiah as he travels (8:27–38). Narrating the conversion of a presumed gentile at this point introduces an anomaly into Luke's story, since Luke later portrays Cornelius as the first gentile convert (10:1–11:18). Interestingly, Luke himself does not comment on the restrictions about converting eunuchs, which may suggest that Luke is less interested in that feature of the story than he is in some others. For example, eunuchs frequently held places of respect and trust in Eastern courts, as does this one, and the identification of this figure as a eunuch may simply reinforce the reader's impression that he is an unusual person, a person who has come from the "end of the world"—at least from the end of Luke's world.

Within the story, the Ethiopian's actions underscore this portrayal of him as an intriguing, romantic, even exotic personage. Luke initially explains that the Ethiopian has been to Jerusalem to worship and is in the process of returning home when he encounters Philip. Since there are indications that gentiles worshipped in the temple in Jerusalem, and since both Ethiopians and eunuchs seem to have been regarded as especially interested in religious matters, this feature of the story serves to underscore the readiness of the Ethiopian for the events that follow. By contrast with Philip, who responds almost passively to the instructions given him by the Spirit and the questions asked him by the Ethiopian, the Ethiopian takes an active role in his own conversion. (See CONVERSION.) He invites Philip to join him in his chariot (v 31); he asks Philip for interpretation of the scroll he has been reading (v 34); he actively seeks baptism (v 36); and he goes on his way rejoicing (v 39).

Particularly because this story appears to contradict the presentation of Cornelius as the first gentile convert, scholars have been eager to determine the history of the story itself; i.e., where the story originated and what happened to it during its transmission. Several positions have been argued, with the following among the most prominent: (1) the story originated in an experience of Philip, who had prophetic and spiritual gifts like those of his daughters (see Acts 21:8–9), and who passed the story along to Luke; (2) the story did come from Philip, but originally it concerned the conversion of the first gentile, and Luke altered the story in order to preserve the role of Peter as the apostle involved in the first conversion of a gentile; and (3) the origin of the story has been lost in legendary elements that are typical of early Christian legends about the conversions of prominent individuals. No real consensus has emerged about the origin of this story. In fact, the very difficulty of deciding among these positions indicates the degree to which Luke's sources remain hidden.

At least as important as the question of the history that stands behind the account is the question of its place within the scheme of Luke-Acts. In Acts 1:8, the Risen Lord announces that his apostles will be his witnesses "in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth." Just prior to the story of the Ethiopian and Philip, persecution forces believers out of Jerusalem and into "the region of Judea and Samaria" (8:1), where Philip preaches among the Samaritans. The Ethiopian, coming as he does from the "end of the earth," stands at the threshold of the worldwide mission as yet another announcement of that mission (Ps 68:31). He prefigures Cornelius and the attending change in the Church's understanding of its mission (cf. Acts 10:34, 11:18). His own eagerness to hear Philip and his subsequent request for baptism symbolically convey Luke's understanding of the willingness of the gentile world to receive the gospel of Jesus Christ. Small wonder that early Church writers pass along a tradition that the Ethiopian returned to his own country and preached the gospel there (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.2.13–14; Iren. *Haer.* 3.12.8).

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BEVERLY ROBERTS GAVENTA

ETHIOPIC LANGUAGE. See LANGUAGES (ETHIOPIC).

ETHIOPIC VERSIONS. See VERSIONS, ANCIENT (ETHIOPIC).

ETHNAN (PERSON) [Heb *'etnān*]. Son of Asshur (1 Chr 4:7). Nothing is otherwise known about him. It is possible that the name may actually be the name of a town, and it is often identified with Ithnan, a city in S Judah (Josh 15:23).

H. C. Lo

ETHNARCH [Gk *Ethnarchēs*]. See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (ROMAN ADMINISTRATION).

ETHNI (PERSON) [Heb *'etnî*]. A Levite, ancestor of Asaph the musician (1 Chr 6:26—Eng 6:41). The name Ethni is found only once in a genealogical list of levitical singers which attempts to trace ancestry back to the time of David. The list is secondary, perhaps based upon the preceding list (1 Chr 6:1–15—Eng 6:16–30). The name may be equivalent to Jeatherai in 1 Chr 6:6—Eng 6:21. Noth (*IPN,* 171) suggested that Ethni is a shortened form of Ethnan.

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

EUBULUS (PERSON) [Gk *Euboulos*]. A Christian who was with Paul (2 Tim 4:21) during the imprisonment from which 2 Timothy purportedly was written. While that confinement is usually assumed to have been in Rome, Dibelius and Conzelmann, for example, argue that Caesarea also might well have been the place of composition envisioned by the author of 2 Timothy (*Pastoral Epistles,* Hermeneia, 126–27). Eubulus sends greetings to Timothy along with Pudens, Linus, Claudia, and others. Since Eubulus was a rather common Greek name, one often found in papyri and inscriptions, one suspects he was a gentile by birth.

A person named Eubulus—identified as one of the presbyters in the Corinthian community—is also mentioned in the letter from the Corinthians to Paul in the Acts of Paul (8.1.1), where Eubulus, along with others, send greetings to Paul. While the author of the apocryphal Acts may have known and used the Pastoral Epistles, it is also possible that both independently relied upon the same oral traditions and thus contain complementary information about Eubulus (see the discussion in MacDonald 1983: 65–66). At the same time, however, the commonality of Eubulus' name cautions against a solid identification of Paul's prison companion with the Corinthian presbyter.

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FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

EUGNOSTOS AND THE SOPHIA OF JESUS CHRIST. *Eugnostos* and *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* are closely related gnostic tractates. Most of the didactic portions of *Eugnostos* (which constitute its bulk) are found on the lips of Christ in *Soph. Jes. Chr.* For this reason, it is appropriate to consider them together. Both tractates occur in the Nag Hammadi library: *Eugnostos* is found twice, in significantly different versions, in Codices III and V; *Soph. Jes. Chr.* is found only in Codex III. However, another copy has been preserved, outside the Nag Hammadi library, in Papyrus Berolinensis 8502. All copies are written in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, although other dialectal influences are occasionally found. In addition, a fragment of *Soph. Jes. Chr.* in Greek (the language of composition) was discovered at Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. 1081). The number of preserved copies, and the evidence for two major recensions of *Eugnostos,* suggest wide usage and popularity.

The major portion of *Eugnostos* has the form of a religio-philosophical controversy discourse. The distinctive structure of this widely used literary genre was as follows: announcement of theme; position(s) of opponents; refutation of opponents; presentation of one's own position (for another example, see Ptolemaeus' *Letter to Flora*). This discourse is framed by a letter format from an otherwise unknown religious teacher named Eugnostos. (It has been suggested that he was the scribe of the colophon of *The Gospel of the Egyptians* [NHC III,2], who is also named Eugnostos [Doresse 1960: 160], but that seems unlikely, since the tractate *Eugnostos* is undoubtedly to be dated considerably earlier than the time of the copyist of *Gos. Eg.*) The letter is directed to "those who are his" (Codex III *Eugnostos* only; in Codex V *Eugnostos,* the section is mostly in lacuna). Although "his" may refer to Eugnostos, it could also designate a deity. In Codex III *Eugnostos,* Eugnostos is given the honorific title "The Blessed," perhaps indicating the belief that he had died.

The discourse portion of *Eugnostos* is divided into two parts. (In what follows, references are to the Codex III version unless otherwise noted.) Part I (70.3–85.9) consists of a description of the "true" nature of that portion of the cosmos beyond the visible sphere. The writer of *Eugnostos* believed that the invisible realities were mirrored (albeit imperfectly) in the visible world, and that by examining it, with the help of a divine principle called Thought (Gk *ennoia*), those higher realities could be known (III,74.13–19 and *Eugnostos*-V, par.).

The invisible world is understood to have originated with a being who himself has no origin, because he is eternal and unbegotten. He is the source of every mental power (73.8–11). Subsequent realities come into being through various means: self-mirroring, spiritual sexual activity by various male-female pairs, and direct creation. These realities establish the patterns for "our aeon" and the various aspects of it having to do with time (83.20–84.10). In the process of the coming into being of these realities, a special group is produced, consisting of those subsequently to be embodied as gnostics (75.12–23).

The shorter Part II (85.9–90.3) depicts the highest level of the visible cosmos, called "chaos." Although three aeons are spoken of at the beginning, the first two are largely ignored and the description focuses on the third, named "assembly" (86.15–87.8). From it come divine beings and

structures, as well as the patterns for the remainder of the cosmos. At its conclusion, *Eugnostos* looks forward to the appearance of one who will interpret (V,*1*) or simply repeat (III,*3*) the teachings of the tractate.

Names given three of the major divine beings (Immortal Man; Son of Man, also called Adam; and Son of Son of Man, also called Savior) appear to refer in a partly veiled way to the sequence God, Adam, and Seth in Genesis 1–5. If that is correct, the tractate should be considered early Sethian gnostic in its present form. (There is reason to think that the names were added to an earlier speculative document.)

Eugnostos probably originated in Egypt. There is a reference in the text to "the 360 days of the year" (84.4–5), which was a calendrical concept only current in Egypt during the time when *Eugnostos* was probably composed. Although various suggestions have been made about evidence of Christian influence in the composition of *Eugnostos* (Wilson 1968: 115–16; Tardieu 1984: 66), none has been convincing and *Eugnostos* is generally considered non-Christian, except for what appears to have been a late modification of the concluding prophecy in Codex III *Eugnostos*. Influence of a speculative type of Judaism (perhaps the same as the early Sethianism mentioned above) is to be found in both parts of *Eugnostos*. Also, there is numerological speculation in Part I, which may indicate Neopythagorean influence.

One other influence should be noted; namely, that of Egyptian religious thought. The sequential pattern of deities in Part I seems to be a reflection of a similar pattern developed in the Theban theology of the New Kingdom (1551–1070 B.C.E.). That pattern—an initial being without a consort, who produces another consort-less being, who in turn creates a group of sexually paired divinities whose sole function is to create other divinities directly involved in the world-creating process—was unique to Egyptian religion. Its use in *Eugnostos* may have influenced later gnostic speculative developments; e.g., compare the description of the highest being in Eugnostos with those in the probably later *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,*1;* III,*1;* IV,*1;* and BG *2*) and *Tripartite Tractate* (NHC I,*5*) (Parrott 1987: 91–92).

As to the date of *Eugnostos*, these observations point to sometime in the 1st century C.E. A recent suggestion that it be dated in the latter part of the 2d century is not well supported (Tardieu 1984: 66).

Soph. Jes. Chr. has the form of a postresurrection revelation dialogue between Christ and his male and female followers. Although it is said that all the disciples, as well as the women followers of Jesus, are present, the only ones who are named and who participate in the dialogue are Philip, Matthew, Thomas, Bartholomew, and Mary. These seem to have been given a special status, here and elsewhere, as recipients of distinctive gnostic revelations from Christ (Parrott 1986).

Eugnostos was probably a source for *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, rather than the other way around (Krause 1964). It seems likely that the writer of *Soph. Jes. Chr.* wanted to attract non-Christian gnostics, who would have known and perhaps revered *Eugnostos*, to a version of Gnosticism that placed Christ at the center, as revealer and savior. Christ, depicted speaking the words of *Eugnostos*, would have been understood as fulfilling the concluding prophecy of *Eugnostos*. In the non-*Eugnostos* material in *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, of which there is a significant amount, Christ is also emphasized. There, he is seen as revealer and as the one whose triumph over the wicked powers opened the way for his followers to do the same.

Typical gnostic themes also found in the non-*Eugnostos* material, although in somewhat abbreviated form, are the wicked creator god Yaldabaoth, the fall of Sophia, the evil of sex, and the ultimate difference between those with pure knowledge and those with defective knowledge.

Soph. Jes. Chr. should probably be dated early in the 2d century. This is suggested by the reason discussed above for its composition, the fact that references to the controversy with orthodoxy are missing, and the lack of any clear signs of the gnostic systems of the mid-2d century C.E. Earlier suggestions that *Soph. Jes. Chr.* should be dated late in the 2d or 3d centuries overlooked these considerations (Till and Schenke 1972: 56; Puech in *NTApocr* 1: 248).

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DOUGLAS M. PARROTT

EUMENES (PERSON) [Gk *Eumenēs*]. Eumenes II Soter, son of Attalus I and brother of Attalus II, king of Pergamum (197–159 B.C.; 1 Macc 8:8). He was given vast territories in Asia Minor by the Romans after the defeat of Antiochus III (the Great). In the year Eumenes began to reign, Antiochus III began the reconquest of former lands of the Seleucid empire. Many of the cities under the control of Pergamum were lost. Through political negotiations and military alliance. Eumenes convinced Rome that Antiochus was a threat to Roman control in Asia Minor and that war should be declared. After Antiochus was defeated decisively at the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.), Rome rewarded Eumenes with vast holdings, making him the most powerful ruler in Asia Minor. In the period 180–170 B.C., Eumenes rebuilt the city of Pergamum, erecting many shrines including the Great Altar of Zeus mentioned in Rev 2:13. Following the death of Seleucus IV in 175 B.C., Eumenes formed an alliance with Antiochus IV in

order to undercut the former alliance between the Seleucid and Macedonian empires. Following Antiochus IV's death, Eumenes supported the pretender Alexander Balas against the claims to the throne of Demetrius. As a result of these alliances, Rome feared that Eumenes' power was becoming too great. Therefore, before his death Eumenes was stripped of many of the honors bestowed by Rome in spite of the fact that he remained a loyal ally of Rome unto the end.

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RUSSELL D. NELSON

EUNICE (PERSON) [Gk *Eunikē*]. A resident of the city of Lystra in Lycaonia where she, her mother Lois, and her son Timothy were apparently converted by Paul and Barnabas on their journey together into Asia Minor (2 Tim 1:5; Acts 16:1). Timothy eventually became one of Paul's most significant helpers.

The writer of 2 Timothy describes Timothy's faith as "a faith that dwelt first in your grandmother Lois and your mother Eunice" (1:5). Thus he seems to be aware of a tradition that their conversion preceded Timothy's. Later in the letter Timothy is reminded that "from childhood you have been acquainted with the sacred writings which are able to instruct you for salvation through faith in Jesus Christ" (3:15). Perhaps this text is intended to refer to Eunice and Lois as Timothy's earliest teachers. While there is no reason to think that the author of 2 Timothy was incorrect about the names of Eunice and Lois and that they were converted before Timothy, the idea that he had been taught the Scriptures from childhood, thus implying an orthodox upbringing by Eunice and Lois, may be a development of Christian legend (Dibelius and Conzelmann *Pastoral Epistles* Hermeneia, 98). Information in Acts 16:3 indicates that Timothy was uncircumcised, i.e., in reality the product of "a lax Judaism" (Haenchen *Acts* MeyerK, 478).

From Acts 16:1, which states that Timothy was "the son of a Jewish woman who was a believer; but his father was a Greek," it becomes evident that Eunice was a Jewess who had married a gentile and later had become Christian. Since no interference from Timothy's father is noted when Paul decides to circumcise Timothy, some have assumed that he must have been dead. Accordingly, a few manuscripts (generally considered secondary) refer to Eunice as a widow in 16:1.

The marital situation of Eunice and Paul's circumcision of Timothy have caused ongoing debate over whether her children were considered Jewish or gentile. As a Jewess married to a gentile, Eunice's marriage would have been looked upon unfavorably by Jews. Many commentators observe, however, that her offspring would have been considered Jewish because they had a Jewish mother. Yet it has been questioned whether that matrilineal principle was actually in effect in Eunice's day and milieu. The suggestion has been made that in fact "lineage was matrilineal when it was matrilocal. When the Israelite woman moved abroad to join her Gentile husband, her children were considered Gentile" (Cohen 1986: 266). But a response has countered that matrilineal emphasis could very well have been operative in Eunice's situation (Bryan 1988: 294).

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FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

EUNUCH. See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (POSTEXILIC JUDEAN OFFICIALS).

EUNUCH, ETHIOPIAN. See ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH.

EUODIA (PERSON) [Gk *Euodias*]. A Christian at Philippi who, in company with Syntyche, is described by Paul as having "labored side by side" with him in the gospel along with Clement and other coworkers (Phil 4:2–3). Euodia and Syntyche are mentioned in Philippians because of a disagreement between them which Paul had become aware of, probably via EPAPHRODITUS (cf. 2:25).

The identity of these two quarreling parties, whose Greek names are in the feminine gender, as they also appear in numerous inscriptions, has been questioned on various accounts. One theory claims that Syntyche ought to be spelled as the masculine Syntyches, and that "he" was actually the jailer at Philippi (cf. Acts 16) and the husband of Euodia. But the Greek feminine plural pronouns *ʾautais* and *haitines* in Phil 4:3, which can only refer back to Euodia and Syntyche, require that both names belong to women. Another view, advanced by the Tübingen school, interpreted Euodia and Syntyche not as individuals but as symbols for Jewish and gentile Christians respectively. This approach viewed the person called Syzygus in 4:3, often rendered "true yokefellow," instead as "the unifier," i.e., as being in reality Peter, who was called to mediate between the Jewish and gentile factions within the Church. But Paul hardly seems given to writing with such obscure symbolism. Another theory concerning the identity of Euodia and Syntyche is that one or the other of the two women was in fact the LYDIA of Acts 16, her name there being an adjective indicating her place of origin, i.e., "the Lydian." The important role played by Lydia in the founding of the church at Philippi lends some support to this hypothesis.

The quarrel between Euodia and Syntyche which prompted Paul's reference to them must have had ramifications for the entire Philippian community or it would hardly have been mentioned in a letter to the whole Church. Thus Paul's concern for these women reflects their importance in the group, probably due to leadership roles as deacons or leaders of house churches. This accords with the Acts 16 account where women are promi-

nent among the original core of Philippian believers. While the content of Euodia's and Syntyche's quarrel is left unspecified, one suspects it was related to matters of church leadership as they exercised it. In any case, Paul urges the two to be reconciled in the Lord, emphatically repeating the phrase "I entreat" (Gk *parakalō*) to each (4:2). He asks them to be of one mind in Christ.

To help bring about the reconciliation of Euodia and Syntyche, Paul calls for the intervention of someone referred to simply as "true yokefellow" (Gk *gnēsie syzyge*). In addressing this latter person, Paul states that Euodia and Syntyche had "labored side by side" (Gk *sunathlein*) on behalf of the gospel with Clement, the other fellow workers (Gk *sunergoi*), and himself. It has been argued that the term Gk *sunathlein*, also used by Paul in Phil 1:27, where it implies resisting external opposition, bears the same nuance of confronting an outside force in 4:3, i.e., it "suggests strife, danger, opposition, courage, memorable loyalty, not leadership, ministry, preaching, presiding" (Malinowski 1985: 62). Malinowski uses this observation to argue that Euodia and Syntyche thus could not have had leadership roles in the Philippian community. But this analysis overlooks the very noticeable singling out of these women for mention which necessarily accords them a distinction. Further, the theory fails to consider that Euodia's and Syntyche's "laboring side by side" (if indeed it be restricted to facing external opposition) was probably carried on precisely in their being strong leaders or preachers—hence the seriousness of their quarrel for the church of Philippi.

Paul, by reminding the mediator "true yokefellow" of Euodia's and Syntyche's collaboration with him, indicates respect for their work; thus, they are not to be degraded for their disagreements, but recognized as esteemed members of Paul's team (Hawthorne *Philippians* WBC, 180). Nor does there appear to be any reason to assume, retrojecting the roles of later deaconesses onto Euodia and Syntyche, that the two labored for the spread of the gospel only among women. Rather, as the text implies, in Paul's eyes they were obviously his co-workers, equal in importance and role to Clement and the other co-workers. Paul reminds the Philippians that the names of each of these workers are "in the book of life" (4:3), i.e., Euodia, Syntyche, and the others are indeed God's faithful servants.

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FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

EUPATOR (PERSON) [Heb *Eupatōr*]. See ANTIOCHUS (PERSON).

EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE BIBLE. See BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.

EUPOLEMUS. A Jewish historian who flourished in Palestine in the mid-2d century B.C.E. He wrote a work in Greek entitled *Concerning the Kings in Judea,* of which five brief fragments have been preserved. Other works entitled *Concerning the Prophecy of Elijah* and *On the Jews of Assyria* are also mentioned in connection with Eupolemus, but for convincing reasons are not now attributed to him.

He is confidently identified as the Eupolemus who was a member of the priestly family Accos and sent as an ambassador to Rome by Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc 8:17; 2 Macc 4:11; Josephus *JW* 12.10.6 §415–16).

The major source for the Eupolemus fragments is Eusebius *Praep. Evang.*, Book 9. In certain instances, however, the earlier testimony of Clement of Alexandria *(Str.)* provides an alternate (Frg. 1) or abridged (Frg. 2) version of fragments preserved in Eusebius; and in one case (Frg. 5) Clement preserves an additional fragment not mentioned by Eusebius. Both Clement and Eusebius attribute their knowledge and use of Eupolemus to the pagan author Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 112–30 B.C.E.), who in his work *Concerning the Jews* had quoted portions of Eupolemus' work.

The contents of the fragments may be briefly summarized. Frg. 1 (*Str.* 1.23.153.4; *Praep. Evang.* 9.26.1) briefly portrays Moses as the "first wise man" and cultural benefactor responsible for originating the alphabet and recording laws. Frg. 2 (*Str.* 1.21.130.3; *Praep. Evang.* 9.30.1–34.18), the longest of the fragments (over 200 lines of Greek text), concentrates on David and especially Solomon, and provides a quite detailed, and in some respects unique, account of the preparation and building of the temple. One remarkable feature is the set of letters between Solomon and Souron (Hiram), king of Tyre, based on 1 Kgs 5:2–6 and 2 Chr 2:2–9, and the similarly constructed apocryphal correspondence with Vaphres, king of Egypt. Frg. 3 (*Praep. Evang.* 9.34.20) briefly mentions Solomon's enormous wealth and length of reign. Frg. 4 (*Praep. Evang.* 9.39.1–5) rehearses events from the life of Jeremiah during the reign of "Jonacheim" and mentions the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. Frg. 5 (*Str.* 1.21.141.4–5) calculates the length of time from Adam and the Exodus respectively until the reign of Demetrius I Soter (162–150 B.C.E.). Typical of such chronographical summaries, this fragment has some problematic features that have prompted textual emendations. Yet its mention of "the 5th year of the reign of Demetrius" makes it fairly certain to date Eupolemus' work ca. 158/7 B.C.E.

The fragments reflect use of both the LXX and MT, thus suggesting a bilingual author. The form of his syntax and use of language suggest that Hebrew or Aramaic was his first, Greek his second language. Nevertheless, he is skilled in the use of the latter and the fragments reflect knowledge, and perhaps direct use, of Greek sources, such as Ctesias and Herodotus.

While he has made careful use of the biblical text, he also exhibits considerable independence from it. He frequently incorporates nonbiblical traditions into his account of the biblical story (Moses as inventor of the alphabet and legislation: the Solomon-Vaphres correspondence). There are numerous alterations and contradictions of the biblical text (the expanded measurements of the temple; David identified as Saul's son; the vastly extended territories over

which David and Solomon reigned). The fragments also exhibit numerous geographical, chronological, and grammatical anachronisms. Territorial divisions of the Maccabean period are read back into the period of the monarchy. Certain features of Eupolemus' description of Solomon's temple appear to be drawn from the temple of Zerubbabel.

The tone of the fragments is nationalistic and encomiastic. Typical of the Hellenistic historiographical tradition in which such authors as Manetho and Berossus wrote to glorify their national history and tradition, Eupolemus recounts the biblical story proudly and magnifies the accomplishments of biblical characters. He presents Moses as cultural benefactor of other nations, David and Solomon as international figures reigning over greatly expanded territories. Solomon is more than a peer to his counterparts Souron and Vaphres, he is their superior. The temple of Solomon is fabulously appointed.

It does not appear that Eupolemus is theologically narrow. He reports without demur Solomon's giving Souron a golden pillar that was erected in the temple of Zeus at Tyre. Polemic against pagan worship is absent from the fragments. Yet in Solomon's correspondence with Souron and Vaphres, Eupolemus proclaims the "Most High God," and has the pagan kings acknowledge "so great a God" and the Creator God.

Eupolemus' work is best understood within the historical and cultural context of Maccabean Palestine. His preoccupation with the temple may be seen not only as a reflection of his priestly background but may also be related to the purification and rededication of the temple following the Maccabean war. The latter can be seen as an appropriate context for producing such a lavish description of the temple. Moreover, newly established independence and the hopes of the Hasmonean kings might well have become the occasion for recalling the earlier glory of the monarchy and embellishing it in the process. Expansionist policies might be served well by recalling the territorial expansions of David and Solomon, however exaggerated. Noting their willingness to deal with Egyptian and Syrian kings could also combat isolationist tendencies while promoting expansionist policies.

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CARL R. HOLLADAY

EUPOLEMUS, PSEUDO-. A designation used to identify two fragments about Abraham preserved by Eusebius in *Praep. Evang.*, Bk. 9, both of which are taken from an earlier work *Concerning the Jews* by the pagan author Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 112–30 B.C.E.).

The term "Pseudo-Eupolemus" is used as a designation for these fragments because Eusebius attributes the first of them to the Jewish historian Eupolemus. Since Freudenthal (1874–75: 82–103), it has been widely held that, because of important differences in content and outlook between this fragment and the five other fragments generally attributed to Eupolemus, it, along with the second, unattributed fragment, should be attributed to someone else, an anonymous author, probably a Samaritan, commonly designated Pseudo-Eupolemus. Recently, however, a strong case has been made for attributing the first fragment to the historian Eupolemus (Doran, *OTP* 2: 873–76), and for seeing the second fragment as a collection of traditions unattributable to any single person (Walter 1976: 137–38).

Even though it may not be possible to identify with certainty the author of these two fragments, it is nevertheless possible to establish some limits for their dating. Since they were originally preserved by Alexander Polyhistor, they obviously must have been written prior to the mid-1st century B.C.E. There is some evidence of dependence (in the first fragment) on *Berossus Babyloniaca* (ca. 293–292 B.C.E.). Thus, the fragments are to be dated sometime between the early 2d and mid-1st century B.C.E. Since they appear to presuppose the existence of the temple at Mt. Gerizim, which was destroyed by the Hasmoneans in 132 B.C.E., a date in the first half of the 2d century B.C.E. is generally favored.

Frg. 1 (*Praep. Evang.* 9.17.1–9) is said by Polyhistor to come from a work by Eupolemus entitled *Concerning the Jews of Assyria,* but the accuracy of the title has been disputed and therefore emended to simply *Concerning the Jews.* If it is to be attributed to the historian Eupolemus, it would appear to come from another work besides *Concerning the Kings in Judea.* The fragment, which consists of approximately 50 lines of Greek text, treats (in slightly rearranged order) events recorded in Genesis 6–14: the postdiluvian founding of Babylon by the giants, their building of the tower (of Babel), and its destruction by God; Abraham's Babylonian origins, his migration to Phoenicia (Canaan), his military exploits (against the Armenians !), his hero's welcome at "the temple Argarizin" (Mt. Gerizim), his receiving gifts from Melchizedek, his migration to Egypt. Frg. 2 (*Praep. Evang.* 9.18.2), consisting of about 10 lines attributed to "anonymous works," in certain respects represents a condensed version of Frg 1: Abraham's lineage traced to the Babylonian giants, his migration first to Phoenicia, then to Egypt. It only alludes to the Flood, however, and omits reference to the destruction of the tower.

In both fragments Abraham is portrayed in heroic terms as a sage of noble descent, pious servant of God, friend of kings, benevolent warrior, and cultural benefactor. Especially emphasized is his mastery of the "movements of the sun and moon," and his role in transmitting this "Chaldean science" to the Phoenicians and Egyptians. Indeed, he (along with Enoch!) is credited with the discovery of astrology.

The fragments reflect clear dependence on the LXX and possible use of the MT. They are especially character-

ized, however, by the inclusion of nonbiblical traditions, both haggadic (giants as builders of Babel, the destruction of the tower of Babel, Pharaoh's inability to have sexual intercourse with Sarah, Enoch as master of heavenly lore) and pagan mythological traditions drawn from Babylonian and Greek sources (the use of Babylonian chronology in tracing Cush and Mizraim back to Kronos, identification of Atlas and Enoch, attributing the building of the tower of Babel to Belus).

Of particular significance is the mention in Frg. 1 of Abraham's being "received as a guest by the city at the temple Argarizin, which is interpreted as 'mountain of the Most High.' " This prominence given to Mt. Gerizim as the site where Abraham received Melchizedek is one of the primary reasons for attributing the fragment to a Samaritan author. It was especially difficult to reconcile this primacy given to Mt. Gerizim as a sacred shrine with the primacy given in the genuine Eupolemus fragments (esp. Frg. 2) to the Jerusalem temple. Accordingly, two separate authors were proposed to represent these theologically polar viewpoints (Freudenthal 1874–75: 85–86). In addition, the conspicuous willingness to embellish the biblical account with pagan mythological traditions has been seen as a type of syncretism thought to characterize Samaritans. The attention given to Phoenicians within the fragments may also reflect a Samaritan bias since Samaritans appear to have been identified as "Sidonians of Shechem" (Josephus *Ant* 11.8.6 §344; 12.5.5 §§257–64; so Collins 1983: 38, 55).

In spite of the continued debate about the authorship of these fragments, they remain important primary sources for the study of Samaritan traditions in the Hellenistic period. Their dependence on the LXX, like the Eupolemus fragments, makes them a useful source in tracing development and use of the LXX. The generous blending of pagan mythological traditions with biblical traditions provides a usual barometer for measuring degrees and kinds of Hellenization. The probable dependence on Berossus provides another concrete instance of Jewish or Samaritan incorporation of identifiable pagan traditions. The interpretive treatment of Abraham and Enoch within these fragments bears close resemblance to traditions in other noncanonical writings, such as the *Genesis Apocryphon, Jubilees, 1 Enoch.*

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CARL R. HOLLADAY

EUREGETES. See BENEFACTOR.

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA (PERSON). Late 3d/early 4th-century Christian historian, biblical scholar, and theologian; the "Father of Church History." Born ca. A.D. 260, he was bishop of Caesarea, the administrative capital of Roman Palestine, from ca. 313 until his death, May 30, 339. Regarded by his contemporaries as the greatest Christian scholar of his time, he wrote a history of Christianity covering the first three centuries (his *Historia Ecclesiastica* or *Church History*) and a *Life of Constantine* celebrating the Christianization of the Roman Empire; compiled in a *Chronicle* a detailed comparative chronology of biblical, ANE, Greek, and Roman history; made the most successful early systematic study of gospel parallels (the *Evangelical* or *Eusebian Canons*); and wrote other works on biblical geography *(Onomasticon)*, the pagan divine man motif *(Contra Hieroclem)*, the interpretation of Scripture *(Prophetic Eclogues, Demonstratio Evangelica, Commentary on Isaiah, Commentary on the Psalms, Gospel Questions and Solutions)*, martyrology *(Martyrs of Palestine)*, various theological issues *(Praeparatio Evangelica, Theophany, Contra Marcellum, De Ecclesiastica Theologia, On Easter)*, and other topics (the *Panegyric to Constantine* and *Treatise on the Church of the Holy Sepulcher*, important to the history of church-state relations, are contained in chaps. 1–10 and 11–18 respectively of his *De laudibus Constantini*).

He was born ca. A.D. 260, probably in Caesarea, where he seems to have spent his entire life. The assessment of Eusebius' life and character has changed markedly with the establishment of more accurate dates for the various editions of his *Church History* (Grant 1980; Barnes 1981; Chesnut 1986). He lived the first forty years or so of his life during the Great Peace of the Church, when Christianity could be practiced openly. He developed his massive scholarship as a research librarian in the large library—of 30,000 volumes, according to one ancient source—assembled by the wealthy presbyter Pamphilus in Caesarea in honor of the Christian teacher Origen. Eusebius was often identified simply as Eusebius Pamphili [Gk *Eusebios ho tou pamphilou*], "Pamphilus' Eusebius."

Richard Laqueur began the modern debate over the date and nature of the first edition of the *Church History* in 1929 by pointing out that the reference in the preface (*Hist. Eccl.* 1.1.2) to the Great Persecution under Diocletian in 303 had to be a later editorial redaction. It now seems clear that the first edition was not only written before 303, but that most of Bks. 1–7 represents unchanged text from that edition (Barnes 1981: 145–46, 346, n.10; Chesnut 1986: 116–21). Eusebius was still a research librarian in Pamphilus' library. There was no Constantine in that first edition, no Christian emperor, no triumph of the cross at the battle of the Milvian bridge. Eusebius at that time believed in religious pluralism and argued for tolerance for all religions in the Roman Empire. He nowhere sanctioned coercion or persecution of pagans, or of those regarded as heretics, and proclaimed that the gospel would ultimately triumph by the pure preaching and teaching of its truth.

He was often strongly antimilitaristic: soldiers were decried as "men stained with blood and with countless mur-

ders for the sake of children and fatherland and that sort of thing" (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.pref.3; cf. 7.15.4). His recitation of the legend of the Thundering Legion (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.5.1–7) has been cited to show that he did not disapprove of Christians serving in the military, but here he was simply following his practice of incorporating in his history all the early Christian traditions he could find, and this was too well known a locus to omit. The usual point of this legend in its earliest Christian form was to show that Christians could aid the empire by praying for it as well as they could if large numbers of them had been willing to serve in its legions. In spite of the evidence that there were some few Christians in the Roman army during the first three centuries, Christians were regularly accused by the pagans of being unpatriotic in their more general unwillingness to fight in the legions. As he was finishing the first edition, Eusebius did, however, come across Dionysius of Alexandria's account of a group of Christians who had successfully used violent resistance on one occasion to drive off persecuting Roman soldiers (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.40.4–9). But this does not seem to have moved him to suggest that other Christians follow their example, either in the first edition of the *Church History* or in the second.

The beginning of the Great Persecution on February 23, 303, produced eight years of almost constant attack on Christians in the East. Eusebius' patron Pamphilus was tortured and sentenced to prison on November 5, 307, and eventually martyred on February 16, 310 (Eus. *Mart. Pal.* [both recensions] 7.3–6 and 11.1–5; Barnes 1981: 152–54). The reigning bishop of Caesarea denied the faith at some point during this strife-filled eight years and the Christian flock of that city was left leaderless for the remainder of the persecution (Eusebius as a matter of principle refused to record how he fell, the length of time Caesarea was without a bishop, or even the man's name; see Lawlor and Oulton 1928: vol. 2, 263; Chesnut 1986: 122). But then in 312 Constantine defeated his rival Maxentius at the battle of the Milvian bridge and became sole ruler of the western half of the Roman Empire. At Milan in early 313, Constantine met with the pagan Licinius, who now ruled the entire eastern half, and obtained an agreement that persecution of Christians would be halted all over the empire.

At about the same time Eusebius, the quiet research scholar, was made bishop of Caesarea and found himself confronted with the task of renewing the spirit of a scattered and demoralized flock, living under the pagan emperor Licinius, who had been temporarily persuaded to give toleration to them. It is important to note that Eusebius was never Constantine's "court bishop," even though most of the literature written prior to the 1980s tends to portray him that way—he did not come under Constantine's direct rule until 324, when he himself was in his sixties.

The second edition of the *Church History*, written ca. 313, portrayed Constantine calling upon "God who is in heaven" (the Christian god? or the sun god Apollo/Mithras/Sol Invictus whose vision Constantine claimed he had seen in 310?) and praying for Jesus Christ (identified as the Platonic "Logos" of the "Heavenly God") to be his "ally" or "fellow fighter" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 9.9.2). The pagan emperor Licinius was honored equally with Constantine for his "understanding and piety" (*Hist. Eccl.* 9.9.1). Eusebius seems to have felt it safer to depict Constantine in language ambiguous enough to fit either a real Christian convert or simply a Platonic sun-worshipper (Plutarch, *To an Uneducated Ruler* 781f–782a) who was willing to ally himself with the Christians in the same way in which the emperor Philip the Arabian had done back in the mid-3d century (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.34, 6.36.3, and 6.39.1).

Constantine defeated Licinius and took over the eastern half of the Roman Empire in 324, but Eusebius was not willing to regard him unambiguously as a believing Christian until eleven years later, in 335, when Eusebius himself was already in his seventies (Chesnut 1986: 135). Even then Eusebius was no more a servile tool of a Roman emperor than was Athanasius or Ambrose. His goal was always to control the ruling emperor in matters affecting the Christian community and to avoid being controlled by him. Public flattery was sometimes the best method—one that Ambrose of Milan also used on occasion.

At the Council of Nicaea in 325, Eusebius subscribed to the conciliar decision, though with hesitation. But afterward, in an effort to undo the council's supporters, he managed to topple Eustathius, the patriarch of Antioch, in 330, and Athanasius, the patriarch of Alexandria, in 336. Eusebius is therefore often said to have been an "Arian." He would, however, better be described more as a defender of Origen's radical trinitarian and christological teaching, rather than as a supporter *per se* of Arius' version of the old, conservative, 2d-century angel christology, for there were many passages in Eusebius' hero Origen which could not fit the *homoousios* doctrine either.

Constantine died on May 22, 337, and Eusebius almost immediately began his *Life of Constantine*. He had essentially finished it before his own death two years later, when he was almost eighty. It was not a "biography," except perhaps in terms of the Platonizing theory of biography that one sees in Plutarch (*Life of Pericles* 1–2). It was instead a political manifesto cast in a form similar in ways to the medieval "Mirror of Princes." It was directed at Constantine's three sons, who now jointly ruled the empire. The message was simple: the throne must be kept in Christian hands and the idol temples, whose followers had so recently carried out the bloodthirsty massacre of helpless Christians, should be closed down permanently. Constantine was portrayed both in Hellenistic style as the philosopher-king who was the saving image of the Logos on earth (*Vita C.* 1.5; *De laud.* 1–2) and in more Hebraic fashion as the great eschatological Warrior of God. The surprising new "Warrior of God" motif—unknown in earlier Christian writings, even Eusebius' own—was one that would appear again and again in the Middle Ages, from the religious self-understanding of monarchs like St. Louis of France to the ethos of the Arthurian legends (Chesnut 1986: 140–74).

Eusebius developed a complex philosophy and theology of history which stood as the only significant alternative in both the ancient and medieval worlds to Augustine's predestinarianism and determinism—without sacrificing a profound understanding of human fallenness and the role of the nonrational. He should not be linked with the theological conservatives of his period, for he was a rather radical Origenist, who upheld the Origenistic doctrine of

preexistence of souls and applied his vast knowledge of the history of Greek philosophy to theological problems. He argued for human free will against classical Greek fatalism and contemporary astrology and gnosticism, but also believed that a divine providence controlled the "accidents" of history (*ta symbebēkota*, an Aristotelian term, *Ph.* 2.5.197a). Hence God's providence determined even the affairs of emperors and kings. As a radical Origenist, he rejected the apocalyptic idea of a future millennial kingdom of Christ on earth in favor of a more Platonic concept of immortal life in some supercosmic realm. But he also believed that this present cosmos would come to a cataclysmic end at some point several generations (or at most several centuries) after his own time. In a kind of "expanded eschatology" the events of the apocalyptic end times were spread out over hundreds of years. The Pax Romana which began under the emperor Augustus was identified by Eusebius with the eschatological kingdom of peace (Isa 2:1–4; Mic 4:1–4), while the emperor Constantine and his descendants were "the saints of the Most High" (Dan 7:18), the eschatological rulers who were to govern Rome, the fourth kingdom (Dan 2:31–45), until the final tribulation, when the world would be destroyed and the last judgment held.

Eusebius' *Church History* was the first full-length continuous narrative history written by a Christian. Nothing truly comparable to it had been created before, for Hegesippus' *Memoirs* (completed between A.D. 175 and 189) seems to have been, from the surviving fragments, an anecdotal, basically antignostic work, nonchronological in organization. Sextus Julius Africanus' *Chronographies* (completed ca. A.D. 221) seems also, from the fragments we still possess, not to have been a true narrative history but an attempt to establish dates, with only rare sections of historical commentary, for the primary purpose of calculating when the end of the world would come. (Having convinced himself that Daniel and other biblical texts proved that the millennium would arrive in what would be the 500th year after the birth of Christ and the 6000th year after the creation of the world, he wished to turn this into a date in his own Roman calendrical system.)

Eusebius' *Church History* was true, continuous historical narrative, chronologically told, unlike either Hegesippus or Africanus; its influence over the following thousand years or more made it one of the four or five most important seminal works in the history of Western historiography. It relates the history of Christianity from the time of Jesus to the early 4th century, and is in fact the only such account which we possess of that 300-year period. He "picked from the flowered meadows" of early Church history (*Hist. Eccl.* 1.1.4) a host of extended quotations from ancient writers, many of which would otherwise be lost to us, and included them at appropriate points in his *Church History*. He cites almost 250 passages in all, from Papias, Hegesippus, Quadratus, the Legend of Abgar, Clement of Alexandria's lost work the *Hypotyposes*, and many other sources. Nearly half of this material is preserved in Eusebius alone.

Eusebius also preserves traditions about the early Christian community in Jerusalem, early Syriac Christianity, and the Ebonites; and about individuals such as the evangelists Matthew and Mark, James the brother of the Lord, Simon Magus, Valentinus, and Marcion. Some of the earlier traditions contain legendary or improbable material but can still be used, with the help of modern critical methods, to aid in putting together reconstructions of early Christian history. Robert M. Grant's *Eusebius as Church Historian* (1980) now gives a full analysis of some of the most important passages. Eusebius further records information about the development of the NT canon: which books were used by the earliest orthodox writers, which were read publicly in orthodox churches, and which were disputed (e.g., *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.24–25; 3.3; 3.16; 3.24.2; 3.24.17–18; and 3.25). His detailed discussions are at least as important as, if not more so than, the early canonical lists.

Based on the studies of Grant and Barnes (see also Chesnut 1986: 125), the various editions of the *Church History* can be reconstructed as follows:

before the beginning of persecution in 303	*First edition:* Most of Books 1–7, excluding the preface at the beginning of the history at least in its present form, but going at least as far as the present *Hist. Eccl.* 7.30.22a and probably including also *Hist. Eccl.* 7.31 and *Hist. Eccl.* 7.32.5–21. Nothing past that point could be first-edition material.
ca. 313	*Second edition:* Books 1–7. An eighth book incorporating the entire short recension of what is now called the *Martyrs of Palestine.* Book 9.
ca. 315	*Third edition:* Books 1–10.7 (including the present Book 8, newly written to replace the older eighth book).
ca. 325	*Fourth edition:* Books 1–10 (with any older material favorable to Licinius altered or removed).
ca. 326	*A minor additional reediting:* Removal of any reference to the name of Constantine's son Crispus (executed by his father in 326).

Grant gives a full account of editorial changes which Eusebius made within previously existing sections—for example, a two- or perhaps even three-stage change in Eusebius' attitude toward the book of Revelation and Papias (Grant 1980: 130–36).

In another work by Eusebius, the *Chronicle*, he established thousands of ancient dates to produce a comparative chronology of ANE, Greek, Roman, and biblical history. It survives in a Latin version by Jerome and in an Armenian version. Unlike the critically naive *Chronographies* of his 3d-century predecessor Julius Africanus, who had thought he could discover the precise year in which the world was created, Eusebius explicitly stated that there was no way of dating anything in the OT, even approximately, prior to the time of Abraham. His *Chronicle* contains material, such as Manetho's Egyptian king list, which was of inestimable value in our own modern period for

reconstructing the history of the ANE, and also valuable dates and other information on secular Greek and Roman history. The *Eusebian Canons,* still printed in standard critical texts of the NT, were invented by Eusebius as a means of indicating parallel passages in the gospels. His use of this device shows that he clearly recognized—though it was not safe to state it explicitly in his period—that one cannot set up a detailed chronology of the period of Jesus' active ministry. He also produced an *Onomasticon,* a work on biblical place names, giving geographical locations of some 600 towns, historical sites, districts, mountains, and rivers, and connecting them with contemporary Roman place names. It is still of great importance to Palestinian archaeologists for the data it gives. It his *Onomasticon* and *Chronicle,* Eusebius was also attempting, at the theological level, to create the sense of a *Christian* space and time for Roman Palestine (Groh 1986).

In *Against Hierocles,* Eusebius argued that Jesus, rather than the pagan philosopher and miracle worker Apollonius of Tyana, had been the true *theios anēr* or divine man. In Origenist fashion, Eusebius asserted that Jesus was a man who was truly divine because his human soul possessed the full unfallen vision of God, and that his profound effect on other human beings demonstrated his divinity.

After years of neglect, Eusebius is now increasingly being recognized as a major Christian thinker, who gave a serious alternative to the Augustinian theology of history, and who furnished a fascinating example in his own forty-year career (290s–339) of Christianity's transition from a persecuted, nonmilitaristic minority to upholders of the combined ecclesiastical, governmental, and military establishment created by the 4th-century Christian emperors.

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GLENN F. CHESNUT

EUTYCHUS (PERSON) [Gk *Eutuchos*]. A young boy who, while listening to Paul in Troas, went to sleep and fell from an upstairs window (Acts 20:9). The story indicates that he was "taken up dead" (not "as dead"). Paul is said to have "bent over him" and embraced him and then said, "Do not be alarmed, for his life is in him." Whether or not the boy was actually dead is impossible to determine. Although the story is told as if he were dead, Paul's words, "his life is in him," may be understood as implying he was not actually dead. However one may resolve this ambiguity, the story appears to be attributing to Paul the ability to bring the dead boy back to life as Elijah and Elisha did in a similar manner. Paul's actions resemble the OT incidents involving Elijah and Elisha stretching themselves out over children in order the bring life back to them (1 Kgs 17:21; 2 Kgs 4:34–35).

FRANK E. WHEELER

EVANGELIST. See MINISTRY IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

EVE (PERSON) [Heb *ḥawwâ*]. Eve, the first woman, is an enigmatic figure. Apart from Genesis 2–4, she is mentioned very rarely in biblical material and yet she has played an important part in theological discussion and debate over gender roles in society throughout the post-biblical period (Pagels 1988). The origins of both the name and the figure have been the subject of wide-ranging scholarly debate.

A. The Name "Eve"

The woman in the garden of Eden story (Gen 2:4b–3:24) is given the name *ḥawwâ,* "Eve," in Gen 3:20. This verse sits awkwardly in the text and many scholars assume a different recension of the story is used here from that in Gen 2:23 where she is called *ʾiššâ,* "woman." Such a doublet could, however, arise from the oral tradition behind the narrative. The origin of the name *ḥawwâ* is uncertain. In the story the woman is called *ḥawwâ* because she is the "mother of all living *(ḥay)*." This suggests a derivation from the root *ḥyh,* "to live," but no immediate connection can be sustained. J's etymology is based solely on a word-play. Note that the LXX translates *ḥawwâ* by *zōē,* "life," in 3:20. Evidence from Ugaritic and Phoenician suggest another ancient word "to live," *ḥwy* from which *ḥawwâ* could be derived. If this is the case, then the name itself is either borrowed or is an ancient traditional name.

The expression "mother of all living" has suggested to some a connection between Eve and various ANE mother goddesses. The Akkadian goddess Mami is called *bēlet kala*

ilī, "mistress of all the gods," and *baniat awīlūti*, "creatress of humanity" (*Atrahasis* 1. 188–260). Ugaritic texts refer to Asherah as *qnyt.ʾilm*, "creatress of the gods," and *mšnqt.ʾilm*, "nurse of the gods," in her role as mother goddess. A Carthaginian devotional text (*KAI* 89) dated to the 3d or 2d century B.C.E. contains the word *ḥwt*, which could be related to Hebrew *ḥawwâ*. It begins *rbt ḥwt ʾlt mlkt. ḥwt* could be the name of a female deity or an epithet of a goddess, possibly Asherah or Tannit. These two divine names can be identified as referring to the one figure. Of all the goddesses, she is most frequently given the titles *rbt*, "lady," and *ʾlt*, "goddess." If *ḥwt* is derived from a word for "life" or "to live" it is a fitting epithet for the mother goddess. These points suggest that the name given to the woman in Gen 3:20 could be a derivative of a title for the Canaanite mother goddess or at least an allusion to her.

Some scholars have pointed to the similarity of the name *ḥawwâ* to the Aramaic word *ḥewyâ*, "serpent." In early Aramaic the word for "serpent" appears to be *ḥwh*. They have proposed that *ḥawwâ* was originally the name of an underworld goddess or that in an earlier version of Genesis 3 Eve and the serpent were identical. While this is conjectural, the possible connection of *ḥawwâ* to a word for "serpent" should not be overlooked. There is some tentative evidence suggesting a connection between the mother goddess Asherah/Tannit and serpents although the exact nature of the connection remains obscure. Both are strongly associated with fertility themes.

From this discussion it could be suggested that the name *ḥawwâ* in Gen 3:20 is meant to allude to the great goddess Asherah. The designation of Eve as the "mother of all living," the presence of the motif of fertility, and the associations with the serpent and sacred trees all have possible counterparts in mythic material in which Asherah is mentioned. If such an allusion is intended, then we should note that the circumstances of the Gen 2:4b–3:24 narrative are the exact reversal of what one might expect in a story about the mother goddess. Rather than productivity and fertility, the outcome in the story in Genesis is death, sterility, and hardship (Gen 3:14–19). Even the "mother of all living" is to suffer in childbirth. The interaction between Eve and the serpent, also a symbol of fertility, ultimately leads to death. The man's toil with the ground yields reward only at the price of pain and sweat. Thus Gen 2:4b–3:24 would seem to embrace a polemic against fertility themes of the Canaanite cult. This polemic, however, has been reworked by J so that now it forms part of the background of the story.

B. Theological Considerations

In Gen 2:20 it is stated that Eve is created to be an *ʿēzer kĕnegdô*, "a helper fit for him" (RSV). This expression has often been seen to indicate the subordination of Eve to Adam and hence generally of women to men in societal and family life. However, the word *ʿēzer*, "helper," does not imply subordination. It can be used to refer to a superior person or even to God, e.g., Ps 146:5. The phrase *ʿēzer kĕnegdô* is best understood as meaning "a companion corresponding to him." The fact that Eve is created second from one of the man's ribs and that she is tempted and submits first have also been used to argue for either the superiority of men over women or of women over men. The former position has been strongly supported historically in the traditions of Judaism (e.g., *Gen. Rab.* 18.2), Islam (Al-Baghawi, Mishkat al-Masabih), and Christianity. The only references to Eve in the NT, 2 Cor 11:3 and 1 Tim 2:11–15, both develop this line. The argument can be traced to the present day. The latter position, arguing for the superiority of women over men, has been voiced more strongly recently but it had its early proponents, e.g., in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 39a). In either case the arguments depend more on the presuppositions of the interpreters than on what the text of Gen 2:4b–3:24 states explicitly. The text in its original form is concerned about the potential for intimacy in the divine-human relationship and in human relationships in light of the alienation that exists in the world. The subordination of Eve to her husband (Gen 3:16) clearly stands as one of the curses of a broken creation.

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HOWARD N. WALLACE

EVERLASTING GOD. See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

EVI (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕwî*]. A king of the Midianites (Num 31:8; Josh 13:21). The root *ʾwy* means "to seek shelter, refuge" in Canaanite and Arabic, and produces the personal names *ʾwy* (Phoenician, Safaitic, and ancient Syriac), *ʾwyʾbʿl* (Punic), *ʾwʾ* (Ammonite), the tribal name *ʾwym* (Sabaic), and the place names *ʾwm* (Sabaic, the main temple of Maʾrib) and *byt ʾwn* (Heb). The name is therefore well attested in Semitic (Knauf 1988: 89), and need not be explained by Anatolian formatives (Mendenhall 1973: 167).

Historically, the five Midianite kings in Numbers 31 are difficult to deal with. Whereas Albright (1970) assumed that the Midianite war described in this chapter antedates the domestication of the camel (an observation which would now lead into the 3d millennium B.C.; Knauf 1988: 9–10), it is preferable to derive the Midianite "kings" from a list of places forming an itinerary through N Arabia and S Transjordan in the Persian period (Knauf 1988: 166–67). For the localization of Evi, one of the natural strongholds in the Petra area (Baʿjah or Umm al-Biyârah) is suggested.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

EVIL [Heb *raʿ, rāʿâ;* Gk *ponēros, ponēria, kakos, kakia*]. The opposite of good and righteous.

A. The Old Testament

The concept of evil in the OT has both qualitative and moral categories. Qualitatively, evil is something bad in nature or condition, worthless, corrupt, displeasing, undesirable, or inadequate. Evil is misfortune, particularly injury or threat of injury to life or standing in society. Evil can describe people (Prov 11:21; Ezek 30:12), names or reputations (Deut 22:14, 19; Neh 6:13), temperament (1 Sam 25:3), deep displeasure in someone else's performance (Gen 21:11–12; 28:8), despair (Gen 44:34; Prov 15:15), the distress common to humankind in this life (Gen 47:9; Ps 90:15), the trouble of the age (Eccl 9:12; Jer 17:17–18; Amos 5:13), physical harm (Gen 26:28–29; 2 Sam 12:18), speech (Ps 34:13), and intentions (1 Sam 20:7), situations (Exod 5:19), and land (Num 13:19; 20:5), disease (Deut 7:15), or animals either useless to the cult (Lev 27:10, 12) or dangerous (Gen 37:20, 33; Lev 26:6; Ezek 34:25). God can protect the faithful person or nation from these evils of life (Ps 23:4—LXX 22:4; Jer 29:11).

Evil is also used in a moral and spiritual sense as the designation for immorality and unfaithfulness to the covenant. The origin of evil is the human heart (Prov 6:14; 21:10; Eccl 8:11). Evil describes idolatry and apostasy (Deut 4:25; 1 Kgs 11:6), disobedience to special commands of God (1 Sam 15:19), false prophecy (Deut 13:5), murder (2 Sam 12:9), disobedience to parents (Deut 21:20–21), false witness (Deut 19:18–19), adultery and fornication (Deut 22:21–24), stealing (Gen 44:4; Deut 24:7), the ethical walk (Jer 18:11; 23:22; 25:5), sin in general (Gen 13:13; Ps 51:4), and the inclination of the heart (Gen 6:5; 8:21; Jer 3:17; 7:24; 18:12). These sins are often described as defining good as evil and evil as good (Isa 5:20; Mal 2:17) or seeking evil rather than good (Amos 5:14–15; Mic 3:2). Evil is the opposite of the good and righteous (Gen 2:9; 3:5, 22; Prov 11:21; 12:13).

Evil also describes God's judgment of the individual or nation of Israel for unfaithfulness, particularly to the requirements of covenant and the law of Moses (Deut 31:17–18; Jer 6:19; 18:11). This evil can take the form of the curses of the covenant (Josh 23:15–16), annihilation of a dynasty (1 Kgs 14:10; 21:21, 29) or city (2 Kgs 21:12–13), invading armies (Jer 4:6), wild beasts (Ezek 5:17; 14:21), disease (Deut 28:35, 59), or the sending of an evil spirit (Judg 9:23; 1 Sam 16:14–15). God can also lead out of these evils (Jer 15:21) or, as an outgrowth of his mercy (Exod 32:14) or the repentance of the unfaithful (Jer 18:8; 26:3, 13, 19; Jonah 3:10; 4:2), change his mind about inflicting them. Humankind brings these evils upon itself (Deut 31:17–18; Isa 3:9) and plots them for others (Prov 14:22; Mic 2:1), but God can spare the intended victim (Jer 15:21).

While the nation of Israel was independent and flourishing, while the corporate body was doing well, evil was viewed as the retribution from God upon individuals for sin and breaking of covenant (Judg 2:11–15; 2 Sam 12:9–10; 1 Kgs 2:44). This evil served as a deterrent to pursuing further evil (Deut 19:20; Jer 36:3). The destruction of the nation by noncovenant nations, the divergence of the corporate and the individual emphases in Israel's religion (Jer 31:29–30; Ezek 18:2), the suffering of the righteous (Job 2:3; 30:26), and the prospering of the wicked (Prov 11:21; Eccl 7:15; Jer 12:1–4; Hab 1:2–4; Mal 3:13–15), all presented Israel with the theological dilemma of the preponderance of evil.

Within the confines of its own henotheism and later monotheism, Israel grappled with explaining the relationship of evil to its conception of God. It did not develop a metaphysical dualism in which evil could be explained as the work of demonic powers. Neither did it develop the concept of a capricious God to whom both good and evil could be ascribed. Rather it developed an ethical monotheism. Within this conception a major solution was to look for the justice of God in the eschatological future (Mal 4:1–3—LXX 3:19–21), i.e., to accept the mystery of evil by conceptualizing a creator God with greater freedom to work in ways and for purposes that transcend human understanding (Job 42:2–3).

B. The New Testament

In the NT evil is also used in both qualitative and moral senses. Qualitatively, disease (Rev 16:2), fruit (Matt 7:17–18), nonuse of talents (Matt 25:26), an unmerciful servant (Matt 18:32), misfortune (Matt 6:34; Luke 16:25; Acts 28:5), and the present age (Gal 1:4; Eph 5:16; 6:13) can be described as evil.

However, the moral sense predominates in the NT. The evil person is the opposite of the good and righteous person (Matt 5:45; 13:49; 22:10). Evil is the disobedience to God's law, the preaching of Jesus, and the message of the apostles. It can describe human beings (Phil 3:2; 2 Tim 3:13), particularly the Pharisees (Matt 12:34), a faithless generation (Matt 12:39; 16:4), and those deciding against Jesus (2 Thess 3:2; 2 Tim 3:13). It is rooted in the heart (Matt 12:34–35; Mark 7:21–23; Heb 3:12) or eyes (Matt 6:23 par) or the love of money (1 Tim 6:10). It describes the conscience (Heb 10:22), thoughts (Matt 15:19; Jas 2:4), deeds (John 3:19; Rom 7:19), speech (Jas 3:8; 3 John 10), and the works of the world (John 7:7). Evil is clearly incompatible with the new life in Christ (Rom 12:17, 21; Col 3:5; 1 Thess 5:15; 1 Pet 3:9, 11).

God does not tempt with evil (Jas 1:13) but rather rescues from it (2 Thess 3:3; 2 Tim 4:18). However, evil can be ascribed to the EVIL ONE, the Devil (John 17:15; Eph 6:16; 1 John 2:13–14; 5:18). He has the power to lead humankind into evil (Eph 4:27; 1 Tim 3:7; 2 Tim 2:26) but works only under the limitations imposed by God (John 12:31; Rev 12:9; 20:1–3). To some extent evil and theodicy have received an answer in the gospel of the redemption of humankind and nature by Jesus Christ. Christ has won a victory over the Devil (Heb 2:14–15; 1 John 3:8) and ushered in the kingdom of God. Christ's

victory over evil will be consummated (1 Cor 15:24–26; Heb 10:12–13) and the Devil's reign ended (Rev 20:2–3, 10). See also *TDNT* 3: 469–87; 6: 546–66; *NIDNTT* 1: 561–67.

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DUANE F. WATSON

EVIL ONE, THE [Gk *ho ponēros*]. A title for the Devil or Satan. There is no pre-Christian equivalent for this title being applied to the Devil. That the title does in fact refer to the Devil is made clear by Matt 13:19 *(ho ponēros)* = Mark 4:15 *(ho satanas)* = Luke 8:12 *(ho diablos)*. The Evil One is a title for the Devil when it is a substantive formed by the definite article and the masculine nominative of the adjective *ponēros* (Matt 13:19; 1 John 2:13–14; 5:18).

It is uncertain whether the Evil One is a title for the Devil or an abstract concept of evil when the genitive *tou ponēros* occurs. The genitive could derive either from the masculine *ho ponēros* or the neuter *ton ponēron*. Although a genitive is used, a title is strongly indicated in John 17:15; Eph 6:16; and 1 John 3:12; 5:19. On analogy with John 8:44, 47, which speaks of the alternative of being of the Devil or of God and contrasts Abel and Cain, the reference in 1 John 3:12 is probably titular. Since *tou ponērou* in 1 John 5:19 is used in parallelism with *tou theou* and in conjunction with *to ponēros* in 5:18, it is also likely to be a title. The titular use of *to ponēros* in 1 John is a strong indication that *tou ponērou* in John 17:15 is used similarly. On account of the context of spiritual warfare and the preceding specific reference to the Devil in 6:11, *tou ponērou* in Eph 6:16 should also be in this category.

Passages where a decision between *tou ponērou* as a title or an abstract concept is very difficult because the context lends little insight are Matt 5:37; 6:13; 13:38; 2 Thess 3:3. The references to evil in Matt 5:37 and 13:38 are considered to be conceptual, although the reference to the Devil in 13:39 makes this determination for 13:38 quite uncertain. Debate centers here upon Matt 6:13, the conclusion of the Lord's Prayer. The Eastern Church takes it as a title on analogy with Matt 13:19. The Western Church takes it as a neuter reference to evil of the present age and the last days, and this interpretation predominates in current scholarship. Whatever decision is reached on Matt 6:13 is usually reached on its close parallel, 2 Thess 3:3. For further discussion, see *TDNT* 6: 558–62; *NIDNTT* 1: 566–67.

DUANE F. WATSON

EVIL-MERODACH (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕwīl merōdak*]. Third monarch of the Chaldean dynasty of Babylonia, mentioned in 2 Kgs 25:27 and Jer 52:31. The name in Akk reads *Amēl-Marduk*, "Man of Marduk." In the Gk and Lat the name reads *Ilumarodachus* and *Ulemadar* respectively. This monarch succeeded his father Nebuchadnezzar in October of 562 B.C. and reigned for two years. Unlike his successors Neriglissar and Nabonidus, nothing whatsoever is known of his activities prior to his becoming king. In addition, while a few vase fragments and about 100 contract tablets datable to his reign survive, no text revealing the details of any military campaign he may have conducted has as yet been discovered or published. According to the OT (2 Kgs 25:27–30), the important event of his reign was the release of Jehoiachin, king of Judah, who had been imprisoned by Nebuchadnezzar thirty-seven years earlier.

The later Gk and Lat sources, the rabbinic commentaries, and the Heb *Chronicle* of Jerachmeel provide us with most of our information concerning Evil-merodach's reign. Much of what these sources contain is legendary material. According to *Lev. Rab.* 18:2, high state officials took Evil-merodach and made him king in his father's place. Nebuchadnezzar subsequently threw his son into prison for life, holding him responsible for this act of infidelity. Evil-merodach thus refused the throne the second time it was offered and would only agree to accept it after Nebuchadnezzar's corpse was dragged from its resting place through the streets of Babylon. However, Jerome, in his *Commentary on Isaiah 14:19*, and Jerachmeel, in his *Chronicle*, assert that the leaders of the state would not allow him to become king and instead placed Nebuchadnezzar the Younger on the throne. According to Josephus' *Ant.* and II *Abot de R. Nat.*, Evil-merodach wished to release Jehoiachin from prison because he felt he had been held by his father without cause. After Nebuchadnezzar's body was removed from its resting place, Jehoiachin was immediately set free and given an allowance. The *Babylonica* of Berossus states that Evil-merodach's administration was "arbitrary and licentious," but this statement is completely contradicted by the opinion voiced in the *Bereshit Rabbah*. According to *Esth. Rab.*, Evil-merodach inherited an empty treasury because of Nebuchadnezzar's disposal of his kingdom's wealth before his death. Berossus comments that Evil-merodach's reign ended a short time after the release of Jehoiachin, when he fell victim to a plot and was assassinated by his successor, Neriglissar, "who was also his brother-in-law." Unfortunately, no cuneiform source provides confirmation of these assertions.

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RONALD H. SACK

EVODIUS, HOMILY OF. See VIRGIN, ASSUMPTION OF THE.

EVRON (M.R. 160266). A prehistoric site near the Mediterranean coast N of Acco. Kibbutz Evron is on a sandstone ridge formed by the accumulation of alternating layers of sand and reddish loams. A few of the soils in the vicinity of Evron contain cultural remains of the Early Paleolithic. These sites, or find-spots, are known as Zinnat, Shikun, Pardes, and the Quarry. In 1949, M. Stekelis dug three test pits in Zinnat. The assemblages since collected in Zinnat and Pardes by kibbutz members were studied by Gilead and A. Ronen. The Quarry site, discovered in 1969, was excavated by M. Prausnitz and A. Ronen in 1976–77,

and again by Ronen in 1985. Shikun site was discovered in 1980 by kibbutz members and studied by A. Ronen. The chronological relationships between these sites is to be considered in light of the geological stratigraphy seen E of the Evron ridge, summarized as follows (from top to bottom):

1. Dark brown to black clay, about 2 m thick. Zinnat and Shikun sites, Upper Acheulian.
2. River pebbles and gravel varying in size, 0.5–2.0 m thick.
3. River clay with calcareous nodules, 2–4 m thick. Pardes find-spot.
4. Yellowish sandy clay layer, 1–2.5 m thick. Mainly at the base are the finds of the Quarry site.
5. Red loam, 1–1.5 m thick.
6. Sandstone, 2–3 m thick.
7. Red loam preserved only in a few thin lenses.
8. Sandstone, 2–3 m thick.
9. Miocene clay.

The sequence—the longest and most complete in the coastal plain of the E Mediterranean—covers the Lower and Middle Pleistocene. Layers 8–5 indicate fluctuations of the sea level which resulted in the alternate depositions of sand and soil. Layers 4–1 indicate a continental, riverine environment, which has attracted humans time and again.

A. Zinnat and Shikun

These are similar to each other, with hand axes of Upper Acheulian character, Levallois technique, side scrapers, and denticulates. Bones were not preserved. These assemblages range in date from ca. 80,000–250,000 years ago.

B. Pardes

Pardes has yielded a small number of artifacts attributable (although not found in excavation) to the lower part of layer 3. The hand axes are mostly large and ovaloid. The flake industry is too scanty to be indicative. Bone is not preserved.

C. The Quarry

The Quarry site is stratigraphically the most ancient human cultural occurrence in the coastal plain of Israel. The lithic assemblage contains small flake tools, not standardized to any particular form. There are borers, denticulates and notches, chopping tools and cores, as well as globular calcareous concretions (hammerstones?), all of small dimensions. Bones are well preserved, apparently due to the reduced environment. The animals consumed included the elephant, hippopotamus, boar, and deer. Several very large and coarsely made hand axes were found in the quarry refuse and seem to have originated in layer 4. They are very large (up to 22 cm long), have irregular edges, and were made with a small number of removals. In our excavation, however, no hand axe has turned up in layer 4. It is thus possible that they really belong to the base of the red loam of layer 3 (and hence are the equivalent of Pardes), or the hand axes may have been concentrated in a small area of layer 4. The age estimate for the lithic and faunal assemblage of the Evron Quarry site (layer 4) is between one half and one million years ago.

These Early Paleolithic sites appear to have been feeding sites, with tool kits assigned for cutting and for marrow extraction of large game animals which were hunted and/or scavenged. The animal bones show abundant cut marks and signs of hammering. All these sites were near a river, which had possibly formed large marshes as a result of the obstructing formation of the Evron ridge. No site shows evidence for the use of fire. Other isolated Early Paleolithic remains have been found in various localities on the E side of the Evron ridge, probably similar to the Evron sites.

AVRAHAM RONEN

EWE. See SHEEP, SHEPHERD; ZOOLOGY.

EX VOTO. The Latin phrase *ex voto* expresses fulfillment of a vow to make an offering in consideration of some benefit conferred by a deity or extraordinary being. The gifts or dedications *(anathēmata)* that are made in fulfillment of such vows are called votive offerings and are distinguished from stipulated sacrifices and financial obligations. (See PWSup 14: 964–73; Eitrem and Croon *OCD,* 1132–33; Wachsmuth, *KlPauly* 5: 1355–59; Latte 1960: 46–47.)

A basic feature of Mediterranean and Near Eastern culture is reciprocity. To confer benefits is the primary obligation of deities, heads of state, and all others who would aspire to a reputation for the highest excellence. Conversely, it is expected that the recipient of bounties will make appropriate acknowledgment. To hasten the process, a devotee may assure the deity that if a specific boon is granted the recipient will respond in the manner specified in what is termed the vow. The entire arrangement can be summed in the phrase *do ut des* (I am prepared to give in the hope that you will give).

Homer's epics are replete with the policy. Athene is offered gifts, now by Trojans, now by Greeks, if she will secure for her petitioners safety, victory, or renown (*Il.* 6.86–101, 305–10; 10.284–94; *Od.* 3.375–84). In *Od.* 16.181–85, Telemachos thinks that Odysseus is a deity and promises precious gifts in return for salutary intervention. Similarly, Eteokles, in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* (264–87), pledges generous requital to the city's protecting deities for their help in the current crisis. Related promises are expressed on stone (Michel 1900: no. 21; *IGR* 1911: no. 1498).

Hope of deliverance from a variety of perils induced citizens in both the private and the public sectors to make vows that were honored in a variety of ways. Gold tripods were a typical commemorative gift by a city-state after a successful military campaign (Diod. Siculus 11.26.7). A statue of victory, such as the Nike of Samothrace, now in the Louvre, was a popular type of war dedication. The sacred precincts of Asclepius became repositories of gifts made by grateful recipients of restored sight and deliverance from a variety of other disabilities. The coasts of Hellas, both of the mainland and the islands, were dotted with shrines erected in gratitude for deliverance from perils of the sea.

During a heated battle between the Etruscans and Samites, the Roman consul Claudius Appius raised his hands to heaven and implored, "Bellona, grant me the victory this day, and a temple shall be yours" (Livy 10.19.17). The consul's spontaneity is in striking contrast to formulations of the Arval Brethren (*CIL* 1902: no. 32363, annotation of no. 2059), which reveal the practice in official Roman quarters to leave nothing to chance in negotiations with deities. Dates and details of petition and response find precise expression. Livy's discussion of criticism concerning C. Flaminius (Livy 22.1.5–7) and of the precautions taken by Publius Licinius (42.49) disclose the monumental importance of vows in Rome's national life. To be *damnatus voti* meant that one was obligated to honor a vow. To such religiosity must be ascribed many of the public spectacles and monuments underwritten by the Roman state. Numerous inscriptions attest how scrupulous people in the private sector were in the fulfillment of their vows (with either the phrase *ex voto posuit* or its synonym *votum solvit* (*ILS* 1892,1902: nos. 2194, 2218, 3014, 3549, 3562, 3964). In a playful mood, Horace reveals his piety by devoting his garments to the deity of the sea after having barely escaped love's shipwreck (*Odes* 1.5.12–16). In another poem, on the noxious charms of Barine (2.8.5–6), Horace sketches a violation of the popular understanding: Barine, the flirt, wantonly violates all canons of religious responsibility by making vows she does not intend to keep. With the air of a divine, Persius (*Satires* 2) preaches against hypocrisy in the making of vows, and Ovid (*Art of Love* 653–54) jocosely sums a world of thought on the subject:

> Bribes work with gods as well as with humanity.
> A share to Jove, and he will bless you, trust me.

Romans, impervious to Plato's earlier disclaimer of the concept (*Rep.* 3.390c), deviated little from the formulation used in Jacob's vow at Bethel (Gen 28:18–22; cf. Psalm 25). The OT portrays a strong sense of obligation, of which the most notorious example is the vow of Jephthah (Judg. 11; Hannah's vow had a happier ending, 1 Sam 1). Ps 66:13–20 offers an exemplary exhibit of the basic rationale in vows, with emphasis on the fact that God's end of the bargain has been kept, thus inviting the psalmist's praise and sacrifice (see also Pss 22:25; 50:14; 61:8; 65:1; 116, esp. vv 12–19; all rendered in the LXX with the formula *apodidōmi euchēn*). Sirach 18:21–22 warns against delaying payment of vows until one is at the point of death. Mal 1:14 pronounces a curse on one who tries to palm off a blemished sacrifice. The composer of Psalm 6 warns God that in Sheol there is no possibility of praise-filled remembrance, and the *Epistle of Jeremiah* (v 35) states that false deities cannot exact unpaid vows. Prov 7:14 is a bantering application of Lev 7:11–14 by a seductive woman.

The absence from the NT of the formula *apodidōmi euchēn* is striking. Of a different order from *ex voto* performance in the nature of specific gifts are the obligation assumed by one who takes the vow of the Nazirite (Num 6; Acts 21:23–26) and the curse *(anathēma)* pronounced on oneself relative to a deed that is in progress or is to be performed (Mark 14:71; Acts 23:14).

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FREDERICK W. DANKER

EXACTOR OF TRIBUTE.

See TAXES AND TAXATION.

EXECRATION AND EXECRATION TEXTS.

The formal cursing of persons deemed undesirable by the Egyptian state, and lying outside direct Egyptian control, a practice attested from the Old Kingdom into the early New Kingdom. The rite involved either figuring the individual in a terra-cotta, stone, or wooden representation (whether inscribed or uninscribed), or writing his name on pottery vessels. The curse formula was undoubtedly then pronounced and the object broken (cf. the rite of "breaking the red pots"; Schott and Sethe 1928; Borchardt 1929). In the Old Kingdom nearly every major pyramid temple reveals fragments of statues of bound foreigners (Nubians or Asiatics), but only one lot of inscribed figurines has come to light. The majority of pertinent inscribed material comes from the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period (Posener 1987). The practice, however, was followed so widely in all periods that it clearly constituted a standing policy of the state, and no inference can therefore be drawn regarding the political or military weakness of Egypt simply from the presence of an Execration Text.

Among those cursed, native Egyptians are common, with Nubian chieftains and their tribes occupying premier position among foreigners. Three lots of texts, however, include sections dealing with W Asia: (1) the Berlin bowls acquired on the market; (2) the Mirgissa bowls from the Nubian fortress of the same name (Vercoutter 1963); and (3) the figurines from Saqqara, now in Cairo and Brussels (Posener 1940). Although the Berlin bowls were at first dated by Sethe to the 11th Dynasty, a close study of the paleography and orthography, as well as the discovery of the Mirgissa group, places them no earlier than the middle of the 12th Dynasty, and perhaps as late as the reigns of Amenemhet III and IV (Mazar 1968: 74f., n. 22; Thompson 1974: 108–113). The Mirgissa text mentions two Nubian chiefs already known from the Berlin bowls. Certain Kushite princes in the Brussels texts are named as sons of a chief who also appears in the Berlin corpus (Posener 1940: 34, 49), suggesting that the Brussels material dates about one or two generations after Berlin, i.e., to the first half of the 13th Dynasty (early 18th century B.C.).

The format of the texts is similar. The Berlin group names the chieftains of some 20 Asiatic places, often two or three names being associated with the same toponym. A comprehensive statement follows, cursing "all Asiatics of . . ." (several places, some reduplicated from the earlier section), and "their mighty men and their runners(?)" (see

ANET, 328–29). Among the certain identifications are the land of Shutu, Rehob, ʿArqata, Ashkelon, Byblos, Uzu, Yarimuta, and perhaps Jerusalem. The Brussels texts mention some 62 place names with their chieftains, almost invariably one chieftain to a place. The execration concludes, in similar fashion to that attested on the Berlin bowls, with general entries for "tribes . . . and grandees," and "all the Asiatics of . . . (half a dozen places)." Many toponyms are instantly recognizable, including Ashkelon, Migdol, Shechem, Pella, Apheq, Achsaph, Rehob, Hazor Ayl(on), Siryon, Apum (= Damascus), Abel, Acco, ʿArqata, Shimʿon, Ekr(on), Laish, and Beth-shemesh. Both inland and coastal *towns* are mentioned in both texts, but the latter seem to predominate in the generalizing sections. *Regions* mentioned include Damascus and the Beqʿa, the NW Negeb, and S Transjordan. Certain regions, such as the Ephraimite hill country and large sections of Coele-Syria are conspicuous by their absence. The sequence of names, especially in the Brussels texts, has suggested to some that there is a rational grouping along traveled routes (Yeivin 1959: 156–58).

The significance of this material for Palestinian archaeology and biblical scholarship lies in the light it can shed on the political and social structure of MB Palestine and the alleged age of the patriarchs (see esp. Ward 1961: 141–47; Van Seters 1966: 78–81; Thompson 1974: 98–117). In the sphere of archaeology it has been realized that they can contribute to the debate over the date of the sedentarization attested in the MB I (2000–1800 B.C.; Mazar 1968: 82). It has been argued that the Berlin texts reflect a societal stage in which individual districts were partitioned among a number of chieftains and their clans, thus arguably still in a nonsettled state, while the Brussels texts from ca. 50 years later reveal a situation in which individual toponyms, mostly identifiable with *town* names, are paired with a single princely name, and thus reflect a state of increasing urbanization. This interpretation, which had formerly achieved a certain degree of acceptance, is now widely challenged (Thompson 1974: 113–17; Weinstein 1975: 13); and thus the bearing of the Execration Texts on the social and political history of Palestine remains moot.

The personal names in both sets of texts conform to the W Semitic ("Amorite") onomasticon of the MB II period, devoid of names of clear Hurrian or Aryan derivation (Moran 1957; Goetze, 1958; *APNM*).

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DONALD B. REDFORD

EXECUTIONER. See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

EXEGESIS. The process of careful, analytical study of biblical passages undertaken in order to produce useful interpretations of those passages. Ideally, exegesis involves the analysis of the biblical text in the language of its original or earliest available form, since any translation presents at least a slight barrier to precise definition of the intent of the passage's words. The passage involved may be of virtually any length, subject to the interest of the exegete. The goal of exegesis is to know neither less nor more than the information actually contained in the passage. Exegesis, in other words, places no premium on speculation or inventiveness; novelty in interpretation is not prized. In most circles, exegesis is also part of the theological enterprise, functioning as a basic means of achieving accuracy in interpreting the word of God.

A. Introduction
B. Process
1. Text
2. Translation
3. Historical Context
4. Literary Context
5. Form
6. Structure
7. Grammar
8. Lexical Analysis
9. Biblical Context
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A. Introduction

To a considerable degree, the actual task of exegesis involves examining a passage as carefully as possible from as many angles as possible. In practice this means asking of the text all the questions whose answers might give insight into the text's meaning. For convenience, we may group the process of examination into twelve major steps, arranged in an order that lends itself to a logical progression through the entire exegesis process. The steps are interrelated and should not be viewed as independent stages guaranteeing adequate results when followed through once.

An exegesis article or paper (a selective presentation of the results of the process) may be organized in any of several formats, including the verse-by-verse or section-by-section "commentary" style, or according to groupings thought most important by the writer. The proportion of

attention one must be prepared to give to any given part of the process may vary with the passage(s), since different passages demand different levels of concentration on issues. In other words, no two written exegeses will look exactly the same since no two passages are exactly the same.

B. Process

1. Text. A first step in virtually any exegesis is the establishment of the text. By this is meant first determining the length of the passage in terms of its logical beginning and ending point, which must be established with care lest an original author's meaning be distorted by beginning or ending the analysis in what is in fact a midpoint according to the original author's thought. Secondly, establishing the text requires determining to the best degree possible the original wording of the passage. Before the invention of the printing press, accidental miscopies readily accrued to the various manuscripts. Getting back to the original text, insofar as this is possible, involves examining all relevant evidence available and inducing from it the most likely original wording. This involves asking the basic question: "What original wording would best account for the subsequent history of the text?" Among the pieces of evidence employed in this task are the many ancient translations. In the case of the OT, these include the Septuagint (LXX, the Greek OT) and its successive revisions (such as that of Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus, as well as Origen's Hexapla), the Aramaic, the Syriac (Peshitta), the Latin (including the Vulgate), and early Hebrew sources such as the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the case of the NT, textual reconstruction relies largely on comparisons of Greek manuscripts. There are more of them and they are dated comparatively close to the presumed original, as compared to the Hebrew manuscripts of the OT. Manuscripts in such languages as Coptic, Latin, Syriac, Armenian, and Ethiopic are also consulted, though the manuscripts in these languages are not usually considered as important as those in Greek.

Many textual decisions cannot be made on the basis of a mechanistic comparison of ancient manuscripts, however. Textual criticism always involves the exegete's best judgment about what was likely to be the original wording, and this involves becoming so familiar with the book in which the passage is contained, and with its author, that one can reasonably rule out wordings that might seem to be suggested by scanty or faulty manuscript evidence, inconsistent with what the rest of the book or author's works contain. The text is first established tentatively, and reviewed as to its correctness during the remainder of the steps of the exegesis process.

2. Translation. Since the languages of the Bible are no longer spoken (modern Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek differ considerably from their ancient counterparts), exegesis invariably involves translating the ancient text (once established) into the desired modern "receptor" language, i.e., the language of the exegete and his or her audience. One measure of the degree to which the exegete has correctly understood the passage is the degree to which he or she can translate it convincingly into a modern language. A so-called literal translation is not necessarily the goal, since literal translations provide wooden, word-for-word representations that do not reflect normal idiomatic speech in the receptor language. Instead, the goal is a translation so natural and appropriate to the receptor language that the exegete can fairly say that the translated text conveys the same thing to the mind as does the original text.

There are many variables in this part of the process. Poetry can be difficult to translate satisfactorily since some of its impact is contained not in the meaning of its individual words, but in the beauty of how those words are chosen and put together. Poetry inevitably loses some of its effectiveness, therefore, in translation. Since virtually all exegetes rightly attach more importance to meaning than to form, that which is poetry in the original language is routinely—and necessarily—translated into what amounts to prose in the receptor language.

3. Historical Context. Investigating and identifying the historical context of a passage is a pivotal step in the exegesis process. Reconstructing this historical context helps provide the exegete with a potentially clearer sense of the meaning of the passage than would otherwise be possible, by providing some of the general knowledge that its original audience(s) relied upon to understand what was said and/or written. There are at least five substeps to this aspect of exegesis. (1) The historical background to the passage must be learned, including whatever can be known of historical events that preceded and in any way may explicate statements contained in the passage. (2) The foreground must also be investigated, so that anything that the passage led to or anticipated is not overlooked. (3) The social setting (in the ancient world) of the topics or assumptions in the passage needs analysis. (4) Any geographical contents or allusions must be explored, so that such specifics, if present in the mind of the writer, may be fully appreciated. (5) The attempt is made to identify as closely as possible the date of the passage's composition, so that its historical context may be fixed with relative precision and its relationship to other datable passages explored as needed.

4. Literary Context. This aspect of the exegesis process seeks to understand the implications of the position of a passage within a major division of a biblical book, and within the overall structure of the book itself. What does the passage immediately follow and precede? What does it depend upon that has already been said to the reader, and what does it tell the reader that subsequent passages will reflect in some way? Any passage in any biblical book is either part of a structured progression of information (as in one of the historical books) or a particular instance of a type of literary unit among similar or different types collected in a biblical book (as one psalm in the Psalter). The author or editor of any book has presumably used some sort of criterion for the arrangement of the material as now found (even if that criterion is simple randomness or convenience of grouping according to the order in which the materials came into his or her hand), and any passage can somehow be identified by its contribution to that arrangement and its influence upon it. Conversely, some of the meaning of any statement or passage is derived from its position within a larger document, since meaning is at least partly a function of context.

Included within the process of examining the literary context of a passage are four steps: (1) examination of the

literary function (the manner in which it fills in, adds on, begins, completes, or balances the portion and/or book in which it occurs); (2) examination of the placement (how its location within the section, book, division, Testament, and Bible may reveal something about its style, type, purpose, literary integration, function, etc.); (3) analysis of the detail (the degree to which the passage is comprehensive, selective, shaped by a special perspective, etc.); (4) analysis of authorship (whether or not the human author or editor can be identified and thereby his or her meaning and purposes can be further determined by comparison to other material produced by the same or similar author(s) or editor(s). Examination of the authorship will also include observations about any special features of style, vocabulary, motif, theological perspective, and the like—whether or not the passage's human author can be known.

5. Form. There are many genres of literature, and any individual piece of literature will necessarily be characteristic of one (or more) of these genres. In the Bible eight major genres predominate: law, historical narrative, gospel (a unique type of historical narrative), illustrative narrative (e.g., parables and allegories), wisdom, prophecy, hymnody, and epistle. Along with these broad delineations of genre there are the two major stylistic determiners: whether the passage is prose or poetry (though some passages are a mix thereof. Of the basic eight, there are scores of further subdivisions, somewhat subjectively described by scholars, whose distinguishing terminology for the individual forms is not standardized.

After one identifies the broad, general genre in which a passage is to be classified, it is then necessary to determine the specific literary form. For example, if the overall genre is that of a "record" it is necessary to specify which particular form of record is at hand (contract, letter, list, law, cultic ordinance, etc.). Within the form it may also be possible to identify a subtype. If the form is law, the subtype might be apodictic, or unconditional, law (as in the Decalogue), or casuistic law (the paradigmatic case law that predominates in the Pentateuch); a further subform might be criminal law as opposed to civil law; or law with a prescribed penalty as opposed to law without a specific penalty; etc. It is desirable to describe a form as specifically and narrowly as possible without making it one of a kind. A major benefit of form analysis is the opportunity to compare the specific instance under analysis with similar forms. This is lost if the form is defined to such an extent as to become unique. A form is identified by what it holds in common with other comparable passages; unique features, peculiar to the passage, may be present, but these should be noted as ad hoc rather than as characteristic.

Identification of form may lead to a suggestion of life setting. An "individual psalm of thanksgiving," the form of fifteen passages in the OT (mostly in the Psalter) was used by individuals to express their gratitude to God for deliverance from a misery or danger (judging inductively from all the information we have about such psalms). Thus, even when such a psalm is found without an indication of its purpose in the immediate context, we may still postulate the use to which it was put, simply because we can be reasonably confident that such psalms fit certain kinds of "life settings." Overemphasis on life settings is not justified, however. Virtually any form can be reused or adapted for new purposes and in new situations, i.e., secondary or "adapted" settings. For example, a psalm originally designed for worship at the Jerusalem temple in the days of the Israelite monarchy could be used to express joy in God by Christians imprisoned in a Macedonian jail in the Roman era (Acts 16:25).

It is necessary, finally, to analyze the completeness of the form in question, being alert to the possibility of partial or broken forms. A biblical writer need not provide all the features typically associated with a given form; to provide even a single key or characteristic feature of a form may be enough to clue the reader to that form. For example, the Gk verb *eucharistō*, "I thank," may be enough to alert the reader of a NT epistle that its author has begun the transition from the greeting section to the thanksgiving section characteristic of NT era letters. The presence of a vocabulary word like the Heb imperative *hôšiʿēnî*, "save me," may be enough to suggest to the reader that a psalm may be of the common individual lament type.

Form analysis cannot reliably be used to date passages or to evaluate their historicity. Its primary value is in allowing for comparison with similar forms and for identifying those features of meaning shared by all such forms and thus contained within the particular form in question. For example, it is a rather well-established interpretational rule that parables, with few exceptions, have a single pedagogic aim—in other words, they make a single point. It can then be assumed in the case of any given parable that there will be a single point that the parable intends the reader to grasp, rather than many meanings. Such a conclusion is inherent to the proper interpretation of parables, which share this feature common to their literary form.

6. Structure. Although it is often necessary to pay some attention to a passage's structure as part of the process of identifying its form, it is desirable that the structure should be analyzed carefully as a separate step in exegesis, since the structure of a unit of literature is invariably a guide to its logic. Five stages of analysis may be mentioned:

a. Outlining the passage. Simple as it may seem, outlining is a process that helps the exegete represent the major units of information in a passage. For an outline to be useful, it must be a natural outgrowth of the passage, and not an artificial imposition of order on it. Both quantitative (sheer volume of material) and qualitative (significance of the material) factors must be taken into consideration in constructing an outline that represents fairly the import of the various components of the passage. It is normal to outline a passage with three to five major divisions, simply because, as learning theorists have frequently pointed out, the human mind tends to organize material that way. However, there may be many minor divisions, in units as small as individual sentences, clauses, and phrases, which may prove upon analysis to constitute internal structures important to the passage's meaning. An outline should be as detailed as possible without becoming forced or artificial. Conclusions about overall structure can then be drawn.

b. Pattern analysis. Any passage will be made up of meaningful thought patterns, which may be identified as to their key features (e.g., transitions, resumptions, central or pivotal terms, parallelisms, chiasms, *inclusios*, unique

forms of phrase, and other such repetitious or progressive patterns). By design, poetry contains more striking structural patterns, especially repetition, than does prose. It is especially important to identify any structural patterns that are either unexpected or unique in the passage. All patterns, however, must be evaluated and the results interpreted for purposes of further refining one's understanding of the meaning of the passage.

c. Analysis of structure according to descending units of size. It is normally helpful to move from largest to smallest units of structure (from passage to paragraph to sentence/verse to clause to phrase to term to word to sound) and where possible to identify how major or minor a given pattern seems to be in the passage.

d. Minor patterns must be evaluated as to intentionality. A pattern may be accidental rather than purposeful (e.g., the repetition of certain vowel sounds in close proximity to one another, or the repetition of a verbal root in two successive verses) and thus have no intended significance for the meaning of the passage. Major patterns are so obvious that it is hard to doubt that they were intended by the ancient writer/speaker and easily recognized by his or her audience. Minor patterns may be more subjective. One must be careful not to assume that a pattern visible on the printed page of a modern Hebrew or Greek Bible after lengthy analysis would have been noticeable on the page of an ancient manuscript or to the original hearers of a portion of Scripture. Naturally, patterns evident only in translations from the original are irrelevant to accurate exegesis.

e. Poetic structural patterns must be analyzed according to the canons of poetry. This is a special task in itself, yet absolutely necessary in the portions of the Bible that are written in poetry (almost one third of the OT; small portions of the NT). The exegete analyzing poetry must identify the parallelism (couplets, triplets, and occasionally quatrains), the scansion (the metrical pattern or cadence of the poetry), rhyme, assonance, acrostic or chiastic patterns, and metrical formulas (stock phrases employed to meet the demands of metrical patterns in given contexts), and must evaluate the interrelationship of these to the meaning of the passage. For example, Ps 19:1 ("The heavens declare the glory of God/ And the earth shows his handiwork") does not make two different statements; i.e., that God's glory is seen in the sky whereas his handiwork is seen in the earth. Rather, this synonymous parallelism, according to well-attested canons of Hebrew poetry, makes a single essential point, which may be paraphrased as: "The heavens and earth demonstrate God's glorious handiwork." The type of parallelism, in other words, is a factor in the analysis of the meaning, which is the goal of exegesis. Such linguistic devices as epiphora (repetition of final sounds), anaphora (repetition of initial sounds), assonance (repetition or juxtaposition of similar sounds), paronomoasia (play on words), figure etymologica (plays on word roots, often involving names), and other literary devices must be identified, and their use within the passage evaluated so that these factors will be neither ignored nor overemphasized as to their contribution to the meaning.

7. Grammar. Since grammar is the logical substructure of language, a correct understanding of grammar is essential to the correct understanding of the logic of statements made in a passage. The exegete must analyze the grammar of the passage under review, in the original, to determine if any grammatical ambiguities or uncertainties exist. It may be the case that a part of the passage is not certain as to its meaning because the interpretation of the grammar is difficult or debatable. Certain kinds of grammatical features are often important clues to meaning, including ellipsis, asyndeton, prostaxis, parataxis, anacolouthon, aposeopesis, and so forth.

Orthographic and morphological analysis can provide important grammatical indices of meaning and sometimes even point toward the date of a passage. Orthography is normally more relevant to Hebrew exegesis than to Greek, since the OT was produced over a much longer period of time, during which Hebrew spelling habits evolved in a discernible manner. As a result, unusual orthographies may sometimes represent genuinely ancient forms preserved by tradition, or even by accident, through centuries of hand copying of the text. Since Hebrew spelling was partly reflective of dialect, it can even be the case that orthography gives clues as to geographical origin, as in the paronomasia of Amos 8:1–3, whose play between Heb *qyṣ*, "harvest," and *qṣ*, "end," would have been most effective in N Israel, where both words were pronounced *qēṣ* in Amos' day, as opposed to the S (Judah) where the word for harvest was pronounced *qayiṣ* and the word for end pronounced *qēṣ*. Commentators with insufficient knowledge of the grammar of the Bible's original languages may commit a variety of errors, including mistranslation and faulty analysis of logic. Those unaware of the history of pronunciation of Hebrew, for example, sometimes infer the presence of rhyme on the basis of the medieval Masoretic vocalizations when the original pronunciations would have been quite different. Those unfamiliar with the special rules of grammar that apply to Hebrew poetry as opposed to those for prose sometimes misunderstand even the tenses of the verbs in poetic contexts. In NT Greek, likewise, failure to appreciate simple syntactical uses of common words can cause distortions in comprehension, as in the somewhat confusing translation of John 3:16, "For God so loved the world . . . ," better translated "God thus loved the world . . ." It is highly unlikely that Gk *houtos*, "so," in this context could mean "so" in the usually understood sense of "so much" but highly likely that it means "thus" in the sense of "in this manner" (referring to the manner of God's love as described in John 3:14–15).

8. Lexical Analysis. A correct understanding of the meaning of the words and terms of a passage is essential to proper exegesis. It is necessary, first, to attempt to identify for the audience of the exegesis any words or terms whose meanings might not be obvious. Normally one works in descending order from entire clauses, where applicable, to individual words or even parts of words in seeking to provide precise definitions for the terminology. Terms such as proper nouns almost always deserve attention in a full exegesis. Naturally, it is the terminology of the original language that one is after—analyzing words in translation is of limited value.

Eventually it is necessary to attempt to identify the key wordings of the passage—those that are somehow essential or pivotal, or else sufficiently opaque at first reading as to demand exploration. The number of difficult or pivotal

words in a passage cannot be predicted in advance; it will be a function of the passage's own uniqueness.

The most important words must be studied carefully, via a process widely known as "word study," by which all the potential meanings of a word or term are considered with the goal of determining which of them applies in the passage at hand. Additionally, any special semantic features must be identified and analyzed as to their meaning for the interpretation of the passage. Such features could include irony, anaphora, epiphora, paronomasia, metonymy, synecdoche, hendiadys, formulae, loan words, and etymological oddities.

The science of semantics, which governs lexical analysis, demands careful effort on the part of the exegete. Naive approaches to defining words are still widespread in the world of biblical studies. The exegete must strive to avoid such common faults as illegitimate totality transfer (thinking that all or any of the potential meanings of a word apply to that word in any passage where it occurs), excessive reliance on etymology (thinking that the original or "root" meaning of a word stays with that word and is part of its meaning in every place it is used), and extracontextualism (finding a meaning for the given term in some usage far removed in time, circumstance, or ethos from the passage at hand and assuming that such a meaning "fits" the term's use in the passage). In all lexical study, it is imperative that the meaning in the present context be given precedence over all other considerations. The fact that a word may be used 99 percent of the time it is found in ancient writings to mean one thing is essentially irrelevant if in the context of the biblical passage under study it is used to mean something else. Any author may choose to use even a common word in an unusual way. Thus the final question must always be "How is it used here?" rather than "How does its use elsewhere tell us what it means here?" The latter question is not always entirely useless; it is, however, always a secondary question in lexical analysis to the question of meaning in the immediate context.

9. Biblical Context. By this point in the exegesis process, the exegete must draw together enough of the information provided by the results of the previous steps to begin to focus on the passage as a whole in terms of its overall "message." To be sure, this is a subjective enterprise to some degree, but it is essential in light of the fact that in any passage the meaning of the whole is different from a mere compilation of findings made about the individual parts. One must move from paying primary attention to the individual features to treating the passage as an entity. How this entity fits into the broader body of truth contained in the Bible as a whole now becomes the focus. The exegete must keep in mind at this stage any essential characteristics, clear implications, or other central observations made as a result of the stages of the exegesis process pursued thus far.

It is necessary now to analyze the use or reuse of the passage elsewhere in Scripture if it or any part of it is quoted or alluded to at another place. How and why the passage is used elsewhere may yield clues as to its meaning or value, and at least how it may have been interpreted within a time and culture much closer to its original composition than our own. Occasionally, an awareness of special circumstances under which it is quoted or alluded to may aid in its interpretation.

Even if a passage is not quoted or alluded to elsewhere in the Bible, one must still analyze its relation to the rest of Scripture, by determining how the passage functions dogmatically in the section, book division, Testament, and Bible (usually in that order) of which it is a part. Here the exegete must ask how the passage or any of its elements compares to other Scriptures that address or relate to the same sorts of issues. In other words, one asks how the passage is similar or dissimilar to its immediate and broader context. This is, of course, a large question, but it must nevertheless be explored, based on one's general knowledge of the content of the Bible.

Finally, the passage's import for understanding other parts of the Bible must be evaluated. The exegete must try to determine if the meaning of any other passage in part hinges on this passage, or if other elements in Scripture help make this passage comprehensible. Interrelationships or dependencies in meaning may well reach across literary or historical categories. It is necessary to determine whether or not the passage deals with issues that are in fact dealt with in the same way, or in a contrasting way, elsewhere in the Bible. An important question to ask in conjunction with this step of the exegesis process is whether or not there is any part of the message of the Bible that would be lost or rendered less complete by the absence of this passage. In effect, answering that question tells us what the passage actually contributes to the Bible.

10. Theology. There is a natural continuity from biblical context to theology. Theology is here defined as the systematic study of revealed truth. The exegete will properly be concerned to determine how the passage being studied fits within the whole corpus of revelation, asking to which covenant the passage is directed, its limitations with regard to the progression of covenants in the Bible, the extent of its continuing relevance as an indicator of God's relationship to his creation, or as an indication of God's character, standards, immanence, transcendence, etc. Also, it is necessary to explore the way that the passage might or might not be related to broader theological concerns, and the general theological categories to which the passage contributes (e.g., theology proper, anthropology, Christology, pneumatology, harmatiology, soteriology, ecclesiology, eschatology, etc.). The nature of this contribution (via overt vocabulary, general subject matter, allusion, etc.) must be ascertained. An overdependence upon the vocabulary of the passage must be avoided here, since passages do not always contain terms that by themselves identify the meaning. That is to say, words are not the same as concepts; a passage that illustrates the love of God need not itself mention either of the words "love" or "God."

Beyond the general topics of doctrine that the passage raises or contributes to, it is necessary to identify specific issues (e.g., the problems, blessings, concerns, confidences, ethics, etc.) about which the passage has something to say. If the passage raises complications for certain parts of the theological agenda while clarifying others, this must be evaluated as well.

The theological contribution of the passage must be established as accurately as possible. To what extent does

the passage contribute to the solution of any theological issues and how? How major or minor is the passage's contribution, and in what way does the passage conform to the entire system of revealed truth? To what extent is the passage theologically obscure or insoluble? The exegete must be careful in this process not to force the passage into a theological mold; any passage of Scripture has some contribution to make to theology; but some are much more obviously identified as to their theological orientation than others.

11. Secondary Literature. By this stage, the exegete will of necessity have consulted many kinds of books and articles, such as grammars, commentaries, atlases, lexicons, etc. It is important, however, not to limit use of the secondary literature to such ad hoc consultations. A systematic survey of the secondary literature on or directly related to the passage is desirable. Investigating what others have written on the passage is necessary, both to supplement what one may have already concluded, and also to correct anything that a reading of the secondary literature might demonstrate to be wrong.

A convincing exegesis should establish its conclusions both in concert with conclusions reached by some scholars and against conclusions reached by others. At this stage in the process the exegete must revise tentative conclusions reached earlier, if comparison to the work of others demonstrates the need for better analysis of the passage. Making additions and corrections to one's work is a normal part of the process. It is especially valuable to analyze the relative weight that other scholars have given to the various components of the passage. The exegete must attempt to decide if he or she has in fact understood the passage well enough to have weighed the import of the various contents properly relative to one another, and has weighed the importance of the passage's features in a manner that best portrays its meaning.

It is of course the case that passages on which a large amount of scholarship has been published will be somewhat easier to review in this way than passages which have attracted relatively little attention from the scholarly community. Some passages have been the subject of scholarly study only in commentaries, and that not thoroughly. Others have been subjects of investigation in journal articles only with regard to limited aspects of the exegesis process (e.g., the text of the passage, or difficult words therein, but not the full range of exegetical investigation). Nevertheless, the exegete must review the literature as thoroughly as possible and be informed accordingly.

12. Application. There is no disagreement among scholars on the purpose of exegesis: to determine the meaning of a passage. However, some exegetes hold that the goal of exegesis is merely the determination of the meaning of a passage to its *original* audience (what the passage once meant), rather than the determination as well of what the passage says to a modern reader who desires to understand its import for his or her life at the present (what the passage means now). Nonetheless, the vast majority of people who study the Bible do so not as an intellectual exercise but as a spiritual one: they are looking for guidance relative to their faith and practice. Pretending that exegesis can be kept more "neutral" or "objective" by avoiding the question of current relevance of a biblical passage is thus a curtailing of activity just before the desired outcome—from the point of view of most readers—is achieved.

Hermeneutics, the science of interpretation, attempts to bridge barriers that would prevent a modern understanding of a biblical text. The standards of this science are variously defined, but important to an accurate interpretation of the passage is a basic hermeneutical rule: a passage cannot mean now what it could not originally have meant. That is, there is no valid modern application of a passage that was not also a potentially valid application of the passage for its original audience. Some applications appropriate to their original audiences may now no longer be valid—for example, if the application was in part directed strictly toward some person or group or situation no longer in existence (e.g., 2 Tim 2:21). On the other hand, the extent to which a passage may have applied to its original audience may not be identical to the extent (greater or lesser) of its application to us (e.g., Exod 27:1–8). It may be noted that the exegete, the person who has developed expertise in the passage, is in the best position to recommend its proper application, as opposed to someone who has not been involved in the process prior to attempting to determine how the passage might apply.

There are seven types of clarification necessary if an application is to be accurate. They are:

(1) Clarification of comparable particulars. Here the exegete identifies those factors, issues, situations, life contexts, etc., that are still sufficiently analogous to that which prevailed at the time of the original composition of the passage as to constitute "comparable" particulars. Some things have changed appreciably from ancient times to modern; some have not. Where the situation of the modern reader is in essence comparable to the situation of the ancient reader as regards issues addressed in the passage, the modern reader will profit from the same essential application of the passage that the ancient reader would have properly made.

(2) Clarification of the nature of the application. Though the distinction is sometimes artificial, it is useful to ask whether a passage informs its readers or directs them. A passage containing or characterized by imperative, instruction, demand, command, etc., is a passage which in whole or in part may be said to direct the reader. A passage which describes, narrates, praises, etc., may be said to inform. Many passages, of course, do both, and the extent to which this is the case is an important feature of the application of the passage.

(3) Clarification of the areas of application. Here it is faith or action that the exegete is interested in. While these two elements should actually go together in the life of a believer, they are distinct entities and a given passage may concentrate on one more than the other. The extent to which this is observed to be so is a factor in the application process.

(4) Clarification of the audience. At this point the exegete must determine to whom the passage is directed. A delineation must be made as to whether the passage is aimed at personal or corporate application. Is it directed to a person or a group? What sort of person? What sort of group?

(5) Clarification of categories. The actual subject matter

of the application must be identified as precisely as possible. A passage about personal piety is quite different from a passage about national deliverance. Location of the subject matter within the various realms of life (social, economic, religious, familiar, financial, etc.) is an appropriate step in specifying the application.

(6) Clarification of the time focus. A passage's focus may be past, present, or future, or a combination of these. Some passages call for an appreciation of what has occurred. Some call for a response to what is occurring. Some call for a preparedness for what will occur on the basis of what has occurred.

(7) Clarification of the limits. An accurate understanding of any piece of literature may require not only a description of what it says, but also some analysis of what it does not say. It may well be necessary, in other words, to obviate any application that a well-intentioned reader might think at first glance is appropriate to the passage, but which in fact the exegete can determine is not. Applications of any passage should be limited as carefully as possible.

Two of the most common tendencies of misapplication are moralizing from narratives and universal personalizing of ad hoc circumstances. Narratives tell what happened and are not designed to provide hidden ethical norms. Nearly all Bible characters do both good and bad things; following their example or learning from the "moral" of the stories about them is risky if not carefully controlled. With regard to universal personalizing, the mentality behind the words "we all have our" is often characteristic of inappropriate reasoning from a single given event mentioned in the Bible to a common "personal" application, as if the reason for the passage's existence is that the same sort of thing mentioned in the passage somehow happens to everyone. Applying the story of Jesus' calming a storm (Mark 4:35–41 and parallels) by averring that "we all have our storms in life . . ." is an example of the sort of extremely common but erroneous application against which the exegete must set limits.

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DOUGLAS STUART

EXEGESIS ON THE SOUL (NHC II,*6*). A devout gnosticizing early Christian exhortation to otherworldliness composed of narrative, Scripture, and paraenesis. No trace of the presumed Greek original remains except the Coptic translation (Sahidic dialect) on pp. 127–37 of Codex II from the cache of late 4th-century copies of earlier translations found in 1945 at Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt. Based on its Christian piety (Moon 1983), use of the Bible (Scopello 1985), and affinities with the Valentinian Sophia myth and Alexandrian thought (Sevrin 1983), hypotheses on its origins have ranged from the 2d to 4th centuries in Alexandria.

The narrative (127, 22–129, 5; 131, 13–132, 10.13–15.18–27; 133,10–11.14–15; 133,31–134,3.8–11.25–28) runs as follows. Originally the soul was "alone with the Father . . . virgin and androgynous in form." The narrative begins "when she fell down into a body and came to this life." Here in this world the life of the soul—personified as a woman, Psyche (the Greek word for soul, feminine gender)—is a sad story: she was raped, abused by one and then another and by still others, deceived, and cast aside, left abandoned with her deformed children. Under compulsion, deceit, and the shame of complicity, she seemed trapped with no escape, but "she perceives the straits she is in" (131,17) and did the proper thing (in paraenetic jargon: "it is fitting"): she sighed and repented, called on the father for deliverance, and was heard and rescued. The father sent from heaven "her man . . . her brother, the first-born . . . the bridegroom" (132,7–9). She bathed, prepared for the wedding, perfumed the bridal chamber, and waited for the bridegroom—anxiously, "for she did not know what he looked like; she no longer remembers since the time she fell from her Father's house" (132,19–21). But she did recognize him; she "enjoyed her beloved, and [he also] loved her. And when she had intercourse with him, she got from him the seed that is the life-giving Spirit, so that by him she bears good children . . ." (133,33–134,3). In this union the soul "received the divine nature from the Father for her rejuvenation, so that she might be restored to the place where originally she had been" (134,8–11).

From the start of the story sexual abuse is the myth's linguistic imagery, but the sense conveyed in the rest of the narrative fixes not on the sexual violation but on sexuality itself. Before "she fell down into a body and came to this life," Psyche "was virgin and androgynous" (hendiadys: virginity [purity] = nonsexual androgyne). In her prayer the wrong she confessed was "I abandoned my house and fled from my maiden's quarters" (128,36–129,1). The afflictions she suffered were not the real defilement but its consequence: "many are the afflictions that have come upon her because she abandoned her house" (129,4–5). The rescue was accomplished by sending from heaven her mate (132,7–10), with whom she was reunited in marriage, thereby reconstituting the asexual androgyne. "So the cleansing of the soul is to regain the [newness] of her former nature . . ." (131,34–132,1). The narrative makes clear that the soul's fall into bodily existence (abandoning her house) was wrong, but it offers no explanation. That is added in a gloss on Genesis 2: "the woman led astray the man who is her brother" (133,4–9). In structure as well as in substance, the gloss is of central importance; it stands where the several parts of *Exeg. Soul* are tied together, within a complicated composition of didactic instruction and interpretation of Scripture (132,27–133,31) which is placed around the recognition scene (133,10–15).

Scripture is first employed, interrupting the narrative at the soul's prayer of penitence and petition, in a lengthy

exegetical composition entitled "On the prostitution of the soul" (129,5–131,13: the image of the unfaithful wife from Jeremiah 3, Hosea 2, and Ezekiel 16 is applied by the Holy Spirit to the prostitution of the soul and interpreted as the soul's defilement by "the domain of the flesh and the perceptible realm and the affairs of the earth"; Paul's command not to associate with prostitutes [1 Corinthians 5,9] is taken as a summons to struggle against evil spiritual powers).

After the story is told, the hortatory section (135,4ff.) twice says what is proper behavior ("It is fitting" 135,4–15; 136,16–27)—sighing, weeping, hating ourselves and this place of deception, repenting with sincerity—and offers assurance that the father hears the penitent. Chains of Scripture (136,25–137,11; 137,11–22) support both points. In the second instance the Scripture quotations also summarize the whole theme of repentance and deliverance, both in terms of narrative. One is from Homer's *Odyssey* (Helen and Odysseus are figures of the soul's perilous journey through this world to her true home) and the other is from Israel's exodus out of Egypt (to prooftext the groveling which is *de rigueur* in *Exeg. Soul*'s piety: "Certainly Israel would not have been visited in the first place, to be brought out of the land of Egypt . . . if it had not sighed to God and wept . . ."). There are also single texts from Scripture: at the end of the narrative didactic definitions are coupled with quotations (134,4–5.11–25.29–135,4).

Thus it appears the quotations, like the exhortation, were added to the story and so are not the narrative's source, as some have argued, but sanction its interpretation. The quotations interrupt the story and help give shape to the entire composition: interruption at the exegetical composition, shaping at the end where the whole is recapitulated in terms of the *Odyssey* and the Exodus, and both interruption and shaping at the point where the knots are tied, at the recognition scene where the myth is tied to the Genesis creation account.

Exeg. Soul belongs to no single literary genre. It presents topics discussed in philosophical school treatises on the soul from the 2d century C.E.—the nature of the soul, her incarnation, her lot in this life, and eschatology (Festugière 1953). It exhibits a Platonic outline (Plotinus, *Enn.* 6.9.9) found also in Hermetic and pagan gnostic systems. It has points of similarity with Hippolytus' discussion of the Naasene gnostics (*Elenchos* V, 6–7), with what may be a pre-Valentinian form of the Sophia myth (Jonas 1958) found in *The Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,1 and elsewhere), and with other Nag Hammadi codices, such as *Authentic Teaching* (NHC VI,*3*: the spiritual soul, thrown into a body, becomes involved in this life, forgets her origins, then turns against this world, and at her marriage receives from the bridegroom the word which provides her with the true and saving knowledge of her origins) and *The Gospel of Philip* (NHC II,*3*: connects salvation and the bridal chamber). But *Exeg. Soul* is not philosophical argument or pure myth or even novella, despite similarities with the Hellenistic romances of risk and rescue.

Exeg. Soul is of interest as an example in Hellenistic Christianity of a Platonizing doctrine of the soul whose dualism was pessimistic enough to turn it gnostic (Sevrin 1983), together with narrative initiatives from the Hellenistic romances, and biblical and Homeric scriptures, all mixed into an exhortation against attachment to this life, which is characterized by suffering, affliction, distress, defilement and by fitting affective clichés (sigh and repent, weep, mourn). It interests some researchers because it may contain a simple—and hence possibly an early—version of the myth of the soul's fall into a body, which is her defilement, and her rescue, i.e., ascent back to the heavenly father.

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WILLIAM C. ROBINSON, JR.

EXILE. See ISRAEL, HISTORY OF.

EXODUS, BOOK OF. The second book of the OT, and the second of the five books of the Torah or Pentateuch.

A. Title
B. Masoretic Internal Divisions
C. Place within the Torah
D. Integrity and Chronological Scope
E. Textual Traditions
F. Contents
   1. Israel in Egypt
   2. Exodus Events

3. Wilderness Wanderings
4. Sinai Experiences
G. Nature of the Material
H. Composition
I. Literary Aspects
J. Historicity
K. Religion of Exodus

A. Title

The common English title Exodus is derived from the Vg *[Liber] Exodus,* which received it from the OL. This, in turn, was inherited from the Gk *exodos,* abbreviated from a fuller *exodos aigyptou,* "The Departure from Egypt." This name, descriptive of the main theme of the book, reflects an ancient Hebrew title current among the Jews of Palestine and Alexandria: *sēper yĕṣî'āt miṣrayim,* "The Book of the Departure from Egypt." This title is still preserved in the 10th-century C.E. Ben-Asher MT (Baer and Strack 1879: 57). The Syriac title *mapqanā'* is similarly dependent on that tradition.

The Hebrew name was *wĕ'ēllê šĕmôt,* "And these (are) the names (of)" (Exod 1:1), after the opening words, popularly shortened to *šĕmôt.* This title was used by Origen (3d century C.E.) and by Eusebius (4th century) in his *Ecclesiastical History* (6.25), transcribed in Greek as *Oualesmōth* as well as in Latin Bibles as *Hebraica veelle semoth.* It is found in *Gen. Rab.* 64.

One other name is *ḥōmeš šēnî,* "the second fifth" (of the Pentateuch) (*Soṭa* 36b).

B. Masoretic Internal Divisions

The present division of the books of the Hebrew Bible into chapters is a late innovation. It is Christian in origin and was transferred from the Latin Bible into Hebrew manuscripts by R. Salomon b. Ishmael ca. 1330 C.E. According to this system, Exodus is divided into 40 chapters. The traditional Masoretic divisions only know of lectionary pericopes (sections for reading in synagogue service). The old Palestinian practice of completing the reading of the Torah in three or three and a half years separated Exodus into 29 or 33 weekly sabbath readings *(sĕdārîm),* while the annual system of Babylon that ultimately became universal in Jewish communities features 11 such pericopes.

According to the Masoretic note at the end of several codices, the Hebrew text of Exodus contains 1209 verses, 16,713 words, and 33,539 letters.

C. Place within the Torah

The book of Exodus is part of a larger literary unit known as the Torah or Pentateuch. As such, its opening section and subject matter have many points of contact with the preceding book of Genesis, and its final pericope constitutes a transition to the following books of Leviticus and Numbers. The links with Genesis are discernible in the initial verses. Verse 1 cites Gen 46:1, and v 5 is dependent on Gen 46:26–27. The list of tribes in Exod 1:2–4 is drawn from Gen 35:23–26, because that chapter (vv 11–12) contains the divine promises to Jacob:

> Be fertile and increase:
> A nation, yea an assembly of nations,
> Shall descend from you. . . .
> The land that I assigned to Abraham and Isaac
> I assign to you;
> And to your offspring to come
> Will I assign the land.

Exod 1:7 tacitly affirms that the blessing of fertility has been realized; the fulfillment of the promise of national territory is about to be set in motion. In addition, the references to Joseph in 1:5–6 presuppose a knowledge of his identity and activities (cf. also 3:16 and 13:19 with Gen 50:24–25). Still other instances of dependency on the Genesis narratives lie in the repeated invocation of the divine promises to the three patriarchs (Exod 2:24; 6:3–4, 8; 32:13; 33:1; cf. Gen 12:1–3; 15:5, 7, 18; 17:2; 28:13–14; 46:3; Fishbane 1979: 63–64).

The closing chapters of Exodus that recount the construction and dedication of the tabernacle in the wilderness provide the background and rationale for the main theme of the books of Leviticus and Numbers, which is the ordering of the cultic institutions and religious life of Israel.

D. Integrity and Chronological Scope

Notwithstanding these obvious connections with the preceding and following books of the Torah, Exodus possesses an integrity of its own. It is marked off by a prologue and epilogue (1:1–7; 40:36–38), the former registering the migration of the Israelites to Egypt from Canaan, the latter recording the journeyings of the people on their way to Canaan from Egypt. Whereas Genesis concerns itself with the lives of individuals, the second book of the Torah relates to the fortunes of the people as a whole. The phrase "people of Israel" appears here for the first time (Exod 1:9; cf. 3:7). In fact, Exodus may rightly be looked upon as the seminal book of the Hebrew Scriptures in that it features the pivotal events of Israel's history and the fundamental institutions of its culture and religion.

The latest event mentioned in the narrative is the erection of the tabernacle in the wilderness on the new moon of the first month of the second year following the departure from Egypt (Exod 40:1, 17). The other end of the chronological spectrum remains unclear. This is due to the book's silence about the interval between the death of Joseph and the accession of the tyrannical pharaoh, and about the duration of the slavery. On these points there are divergent traditions. A comprehensive figure of 430 years is given in MT Exod 12:40–41, but LXX and Sam. Pent. include in this number also the length of stay in Canaan. According to Gen 15:13, the predetermined period of slavery was to be 400 years, which is said to cover four generations (Gen 15:16). This last tradition coordinates with the genealogy of Moses, who was the great-grandson of Levi, son of Jacob (Exod 6:1, 16, 18, 20) and more or less agrees with the notice that Joseph's great-grandson Jair, together with his sons, participated in Joshua's wars of conquest and the settlement of Canaan (Gen 50:23; Num 32:39–41; Deut 3:14; Josh 13:1; 17:1). The genealogies, therefore, leave room for no more than about a century or so for the entire Egyptian episode.

Moses himself must have been born, of course, after the onset of the Egyptian oppression, and he was eighty years of age at the time of the Exodus (Exod 2:1; 7:7; Deut

34:7). This means that the enslavement of Israel lasted that long at least. On the other hand, it would have required many more generations than two or three for a mere seventy souls and their families to have proliferated to the extent of being regarded as a serious threat to the security of Egypt (Exod 1:5, 7, 9–10). At any rate, 19:1 and 40:17 show that the bulk of the book encompasses a period of just about one year.

E. Textual Traditions

Four textual traditions of Exodus can be distinguished. These are the received Hebrew text (MT), the Samaritan Pentateuch, the LXX, and now the tradition represented by 4QpaleoExod^{M}.

The Hebrew behind the Greek Exodus seems to have differed from MT more than the other books of the Pentateuch. It also differs from it in arrangement of contents in two main respects: (1) within the Decalog (chap. 20), the order of the commandments in Codex Vaticanus (B) is 7, 8, and 6; (2) while it closely corresponds to MT in chaps. 25–31, there are considerable differences in the parallel account in chaps. 35–40. The section dealing with the ornaments and garments of the priesthood (39:2–31 [MT]), which in MT follows the description of the structure of the tabernacle and its furnishings, is shifted in LXX to head the entire section (36:9–40 [LXX]) within the subsections of that pericope (Swete 1902: 231–36).

The Samaritan text is characterized by a number of major expansions, conflate readings, and interpolations. Thus Exod 18:24 is supplemented by Deut 1:9–18, the tenth commandment in Exod 20:17 has been augmented by citations from Deut 11:29 and 27:2–7, Exod 20:19 has been enlarged by Deut 5:24–27, and Exod 20:22 by excerpts from Deut 5:28–31.

What seems to be the forerunner of this text-type is 4QpaleoExod^{M} from Qumran, which has survived in varying states of preservation. It contains Exod 6:25 to chap. 37. While not identical to the Sam. Pent., it, too, features repetitions, especially in the plague narratives, and also has passages interpolated from Deuteronomy. Another peculiarity is the placing of Exod 30:1–10 in chap. 26. This text displays numerous textual variants from MT, many of them corresponding to the Greek and Samaritan. On the whole, though, it is very close to MT (see Sanderson 1986).

A total of fifteen Hebrew scrolls of Exodus, all fragmentary, were uncovered at Qumran. Thirteen were found in cave 4; two of them are written in the Paleo-Hebrew script. Other fragments were found in cave 1, which feature Exod 16:12–16; 19:24–20:1; 20:25–21:1; 21:4–5, and in the "small caves," that is, in cave 2 that held Exod 1:11–14; 7:1–4; 9:27–29; 11:3–7; 12:32–41; 21:18–20(?); 26:11–13; 30:21 (?); 32:32–34 and another group containing Exod 4:31; 12:26–27 (?); 18:21–22; 21:27–22:2; 22:15–19; 27:17–19; 31:16–17; 19:9; and 34:10; and a third represented by 5:3–5. In cave 7 were found Exod 28:4–6 and v 7 in Greek translation. In addition, fragments of Hebrew Exod 4:28–31; 5:3; and 6:5–11 were preserved at Murabba^{c}ât.

F. Contents

The book is devoted to the events leading up to the Exodus, the circumstances of the Exodus itself, and the experiences in the wilderness that include the covenant at Sinai, the corpus of legislation, and the construction of the tabernacle.

A detailed analysis of the contents demonstrates the varied nature of the material, which may be subsumed under four rubrics as follows:

1. Israel in Egypt (1:1–12:36)
2. Exodus Events (12:37–15:21)
3. Wilderness Wanderings (15:22–18:27)
4. Sinai Experiences (19:1–40:30)

1. Israel in Egypt. a. Prologue (1:1–7). An abbreviated recapitulation of Gen 46:1–27; the roster of Jacob's sons, the heads of families, who accompanied their father in the migration to Egypt; together with their households, they number seventy souls in all, including Joseph, who was already there; that entire immigrant generation dies out; the Israelite population increases phenomenally.

b. Oppression (1:18–20). A new king arises in Egypt; unmindful of the benefactions that Joseph had bestowed on the land, he perceives the proliferation of the Israelites to be a threat to national security; in order to curb their natural increase he conscripts the people for forced labor on state projects; when this tactic fails to achieve its goal, more severe measures are taken; the range of tasks imposed on the Israelites is greatly expanded; the midwives are ordered to murder all Israelite males at birth; they disregard the decree, whereupon the pharaoh directs that all newborn males are to be thrown into the Nile.

c. Birth of Moses (2:1–10). A baby is born to a levitical family and is kept in hiding for three months; when concealment is no longer feasible, the mother places him in a waterproofed basket among the reeds on the bank of the river, and stations his sister to keep watch from a distance; a daughter of the pharaoh comes down, espies the basket and, recognizing the baby to be a Hebrew, takes pity on him; at that moment, the sister approaches and offers to bring a Hebrew wet nurse; unaware, the princess hires the mother of the child, who brings him to the palace when he is sufficiently grown; the princess names him Moses.

d. Moses' Early Life (2:11–22). Moses kills an Egyptian who is beating a Hebrew, "one of his kinsmen," and hides the body in the sand; he tries to intervene in a fight between two Hebrews and is rebuked by the offender with a reference to that killing; realizing that his act is no longer secret, and that he is now under sentence of death, Moses flees to the land of Midian; there he saves the shepherdess daughters of the local priest from abuse by the male shepherds; he settles down with Jethro the priest and marries Zipporah, one of his daughters; a son named Gershom is born to the couple.

e. Conditions in Egypt (2:23–25). The narrative now returns to conditions in Egypt and notes that the king has died but that the Israelites have gained no relief from their burdens; the time has arrived for God to respond to the outcry of the oppressed.

f. Call of Moses (3:1–4:17). Moses, in the wilderness, drives his flock in the vicinity of Horeb, "the mountain of God"; there he witnesses a bush on fire yet remaining unconsumed; his curiosity aroused, he approaches the

scene, only to hear a voice ordering him to come no closer and to remove his sandals because he is standing on holy ground; the voice then identifies himself as that of the God of his ancestors, the three patriarchs of Israel; Moses is told that God is about to deliver his people from Egypt and to bring them into the promised land; Moses himself is to be chosen the instrument for this purpose; a long dialogue between God and Moses ensues in which Moses protests his unworthiness and God repeatedly reassures him; a noteworthy feature is that Moses asks for the name of God that the people would recognize; in response he is told, *ʾehyê ʾăšer ʾehyê* (3:14), a phrase whose vagueness has provoked centuries of commentary. Moses is then given the charge to negotiate with the pharaoh for the Israelites to be allowed to undertake a three-day journey into the wilderness in order to worship their God; at the same time, he is forewarned that the monarch will refuse unless coerced into agreeing; God will therefore strike Egypt with various punishments, after which the pharaoh's obstinacy will be broken; the Egyptians will even shower gifts on the departing Israelites.

Moses still hesitates, fearing rejection by his own people; God then teaches him three signs to perform before them so as to ensure his credibility; Moses continues to demur, pleading lack of persuasive eloquence, an excuse dismissed by God, who points out that it is God alone who endows human beings with the faculty of speech. Moses makes one last desperate plea that someone else be chosen to liberate Israel, but he is rebuffed; his brother Aaron is appointed to act as his spokesman to relay God's message to the people and to the pharaoh.

g. Return to Egypt (4:18–31). Moses returns to his father-in-law, receives permission to leave, takes his wife and sons, and sets out on the journey back to Egypt; he receives a divine message for the king that, should he refuse to let Israel, God's "firstborn son," leave, he will be punished with the death of his own firstborn son. The narrative is here interrupted by a truncated story about a mysterious incident that occurs on the way at a night encampment. Moses or his son (the text is not clear) suddenly becomes desperately ill. Zipporah perceives the cause to be neglect of the act of circumcision; taking a flint knife, she personally performs the ritual on her son and thereby averts the danger. Continuing the journey, Moses meets up with his brother Aaron and gives him a full report of all that transpired. The two then assemble the elders of Israel, deliver the divine message, perform the validating wonders, and are accepted by the people.

h. Audience with the Pharaoh (5:1–6:1). Moses and Aaron have an audience with the pharaoh, who not only summarily rejects their request but even intensifies the burdens placed on the people. The overseers of the laborers remonstrate with the king but to no avail; as they leave the pharaoh's presence, they meet Moses and Aaron and bitterly accuse them of aggravating their unhappy situation; Moses, in turn, protests to God that his own mission has failed, at which the Lord reassures him of eventual fulfillment.

i. Recommissioning of Moses (6:2–13). Moses receives a message from the Lord that he has revealed himself to the patriarchs of Israel by the name El Shaddai but has not made himself known to them by his name YHWH. In this capacity he will fulfill the covenant he made with them to give them the land of Canaan. Moses is bidden to bring the people the tidings of redemption and of the forging of a special relationship with God; Moses does so but, demoralized by their sufferings, they do not respond, and Moses once again questions his ability to influence the pharaoh.

j. Genealogy (6:14–30). The narrative is again interrupted by a genealogy of the clan heads of the tribes of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi; the last-mentioned is given in greatest detail, leading up to Moses and Aaron; a brief recapitulation of their function and mission concludes the unit and serves to resume the sequence of the narrative.

k. Another Recapitulation (7:1–7). The charge of Moses with Aaron as his spokesman is repeated as well as the pronouncement that God will harden Pharaoh's heart, but that the Egyptians will let Israel go free after experiencing extraordinary chastisements.

l. Sign before the Pharaoh (7:8–13). Moses and Aaron perform a marvel in the presence of the court; Aaron's rod turns into a serpent; this feat is duplicated by the Egyptian magicians, but Aaron's rod swallows theirs; the pharaoh remains unmoved.

m. Plagues (7:14–11:10). The promised chastisements arrive in the form of a concentrated series of disasters. The first nine plagues are a blood-red and foul Nile (7:14–24), an abundance of frogs (7:25–8:11), a heavy infestation of lice (8:12–15), swarms of insects (8:16–28), pestilential diseases that strike the livestock (9:1–7), boils that erupt on man and beast (9:8–12), destructive hail that lashes the land (9:13–35), swarms of locusts (10:1–20), and thick darkness for three days (10:21–23). The pharaoh remains defiant; the final and climactic slaying of the firstborn is foretold.

n. Passover Regulations (12:1–28). The month of spring as the New Year; preparations for the Exodus; the setting aside of the lamb; rules for preparing and eating it; the annual commemoration of the Passover; the eating of unleavened bread; rules for slaughtering the paschal lamb; future celebration of the Exodus.

o. Tenth Plague (12:29–36). The firstborn of the Egyptians, man and beast are slain. The pharaoh summons Moses and Aaron; the Israelites are allowed to leave; the Egyptians are despoiled.

2. Exodus Events. a. First Stage (12:37–13:16). The Israelites march from Raamses to Succoth; about 600,000 adult males, aside from women and children, depart. A "mixed multitude," apparently a motley group of non-Israelites, accompany them. An aspect of the law of the Passover offering is defined; the sacrality of the firstborn is affirmed; the festival of unleavened bread is instituted. The law of the redemption of the firstborn of man and beast is announced.

b. Second Stage (13:17–14:31). The indirect route from Egypt to Canaan is deliberately chosen; the bones of Joseph are carried out by Moses; the journey from Succoth to Etham; a pillar of cloud and fire accompany the people; the Egyptians come in pursuit of fleeing Israelites; the safe crossing of the sea by Israel and the drowning of the entire Egyptian force.

c. Song of Triumph (15:1–21). Moses leads the people

in a song of praise to God; Miriam leads the women in a song with dance and timbrels.

3. Wilderness Wanderings. a. Shortage of Water (15:22–27). Three days' trek into the wilderness of Shur, the people are without a supply of water; on arrival at Marah, the waters are found to be bitter. The people complain; Moses intercedes with God, and the waters are miraculously cured. The people journey to Elim, where there are twelve springs and seventy palm trees.

b. Manna and Quails (16:1–36). The trek from Elim to the Wilderness of Zin, the people arriving exactly one month after the Exodus. The people suffer hunger and clamor against Moses' leadership. They are providentially supplied with manna and quails. The sabbath law is explicated in relation to the manna.

c. Shortage of Water at Rephidim (17:1–7). The trek to Rephidim, where water is scarce, leads to near rebellion against Moses, whom God instructs to strike a rock. Water gushes forth; the site is named Massah and Meribah.

d. War with Amalek (17:8–16). Israel is suddenly attacked by the tribe of Amalekites. Moses appoints Joshua to lead the Israelite forces and he drives off the enemy. Moses stations himself on a hill overlooking the scene of battle; Israel prevails when he holds his hands aloft; Aaron and Hur support his hands. The Lord orders Moses to inscribe in a document that he would continually wage war against Amalek. Moses builds an altar at the site.

e. Jethro and the Founding of the Judiciary (18:1–27). Jethro visits the Israelite camp and receives a full report of recent events. He expresses consternation at Moses acting as sole magistrate, and advises on the establishment of a standing judiciary, which Moses follows.

4. Sinai Experiences. a. Preparations for the Theophany (19:1–25). On the third new moon following the Exodus the people enter the wilderness of Sinai and encamp "facing the mountain"; preparations are made for a communal theophany; the people station themselves at the foot of the mount on the third day.

b. Theophany (20:1–21 [18]). God promulgates the Decalog. The people are seized with awe and fear, and ask Moses to mediate the revelation.

c. Laws Regulating Forms of Worship (20:22[19]–26[23]).

d. Book of the Covenant (21:1–23:33). A complex of laws, civil and criminal, moral and ritual; the judicial laws (21:2–22:17) are overwhelmingly formulated in casuistic style, the moral and ritual (22:18–23:33) are mostly expressed apodictically.

The following are the legal topics: 21:2–11, slavery; vv 12–17, capital offenses; vv 18–27, bodily injuries; vv 28–32, homicidal beasts; vv 33–36, damage to property; 21:37 (—Eng 22:1) to 22:3 (—Eng 22:4), theft of livestock; 22:4–5 (—Eng 22:5–6), damage to crops; vv 6–14 (—Eng 7–15), laws of bailment; vv 15–16 (—Eng 16–17), law of seduction; 22:17 (—Eng 22:18), prohibition of sorcery; v 18 (—Eng 19), bestiality; v 19 (—Eng 20), apostasy; 22:20–26 (—Eng 22:21–27), concern for the disadvantaged of society; 22:27–30 (—Eng 22:28–31), duties to God; 23:1–3, judicial procedure; vv 4–5, restoration of lost property; vv 6–9, impartial justice; vv 10–11, seventh year fallow; v 12, sabbath law; v 13, obedience to God; denial of other gods; vv 14–19, sacred seasons; vv 20–33, hortatory epilogue.

e. Ratification of the Covenant (24:1–18). The covenant is affirmed by popular acclamation and is committed to writing. Sacrificial rituals are ordained, with ceremonial sprinkling of the blood of the animal. A public reading of the document. Moses ascends the mountain to receive the two tablets of stone.

f. Instructions for the Tabernacle (25:1–31:18). Detailed instructions for the fabrication and equipment of the tabernacle, for the manufacturing of the priestly vestments, and for the consecration of the priests.

g. Golden Calf (32:1–34:35). The absence of Moses on the mount causes the people to insist on fashioning a "god," so Aaron makes a golden calf. The covenant has been violated; Moses descends the mountain and smashes the tablets; a slaughter of the guilty ensues. The divine presence in the camp of Israel is endangered. Moses acts as mediator for Israel with God. The covenant is renewed. God warns against the incursion of alien cults into the religion of Israel. A religious calendar is prescribed.

h. Erection of the Tabernacle (35:1–40:34). The detailed directions for the construction of the tabernacle are carefully executed; the divine spirit envelops the completed structure.

i. Epilogue (40:36–38). Israel's movements toward the promised land are directed and timed by the protecting and sanctifying emblem of the divine presence in the midst of the people.

G. Nature of the Material

The book of Exodus can hardly be treated as historiography in the usual sense of the term, for its narrative is characterized by a paucity of historical detail. As noted above, some essential chronological data are lacking. In addition, no pharaoh is designated by name (contrast, e.g., 1 Kgs 11:40; 2 Kgs 23:29), and nothing is related about the upbringing and education of Moses or about the structure of Israelite society in Egypt and the inner life of the community. Although Israel is said to be organized as a confederation of twelve tribes, the histories of the individual tribes have been entirely ignored. In regard to the year's wanderings in the wilderness, only a few highlights are mentioned, and apart from the theophany and Covenant Code and God's benevolent provisioning of his people, they conform to a pattern of Israel's disobedience and rebellion against God. It is clear that the book presupposes a high degree of selectivity, with its focus on theological interpretation and didactic exposition. It is also evident that within these restricted parameters there is a tendency to preserve as many traditions as possible.

The material itself reveals a veritable kaleidoscope of topics and literary genres. The following constitutive elements are discernible: saga (e.g., the birth story of Moses, 2:1–10); fragmented tales that presuppose more extensive knowledge than is recounted (e.g., Zipporah's circumcision of her son in 4:24–26; the mention of Joshua and Hur without further identification in 17:9, 10); episodes that bear a richly poetic flavor (e.g., the theophanies in chaps. 19; 33:19–23); items that possess distinctly poetic form and phraseology (e.g., 3:15; 9:29; 17:16; 19:3,4); hymns (e.g., 15:1–21); paraenetic discourse (e.g., 15:26; 19:3–6),

and its related exhortatory promises and threats (e.g., 23:20–33); a corpus of judicial, moral, and ceremonial law (21:1–23:19); itinerary notices (12:37; 13:20; 14:2; 15:22–23, 27; 16:1; 17:1; 19:1–2); genealogical information (1:1–5; 6:14–27); lists (25:1–31:11; 35:4–40:33); a census (30:13–16); chronological notices (7:7; 12:40–41; 19:1; 40:2, 7); ritual, cultic, and ceremonial laws such as circumcision (4:24–26; 12:44, 48–49); the Sabbath (16:5, 22–30; 20:8–11; 23:12: 31:12–17; 34:21: 35:1–3); the festivals (chap. 12 passim; 13:6–7; 23:14–17; 34:18, 22–25); the consecration and redemption of the firstborn (13:2, 11–15; 22:28–29; 34:19–20); the disposal of the firstfruits (22:28; 23:19; 34:26); and a dietary law (23:19; 34:26).

Irrespective of the great variety of literary types and topics, the work is presented as one long, continuous narrative. It is the sequential narrative mold that imparts a unified quality to the book as it has come down to us. All the varied material is woven into the narrative and becomes an integral part of it. Thus, the laws relating to the paschal lamb, the future annual celebration of the Passover festival, and the redemption of the firstborn are all expounded within the context of the tenth plague (chap. 12; 13:16). The sabbath law is laid out in relation to the story of the manna (chap. 16). The Decalog and the corpus of laws appear in connection with the arrival of the people at Mt. Sinai. They are presented against a background of preparations for a theophany and treated as the product of that theophany, which is depicted as taking place amidst upheavals of nature, themselves described in highly figurative and poetic language (chaps. 19–20). Even the construction of the tabernacle in all its elaborate technical details is narrativized and becomes an extension of the Sinai pericope (chaps. 25–31; 35–40).

H. Composition

Modern critical research in the book of Exodus cannot be separated from the investigation of the Pentateuch as a whole (see also TORAH). At the same time the distinctive characteristics of Exodus warrant attention to certain issues peculiar to it.

The diverse literary genres and topics, the apparent doublets, inconsistencies, redundancies, and interpolations, as well as seeming differences in ideological and theological outlook, have inevitably raised questions about the history and growth of this text until it reached its final form.

Scholarly energies have concentrated on the prehistory of the materials, that is, on the identification and isolation of the original building blocks of tradition, on the reconstruction of the setting in the life of Israel that would have generated and preserved the major motifs and themes, on the delineation of the complex process by which the units of tradition have been fused into a coherent whole, and on consideration of the literary artistry that has shaped the work into its final form.

The classical documentary hypothesis originally claimed to identify three distinct narrative strands: J, E, and P, based upon the same distinguishing criteria as were applied to the book of Genesis. While there was no unanimity regarding the precise extent of these documents or their characteristics, and especially concerning the separation of the E source from J, a broad consensus nevertheless emerged in respect of the existence of three basic sources. In addition, Driver (1913: 99ff.; 1918:xvii–xviii) pointed to several passages in Exodus which approximate in style and tone to D. While he admitted that some of these may be explained by assuming D's use of JE, he claimed that a considerable number of phrases and expressions could only have entered the book under the influence of D.

The classical documentary hypothesis has undergone much modification through attempts to subdivide the sources and discover new ones. R. Smend (1912) claimed that J was itself a composite of two originally independent sources which he designated J^1 and J^2. C. A. Simpson (1948) regarded J^1 as preserving the traditions of the southern tribes and as having been written ca. 1000 B.C.E. To this source were added traditions of the Joseph tribes ca. 900 B.C.E. to form J^2. Around 700 B.C.E., E reworked this source from a northern viewpoint. Both Volz and Rudolph (1933) had earlier concluded that E was not an independent narrative source and that the material usually designated E comprised a number of individual traditions that were incorporated into J. Rudolph (1938), however, did not agree that P was of the same character.

Several scholars have attempted to isolate hitherto undetected sources. Morgenstern (1927) claimed to have identified Exod 4:24–26 and chaps. 18 and 33–34 as the remnants of a Kenite source (K) which was, to him, the oldest document in the Hexateuch. This had contained a narrative of the relationship between Moses and the Kenites.

Otto Eissfeldt (1922; 1965) also argued for the presence of an additional narrative source to be carved out of J, which he designated L ("lay"). Written between 950 B.C.E. and 850 B.C.E., it is said to be characterized by a lack of concern for cultic matters, a general primitiveness, and a commitment to the nomadic way of life and to the ideal of the unity of Israel. Fragments of this source were thought to be identifiable in chaps. 1–2; 3:21–22; 4:1–9, 19–26, 30b–31a; 7:15b, 17^6, 20; 12:21–27, 33–39; 13:3–16, 20; chap. 14; 15:20–27; chap. 16; 17:1a, 8–16; 19:2–25; 24:1–2, 9–11, 13a, 14–15a; 32:17, 18, 25–29; 33:3b–4; 34:10–13. In contrast, the rest of J was compiled sometime between 900 and 721 B.C.E.

This theory was modified by G. Fohrer (1968), who, for chaps. 1–15, preferred the designation N (nomadic) in place of L and dated the source to ca. 800 B.C.E., regarding it as a critical reaction to urbanism on the part of a southern Judean writer.

M. Noth (*HPT*, 38–45) postulated the existence of a *Grundlage* (G) or an original document on which both J and E drew. This is said to explain the overlapping material in those documents as well as how variations developed in the course of time. Cross *(CMHE)* postulates an originally oral epic cycle of traditions deriving from the period of the judges, of which both J and E are variant forms. He does not regard P as being an independent narrative but rather the final redaction of the older material which was completed in the 6th century B.C.E. toward the end of the Babylonian exile. This priestly reworking was responsible for the superscriptions, date formulas, itineraries, genealogies, and the priestly legislation.

Rolf Rendtorff (1977) similarly denies the existence of a continuous Priestly narrative source. He goes further in

also arguing against an independent, extensive J source, claiming that the various major complexes of tradition developed in isolation from one another in small units. P and J reworked the separate blocks of material. The final redactor, not the Yahwist, was responsible for conjoining the narrative cycles.

The search for the setting in life that inspired and preserved the basic themes of the book of Exodus led von Rad *(PHOE)* and Noth *(HPT)* to look to the dominant role of the cult for an answer. The former maintained that the origin of the material is to be sought in historical creedal confessions that were recited by the worshippers at cult centers on sacred occasions. Deut 25:5–9 provides the model for this practice. Other examples are Deut 6:20–24 and Josh 24:2b–13. These credos embodied three basic themes: the deliverance from Egypt, the conquest of and settlement in the land, and the divine promises to the patriarchs. These historical confessions of faith were recited on the celebration of the Feast of Weeks at Gilgal, Israel's earliest religious center in Canaan (cf. Josh 5:9–10). Since none of the above-cited credos refers to the revelation at Sinai, von Rad concluded that the Sinai covenant theme was originally independent of the confessional complex and originated as a cult legend celebrated on the Feast of Booths, an ancient covenant renewal festival held at the sanctuary at Shechem. This site was an important religious and political center for the tribes of Israel (cf. Josh 24:1). Von Rad further postulated that these credos were originally associated with distinct tribal groups. It was the Yahwist (J) who fused the complexes of tradition, incorporated into them other independent traditions, and furnished them with theological elaborations. He thereby created a continuous narrative which is a theological presentation of Israel's self-understanding.

M. Noth has similarly placed the formation of the traditions and their elaboration in a cultic context. He isolated five discrete and originally independent themes that became central to the faith of Israel: divine promises to the patriarchs, guidance out of Egypt, guidance in the wilderness, revelation at Sinai, and guidance into the arable land of Canaan. The Exodus theme was originally confined to only some of the tribes. It gradually received ever wider circulation until it formed the nucleus of the faith of all Israel. The traditions about Moses were thought by Noth to have been later, secondary themes. In the course of time the themes were supplemented and expanded to be combined in the period of the judges. Whereas their origin was cultic, the impetus for their fusion was primarily political rather than theological. The amphictyonic twelve-tribe confederation meeting on cultic occasions at the central sanctuary provided the stimulus for the merging of the separate traditions that now became the possession of all Israel. This material in its content and arrangement formed the *Grundlage* (G), the common source on which J and E drew. A redactor drew upon E to augment J and this revised document was incorporated into the separate P narrative source.

The foundations of the von Rad-Noth hypothesis have been largely undermined. Powerful arguments against the very existence of the institution of creedal confession have been adduced, and even those who do not discount it entirely deny its antiquity. Further, the reality of the amphictyony itself has been seriously questioned *(IJH,* 304–8).

A completely different approach to the issues of the composition of Exodus has been pursued by B. S. Childs. To him, not the prehistory of the individual component traditions but the final shape of the book is the decisive factor in its interpretation and theological importance. This is so because there is a continual, dynamic interrelationship between the Scripture and the community of faith and practice that acknowledged the divine authority behind the traditions. The structure of the book is shaped by the role played by this "canonical" literature in the life of that community (*Exodus* OTL; *IOTS*).

I. Literary Aspects

Whatever the literary prehistory of Exodus, the book in its final form amply attests to thoughtful design and the deliberate use of narrative art.

The birth story of Moses, for instance, illustrates the point. The pharaoh decrees the destruction of Israel by drowning, but by an ironic reversal of fate it is the Egyptian oppressors who meet disaster by drowning. The reeds (Heb *sûp*) secure and thus save the basket of the infant Moses, and it is the Sea of Reeds(?) (Heb *yām sûp*) that dooms the Egyptians. The daughter of the pharaoh unwittingly rescues the one who will liberate those oppressed by the pharaohs. Without realizing it, she actually pays the infant's mother to nurse her own son. Finally, the princess bestows the name Moses on the baby and it turns out that this can be interpreted to mean in Hebrew ("He who draws out (from the water)." That is, she unwittingly gives him a name that foreshadows his destiny.

The pericope of the ten plagues is set forth in the form of an impressive literary structure. There are three series of three calamities each, with the climactic tenth alone having no grounding in natural phenomena and therefore being wrought by God himself. The first two plagues in each series are forewarned, the third not. Moses is bidden to confront the pharaoh "in the morning" in the first of each series, but there is no time indication in the case of the other two. The instruction given to Moses in the first of each series begins with "Station yourself . . ." and in the second of each it is, "Go to Pharaoh," while the third is consistently without any such instruction. The entire first series is brought about through the agency of Aaron, the entire third series through the instrumentality of Moses (*EncJud* 13: 606–7; Sarna 1986: 75–77).

Apart from the structural symmetry of the plagues narrative, there is additional evidence of studied literary design in the presentation of the motif of the hardening of Pharaoh's heart. Between chaps. 4 and 14 this occurs exactly twenty times and the cause is equally divided between God and the pharaoh. Ten times the king's obstinacy is declared to be self-willed (Exod 7:13, 14, 22; 8:11, 15, 28; 9:7, 34, 35; 13:5) and ten times it is said to be the product of divine intent (Exod 4:21; 7:3; 9:12; 10:1, 20, 27; 11:10; 14:4, 8, 17).

Another numerical feature, to which Cassuto (1967) has drawn attention is the sevenfold repetition of certain key words for emphasis. This is so of the "midwife, midwives" *měyalledet/měyallědôt* (Exod 1:15–21), the "child" *(hā-yeled)* Moses (2:1–10) and the stem *lbn* (verb and noun), in

connection with the brick making (5:7–19). In the first story in the first series of three plague stories, the key term *yĕōr(îm)*, "river Nile," is repeated fourteen times (7:14–25), in the first of the second series of three, *ʿārōb*, "swarms of flies," appears seven times (8:16–28—Eng 8:20–32), and in the first of the third series *barad*, "hail," is repeated fourteen times (9:18–35; RSV adds an extra "hail" in v 25 for clarity). In addition, there is a sevenfold mention of *ʾarbeh*, "locusts," in the eighth plague (10:1–20). The instructions for eating the paschal lamb (12:1–13) and those enjoining the eating of unleavened bread and prohibiting the eating of leaven (12:15–20) both feature the verb *ʾkl*, "eat," seven times. In addition, there are seven different expressions of redemption in the account of the recommissioning of Moses (6:6–8), and the commandment ordaining the weekly seven-day rest lists seven categories of God's creatures who are to benefit from it (20:10).

Another device is the deliberate chronological displacement of an episode. Such is the case with the account of the visit of Jethro to the camp of Israel (chap. 18). This must have occurred after the revelation at Sinai (not before it, as its present position implies [Ibn Ezra *Exodus* 18: 1; Cassuto 1967: 211]). The evidence for this is that 18:15 has the people already encamped at "the mountain of God," whereas their arrival there is not recorded until 19:1–2; the burnt offerings (18:20) presuppose the existence of an altar of sacrifice at Sinai, which must be either that mentioned in 24:4 or that of the tabernacle; reference to "the laws and teachings of God" (18:16, 20) is more appropriate following the theophany than before it; the report about the organization of the judiciary in Deut 1:9–17 is immediately followed by the notice of the people's departure from Horeb, implying that the former took place toward the end of the sojourn at Sinai; this is consonant with Num 11:11, 29–32 which testifies to Jethro's presence in the camp in "the second month of the second year after the Exodus," so that the report of Exod 18:27 registering Jethro's departure must be dated after the theophany. The chronological disorder may be explained by the fact that the two distinct but interrelated units that make up chap. 18, vv 1–12 and 13–26, respectively, connect with the themes of the preceding and succeeding narratives. The first contrasts the friendliness of the Midianites/Kenites toward Israel with the treacherous behavior of the Amalekites. This is made explicit in 1 Sam 15:1–6. The second theme provides a transition to the next pericope, the giving of the law.

Another type of seeming disorder is the intersection of the account of the erection of the tabernacle by the episode of the golden calf (32:1–34:35). The anomaly functions as a kind of theological commentary on the incident. The tabernacle with the ark of the covenant as its focal point was meant to be an active extension of the Sinaitic experience into the wilderness wanderings. The golden calf resulted from a popular demand for a material representation of the continued presence of God in the camp of Israel in the wake of Moses' prolonged absence (32:1); a single motivation inspired both the tabernacle and the golden calf. The present arrangement of the two themes draws attention to this and points up the verdict that the first was a legitimate expression of spiritual yearning, the second was wholly incompatible with Israelite montheism (Sarna 1986: 215–20).

J. Historicity

The issues involved in determining the literary composition of the book of Exodus, and the variety of theories that they have generated, raise questions as to the reliability of the narrative as a witness to the historicity of the events described. It should be stressed that neither the theocentric nature of the biblical presentation nor the hypothetical lateness of the sources used would necessarily preclude the possibility that they may rest on a sound historical foundation. This is so even though there is a complete absence of any external written documents testifying to Israel's presence and subjugation in Egypt, to her migration from that land, or to her conquest of Canaan and her settlement there. In this situation, archaeological excavation in Israel and neighboring countries would appear to offer the most favorable prospects for resolving the issue. However, both the interpretation of the data and their correlation with the biblical sources have been matters of much scholarly disagreement.

Assuming an Exodus date around the middle of the 13th century B.C.E. (the most widely held date), it is to be noted that the time around 1200 B.C.E. would provide favorable political, social, and material conditions for the appearance of Israel in Canaan. A marked deterioration in LB Age culture is discernible. Successive campaigns by Egyptian kings into Canaan and Syria had greatly weakened the military strength of the region, and Egyptian rule had drained Canaan's resources. The decline of Egyptian authority following the death of Merneptah, internal political fragmentation, and economic instability all contributed to the deterioration. A considerable decrease in the number of settlements in the N part of the mountainous region is apparent, while several towns and cities were violently destroyed, the sites of which were either abandoned or sparsely reoccupied at a lower level of material culture. In contrast, in the early Iron Age, a huge increase in settlements in the central highlands can be attested, an area hitherto very sparsely populated. This new development was facilitated by the increased use of iron tools, by the use of terracing, and by the introduction of lined water cisterns. In the main, the new settlements were unfortified and were grouped together in clusters. The old characteristic city-state system was abandoned, and in the earlier phases of settlement the collared-rim jar and a certain type of four-room house were innovated. What is uncertain is whether or not the transition from LB to early Iron I culture, with all its radical changes, involved cultural discontinuity, and whether or not it was an Israelite invasion from without that was responsible.

The assumption that such was the case is not unreasonable, but it does entail a number of disparities between the biblical record and the archaeological evidence. The cities of Jericho (Joshua 6), Ai (chaps. 7–8), Arad (Num 21:1; 33:40; Josh 12:14), and Hormah (ibid.), all said to have been destroyed in Joshua's invasion, were found to have been unoccupied in the LB. On the other hand, several of the cities found to have been violently destroyed in this general period are listed in Judg 1:27–36 among those not having been captured by the Israelites: Megiddo, Beth-

shean, Gezer, and Beth-shemesh. Only Lachish and Hazor were found to have been laid in ruins around 1200 B.C.E. (cf. Joshua 10–11).

The interpretation of the archaeological data has been complicated by the diverse scholarly perceptions of the nature and origin of the Israelite presence in Canaan.

The school of Alt and Noth, ignoring the account of the conquest in Joshua, has argued against a unified Israelite military invasion of the country and in favor of a gradual, largely peaceful infiltration of individual nomadic tribes from outside Canaan into the sparsely populated central hill country. These settled down on the land and eventually organized into a confederation of tribes.

G. E. Mendenhall (1962; 1973) has postulated that toward the close of the LB a sociopolitical peasant uprising against the city-states took place inside Canaan. This was joined by a group of liberated slaves who fled Egypt, led by Moses. This hypothesis has been elaborated by N. K. Gottwald (1979), who sees the origins of Israel in the commingling of a heterogeneous collection of disaffected social elements inside Canaan. These groups rebelled against the entire existing sociopolitical and religious feudal system, gradually retribalized, and developed a new social order along egalitarian lines based on a covenant relationship with YHWH.

None of these theories leaves much room for accommodating the biblical account to history, although a kernel of factuality is conceded. Even this is flatly dismissed by Lemche (1985). Convinced of the late composition of Exodus and of the worthlessness of its traditions for historical research, as well as the original independence of the Sinai pericope, he believes the biblical account of Israel's pre-Davidic history to be entirely fictional and to be of use only for revealing Israel's self-understanding of its past half a millennium after the founding of the monarchy. Basing himself on a specific interpretation of the archaeological data, he argues that as a result of the disintegration of Canaanite culture and the serious crisis that beset the city-states from the 14th century down, exacerbated by the arrival of groups of the Sea Peoples, there occurred a substantial thinning out of the plains and valleys of Canaan and a movement of population eastward to the mountainous regions where an agrarian culture developed ca. 1200 B.C.E. Israel as a nation is said to have first emerged in this area. There was no discontinuity. The ethical aspect of Israelite religion really evolved from the ethical side of Canaanite culture. Lemche asserts that the notion of a covenant played no role in the religious life of Israel before the 6th century B.C.E.

Hardly decisive, though worthy of note, is the fact that the Exodus narratives do contain undeniable Egyptian coloration. The evidence may be summarized as follows:

(1) The descent of the Israelite shepherds into Egypt in the days of Joseph in order to escape famine finds an analogy in Papyrus Anastasi VI, in which a frontier official reports on the passage of Edomite bedouin tribes from Asia into the delta of Egypt "to keep them and their cattle alive" (*ANET*, 259).

(2) The title "pharaoh," uniformly used for the king of Egypt, points to the development that took place during the late 18th Dynasty when the term, meaning "The Great House" and originally applied to the royal palace, came to be employed as a metonymy for the reigning monarch.

(3) The conscription of Israelites for work on state projects (Exod 1:11) correlates with the tradition preserved by Diodorus Siculus (1.56) that Rameses II preferred to conscript foreigners rather than Egyptians for his vast building program.

(4) The Israelites are said to have built the cities of Pithom and Raamses (Exod 1:11). The first is the Egyptian *P(r) ʾItm*, "House of (the god) Atum," and the second is *P(r) Rʾmss*, "House of Rameses," built by Rameses II in the eastern delta of the Nile. Egyptian texts extol the beauty and glory of this city (*ANET*, 470–71; cf. Gen 47:5–6, 11).

(5) The Israelites were also subjected to hard work in the fields (Exod 1:14). The Egyptian text known as the "Satire on the Trades" emphasizes the harsh conditions under which agricultural laborers worked (*ANET*, 433; *AEL* 1: 187–88; 2: 170).

(6) The making of bricks proved to be an especially onerous imposition on the Israelites (Exod 1:14; 5:7–8, 13–14). Alluvial mud supplied by the river Nile and shaped into bricks was the common building material in Egypt, other than for monumental architecture. Ordinary private dwellings as well as administrative buildings were mainly constructed of bricks, and the walls that encircled towns were of brick and often reached a height of about 60 feet. It is estimated that the pyramids of Sesostris III at Dahshur required about 24.5 million bricks. The massive building program of Rameses II would have necessitated the manufacture of enormous quantities of bricks (Spencer 1979). Surviving records from the time of this pharaoh describe how a quota of 2000 bricks was assigned to each of a gang of forty men and how that target was rarely reached (Kitchen 1976). The aforementioned "Satire on the Trades" describes the hardships endured by the brickmaker (*ANET*, 433).

(7) The midwives play a prominent role in the early phase of the oppression (Exod 1:15–21). The craft was evidently held in high esteem in Egypt, for in one Egyptian tale it was practiced by three goddesses (*AEL* 1: 220). The name Shiphrah held by one of the Hebrew midwives has turned up as belonging to an Asiatic woman in a list of slaves attached to an Egyptian household (Albright 1954: 229, no. 233).

(8) Mention of the birth stool (Heb *ʾobnāyîm* [Exod 1:16]) appears to be connected with the Egyptian custom of women experiencing parturition in a crouching or sitting position. The Egyptian hieroglyph for birth is a kneeling woman, and one text explicitly refers to "sitting on bricks like a woman in labor" (*ANET*, 381).

(9) The story of the birth of Moses and his exposure in the Nile (Exod 2:1–10) reflects the widespread motif of the abandoned hero, known from the ANE and the classical world. A local Egyptian analogy exists in the story of the concealment of Horus from Seth.

(10) The name Moses (Exod 2:10) is of Egyptian origin and appears as a frequent element in proper names, usually with the addition of a divine element (cf. Ahmose, Ramose, Ptahmose, Thutmose), and sometimes without it (*EHI*, 329).

(11) Although not explicitly stated, it may be inferred from Exod 2:10 that Moses grew up and was educated in

Egyptian court circles. Evidence exists for the presence of foreign students, especially Semites, in the royal schools in the Ramesside period.

(12) The promised land is described for the first time as "a land flowing with milk and honey" (Exod 3:8). This matches the description of the land found in the Egyptian tale of Sinuhe (*ANET*, 18–23), and the Annals of Thutmose III (*ANET*, 237–38; Fensham 1966).

(13) The request of Moses to allow the Israelites a three-day release from their corvée labors in order to celebrate a religious festival (Exod 3:18; 5:1–3; 8:22–25) follows established precedent as attested by extant records kept by supervisors of labor gangs (Erman 1971: 124; Kitchen 1975: 156–57).

(14) The exceptional role of wonder-working in the early Exodus narratives (Exod 4:2–5, 6–9; 7:8–12, 22; 8:3, 14–15) must be viewed in the light of the extraordinary place of magic as an essential part of daily life at all levels of Egyptian society. The feat of turning a rod into a snake finds analogy in the popular tale "King Cheops (Khufu) and the Magicians" (Erman 1966: 36–38). As a matter of fact, the snake as stiff as a rod is still practiced in Egypt and has been well documented in modern times (Mannix 1960: 32). The specific selection of this trick in order to impress both the Israelites and the pharaoh and his court may have been conditioned by the ceremonial insignia of Egyptian monarchs. The rod, or scepter, was emblematic of royalty, power, and authority, and the uraeus, or stylized representation of the sacred cobra, was worn on the forehead by the pharaohs as a symbol of imperial authority.

(15) The turning of water into blood (Exod 4:9; 7:17–22) is mentioned in Egyptian compositions. "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage" (*ANET*, 441), and the story of "Setne Khamwas and Si-osire" (*AEL* 3: 148) both refer to it.

(16) The ninth plague, darkness (Exod 10:21–23), may be compared with mention of a similar phenomenon in the "Prophecies of Neferti" (*ANET*, 445).

(17) Finally, the ten plagues are described as "judgments on the gods of Egypt" (Exod 12:12; cf. Num 33:4; Jer 46:25), a verdict early interpreted to mean that they were a mockery of Egyptian paganism 12:23–27; 16:1–14; cf. Exod 10:2; *Jub.* 48:5). Some of the plagues can be so explained if taken in a context of Egyptian religious beliefs. The Nile, the vital artery of the land, was personified as the god Hapi, and its annual inundation was regarded as a manifestation of Osiris. The first two plagues centered on the river and could certainly have been understood by the Egyptians as nullifying the powers of these two deities. The plague of frogs could well have been taken as mocking the frog goddess Heqt, who was fancied as assisting women in labor and who was the consort of Khnum, the one who fashioned human beings out of clay. The plague of darkness represented the defeat of the sun god Re, symbol of cosmic order. To the Egyptian mind, it would have evoked the powerful cosmogonic myth in which the monster Apophis, symbolic of darkness and the embodiment of all that is terrible, daily vied for victory over Re.

The cumulative effect of the above data is to demonstrate the narrator's familiarity with Egyptian culture. It does not of itself prove the authenticity of the stories as being actual reflections of a historic circumstance. It does, however, accentuate an unanswered problem that besets the above-cited hypotheses that deny those narratives any objective reality, namely, how and why the Egyptian episode came to be invented, if such was the case. The failure to deal adequately with the issue is particularly acute in light of the Genesis traditions that locate the origins of Abraham neither in Egypt nor in Canaan but in Mesopotamia, and that are consistent in describing the continued associations of all the patriarchs with that region. Moreover, this tradition is also emphasized in the biblical "credos" of Deut 26:5 and Josh 24:2. Another weakness of the radical theories is their lack of convincing explanation for what would be the gratuitous invention and successful transmission century after century of such an inglorious and embarrassing tradition as the slavery in Egypt. Even more perplexing would be how to account for the fact that the Exodus theme managed to leave an indelible impress on the national consciousness to the extent that it became paramount in the religion of Israel, shaped all its basic institutions, and dominated its conception of God. One would also have to explain how a literary fabrication would be repeatedly cited and celebrated in the variegated historical, prophetic, and psalmodic literature (Judg 6:8–9, 13; 1 Sam 12:6, 8; 1 Kgs 8:16, 51; Dan 9:15; Neh 9:9ff.; 2 Chr 7:22; Isa 10:24, 26; 11:15; 51:9–11; 52:4; Jer 2:2, 6–7; 7:21–24; 11:1–8; 34:13; Ezek 20:5–29; Hos 8:13; 9:3; 11:1; 12:14; Amos 9:7; Hag 2:5). Finally, without the cohesive force provided by a shared experience in Egypt and the belief in the covenant between God and Israel, what were the forces at work in welding heterogeneous population groups into a unified nation under central authority, contrary to the entire past historical experience of Canaan?

K. Religion of Exodus

The Exodus theme is referred to in the Hebrew Scriptures in one form or another approximately one hundred and twenty times, apart from the primary narrative. This remarkable statistic bears unequivocal testimony to its centrality in the religion of Israel. From this preeminence flow certain consequential conceptions of God, of the relationship between God and Israel, of history, and of the proper ordering of human associations.

The Exodus negates any notion of an otiose deity and asserts the reality of a God who is intimately involved in the life of the world. He is the God of history in the sense that the coming into being of the people of Israel, their enslavement in Egypt, their liberation, and the events connected therewith, are not fortuitous or the result of human endeavors, but the unfolding of the divine plan of history (cf. Gen 15:13–14). The breaking of Egyptian resistance establishes God's absolute hegemony over history. History is the arena of divine activity and is thus endowed with meaning.

A major consequence of this is that the religion of Israel became embedded in a historical matrix. Its major institutions, its religious calendar, its rituals and observances, have all been reinterpreted in terms of the Exodus and emptied of any theological association with the rhythm of nature and the life of the soil (Exod 23:14–15; Lev 23:42–43; Deut 5:15; 16:1–12). Even the dietary laws are given the rationale of the Exodus (Lev 11:45).

God's role as liberator of the enslaved, and his repeated and benevolent provisioning of his people in the wilderness, notwithstanding their fractious ingratitude (Exod 15:22–27; 16; 17:1–7), become the paradigms for Israel's code of interpersonal relations. That is to say, the Exodus becomes the source of ethical teaching and the wellspring of moral action. God's actions on behalf of Israel must evoke corresponding human concern for the unfortunates of society (Exod 22:20; 23:9; Lev 19:33–34; Deut 5:13–15; 10:17–19; 15:12–15; 23:8; 24:20–22).

Axiomatic if unexplicated is the idea that knowledge of God's qualities and of his demands on Israel can be acquired only insofar as God takes the initiative in revealing them. Two clear statements of Israel's understanding of the divine personality are to be found in Exodus:

> I the Lord your God am an impassioned God, visiting the guilt of the parents upon the children, upon the third and fourth generations of those who reject me, but showing kindness to the thousandth generation of those who love me and keep my commandments. (Exod 20:5–6.)

> The Lord! A God compassionate and gracious, slow to anger, abounding in kindness and faithfulness, extending kindness to the thousandth generation, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin; yet he does not remit all punishment but visits the iniquity of parents upon children and children's children, upon the third and fourth generations. (Exod 34:6–7.)

These descriptions are presented as God's self-revelation, not as the product of speculation or experience. The same idea that, to know God, man must depend on God's self-disclosure is implicit in Moses' request, "Let me know your ways" (Exod 33:13), and it is inherent in the obligations of the covenant set forth in the Decalog, which is portrayed as being the content of a great national theophany. It governs Israel's understanding of law. All the legislative complexes of the Pentateuch are formulated as a series of divine commands to Israel, albeit mediated by Moses.

The most important contribution of Exodus to the religion of Israel is the idea of the covenant itself, not as a figure of speech but as an actual legal circumstance that henceforth governs the relationship between God and Israel. Foretold in Gen 17:7–8, the covenant is recalled in Exod 2:24 and in Exod 6:4–5. The second is associated with the first instance of the covenant formulation that is frequently repeated with variation in the Torah and the Prophets: "I will take you to be my people, and I will be your God" (Exod 6:7; cf. Lev 26:12; Deut 26:17–18; 29:12; 2 Sam 7:24; Jer 7:23; 11:4; 24:7; 30:22, 25; 31:32; Ezek 11:20; 14:11; 36:28; 37:23). The great theophany at Sinai consummates the establishment of this covenant (Exodus 19–20, 24). Thereafter, covenant consciousness suffuses all subsequent developments in Israel's history, which is portrayed as being conditioned by the degree of fidelity or disloyalty to that special relationship with God and all that it entails.

The institution of the Sabbath occupies a significant place in Exodus, exceeding in mention all other sacred times (16:5; 22:30; 20:8–11; 31:12–18; 35:1–3), even though it is connected with creation rather than with the Exodus (20:11; 31:17; cf. Deut 5:15).

Lastly, as Y. Kaufmann has pointed out (*KRI*, 223–42), three fundamental characteristics of biblical religion first appear in Exodus: YHWH as the predominant personal name of the God of Israel (Exod 3:14–15; 6:2); the war against paganism, which finds no mention in Genesis, but which is implicit in the Exodus narratives (5:2; 12:12) and is explicit in the laws (20:3–5; 22:19; 23:24:25, 32–33; 34:11–17); and the institution of apostolic prophecy as first represented by Moses in his mission to both the pharaoh and to Israel.

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NAHUM M. SARNA

EXODUS, THE. "Exodus" is simply the Latin form of the Gk term *exodos,* for an exit or "going out"—even today, each passenger who steps out of a Greek motor bus exits from a door marked *exodos.* Regarding the OT, the word applies above all else to the clans of Israel leaving Egypt, to settle back in Canaan whence their ancestors had earlier come. The significance of this particular "going out" derives from two elements in the biblical tradition. It was an escape *from* foreign oppression, and it led *to* the formation of an incipient nation. As the OT writers themselves viewed it, it was a deliverance effected by the power of the Israelites' deity (YHWH, "the LORD" of Eng versions), in accord with whose promises to their ancestors they were to enter and occupy Canaan. Between these two termini (leaving Egypt; reaching Canaan), biblical tradition has an intermediate phase—the travels and sojourn of the Israelites in the Sinai peninsula and environs. This includes (1) the high point of the giving of the law and covenant and instituting of worship at a portable shrine ("the tabernacle") (see SINAI, MOUNT), and (2) the discipline for disobeying the deity of languishing long years in the wilderness before entering Canaan (see WILDERNESS WANDERINGS).

A. Sources
1. Exodus 1–19
2. Later Biblical Allusions to the Exodus, and Their Significance
B. Modern Opinions about the Exodus-event
C. The Exodus: Time and Place
1. Date
2. Location and Route
D. The Ancient Cultural Context
1. The Phenomenon of an "Exodus"
2. Conditions on the Eve of the Exodus
3. The Exodus-event Itself
4. Off into Sinai
5. Egyptian Influence Accompanies the Hebrews to Sinai
E. Evaluation

A. Sources

1. Exodus 1–19. The existing book of Exodus hinges at chap. 19. Thus, Exodus 1–19 takes the reader from a point after the death of Joseph through a period in which the Hebrew family grew into a group of clans. Then follows the stirring narrative of Egyptian oppression, the origins of Moses, Israel's future leader, and then the contest with the pharaoh of Egypt, culminating in the Hebrews leaving Egypt through the shifting water bed of the Reed Sea (where their pursuers were swamped), and on into Sinai. Thereafter, Exodus 20–40 presents the making of the covenant between the people and their soveriegn deity, and of the portable shrine that was to be the practical focus of worship of their God in the life of these clans, incipient Israel.

If one were to grant a historical basis for this series of events (see D and E below), then in principle what we now find in the book of Exodus would derive in some measure from earliest Israel's experience of those events. The extent to which the existing book of Exodus may be held to mirror those possible events closely and accurately, or else distantly with later elaboration, is still a question of mere opinion, not of formal proof. For this reason, it is useful and necessary to compare the data in the biblical text with external data from the Egyptian and Near Eastern world in which the whole OT is set. Following 19th-century biblical scholarship, it is still commonplace to divide up the existing narratives, etc., among purely theoretical "documents" (denoted by such sigla as J, E, P, D) variously dated across the 9th–5th centuries B.C. However, if honesty is to be maintained, it should be stated plainly that (in the words of no less a literary critic than Eissfeldt 1965: 240) "the whole of Pentateuchal criticism is a hypothesis . . ." and not a proven fact. No manuscript evidence of any of these theoretical "source documents" has been found (not even among the Dead Sea Scrolls). External evidence (see D and E below) suggests that the biblical traditions contain much that predates the 9th century B.C., and hence originated and was transmitted long before such documents were composed (if they ever were). For fundamental errors in,

and criticism of, these literary methods, see Kitchen 1966: 112–29, whose arguments were opposed by Tigay 1985a: 3ff.; 1985b: 152ff. (though unsuccessfully). Recently a detailed assessment of methodological problems in the "Documentary Hypothesis" has been provided by Whybray 1987: 43–113.

2. Later Biblical Allusions to the Exodus, and Their Significance. Such allusions back to the Exodus-event are relatively numerous across the varied span of OT writings. For the reader's convenience, they can be usefully grouped by function and in broad biblical sequences.

a. The basic historical reason why Israel should accept and obey YHWH's covenant. In the introduction to the Ten Commandments, both at Sinai and in Moab (Exod 2:20; Deut 5:6), he is their deliverer from slavery in accord with ancient promise (cf. Gen 15:13–14; 48:21; 50:24–25, for what was envisaged). Reminders of Israel's covenant indebtedness to their deliverer from Egypt then recur in the settlement narratives (Jos 24:5–7, 17, covenant renewal at Shechem; cf. Judg 2:1–3, 12; 6:7–10, 13; 1 Sam 10:18–19), under Solomon (1 Kgs 8:51, 53; 9:9 = 2 Chr 7:22), then during the Divided Monarchy, Babylonian exile, and later (cf. Hos 12:9–10, 13; 13:4; Amos 2:10–11; 3:1–2; 9:7, in terms of judgment; Mic 6:3–4; Jer 2:6–7; 7:22–26; 11:3–5, 7; 32:20–23; 34:13). The editor of Kings (2 Kgs 17:7, 36), then others (Ezek 20:5–10; Dan 9:15; Neh 9:9–12) follow out this line. It also appears in the Psalms (78; 80:8; 81:6–7; 105:34–39; 106; 136: 10–16).

b. A motivating reason for the Israelites' proper treatment of each other and of strangers, as pointed out by Sarna (1986: 3–5), and at feasts. See Exod 22:21; 23:9; 23:15 (also 34:18); 29:44–46. Likewise in Lev 11:1–45; 18:3; 19:33–34, 36; 22:32–33 (cf. 25:54–55); 23:42–43; 25:36–38, 42; 26:13, 45. Fleetingly, we have only Num 15:40–41 in that book. Contrast Deuteronomy—in the prologue (4:20, 34, 37), as a basis for gratitude (a., above); and motivation, 6:12, 21–23; 7:8; 11:3–4; 13:5, 10; 16:1 (feast), 12; 20:1; 24:18, 22; 26:6–10; 29:22–26. This theme thus extends across all aspects of the Law.

c. Knowledge of the Exodus-event as showing the sovereignty of the God of Israel is credited by the Hebrew writers to people in Canaan in Joshua's time (Jos 2:10; 9:9), and to Transjordanians under the judges (Judg 11:13). Cf. also the Balaam episode, Num 22:5, 11; 23:22; 24:8.

d. With the passing of time, the Exodus-event was used as an initial dateline (though *not* necessarily numerically) for the Israelites' history—much as the Egyptians would remark that something or other had never been seen "since the founding of the land" or "since the time of the god," in their case. Such "dateline" references occur during the settlement (Judg 19:30—a deed, its like never seen since Israel left Egypt; the beginning of Eli's priestly line, 1 Sam 2:27; the time span of Israel's disobedience, 1 Sam 8:8; and the starting point of Samuel's historical review, 1 Sam 12:6–8). This usage is found associated with the times of David (2 Sam 7:6, 23–24 = 1 Chr 17:5, 21–22), Solomon (1 Kgs 6:1, 480th year; 1 Kgs 8:16 = 2 Chr 6:5), and Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:15). Cf. Jer 16:14–15; 23:7–8; 32:20.

e. Allusions to the period of the Exodus occur as a basis for comparison for later events, such as under Saul (1 Sam 15:6; cf. usage in Isa 11:16 and Mic 7:15); and simply as a long past event, as with Solomon (1 Kgs 8:9 = 2 Chr 5:10; 1 Kgs 8:21 = 2 Chr 6:11), Hosea (2:15; 11:1), Haggai (2:5), and the Psalms (114; 135:8, 9).

Thus, throughout early Hebrew history, from the settlement in Canaan (and probably even from Sinai), down to the Babylonian exile and beyond, we find a good number of allusions to the exodus-event, from several viewpoints, regardless of what analysis of the texts may be used. These vantage points include the basic reason for Israel's gratitude and obedience to their deliverer-deity, as good reason for caring for others too easily oppressed, as a basic dateline for commenting on subsequent events, as a point of comparison for significant events to come, and simply as past history. Within the biblical tradition, few other events enjoyed anything like the prominence accorded so pervasively in the work of so many writers, or were deemed of such basic importance for Israel's history.

B. Modern Opinions about the Exodus-event

Until well into the 19th century A.D., the prevailing judgment was that the narratives in Exodus 1–19 should be regarded as essentially historical. However, influenced not by any fresh facts but by alien philosophical presuppositions brought in from outside, 19th-century biblical studies tended to reject the overall scheme of history and religious development of early Israel as found in the pages of our existing Bible. Adoption of such philosophically slanted, theoretical schemes has led to widely differing modern estimates of the historicity (from total to zero) of the exodus-event and of the narratives that recount it.

Thus, about a century ago, in his famous article "Israel" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and subsequently reprinted with his pivotal work, the *Prolegomena* (*WPHI*, 429–30), Wellhausen clearly envisaged the entry into Egypt of a group of Hebrew shepherds and goatherds, eventually enslaved in Egyptian public works in Goshen. Later, at a time of plagues in Egypt, this modest community took secret flight, crossed wind-driven shallow waters (led by Moses), battling with Egyptian chariotry that failed to hold them and were swept off by returning waters. Thus the great architect of conventional literary criticism certainly held to a definite (if limited) Exodus led by Moses.

For several decades opinions have varied around this basis. Bright (*BHI*, 119) considered that "there can really be little doubt that ancestors of Israel had been slaves in Egypt and had escaped in some marvelous way." B. W. Anderson (1978: 43–45) implicitly accepts the reality of an Egyptian oppression and Hebrew exodus: "it is clear that the biblical narratives reflect the sober realities of the political situation. But these realities were interpreted through the eyes of Israelite faith. . . . Only the Hebrews who stood in the circle of Moses experienced the depth of historical meaning that led to the remembering . . . of these historical traditions." By 1982, D. B. Redford viewed the Exodus narratives as "a post-exilic composition," but regarded as unassailable the following four points: (1) An early and strong reminiscence of pastoralists entering Egypt, one Jacob being an ancestral figure; (2) these incomers multiplied and briefly became "exceedingly influential in Egypt"; (3) then strong antipathy arose between the local Egyptians and these Asiatics; so that (4) the latter withdrew to "the Levantine littoral whence they had

emerged" (Redford in Rainey 1987: 150). Subsequently, in 1988, Garbini averred that "it is quite probable that Semitic people first settled in Egypt and then left it, but in this case, it is absolutely impossible to verify the event" (Garbini 1988: 15). More scathing still is Lemche (1988: 109): "the traditions about . . . the exodus of the Israelites are legendary and epic in nature. . . . There is no real reason even to attempt to find a historical background for the events of the Exodus. . . . There was no massive emigration from Egypt under the eighteenth dynasty or later in the form described in the Old Testament." However, a very different judgment is expressed by Sarna (in Shanks 1988: 52): "Are the Israelite slavery, liberation and conquest as described in the Bible 'proven' in a scientific sense? They are definitely not. Does the assumption of their general historicity provide the most reasonable explanation to account for and accommodate the most facts despite the puzzling complexity of the literary sources? It certainly is."

Opinions in the abstract can settle nothing. Scientifically, the only feasible approach is to compare the content of the Exodus narratives with the available background material from the Egyptian and ANE cultural environment, to see what indications (if any) emerge. Before so doing (D, E, below), the approximate date and location of any "exodus" must be considered.

C. The Exodus: Time and Place

1. Date. Much disputed for a century or more, a satisfactory solution depends (1) on having fuller information than we currently possess, and (2) on using correctly such data as we do have. The first condition is beyond reach currently, but the second is feasible. No final date can be offered, but some limits can be set.

The "lazy man's solution" is simply to cite the 480 years ostensibly given in 1 Kgs 6:1 from the Exodus to the 4th year of Solomon (ca. 966 B.C.) and so to set the Exodus at ca. 1446 B.C. However, this too simple solution is ruled out by the combined weight of all the other biblical data plus additional information from external data. So the interval from the Exodus comes out not at 480 years but as over 553 years (by three unknown amounts), if we trouble to go carefully through all the known biblical figures for this period. It is evident that the 480 years cannot cover fully the 553 + X years. At best, it could be a selection from them, or else it is a schematic figure (12 × 40 years, or similar). But again, on other evidence to be considered, a date of ca. 1519 B.C. (966+553) and earlier is even less realistic for the Exodus. In Exod 1:11, the Hebrews are building Raamses, whence also they are said to have set out on the Exodus (Exod 12:37); the "land of Rameses" (Gen 47:11) is a reflex of the same name and place. This place is Pi-Ramesse, the east-delta city built by Rameses II (1279–1213 B.C.) (see C.2 below). Thus, the end of the oppression and the start of the Exodus could not precede the accession of this king at the earliest, i.e., not before 1279 B.C. on our present knowledge of Egyptian chronology. That is only a little more than 300 years before Solomon, not 480 or 553. In ANE terms, the solution is quite straightforward. There were most probably considerable overlaps between contemporary groups of judges in Israel during the settlement period; hence, the 553 + X years totals up all the years of such people, years which in reality were partly overlapping and fitted inside the absolute period of 300 years or so. This early Israelite "intermediate period" between Joshua and the United Monarchy (Saul to Solomon) would in this respect have been exactly like such periods elsewhere in the biblical world. In Egypt, the dynasties of the Second Intermediate Period add up globally to well over 500 years; yet we know that these selfsame 13th–17th Dynasties all fit within a period of not more than about 230 years (in fact, within either 1786–1550 B.C. or 1759–1530 B.C.). Similarly, one might add up the dynasties (Isin, Larsa, etc.) in the Old Babylonian period between the fall of the Ur III Dynasty and the triumph of Hammurapi of Babylon to some 500 years; but they, too, must fit into the approximately 250 years that the interval really covers.

From Egyptian data, a bottom date for the Exodus can also be set. In his 5th year, 1209 B.C., Merneptah (Rameses II's successor) mentions four entities recently subdued in Canaan: Ascalon, Gezer, Yenoam, and Israel; by the hieroglyphic determinatives, clearly three territorial city-states and a people, respectively. The disposition of related reliefs at Karnak would confirm (in conjunction with the "Israel Stela") the location of earliest Israel in that area later known as Ephraim and (W) Manasseh, (see Yurco 1986, which supersedes all previous treatments). Hence, the Exodus, the sojourn in the wilderness, and the entry into Canaan can reasonably be limited to within ca. 1279–1209 B.C., a maximum of 70 years; or if within about 1260–1220 B.C., very nearly 300 years before the 4th year of Solomon (966 B.C.). The other biblical (genealogical) data cluster around this general figure. Thus, we have roughly 300 years/10 generations of high priests down to Zadok (1 Chr 6:3–8). The genealogy of David (5 generations, Ruth 4:18–22) is clearly too short, and is probably "telescoped," i.e., some links are omitted.

Archaeological evidence (though imperfect and unsatisfactory) is not incompatible with these findings. Rameses II invaded Moab, probably sometime within 1275–1260 B.C., including Dibon (Kitchen 1964, for the firsthand data; denial of this by Cross 1988: 58–59, n. 41, is based upon ignorance of the facts and upon errors by Ahituv). Clearly, the Hebrews would have come that way after such an event—"Israel" does not feature among Levantine place names under Rameses II as it did under Merneptah. In Canaan, the drastic destruction of Hazor (level 13) in the later 13th century B.C. (despite misconceptions to the contrary) may well reflect Joshua's exploit. Ai remains an enigma on any view; at Jericho, nearly half a millennium of erosion has long since removed virtually all pertinent evidence. Lachish level 7 fell at this time, but neither its fall nor even level 6 need be credited to the Israelites. (It should not need to be remarked that killing petty kinglets in battle, Josh 12:9–24, is a far cry from demolishing cities.) However all this may be, recent surveys and excavations do seem to indicate clearly that following 1200 B.C. there was a new intensity of settlement (farms, hamlets, villages) in Canaan, particularly and first in the N part that became Ephraim/W Manasseh (see *AIS* 1988). This sudden rise in population could not come from simply nowhere; and the entry of new groups, such as the Israelite clans (ultimately from Egypt) remains by far the most

sensible explanation. (However, for an outline of various proposals, and Finkelstein's most recent assessment of the data, see *AIS*, 336–56.)

Returning to the documentary evidence, it must be emphasized that the formulation of the Sinai/Moab covenant (Exodus-Leviticus; Deuteronomy) in its basic framework belongs squarely within the period 1380–1200 B.C. (Kitchen 1989). This excludes an early date for the Exodus/lawgiving (e.g., 1440 B.C.), as Moses could not have used this format over 60 years before it had been invented; nor can the basic covenant be dated any later than the start of the 12th century at latest on analogous grounds. The Habiru of the Amarna Letters are a false trail; as was remarked long ago, the biblical Hebrews may have been Habiru, but not all Habiru are biblical Hebrews. So, in summary, the likeliest date for an exodus of Hebrews from Egypt would at present fall within the middle part of the 13th century B.C.

2. Location and Route. The starting point of the Exodus is given as Rameses (Gen 47:11; Exod 12:37; Num 33:3, 5), alternately Raamses (Exod 1:11), in the E delta, it being also the scene of the Hebrew labors at brickmaking (Exod 1:11; 12:37; Num 33:3, 5). Within reach of Raamses, they labored also at Pithom (Exod 1:11). But when the Hebrews traveled out from Rameses, we hear no more of Pithom, but of Succoth as first stop (Exod 12:37; Num 33:5) on the way E (clearly, Pithom had been bypassed, not being on their direct route). When they first entered the E delta from Canaan, the patriarchal clan had been located in a district named Goshen (Gen 46:28), which the later editor of the Exodus period identified as "the land of Rameses" (Gen 47:11).

Scrutiny of the total available Egyptian sources (Gardiner 1918; supplemented by Kitchen 1990) reveals scores of mentions of places called "Rameses." The vast majority of these refer to Rameses II, a very few to Rameses III, and none to any other Rameses. A handful of these mentions in fact relate to places totally irrelevant to the Exodus—a Rameses settlement over a thousand miles up the Nile in Nubia, and a couple of forts on the West, Libyan margins of the delta. In the E delta, just two such places are definitely attested. One is a fort at the W end of the chain of forts that ran along the N coast of Sinai from Egypt to Canaan: "The Dwelling of the Lion" under Sethos I, renamed "The Dwelling of Rameses" by Rameses II. Recent excavation at Tell Haboua has revealed a massive Ramesside fortress (up to 1000 m^2), built over a Middle Kingdom/Hyksos settlement (Abd el-Maqsoud 1988; personal information; Abd el-Maqsoud 1983, and especially 1987). This may well be the site of "The Dwelling."

However, the vast mass of references under Rameses II to Rameses III relate to a major delta capital city, built by Rameses II around the summer palace of his father Sethos I as nucleus, and on the N of the old town of Avaris, used by the Hyksos, but of no importance until the reign of Haremhab, the immediate predecessor of the Ramesside kings. The location of Pi-Ramesse, "Domain of Rameses," the clear original of Hebrew Rameses, was long disputed. Pelusium did not fit; Tanis proved to be an illusion, because all the Ramesside monuments found there (many from Pi-Ramesse) were in fact reused materials, brought from elsewhere by later kings to build the temple of Amun of Tanis in the 21st–22d Dynasties. But a growing series of important finds in the immediate area of Khataʿana-Qantir-Tell-Dabʿa by Hamza, Habachi, Adam, Bietak, and Pusch have produced results that correspond remarkably well with the literary and inscriptional sources on Pi-Ramesse, as well as Avaris. See, conveniently, Bietak 1981, and for fuller detail Bietak 1975. It should be noted that the New Kingdom history of Avaris/Pi-Ramesse does not currently precede the reign of Haremhab (ca. 1320 B.C.), and that its main period runs from Rameses II to Rameses VI (ca. 1279–1140 B.C.), after which it rapidly fell into disuse and decay. Biblical mentions of Raamses therefore belong to the late 2d millennium B.C., after which the city and the name fell into total oblivion, being attested in 4th/3d century inscriptions for "shadow-cults" of Amun, hidden away within late Egyptian sanctuaries, at a period when later Jewish tradition proved incapable of accurately locating this city (and others); see Bietak in Rainey 1987, and *LÄ* 5: 128–46.

Succoth is a name widely agreed to be derived from Eg *tkw*, Tjeku. The Eg literary sources of the 13th century B.C. clearly show that Tjeku was the name for an area that contained a settlement (also called Tjeku), two forts or keeps, and pools. Statuary found at Tell el-Maskhuta and a stela of Ptolemy II show clearly that Tjeku (and therefore Succoth) should be located at Tell el-Maskhuta in Wadi Tumilat, approximately 22 miles from Pi-Ramesse to its NW.

Pithom (Exod 1:11) is clearly bypassed, and therefore should be sought either N of Pi-Ramesse (where no appropriate site is known), or else somewhere S of Pi-Ramesse and W of Succoth. This option would bring us to Tell er-Retaba, 9 Roman miles W of Succoth/Tjeku. At this W site was a Ramesside cult and temple of the god Atum, who gave his name to Pithom (Pi-(A)tum, "Domain of Atum"); cf. Bietak in Rainey 1987: 168–69; the views of D. B. Redford ("Pithom" in *LÄ* 4: 1054–58) are totally mistaken; cf. Kitchen 1990, besides Bietak. Tell er-Retaba has appropriate Ramesside remains, but nothing much earlier.

Unfortunately, almost nothing at all can be clearly identified among the other place names on the Exodus itinerary. That applies to Etham, certainly not an Eg *Khetem*, "fort," but evidently somewhere near the Bitter Lakes. Here, on the edge of the wilderness, the Hebrews had to turn aside and camp between Migdol, Pi-Hahiroth, and "the sea," before escaping past the wind-driven waters (Exod 14:2, 16–22; Num 33:6–8). The Hebrews would appear to have first turned N, then E by the waters, before finally going off SE into Sinai, and well away from the forbidden "Way of the Philistines" (Exod 13:17), with its chain of Egyptian forts (on which, cf. Oren and T. Dothan in Rainey 1987). Despite occasional suggestions to the contrary (e.g., Batto 1983, 1984), the so-called "Red Sea" of Exod 10:19–15:22 is best rendered "Sea of Reeds," as part of the Bitter Lakes, the word *sup*, "reeds," being clearly derived from Eg *twf*, tjuf. (See also RED SEA.) Migdol is merely a common West Semitic word for a fort or watchtower, and this one cannot therefore be located. Baal-zephon may possibly be the later Tahpanhes/Daphnai at Tell Defenneh, where both Ramesside and later remains have been found. Pi-Hahiroth is unknown, but could be the Eg Pa-hir waters/canal in the Bitter Lakes area (note

the form Ha-hiroth in Num 33:8); see details in Kitchen 1975: 428–32.

Once away from Egypt, three routes E confronted the Hebrews. The N one (N Sinai coast) was excluded (Kitchen 1975). The central one across the barren, waterless limestone shield of central Sinai was impracticable (see Bietak in Rainey 1987: 170), and does not fit the conditions given and presupposed in the biblical text. Only the S route, toward the area of Mts. Serbal, Musa, etc., and then NE toward Kadesh-barnea, in any way fits the circumstances (see D below).

D. The Ancient Cultural Context

1. The Phenomenon of an "Exodus." While biblical writers view Israel's exodus from Egypt as uniquely important in their faith and history, they recognized that other peoples too might exit from one land into another. Amos (9:7) recalls three: Israel from Egypt, the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Arameans from Kir. Little can be said about Kir, but the Philistines certainly entered Canaan (with other Sea Peoples) from across the Aegean; their distinctive pottery is of Aegean inspiration ("sub-Mycenaean").

Like Israel escaping from oppressive Egyptian rule, so in Anatolia in the 15th century B.C., some 14 "lands" and population groups rebelled against the Hittite king and transferred themselves to the land of Isuwa. However, his successor invaded Isuwa and brought these unfortunates back to heel (see Weidner 1923: 5/7). In the 18th century B.C. tribal groups subject to the king of Mari sometimes tried to escape royal control by emigration (see Matthews 1978: 157–58).

2. Conditions on the Eve of the Exodus. a. Labor in the brickfields. There the Hebrews saw hard service "with clay mortar and with bricks, all service in the field . . . with hardship" (Exod 1:14), for the Egyptians "had set over them directors of forced labor, to afflict them with their burdens" (Exod 1:11). More precisely (Exod 5:6–21), we find Egyptian taskmasters supervising gangs of Hebrews led by their own foremen or "officers." This two-tier control by supervisors and gang leaders is well attested in New Kingdom Egypt and earlier (Kitchen 1976: 138, 140–46). The well-known scene of brickmaking in the tomb chapel of the vizier Rekhmire (ca. 1450 B.C.) shows a mixed-race group of laborers (Canaanites, Nubians, Egyptians) making bricks under the eye of Egyptian overseers armed with slim batons, with (apparently) 10 men per overseer. A leather scroll in the Louvre, of Year 5 of Rameses II (ca. 1275 B.C.), lists a series of 40 "stablemasters," or junior taskmasters, each given a production target of 2000 bricks for his gang (other related documents exist; for references see Kitchen 1976).

The Egyptians readily employed foreign captives on building projects during this general period. We find Apiru dragging stone for a temple of Rameses II at Memphis (Caminos 1954: 491), while in Nubia the viceroy Setau rounded up oasis-dwelling Libyans to build the temple of Rameses II at Wadi es-Sebua (Kitchen 1982: 138). The imposition of work quotas (Exod 5:8, 13–14) as in the Louvre scroll just mentioned recurs in the papyri: "Total, 12 building-jobs; . . . people . . . are making their quota of bricks daily" (see Caminos 1954: 106). For seeking a religious holiday (cf. below), the Hebrews were punished by having to find their own straw to use in the brick clay, while maintaining production (Exod 5:6–16). The use of straw this way recurs in the papyri. One official laments, "There are no men to make bricks, and no straw hereabouts" (see Caminos 1954: 188). Chaff or straw mixed with the clay provided stronger bricks that kept their shape in drying, a practice still in use (Nims 1950: 24–28). There are chemical reasons behind the phenomenon (Lucas 1962: 48–50). As later biblical references make clear, *ʿārê-hammiskĕnôt*, "cities of storage," contained storage magazines for food products (2 Chr 32:28; cf. 1 Kgs 9:19, supply depots for the military). This would agree with the presence in Pi-Ramesse and elsewhere of military barracks, storage magazines, housing, etc., all of mud brick.

Pharaoh's wrath at Moses' request for time off work (Exodus 5) for the Hebrews to go and worship their God in the desert is no surprise. In the 13th/12th centuries B.C., we have numerous work-attendance documents that detail the absenteeism of the royal workmen in W Thebes. The reasons for absence are fascinating: burying a deceased relative, brewing beer with the boss, or away worshipping one's god (cf. translation of OBM 5634, Kitchen 1982: 196–97; others are cited, Kitchen 1966: 157). The two principal Hebrew midwives, Shiprah and Puah (Exod 1:15), bear genuine West Semitic names (not artificial), attested in earlier Egypt (as loanword) and Ugarit.

b. Role of Moses—Semites in Egyptian society. If indeed Moses was brought up at the Egyptian court in the E delta, he would have had plenty of other West-Semitic-speaking colleagues to chat with. Youths from Canaan ("Khor") as well as Nubia served as court attendants and fan bearers (Caminos 1954: 117, 200–1), and many cupbearers or butlers are attested at court during the 15th–12th centuries B.C. (for references see Kitchen in Douglas 1980: 1.423; 2.1026–27). An Egyptian official might boast of his knowledge of Canaanite, rattling off pet phrases (*ANET,* 477 and n. 41). The words *ʾamht, sqt,* "maidens," "strife"(?), are written in early Canaanite script on a potsherd from the Queens' Valley in distant Thebes (*ʾamht,* Albright 1948: 12, n. 33). Under Sethos II, we have mention of foreign children coming into the harem to be given training (Sauneron and Yoyotte 1950: 67–70). The story of Moses being left (and found) in the basket amid the bulrushes (Exod 2:1–10) has often been compared with the tale of Sargon of Agade cast away as a foundling. However, the differences are considerable, as clearly pointed out by Sarna (1986: 29–31). As for royal dealings with West Semites, one son of Rameses II married the daughter of a Canaanite ship's captain, a man called Ben-Anath (Kitchen 1982: 111–12, 253), and upon his eldest daughter (by Queen Istnofret), Rameses II bestowed the good Semitic name Bint-Anath. Thus the position of West Semitic personnel brought up and educated at the Egyptian court (with all that this implies) is nothing extraordinary, and a Moses would simply be one among many such people.

c. Magic and plagues. Israel's deliverance from Egypt was the sequel to a series of severe plagues upon Egypt, to break the stubbornness of her king. It began with a contest in arcane skill between Moses and Aaron and Egypt's learned magicians, in which the latter were outclassed

(Exod 7:11, 22; 8:7, 18). Rods turned into serpents are reminiscent of a trick known in modern times. If pressure is applied to its neck muscles, the Egyptian cobra can be made immobile (cataleptic) after having been charmed and seized by the neck (Keimer 1947: 16–17 with figs. 14–21).

Written in straight prose, the Exodus account has a sequence of ten plagues (Exod 7:14–12:30), in contrast to the seven plagues alluded to in Pss 78:42–51; 105:28–36. However, besides being later in date, the accounts in the Psalms are generalized and poetic; thus, Exodus should be treated as our primary source. This is comparable with other ANE multiple accounts; e.g., when studying the wars of Thutmose III, we go first to the prosaic Annals at Karnak, and only secondarily to that king's anthological and poetic stelae. In the Exodus narrative, the sequence of the first nine plagues can be shown to be significant, rooted in observable natural phenomena, leading on from one to another. It is the severity of the Exodus plagues and their timing that distinguish them, not their physical nature. The sequence included the river Nile turning into "blood," swarms of frogs, then of mosquitoes; masses of flies, cattle pest, and blains on man and beast; storms (hail, thunder), locusts, and thick darkness, the *khamsin* dust clouds, and the narrative of these—to make sense—has to be taken as a unitary whole (Hort 1957–58, with additional observations by Sarna 1986: 68–73). The tenth plague, the death of the firstborn of Egypt, remains in the realm of miracle. As Sarna notes (77–78), these events are presented in a well-articulated literary format—three series of three plagues each, with the tenth as a climax. To some degree, individual plagues would negate the power or repute of particular Egyptian deities: e.g., the Nile as Hapi, the sun as Re, and so on (Sarna 1986: 79).

3. The Exodus-event Itself. a. Preliminaries. Much ink has been spilled over the supposed origins of the Passover rite (Exod 12:1–28)—for example, deriving its usages from spring rites of nomadic origin (Sarna 1986: 85–89). The sober fact remains that *no* extrabiblical original or relevant background for the Passover celebration has so far been discovered; all suggestions about origins are guesswork at present. However, it is by no means unknown in the biblical world for a group of people and their leader to perform religious rites before embarking on a major expedition, whether of peace or war. In Egypt, propitiatory offerings to the gods preceded the dispatch of expeditions to far distant Punt, both in the 11th Dynasty, ca. 2000 B.C. (*ARE,* 1.210 § 432), and in the 18th Dynasty, ca. 1470 B.C. (*ARE,* 2.104/106 § 252, with 106 note *a*). Ca. 1390 B.C., Thutmose IV offered oblations to Amon in Karnak before warring in Nubia (*ARE,* 2.328 § 827), while Rameses III (ca. 1180 B.C.) was commissioned in Amon's temple before his first Libyan war (Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 4–5). In the Levant, in the Keret tale from Ugarit (14th/13th centuries B.C.), King Keret is enjoined to celebrate offering rites before marching off to Udum to secure his new bride (Gordon 1949: 68–69; *ANET,* 143b; or Gibson 1978: 83–84). None of these is a Passover, but they all exhibit the same principle of a solemn ritual before a great undertaking.

According to the narrative (Exod 11:2–3; 12:35–36), the Egyptians of Rameses and environs gladly gave the departing Israelites whatever they cared to ask for, so long as they cleared out of Egypt—"or else we'll all be dead men" (Exod 12:33). The Egyptians' basic attitude was one of "buying off" the wrath of an offended deity (YHWH of Israel in this case). Sometimes, convinced of a deity's anger against him, an Egyptian would vow a gift or offerings, praying for deliverance or healing. In the mid-13th century B.C., the draftsman Nebre vowed a stela for his son's healing (*ANET,* 381), while the sculptor Qen (while seeking forgiveness) recommended that anyone encountering his stela to the goddess Mertseger-Rennutet should offer her a jug of beer on the 20th day of the 5th month, and so guard against her (Clère 1975: 72–77, esp. 76–77). Others promised to witness to a deity's might (Sadek 1987: 238, 239).

b. Numbers. The 430 years since the patriarchs (Exod 12:40–41) if added to a possible Exodus date of ca. 1260–1250 B.C., would put the Hebrew entry into Egypt with Jacob and Joseph at about 1690–1680 B.C., the period just preceding the Hyksos takeover in Egypt (which a Joseph could have lived to see). The patriarchal epoch would then broadly come within about 1900–1650 B.C. Despite much uncritical endorsement of the positions of Thompson (1974) and Van Seters (1975), many of whose arguments are badly flawed, there is good evidence for a specific and distinct such epoch within these general dates (Kitchen 1977: 56–74 with references 142–46). Therefore the 430 years is likely to have been a continuous era (like the Ramesside era of 400 Years of Seth-Nubti), and not added up from overlapping years or schematically obtained, as may be the case with the 480 years of 1 Kgs 6:1.

A statistic of a very different kind is that found in Exod 12:37, where the usual rendering is "600,000 (men) on foot," plus family members. While across the centuries one small clan could reproduce to very considerable numbers, yet the implied scope of 2 million or more total persons has prompted scholars to query this "600,000" translation, as other meanings and uses of *ʾelep* besides "1000" are well attested. Various previous suggestions (from Petrie to Malamat) have been reviewed but found wanting by Sarna (1986: 99). However, a far more thorough and comprehensive study of all biblical "large numbers" by J. W. Wenham (1967: 27–32, in particular) deserves careful consideration. His results would suggest an exodus of perhaps 72,000 overall. His work would indicate about 40,000 able-bodied in Israel in the early settlement (Iron I) period, both E and W of the Jordan. This begins to approach recent estimates of 30,000 to 50,000 people who settled in W Palestine in this period (*AIS,* 330–35).

A much more limited Exodus statistic (14:7) is the squadron of reputedly 600 chariots that Pharaoh sent in pursuit of Israel. It is not impossible when compared with other figures available: supposedly 2500 Hittite chariots at the Battle of Kadesh (1275 B.C.), or in the 15th century B.C. Thutmose III of Egypt capturing 924 Canaanite chariots on one campaign, while Amenophis II took 730 and 1032 such chariots on two further campaigns; 400 years after the Exodus, Ahab of Israel could muster 2000 chariots, according to Assyrian sources (*ANET,* 279). Therefore, the pharaoh's 600 chariots in Exodus represent a strong but moderate force.

c. Progress. The initial segment of the Exodus route from Rameses to Succoth was about 22 miles (36 km) at

most; if the Hebrews lived on the S of Pi-Ramesse, they would have traveled slightly less. This is compatible with the day's journey over precisely the same ground by slaves fleeing in the reign of Sethos II (Caminos 1954: 255, or *ANET,* 259), or with the 15 miles per day commonly covered by advancing armies (Murnane 1985: Appendix 2) in less of a hurry than those slaves or the Israelites.

The passing of the "Sea of Reeds" was enabled by "a strong east wind" (Exod 14:21), until the returning waters swamped the Egyptian chariots. The lakes of the delta have witnessed such phenomena in much more recent times, as the engineer Aly Bey Shafei discovered when his automobile got stuck in the returning waters while crossing such a lake bed (Shafei 1946: 278, 282, figs. 10, 11).

Safely clear of their pursuers, the Israelites could pause to raise the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15). This splendid poem belongs to the class of triumphal poems particularly well attested during ca. 1500–1150 B.C., especially in Egypt (*ANET,* 373–78; also Gaballa and Kitchen 1969), but also in Assyria with Tukulti-Ninurta I, not to mention the Song of Deborah in Judges 5.

It is sometimes remarked that we have no Egyptian record of an Exodus such as the OT narrates (however interpreted). But several pertinent factors must be borne in mind. Military mishaps (like the loss of a large chariot squadron) are never the subject of triumphal temple inscriptions—Egyptian theology could only be sustained by successes, not failures. The flight of even a large body of slaves would only have been recorded in administrative daybooks and journals, like that excerpted in Sethos II's reign about the flight of two slaves, but over 99 percent of such records for the delta have long since totally perished. A handful of wine-jar labels under Rameses II is all we possess, and they only give vintage dates!

4. Off into Sinai. The natural conditions prevalent in Sinai help to determine the route of the Exodus beyond Egypt (see above, sec. C.2 against N and central routes in Sinai). The natural phenomena concerned clearly favor a S route (Beit-Arieh 1988, and for more detail Kitchen in Douglas 1980: 3.1644–45). Initial campsites such as Marah and Elim may have been at springs and oases like Ain Hawarah and Wadi Gharandel. If it means "smeltery" (Wright 1957: 64), Dophkah may reflect some copper-mining site, which would bring us (if not to the Egyptian sites of Wadi el-Maghara or Serabit el-Khadim) to the metalliferous sandstone region of S Sinai. Areas like Wadis Feiran and Refayid could relate to such stopping places as Rephidim, but not with any certainty.

The Israelites twice encountered flights of quail, once each at the Gulfs of Suez (Exod 16:13) and of Aqaba (Num 11:31), these creatures arriving in the evening. These are precisely the areas and time of day overflown by migrating quail in the spring, the season applicable to these two biblical references. For this phenomenon, see Lucas 1938: 58–63, 81 (but overstressing Aqaba in relation to Suez). This, again, reflects the S route; on the N route, quail migration is experienced in the autumn in the mornings, not spring in the evenings. For manna, see Sarna 1986: 116–18.

A further natural feature encountered by the Israelites in the Arabah rift valley probably underlies the dramatic end of the rebellious Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who were swallowed up by the ground (Num 16:31–34) and struck by "fire from the Lord" (Num 16:35). The rebels appear to have encamped on a mud flat (*kewir*), capped by a triple layer of hard clay, salt, and semisolid mud that covered a deep mud bog, of a kind attested in the Arabah. The change of atmosphere brought by a storm led to the sudden breakup of the upper crust, so that the lightning-struck rebels simply disappeared into the engulfing mud below (Hort 1959: 2–26, esp. 19–26). Given the multiple indications favoring a S route, the mountain of the lawgiving should also be located somewhere in S Sinai—whether at Serbal, Gebel Musa, or another peak, we cannot securely know.

5. Egyptian Influence Accompanies the Hebrews to Sinai. a. Longing for Egypt's "fleshpots." More than once, the Hebrews are portrayed as longing for the wealth of food in Egypt (Exod 16:3; Num 11:4–5). They missed "pots of meat," "the fish we ate," the cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions, and garlic. This list echoes the scribal praises of the rich provisions of 13th-century Pi-Ramesse so lyrically described in the Miscellanies (Caminos 1954: 74; see also in part 117, 199–200 and parallels)—fishes, birds, fat cattle for meat, cucumbers, leeks, carobs (or melons?), and much more.

b. The tabernacle. Fashioned of gilded wooden frames socketed together and covered with curtains, this structure (we now know) was based directly on long-established Egyptian technology. Precisely these techniques appear with the bedroom suite of Queen Hetepheres ca. 2500 B.C. (Smith 1958: pls. 30A, 34). Similar "tabernacles" appear in tomb paintings as sacred embalming booths in ca. 1800 B.C. Although of different construction, the great tomb shrines of Tutankhamen (ca. 1330 B.C.) were dismountable structures of gold-sheeted wood. Beyond Egypt, near Sinai itself, a curtained and wood-framed tabernacular structure (but fixed to a stone base) was used for worship at Midianite Timna (Rothenberg 1972: 152, fig. 44) in the 12th century B.C. Thus, we find the tabernacle of Exodus 26 and 36 is not some fantasy dreamed up in the Babylonian Exile or a retrojection of the Solomonic temple, but derives directly from Egyptian Bronze Age techniques unknown to any denizen of the Euphrates six centuries later.

c. Tabernacle trappings. This modest shrine (barely 15 feet by 45 feet within its precinct) was to occupy the center of a rectangular camp of the Hebrew tribal groups (Numbers 2). This compares directly with the war tent of Rameses II within its shield-palisaded rectangular camp (for picture, see Kitchen 1982: 55, fig. 18; see also Cross 1947: 55 and n. 17, following Gressmann; and Kitchen 1960: 11). In later epochs things changed; Assyrian camps of this kind were round, not rectangular (for picture, see Saggs 1984: pl. 21A).

The customary Hebrew trumpet was the ram's horn *shofar.* But two long silver trumpets (Num 10:1–7) were specified for tabernacle feasts and to signal the tribes to move onward. The tomb of Tutankhamen (ca. 1330 B.C.) contained a gilded copper or bronze trumpet and a silver trumpet of identical type (see Edwards 1972: item 45). To transport the dismantled tabernacle, the Israelites had ox wagons (Num 7:3)—the term used, *ʿăgālâ,* is that also used for just such desert ox wagons under Rameses IV ca. 1140

B.C. for wilderness transport, but with six spans each of oxen, not just one (*ARE*, 4.227 § 467).

The ark of the covenant was a gilded box carried upon removable gilded poles (Exod 37:1–4). This is a specifically Egyptian usage, as is readily seen from a splendid box on such poles from Tutankhamen's tomb (Millard 1985: 73; for details, see Edwards 1972: item 14). Egyptian sacred barque shrines were also carried on such poles by priests in procession.

d. Cultic organization. The twofold division into priests and cult assistants (Levites) was also familiar to the biblical world in the 13th century B.C. and long before. In Egypt one may distinguish between the "lay priests" (*wab*, "pure ones") caring for the mundane duties of the daily cult, and the higher clergy (1st to 4th prophets; "god's fathers") who conducted the innermost rites of the sanctuary (Sauneron 1960: 56, 60–63, 70–72). Even closer in some respects was Hittite usage in having external keepers and internal temple staff (Milgrom 1970). Therefore, in this, Hebrew usage conforms to the 2d millennium B.C.

E. Evaluation

How, then, shall we regard the Exodus? The foregoing survey indicates the nature of the available background. None of it can prove that the Exodus took place, or as narrated. But it does carry some clear indications. The Egyptian elements suggest a direct knowledge of how Egyptian labor functioned; the magical practices and the plagues are closely tied to specially Egyptian conditions, not readily inventable in exilic Babylon. The Exodus route via Pi-Ramesse and Succoth fits the 13th century B.C., not later centuries. The status of Moses particularly well fits cosmopolitan New Kingdom Egypt in a way unlikely some centuries later. A variety of "cultural baggage" can be found even at Sinai: the very techniques of the tabernacle's structure, its silver trumpets, the portable ark, use of desert oxcarts, etc., all point back directly and immediately to Egypt, and to the late 2d millennium B.C. (as does the form of the Sinai/Moab covenant).

The lack of any explicit Egyptian mention of an Exodus is of no historical import, given its unfavorable role in Egypt, and the near total loss of all relevant records in any case. Various factors favor a S route through Sinai. The sudden increase in settlement in 12th-century Canaan is best explained by an influx of new people (not needfully a military conquest, even if one or two towns fell). The initial mention of Israel on the stela of Merneptah in 1209 B.C. may tell us who many of these new people were. That they had ultimately come from Egypt is not proven but (in light of the long and pervasive biblical tradition and good comparative data) it is by far the most logical and sensible solution.

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K. A. KITCHEN

EXORCISM. See DEMONS.

EXPURGATIONS OF THE BIBLE. Measures to mollify biblical references to subjects considered offensive or obscene were taken as early as OT times, and have continued to the present day. See BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.

EXTORTION. See DEBTS.

EYE PAINT. See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

EYELIDS OF MORNING. See SHAHAR (DEITY).

EZBAI (PERSON) [Heb *ʾezbāy*]. Father of Naarai in 1 Chr 11:37 in the list of David's warriors. In the parallel in 2 Sam 23:35, this warrior is called Paarai the Arbite. See NAARAI. There may be a textual confusion between *nʿry bn ʾzby* (1 Chr 11:37) and *pʿry hʾrby* (2 Sam 23:35). If this is so, then the name would be a gentilic, the Arbite, rather than a personal name. It is possible that it refers to Arab, a city in the mountain regions of Judah (Josh 15:52). In that case, *bn,* "son of," would be an insertion in the text, or possibly a corruption of the initial *he* in *hʾrby* (Rothstein *Chronik* KAT, 218). The various forms found in Gk mss (*azōbai, asbi, asbaēl*) suggest, however, that the LXX knew no form other than *ʾzby,* so if there was any textual corruption it must have taken place very early. It is impossible to determine with any certainty what the original form was (Kittel 1895: 64). See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

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STEPHEN PISANO

EZBON (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēṣbôn*]. The name of two men in the OT.

1. Fourth in a list of seven sons of Gad, according to one Gadite genealogy (Gen 46:16). According to the Gadite genealogy of Num 26:15–18, Ozni (Heb *ʾoznî*) takes the place of Ezbon, while the other six sons of Gad are maintained in identical order with Gen 46:16. A better reading, with the Syr and Sam. Pent., is *ʾēsbʿōn.*

2. A grandson of Benjamin, first listed among five sons of Bela, according to the shorter Benjaminite genealogy given by the Chronicler (1 Chr 7:7). These five sons of Bela are designated "heads of fathers' houses, mighty warriors." This shorter Benjaminite genealogy (1 Chr 7:6–12) has been thought by some scholars to be mistakenly attributed to Benjamin. Guthrie (*IDB* 2: 203) suggests that the list more likely belongs to Zebulun, a suggestion made on the basis that 1 Chronicles 8 gives a longer and quite different genealogy of Benjamin, while Zebulun is lacking in the genealogies offered by the Chronicler. Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 77) calls attention to this and other features of the shorter list which have caused some scholars to view it as a corrupt genealogy of Zebulun, but he concludes that the names are probable in a Benjaminite

context, and that the textual emendations proposed by those who wish to attach the list to Zebulun are "too violent to inspire confidence." Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 53, 59) likewise sees no reason to detach the shorter genealogy from Benjamin, stating that it is found in its "proper place" in the Chronicler's arrangement of tribal genealogies.

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

EZEKIEL THE TRAGEDIAN. In the middle of the 2d century B.C.E. a Jewish playwright, Ezekiel, wrote a drama on the Ezodus, *Exagōgē*, probably in Alexandria (Fraser 1972, 1: 707). If Clement of Alexandria's remark (*Strom.* 1.23.155) that he was a writer of tragedies (plur.) is to be trusted, Ezekiel wrote other plays as well, but only fragments from the *Exagōgē* have been preserved, altogether 269 iambic trimeters. The preservation of these fragments is due to the quotations by both Alexander Polyhistor (who quoted extensively from Ezekiel in his *Peri Ioudaiōn*, written about the middle of the 1st century B.C.E.) and Eusebius of Caesarea (who plundered Alexander's work in his *Praeparatio Evangelica*). Some fragments are also quoted by Clement of Alexandria and Eustathius of Antioch.

The remains of this play are important in at least three respects. First, since almost all of the extensive Greek dramatic literature of the Hellenistic period has been lost and the *Exagōgē* is the only play with considerable portions still extant, it is a valuable source for the study of postclassical drama (showing, for instance, that the unity of time and place that had been maintained by and large in classical drama had been almost completely dropped; Snell 1971a). Second, it is the earliest Jewish play known to us and the only one preserved from antiquity. As such, the drama is a fascinating specimen of what could be achieved when a Hellenized Jew molded biblical material into Greek dramatic forms (Wieneke 1931). Third, although the author primarily followed the LXX version of Exodus, his deviations from it represent an interesting witness to early postbiblical haggadah (Jacobson 1983). He is also the author of the earliest passage containing the idea of an originally human but now divine viceregent or plenipotentiary of God, a concept that was to play a more important role in later esoteric Jewish and Christian circles (van der Horst 1982; 1983; 1984).

As far as we can reconstruct the play, the outline is as follows. In the first scene (vv 1–65) Moses summarizes in a long monologue the events recorded in Exodus 1–2. This is followed by the encounter with Jethro's daughters (with several postbiblical developments, e.g., that Zipporah is identical to the Ethiopian wife of Moses in Num 12:1; see vv 60–62). The second scene (vv 66–89) contains, besides a short dialogue between Zipporah and a certain Chum, another nonbiblical scene, namely a report by Moses about a strange dream or vision he had in which he saw God enthroned on the summit of Mt. Sinai. God beckons him, hands over his regalia to Moses, descends from his throne, and orders Moses to sit upon it, whereupon all heavenly powers prostrate before him. Moses has been given all power in heaven and on earth (cf. Matt 28:18). The third scene (vv 90–174) describes how God commands Moses from the burning bush to lead his people out of Egypt (Exodus 3) and how he removes Moses' doubts by performing the miracles with the rod and the leprous hand (Exodus 4). Subsequently, in a long monologue God enumerates the ten plagues that he will bring upon Egypt (Exodus 7–11; these plagues could, of course, not be put onstage) and gives the rules for the institution of Passover (Exod 12:1–20). In a fourth scene (vv 175–192) Moses repeats these rules before the elders of the people (Exod 12:21–28, with the significant omission of the obligatory circumcision of all participants; a concession to his pagan audience?).

In the fifth scene (vv 193–242) an Egyptian messenger gives an eyewitness account of the complete destruction of the Egyptian army in the Red Sea (Exodus 14, with significant haggadic details, on which see Jacobson 1983: 136–52), which is a striking parallel to Aeschylus' *Persians* where the crushing defeat of the Persian army is reported to the Persian queen, another well-known device for realizing dramatic scenes which were impossible to stage. In the sixth scene (vv 243–269) scouts report to Moses that they have found a paradisiacal place for the encampment (namely Elim, Exod 15:27) and describe at length a marvelous and gigantic bird that they have seen there. Undoubtedly the bird is a phoenix, whose appearance is always a symbol of the inauguration of a new era in history (or salvation history; see van der Horst 1982: 111–12; Jacobson 1983: 157–64). There must have been more acts in the play than the scenes enumerated, especially in view of the great time gap between vv 192 and 193 (scenes 4 and 5), but we do not know how many.

This synthesis of biblical story, postbiblical haggadah, and Greek literary procedures makes the *Exagōgē* into one of the most typical products of Jewish Hellenism. See also *OTP* 2: 803–19.

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PIETER W. VAN DER HORST

EZEKIEL, APOCRYPHON OF. The title given to five fragmentary texts which are not found in the canonical Ezekiel (either in the MT or LXX), but which are

explicitly attributed to Ezekiel by a number of early Church Fathers. The title itself is drawn from the Epiphanian introduction to the longest fragment: "And also, so that I might not pass over in silence the things mentioned about the resurrection by Ezekiel the prophet *in his own apocryphon*" (*Panarion* 64.70).

The five fragments share themes of repentance, eschatological judgment, and resurrection, but only the fragment preserved by Epiphanius is substantial enough to warrant summary. Epiphanius relates a story of a king who has everyone in his kingdom drafted into the army except for a lame man and a blind man. Shortly thereafter the king prepares a wedding feast for his son (cf. Matt 22:2; Luke 14:16) and invites all those whom he had drafted, snubbing the two crippled men. The two men then plot against the king to despoil his garden, but they quickly realize that they will not be able to carry out the deed until they figure out how to overcome their individual handicaps. Finally they hit upon the solution that the lame man should ride upon the shoulders of the blind man, and together they enter the king's garden. After the wedding feast has broken up, the partygoers notice that the king's garden has been destroyed and they report this fact to the king. The king approaches the blind man and the lame man and questions each one individually about the destruction. Each of the men appeals to his infirmity and claims that he could not have entered the king's garden. After a brief moment the king realizes what must have taken place. He places the lame man on the shoulders of the blind man and examines them together under the lash. The two men then begin to convict one another. The story concludes with the following moral: "In the same way the body is connected to the soul and the soul to the body, to convict (them) of (their) common deeds. And the judgment becomes final for both body and soul, for the works they have done whether good or evil."

Slightly variant versions of the same tale also appear in the rabbinic literature (cf. *b. Sanh.* 91ab; *Lev. Rab.* 4:5; *Mekhilta* of Rabbi Ishmael on Exod 15:1; *Mekhilta* of Rabbi Simeon ben Yochai on Exod 15:1; and Midrash *Tanḥuma* on Lev 4:1), but none are attributed to Ezekiel.

The second fragment is a call to repentance (highly reminiscent of Isa 1:18) in which God promises his people: "If . . . you turn back to me with a whole heart and say, 'Father,' I will heed you as a holy people." This quotation is preserved in Clement of Rome (*1 Clem.* 8.3), Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* 1.10), and the Coptic *Exegesis on the Soul* from Nag Hammadi (135,30–136,4). Of the three, only Clement of Alexandria explicitly attributes the quotation to Ezekiel, but Clement of Rome implies that he is quoting from an Ezekielic source.

Perhaps the most enigmatic of the quotations, fragment three, is found almost exclusively in the arguments against heretical views on the virgin birth by the Church Fathers. The quoted apocryphal phrase refers to a heifer that is said to have given birth and not given birth, although it should be noted that a shorter form of the saying makes no mention of a heifer and instead simply refers to an unidentified "she." This shorter form is cited by the *Acts of Peter* (chap. 24), Clement of Alexandria (*Str.* 7.16.19), and Tertullian (attributed to the "Academics"; *De Carne Christi* 23). Within the same chapter, Tertullian also cites the longer form and attributes the saying to Ezekiel (for the longer form, cf. also Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.30; Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, *Testimonia Adversus Iudaeos* 3).

The fourth fragment is preserved with varying ascriptions in a wide variety of sources. The earliest citation is by Justin Martyr, who attributes the saying to Jesus: "In whatsoever things I overtake you, in these also I will judge" (*Dial.* 47.5). Two later witnesses, Cyprian (*De Mortalitate* 17) and the *Liber Graduum*, also quote the saying as a teaching of Jesus. All the rest of the citations, which extend from the 2d to the 15th centuries, either attribute the saying to God (Clement of Alexandria, *Q.d.s.* 40.2), to God as he speaks through the prophets (Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestio ad Antiochum* 36), or to Ezekiel (Evagrius, *Vita Antonii;* John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi* 7).

The fifth fragment speaks of God as shepherd feeding his flock (Israel) on the holy mountain, remaining as near to them as the garment on their skin, and protecting them from harm (cf. Ezek 34:11–16). It is especially important for the study of the *Apocryphon* because it has been identified among the Chester Beatty papyri (4th century C.E.) by means of comparison with a quotation attributed to Ezekiel by Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* 1.9; cf. Bonner 1940). Clement intersperses his quotation with hortatory remarks which are clearly not part of his source; the papyrus parallel does not include any of the asides by Clement, but instead follows the uninterrupted citation. It is clear, therefore, that the papyrus does not represent a copy of *Paedagogus*, but a copy of the Ezekielic source cited by Clement. Additional citations of portions of this fragment can be found in Origen's Homily on Jeremiah (18:9) and in the Manichaean Psalmbook (Psalm 239).

Though the *Apocryphon of Ezekiel* has sometimes led a shadowy existence, it seems clear that the discovery and identification of the Chester Beatty material, along with the explicit introduction by Epiphanius, the citation of four of the five fragments by Clement of Alexandria, and the listing of such a work in the Stichometry of Nicephorus (cf. also the synopsis of Pseudo-Athanasius), provides strong evidence for the existence of an apocryphal work attributed to the prophet Ezekiel. The meager extent of the preserved fragments makes judgments about the *Apocryphon* as a whole difficult. Although preserved for the most part in early Christian texts and reflecting popular early Christian themes, the citations also share significant thematic parallels with the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period; as such, a determination of the character of the *Apocryphon* as a whole is problematic, although, on the basis of the appearance of the story of the lame man and the blind man in both Epiphanius and the rabbinic literature, one would be inclined toward a Jewish origin. The *Apocryphon* must date from no later than 90 C.E. because of the citation by Clement of Rome, but an earliest possible date cannot be determined with any precision. The most likely options for original language are Hebrew and Greek with a slight preference to be given to Hebrew.

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JAMES R. MUELLER

EZEKIEL, BOOK OF. The prophet Ezekiel lived during the Babylonian Exile and was active as a prophet from 593 B.C.E. to at least 571. He lived as an exile himself and, according to the label of the book that goes by his name (1:1–2), did all his preaching in Babylonia, probably in the Jewish settlement of Tel-abib on the Kebar canal near the ancient city of Nippur (3:15). According to the information in the label, he was the son of the priest Buzi (1:3), and his name is proper Hebrew, *yĕḥezqʾēl,* meaning "God strengthens (this child)" or possibly, "May God strengthen (this person)." The name, however, is found only once elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, at 1 Chron 24:16, where also it designates a priest, who probably lived in the century immediately after Ezekiel's own lifetime. It is likely that Ezekiel was among the first group of Jerusalemite citizens deported to Babylon when Nebuchadrezzar conquered the city for the first time in 598 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 24:10–17). Because he was of a priestly family, he probably had a good education, especially in the Law, and his father may even have had some influence in Jerusalem. Ezekiel was married (24:18), but little else is known about him personally except what can be gleaned from hints in the collection of his prophecies. Legend says that he is buried in a tomb at al-Kifl, near the modern town of Ḥilla in Iraq, not far from the site of ancient Babylon. It has been a Jewish shrine of some note.

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A. Major Divisions of the Book

Ezekiel's prophecies, together with various additional materials, were gathered into a book under his name. It joins the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah among the major prophets in the Hebrew canon of Scripture. The book now stands at the end of this series in its proper chronological order, but the Talmud (*B. Bat.* 14b) records that the original order was Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah. Isaiah had been put last so that the message of the major prophets would end with a book full of hope. The change away from this took place in the early Middle Ages. In English Bibles, the book of Lamentations has been inserted between Jeremiah and Ezekiel, after the practice of the LXX.

The book itself is one of the most highly structured among those of the prophets. It is clearly divided into three major sections that reflect different aspects of Ezekiel's ministry. Chaps. 1–24 contain oracles of judgment against Israel; chaps. 25–32 contain oracles delivered against foreign powers; and chaps. 33–48 contain oracles of salvation on behalf of Israel. In intention, the foreign oracles of 25–32 can be included with 33–48 as words of hope, thus creating two equal halves. While there may be individual units within each of these sections that more naturally belong to one of the other sections, the pattern has been organized for a definite purpose: to show that the prophet preached warning and judgment to the Judeans up until the final catastrophe of 586 B.C.E. when the city fell completely to the Babylonians; and that he preached hope and promise of restoration after that date.

Indeed the contrast between the first part of the book, chaps. 1–24, and the second half, chaps. 25–48, is so pronounced that the ancient historian Josephus reported that Ezekiel left behind "two books," not just one (*Ant* 10.79). This view, however, distorts the internal connection between the parts of the book. As it stands, the program of restoration in the second half dominates the order of the whole. The oracles of judgment help Israel understand why God let the city of Jerusalem fall and the old kingdom end for good; the oracles directed to pagan nations serve as a prelude to the establishment of a new kingdom of Israel by announcing punishment on all who oppress God's people; and the oracles of consolation focus on the new order that God will establish for Israel. This last section has two major movements: (1) a promise of a new exodus and conquest of the land in chaps. 33–39; and (2) a new division of the land and rebuilding of the holy city in chaps. 40–48. In this program, Ezekiel reflects the archetypal pattern found in the foundational book of the conquest story, Joshua.

B. Outline of the Book of Ezekiel

The content of the book of Ezekiel can be outlined as follows:

I. Oracles of Judgment
- A. Label for the Book 1:1–3
- B. The Prophetic Call of Ezekiel
  - 1. The vision of the divine throne 1:1–28
  - 2. The commissioning of the prophet 2:1–3:27
- C. Symbolic Acts and Oracles
  - 1. Three symbolic actions 4:1–5:4
  - 2. Three matching oracles 5:5–7:27
- D. The Vision of the Temple's End
  - 1. The abominations in the city 8:1–9:11
  - 2. God abandons the city 10:1–11:25
- E. Condemnation of Leaders and People
  - 1. Prediction of the coming exile 12:1–28
  - 2. Condemnation of false prophets 13:1–23
  - 3. Idolatry versus righteousness 14:1–23
- F. Allegories and Metaphors of Judgment
  - 1. The allegory of the vine-wood 15:1–8
  - 2. The allegory of unfaithful Jerusalem 16:1–63
  - 3. The allegory of the two eagles 17:1–24
  - 4. A case for personal responsibility 18:1–32
  - 5. Two allegorical laments on the king 19:1–14
- G. Final Indictment and Condemnation
  - 1. Israel's history of infidelity 20:1–44
  - 2. The sword oracles 20:45–21:32
  - 3. The blood guilt of Jerusalem 22:1–31
  - 4. The allegory of the two sisters 23:1–49
  - 5. Two signs to mark the end 24:1–27

II. Oracles against Foreign Nations
- A. Oracles against Neighboring States 25:1–17
- B. Oracles against Tyre 26:1–28:19
- C. Oracle against Sidon 28:20–26
- D. Oracles against Egypt 29:1–32:32

III. Oracles of Restoration
- A. The Revitalization of the Land
  - 1. Ezekiel receives a second call 33:1–33
  - 2. The example of the Good Shepherd 34:1–31
  - 3. Oracles against Edom's mountains 35:1–15
  - 4. Blessings on Israel's mountains 36:1–15
  - 5. Divine holiness for Israel 36:16–38
  - 6. The people brought back to life
    - a. The vision of the dead bones 37:1–14
    - b. The two sticks rejoined 37:15–28
  - 7. The War against Gog of Magog
    - a. Gog's attack on God's people 38:1–23
    - b. The divine victory 39:1–29
- B. The New Temple and the New Cult
  - 1. The description of the new temple
    - a. The outside of the grounds 40:1–47
    - b. The inside of the temple 40:48–42:20
    - c. The vision of the divine return 43:1–12
  - 2. The regulation of the cult
    - a. The altar of sacrifice 43:13–27
    - b. The priestly ministers 44:1–31
    - c. The division of the land 45:1–17
    - d. The regulations of the feasts 45:18–46:24
  - 3. The river coming from the temple 47:1–12
  - 4. The boundaries of the new land
    - a. National boundaries 47:13–23
    - b. Portions for each tribe 48:1–29
    - c. The new Jerusalem 48:30–35

C. Literary Structures of Organization

Although the book is divided quite explicitly by means of the distinct contents of each major section, several literary devices are also employed to create a forward movement in the flow of the book. These structural keys were added anciently in the editing process to give a sequential focus that links the judgment oracles to the words of hope as the natural fulfillment of God's purpose all along.

One means is the reuse of the commissioning scene of the prophet to his mission in both chaps. 3 and 33. Both passages employ the same language of the prophet as watchman over Israel, who is held personally responsible to announce the word whether anyone heeds it or not. Both passages also play on the theme of the prophet's dumbness. In chap. 3 God appoints him to the role of warning the people, and then declares Ezekiel will be dumb until the day the city of Jerusalem falls. In chap. 33 the announcement of the city's fall arrives in Babylon and he is released from his dumbness and commanded to speak. It is often argued that the original use of this commission to be a watchman belongs to chap. 33 and its mission of promise, but the watchman theme in other prophetic books is usually associated with words of warning (Hab 2:6; Jer 6:17; Hos 9:8; cf. Ps 127:1). Only in Isa 21:6 does the watchman look for salvation to come. It seems more natural to assume the watchman motif belongs

to Ezekiel's initial call to proclaim judgment and was reinterpreted by the prophet himself after the fall of Jerusalem to apply also to words of salvation. In any case, the device of repeating it before both major divisions in his ministry serves the function of equating the two as different aspects of the same charge from God. This linking purpose is confirmed by the addition of the note in 24:25–27, which predicts at the very end of the oracles of judgment that Ezekiel will soon hear the bad news of Jerusalem's fall and be freed from his speechless state. This note suggests a gap of time will occur and serves as an editorial means of creating space to insert the bloc of oracles against foreign powers at this point.

A second major structuring device for the book as a whole is made up of the series of visions of the divine presence that overwhelm the prophet. The first and most elaborate description of the vision occurs in chap. 1, when Ezekiel is among the exiles in Babylonia and sees God's royal throne come down there. This heads the book and is intended perhaps as a sign of God's presence with those in exile and an assurance that they have not been abandoned, no matter what happens in the days to come. The second vision takes up chaps. 8–11 and involves a formal indictment of Jerusalem for its abominations, especially in the temple precincts, with the consequent departure of the divine presence from the temple and the city. This becomes a sign of the rejection of Jerusalem and its condemnation by God. The third vision of the divine presence stands in chap. 43 and marks the return of God to the newly restored temple precincts to take up residence once again.

D. Dates in Ezekiel

The third and most prominent of these structural means is a calculated series of dates which head selected oracles throughout the book. These dates fall into two major types. One is a series of seven dates that head oracles against foreign nations in chaps. 25–32. They are tied to specific political actions on the part of enemy nations which Ezekiel denounced at the time. Six of these head oracles against Egypt. They are almost certainly reliable.

The second series of dates heads major moments in the prophet's preaching career and serves to show that the message he delivered was step by step in line with God's plan as it moved inexorably through judgment, disaster, and then restoration. These also form a series of seven, a favorite number in Ezekiel to show completion and fullness: 1:2–3 and 3:16 mark the prophet's inaugural call; 8:1 indicates the time of the vision of the divine glory in Jerusalem; 20:1 is more problematical but may be tied to the beginnings of rebellion under Zedekiah; 24:1 marks the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem by the Babylonians; 33:21 notes the arrival of the news of the fall and the start of Ezekiel's ministry of promise; 40:1 signals the final vision of the new Jerusalem and its temple. Each date is later than the preceding one in this series, so that their placement gives a strong chronological ordering to the whole book.

One other date occurs, in the first line of the book. It states that Ezekiel had visions of God in the thirtieth year. Since the next line (1:2) says that the throne vision in Babylon took place in the fifth year of King Jehoiachin's captivity, it must be decided whether the initial date is a duplicate of that event from another perspective, or whether it marks a time when all of Ezekiel's words were written down many years later. If it does duplicate the date of 1:2, then it signifies either that the prophet was thirty years old at the time (born therefore in 623–622 B.C.E.), or that it had been thirty years since some important event, perhaps the finding of the lawbook in the temple by Josiah's reformers in 622 (2 Kgs 22:8). If it marks a general date for the composition of the book, it could be also understood in a number of ways: it could refer to 568, thirty years from King Jehoiachin's exile; or to 563, thirty years from Ezekiel's call; or to an uncertain year which marked the thirtieth year of the current Jubilee period (cf. Leviticus 25). It is probable that the dates in 1:1 and 1:2 refer to the same event because both name the Kebar canal. All subsequent references to Ezekiel's initial vision also include mention of the same canal (thus see 3:23; 10:15, 22; 43:3). The following chart illustrates the placing of the fifteen dates:

Ezek 1:1	year 30, month 4, day 5	July 593 (or 568)
Ezek 1:2	year 5, month ?, day 5	July 593
Ezek 3:16	year 5, month ?, day 5	July 593
Ezek 8:1	year 6, month 6, day 5	Aug–Sept 593
Ezek 20:1	year 7, month 5, day 10	July–Aug 591
Ezek 24:1	year 9, month 10, day 10	January 588
Ezek 26:1	year 11, month ?, day 1	Mar to Mar 587–586
Ezek 29:1	year 10, month 10, day 12	January 587
Ezek 29:17	year 27, month 1, day 1	Mar–April 571
Ezek 30:20	year 11, month 1, day 7	Mar–April 587
Ezek 31:1	year 11, month 3, day 1	May–June 587
Ezek 32:1	year 12, month 12, day 1	Feb–March 585
Ezek 32:17	year 12, month 12, day 15	Feb–March 585
Ezek 33:21	year 12, month 10, day 5	Dec 586–Jan 585
Ezek 40:1	year 25, month 1, day 10	Mar–April 573

The latest date in the book is found in the oracle against Egypt in 29:17. It seems to be an updated revision of the oracle in 26:7–14 that predicted Nebuchadrezzar would take Tyre. Since that did not happen, Ezekiel received a new word at a late date that the Babylonians could have Egypt instead. Otherwise, each of the two series of seven keeps a chronological order within itself.

E. Historical Background

Ezekiel lived through the greatest crisis in ancient Israel's history: the final destruction of Judah and its capital, Jerusalem; the loss of independence in the promised land, exile of all the leading citizens to Babylonia; and the tearing down of the temple and removal of the House of David from kingship (2 Kings 25; Jeremiah 39–41, 52; Lamentations 1–5; 2 Chronicles 36). It was a double tragedy, for each of the losses just listed had both political and theological ramifications for the people, and not only were their physical lives disrupted but their faith was shaken as well.

Since the middle of the 8th century B.C.E., events in Palestine had been determined by the policies of Assyria, the world power of the day. The N kingdom had come under Assyrian domination by the middle of the 9th

century and was treated as a vassal state. Rebellion led to its fall in 722 B.C.E., and its territory had been made into a full Assyrian province. The wars surrounding this traumatic loss had brought the S kingdom of Judah into the Assyrian orbit as well (cf. Isaiah 6–8). Its king, Hezekiah, had tried to revolt in 705–701, but failed; and although Judah was not wiped out completely, its next king, Manasseh, remained a faithful servant of Assyria throughout his long reign (2 Kings 18–21).

Manasseh's grandson, Josiah, came to the throne in 640 as an eight-year-old boy. When he came of age to rule in 628, he began a religious reform as well as a political effort to retake the N territories (2 Chronicles 34). The Assyrian empire had become seriously weakened after the death of its last strong king, Assurbanipal, and the Babylonians were building a new empire at its expense. Josiah was succeeding in both his religious and political goals until a foolish attempt to intervene against an Egyptian army going to the aid of Assyria led to his premature death in battle in 609 B.C.E. His son and successor Jehoiakim ended any further religious reform.

In 605 a victory over Egypt brought the Babylonians to power over Judah. Jehoiakim pledged loyalty to Babylon but was soon attempting to rebel and win back Judah's independence. The prophet Jeremiah's ministry was largely carried out in opposition to this political opportunism of Jehoiakim. Jeremiah called for loyalty to the covenant with God and to the covenant treaty with Babylon; he warned that the God of Israel would not stand by a pledge to defend the people if they continued to rebel. Jeremiah's words were only too accurate, and in 598 a Babylonian army sacked the city of Jerusalem and led most of its educated and gifted citizens into exile (2 Kgs 24:1–7). Jehoiakim died during the siege, and the Babylonians took his young son Jehoiachin with them as a captured pledge so that further rebellion would not occur. In his place they named his uncle Zedekiah to rule as regent (2 Kgs 24:8–20). But he, too, in the following years began plotting to be free, and in a second prolonged attack of three years (588–586), Nebuchadrezzar's army leveled the cities of Judah and finally burned Jerusalem to the ground, taking away whatever remained of value and exiling the rest of its leading citizens in the summer of 586 (see 2 Kings 25; Jeremiah 52). Jeremiah survived this period of horror but disappeared soon after being forcibly taken to Egypt in 583 or so (see Jeremiah 37–45).

F. Ezekiel's Ministry

Ezekiel and his family were undoubtedly among the 8000 exiles taken to Babylon after the siege of Jerusalem in 598 (2 Kgs 24:16). How old he was at the time of his call in 593 is uncertain, but he may have been about thirty (if the date in 1:1 indicates the prophet's age). Judging from the contents of the oracles in the book, most of his ministry took place from 593 to 585, during the reign of Zedekiah and through the first days of total devastation. However, an isolated oracle at 29:17 is dated as late as 571, so he may have produced most of his oracles of hope in the decade or so after 585. The book is dated in 1:1 according to the ruling years of Jehoiachin rather than of Zedekiah, suggesting that Ezekiel may have held out hope that the imprisoned king would one day return to rule. The discovery of a Babylonian tablet listing provisions for the support of Jehoiachin as a state prisoner (*ANET*, 308) confirmed what 2 Kgs 25:27–30 already hinted, namely that even the Babylonians considered Zedekiah to be only the regent for the rightful king whom they held.

Ezekiel followed his older contemporary Jeremiah in steadfastly opposing the plans of Zedekiah and his advisers to rebel against Babylon (cf. 12:1–15; 17:1–22; 21:18–32). Although there is never mention of Jeremiah in the book of Ezekiel, there is much similarity of language and viewpoint, indicating Ezekiel's deep debt to Jeremiah's views. Jeremiah was often consulted by the kings and their advisers, and so became politically prominent. Ezekiel, on the other hand, lived only in exile and never dealt with a king. But several times it is noted that the elders of the people came to consult with him (8:1; 14:1–3; 20:1; 33:30–31). These probably represented the governing body of the exilic settlements and thereby provided Ezekiel with a political platform. Since some communication with the homeland seemed to exist (cf. Jeremiah 29; Ezek 33:21), Ezekiel could easily have directed his message to both exiles and those still in Judah, especially in the period of Zedekiah's reign. But the prophet's situation in exile pushed his concern beyond simply demanding loyalty to Babylon as the will of God, toward a new concept of Israel that rejected the ambitions of political leaders in Jerusalem as expressions of the divine will. Instead, he demanded a community marked by faithful religious observance, ethical rigor, and a loyalty to God as the holy one of the universe, whether at home or in exile, whether independent or subjugated.

G. Questions and Problems about Ezekiel's Ministry

Commentators have long been troubled about certain seeming inconsistencies between the claims for Ezekiel's historical ministry and the nature of the actual oracles in the book. One major question has centered on the personality of the prophet. There are accounts of great ecstatic visions which seem to seize the prophet (chaps. 1, 8, 10, 37, 40); he speaks of the hand of God grabbing him and moving him physically (37:1), or the spirit of God entering him in power (2:1). He performs symbolic actions which appear impossible or crazed by modern standards, lying on his side for 390 days (4:5), or digging through a wall of his house (12:7), or swallowing a scroll in esctasy (3:23). Many scholars have argued that he received most of his words in a trance (Buttenweiser 1931: 8–18), or showed signs of abnormal parapsychology, or even of an unbalanced mind.

Still others have been troubled by the contrast between the vividness of his descriptions of Jerusalem and his knowledge of what was going on there and the claim that he knew this only through prophetic revelation while in Babylon. Over the last hundred years, several notable scholars have argued that Ezekiel's ministry must have taken place only in Jerusalem, at least for the period from 593 to 586, and the so-called Babylonian locale was an editorial fiction to make the book acceptable later to the exiles (Herntrich 1932; Brownlee *Ezekiel 1–19* WBC). However, in light of the book's unwavering insistence on Ezekiel's location in Babylon, and the strong probability of exchange of messengers between the exiles and the home-

land, this seems mostly a forced exercise and has won very little critical support. If Ezekiel was already an adult when sent into exile in 598, he probably knew the Jerusalem scene well, and his oracular words may well have been fueled by specific incidents reported to the exiles in Telabib by an occasional messenger from Jerusalem. And this by no means rules out the further possibility that he had some parapsychic powers to envision events at a distance.

The language of the book has also disturbed modern commentators. It lacks the direct style of earlier oracular forms, and often involves convoluted and elaborated metaphors and even allegories, as well as extensive motivational sections that are unique to this prophet. There are strong similarities in many of the topics covered to the priestly concerns found in the Holiness Code of Leviticus 17–26, and many of the passages seem more like prose lessons than individual prophetic oracles of judgment or hope. In other ways, the language of Ezekiel seems more of a forerunner of the apocalyptic imagery found in the later materials of Zechariah 9–14, Daniel, and such pseudepigraphical works as *1 Enoch* and *4 Ezra*. In literary style, the book of Ezekiel has often been characterized as repetitive or redundant. The complexities of the throne vision in chaps. 1 and 10, e.g., repeat whole phrases and expressions on top of each other. In many passages, too, the prophet seems to mix poetic oracles with long prosaic expansions. In 29:1–16, e.g., a short poetic oracle in vv 3–7 is followed by a longer, seemingly more prosaic addition in vv 8–16. All of these observations about language have generated major controversies over whether the present book represents more the preaching of Ezekiel himself or more a school of priestly redactors and a plethora of glosses and added comments.

H. History of Critical Interpretation

Until the turn of the 20th century, Ezekiel escaped the heavy hand dealt to the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah that questioned their unity and their authorship. Because Ezekiel had such explicit indications of an overall plan by means of the vision structures and the series of dates, most commentators were impressed with its literary unity. After 1900, several scholars raised doubts about the complete coherence of the book, pointing to doublets such as in chap. 1, and noting the difference between poetic and prose passages with the suggestion that much of the prose may have been later inserts, while the poetry represented the oral preaching of the prophet.

It was not until Gustav Hölscher, however, in 1924, that a full-scale attack was launched against the traditional confidence that Ezekiel was the major source of the material in the book. He identified only 144 poetic lines out of 1235 as original to the prophet. These were based on ecstatic phenomena common to prophetic types of shamans throughout the world and easily recognized as genuine oral utterances. The remaining 80 percent of the text were later additions, often attempts to explain and make application of the prophet's words to postexilic situations. Soon after, C. C. Torrey (1930) proposed that the whole book was composed in the Seleucid period (3d century B.C.E.) as a fictive account not unlike the slightly later book of Daniel. Millar Burrows (1925) suggested an opposite solution: the book was largely written in an earlier period under King Manasseh in reaction against his idolatrous practices (ca. 650 B.C.E.). J. Smith (1941) moved it even earlier, to a N Israelite writing after the fall of Samaria sometime between 721 and 650. In 1945, Nils Messel returned to a postexilic date, holding that the book was composed after 400 B.C.E. to deal with the same problems faced by Ezra and Nehemiah. Other scholars were equally skeptical in different ways. Numerous commentaries in the 1930s doubted that Ezekiel ever lived in Babylon, or held that at least his Jerusalem prophecies had to have been delivered in Palestine. For a full treatment of this period, see Zimmerli *Ezekiel 1* Hermeneia, 3–9.

After World War II serious efforts were made to link the materials in Ezekiel with the exilic period. The studies of C. G. Howie (1950) and G. Fohrer (1952) and a number of American scholars stressed the stylistic elements, dates, and unique subject matter that situated the core of the book solidly among the problems of the period in which the text claims to have been written. These authors, however, did not return to the position that every word was from the prophet himself but acknowledged many additions and expansions of the text made by others who adapted it to the exilic or, in most cases, the postexilic situation. The prevailing opinion was that the book showed a long history of compilation and editorial activity, with the most skepticism directed toward the bloc of priestly materials in the vision of the new temple and land in chaps. 40–48. Many doubts were also expressed whether the apocalyptic style of chaps. 38–39 could date to the 6th century. And, in light of the many discrepancies between the LXX and MT, several studies pointed to the expanded character of the Hebrew text.

Walther Zimmerli's massive commentary (2 vols. BK [1969]; ET Hermeneia [1979, 1982]) was the high point of this resurgence of respect for the book of Ezekiel. He carefully traced a core of Ezekiel's words throughout the text and then defined a series of later developments from Ezekiel's "school" of disciples. Thus he differentiated between a substantial *Grundtext* from the prophet and a *Nachinterpretation* from a circle of faithful developers of the prophet's thought. These followers had a strong interest in the same reform that motivated the Priestly editors of the Pentateuch. Elsewhere, Zimmerli provided groundbreaking studies on the genuine oracular style of the prophet (1965). His work can be judged a fine example of a return to the middle in critical scholarship. However, his rigorous use of a form-critical methodology still led him to doubt much of the book came from the prophet, and to be more skeptical than necessary (see Boadt 1981).

Since Zimmerli, proponents can still be found who admit little of the prophet's own thought and attribute most of the book to redactors (Garscha 1974). But the wheel has continued to turn farther toward recovering more of the prophet in the book than even Zimmerli allowed. The studies of Boadt (1980), B. Lang (1981), and M. Greenberg (*Ezekiel 1–20* AB) all work with the literary style and historical setting of the book as a whole. They find a greater unity of viewpoint than do the primarily form-critical scholars, a unity to be closely associated with the prophet's own program of preaching. While all scholars today are deeply in debt to Zimmerli's insights into the editorial process, these literary critics see the editing tied

more to the original thought of Ezekiel and not so much to the aims and goals of a later priestly movement of reestablishment after the Exile.

I. Textual Problems

The book of Ezekiel has a fair number of difficult words and grammatical forms that suggest faulty transmission and copyist errors through the centuries. But larger questions of the textual reliability of the Hebrew as we now have it are raised by two outside difficulties. One is the irregularity of the LXX Greek version in rendering the Hebrew. In many places the Greek is a shorter and tauter text. Does this suggest expansions at a late date to the MT, at least after the time when the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX was brought to Egypt? A second is the tautological and repetitive nature of the style found in the Hebrew oracles. Does this imply glosses were added to make the message clearer by restating and enlarging the original words of the prophet? Two answers are possible. One is that indeed the Hebrew represents a later and more expanded text than does the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek; the other is that the LXX has abbreviated long, difficult, and perhaps boring passages to make them sharper and clearer for a Greek audience outside of Palestine.

Studies have shown that LXX Ezekiel is the work of different translators in different sections. Thus chaps. 1–27 were by one translator, 28–39 by another, and 40–48 by still a third (or perhaps by the same translator who did 1–27). The translators are recognized by their choices of vocabulary; so, e.g., the first translator rendered the city Tyre by *Sor* regularly, the second by *Tyros*. They also rendered the divine title *ʾădōnāy* found throughout Ezekiel differently from section to section. Indeed, older scholarly opinion judged from its irregular translation in LXX that *ʾădōnāy*, "the Lord (God)," was a late addition to the Palestinian text. However, more recent discoveries, such as the remarkable Papyrus 967, show quite different divergences from the Hebrew than does the standard LXX. Pap. 967 fragments now contain nearly all the text of Ezekiel except chaps. 1–11. They reveal that certain passages were left out altogether (12:26–28 and 36:23–38); they also reveal that part of chap. 37 followed chaps. 38–39. G. A. Cooke (*Ezekiel* ICC) gives a thorough chart of the variations between MT and LXX, and judges that in half the cases MT is a more likely original text, and in the other half LXX is. In general, then, it can be said that the Greek witness to the Ezekiel text is not homogeneous but represents its own traditions and reasons for rendering the Hebrew which probably follow principles other than a careful copying of a different *Vorlage* from that used by the Masoretes (see McGregor 1985).

Other versions do not change the story. The Syriac Peshitta largely follows the complete order of the Hebrew though in a freer style. The large scroll of Ezekiel found at Qumran could not be opened, it was in such poor condition; but the numerous fragments of Ezekiel found in a number of other caves are all close to the MT (see Lust 1986). The Aramaic *Targum of Ezekiel* is closer to being a paraphrase of the original text, but it follows the MT almost line by line. Its additions give good clues to the interpretation of difficult thoughts in Ezekiel in the 5th century C.E. The comparison of the Greek and other versions with the many problems and apparent errors of copying in the MT of Ezekiel, then, has already proved useful in learning the techniques of ancient translation. It has not, however, been able to establish any agreement on a better and shorter text of the book than that found in the present MT. Answers to why Ezekiel is such a convoluted and repetitive text cannot look to the versions for a solution.

J. Style and Form in Ezekiel

Many of the doubts expressed about the unity of the book of Ezekiel depend on analyses of the literary style it employs and the conventions it uses, as well as an expectation of consistency in thought. All of these criteria are difficult to establish from the perspectives of a scholarship that is 2500 years later. Modern historico-critical presuppositions, as well as many canons of contemporary literary style, must be put aside. Critical efforts to emend the text on grounds of consistency or style have not met with widespread acceptance, although new attempts are made regularly. Hölscher's conviction that only a tiny portion of the present text stems from the prophet himself was based on the a priori judgment that prophets spoke only in rhythmical poetry. E. Vogt (1981) divided the call vision of Ezekiel in chap. 1 into two separate strands by separating out all repetitions on the supposition that the original must have been simply narrated. Neither of these positions, nor many others over the years, took seriously the observations of still other form critics that the oracular style in Ezekiel and other exilic writings had taken on an expansive and more repetitive style that included not only accusation and announcement of judgment but visions, extensive motivational reflection, and even long descriptions of the reactions of the audience to the prophetic charges (cf. Westermann 1967: 205–8). The modern reader can evaluate the style and originality of Ezekiel only by a careful comparison of the overall usages of the book, by listening to the text and its manner of expression, and by trying to get some grasp on the relationship between text and historical situation.

The book of Ezekiel has many unusual features that mark it off from other prophetic collections. These include special vocabulary and forms of address; connections to priestly and apocalyptic ideas and language; employment of nonprophetic genres in prophetic oracles; revival of ecstatic language to describe prophetic inspiration; and the use of dramatic techniques on a much larger scale than in the earlier books of classical prophecy. In this section, it will be enough to mention many of these features and techniques, and then discuss their ramifications for the composition of the book as a whole under K below.

1. Dramatic Signs and Symbolic Actions. Although most prophetic books include some dramatic actions performed by the prophet, Ezekiel uses them regularly. Some are for dramatic effect: God commands Ezekiel to clap his hands and stamp his feet (6:11), and to turn his face toward the people against whom an oracle is directed (6:1; 13:17; 21:2). Other symbolic actions are dramatic occasions which will lead people to ask why Ezekiel is doing them, and this in turn will initiate the oracle that the dramatic action hinted at: he is commanded to groan aloud so people will ask why he is groaning (21:11); he is

not to perform the customary mourning customs at the death of his wife so people will wonder (24:17–19); he digs through the wall of his house at night with a backpack on to provide a context for predicting the Exile (12:5). Finally, he acts out long involved dramatizations of his message as a motivation or basis on which to interpret coming events. Thus the series of involved symbolic actions in chaps. 4 and 5, such as lying on his side for 390 days, building brick models of the siege, or cutting his hair into three piles and destroying each differently, are all intended as elaborate explanations or settings for the important series of judgment oracles of impending doom delivered in chaps. 5 to 7. These are close to being parables. They are not to be seen as magical acts, but rather as a form of teaching aid; they have a performative character that makes them a kind of street theater to provoke the people to listen (Lang 1986: 297–316).

2. Ecstatic Prophecy Forms. The auto-dramatic focus of Ezekiel in words that are coupled with symbolic actions links him most closely with the preclassical prophets such as Elijah and Elisha, and to details of the Balaam narratives in Numbers 22–24. An expression such as "the hand of the Lord fell upon me" (1:3; 3:22; 33:22; 37:1) is also said of Elijah in 1 Kgs 18:46 and of Elisha in 2 Kgs 3:15. The writing prophets generally avoid the equally ancient imagery of the "spirit of the Lord rushing upon" the prophet, perhaps to distance themselves from the wonder-working reputations of earlier prophecy. But Ezekiel uses it regularly (2:2; 3:12; 8:3; 37:1), largely to indicate divine compulsion to speak or to be moved physically in a trance, much as it occurs in references to Elijah being carried off by the divine spirit in 1 Kgs 18:12 or 2 Kgs 2:16. The power of the spirit to overcome the prophet is also typical of early prophetic accounts in Num 11:17–19; 24:2; 2 Sam 23:2. It is the spirit that also moves the bands of prophets to ecstasy in 1 Sam 10:6, 10; 19:20, 23. It is in the archaizing account of Balaam (Num 22:41; 23:13; 24:1) that we also find the practice of facing toward the object of the prophecy.

Other notes about Ezekiel link him to earlier practices: sitting at home for the elders to visit, also reported of Elisha (2 Kgs 6:32; cf. Ezek 14:1; 20:1; 33:31); acting out his own words as a lesson, said of Elijah (1 Kgs 19:9) and Ahijah (1 Kgs 11:29–30). These seem to indicate that the prophet Ezekiel consciously reinstituted some archaic prophetic signs of divine inspiration and authority, perhaps to bolster faith in the prophetic word when people were doubting its power during the crises of 593–586 (see Jeremiah 23 on this).

3. Nonprophetic Genres. The oracles and literary forms in Ezekiel are notable for their diversity and freshness. Although the traditional oracular components of address, accusations, passing of judgment, and the divine messenger formula ("Thus says the Lord") are all recognizably present, they are often combined with parables, proverbial wisdom, legal cases, disputations, and lengthy poems. He delights in using quotations or citations as a starting point for argumentation. He quotes God's word to him to people when they ask about the death of his wife (24:21–24); he quotes the people against themselves in 18:29 and 37:11; and he quotes dialogue with God as a reason for his words in several places (see 9:8–10; 12:23–25). Ezekiel also cites wisdom proverbs as a point of departure (12:22; 16:44; 18:2). He employs poems that were well-known, or else mocked well-known songs, for part of his accusation (cf. 21:9–17; 24:3–5). He develops long diatribe speeches (16:44–52; 22:3–12), legal disputations (33:34–39; 18:1–32), and extended historical recitals (20:3–26). He favors mocking laments over the dead (19:1–14; 26:15–18; 28:11–19; 32:1–16). Most striking, perhaps, is the development of extended allegories and metaphoric parables to make vivid lessons for the audience (15:1–6; 16:1–43; 17:1–22; 27:1–36; 28:12–19; 31:1–18). Many of these forms are artistic masterpieces and betray their origins in Ezekiel's oral preaching. They have a strong rhetorical flavor and are employed in the art of persuading the audience to change their ways of thinking.

4. Connections to Priestly and Apocalyptic Traditions. Many passages in Ezekiel show strong priestly concerns. He accuses Israel above all of defiling the sanctuary (5:11), following after other gods (8:7–9), and worshipping idols (14:3–5). The people have made themselves unclean (20:30–31; 22:26; 36:18). This same message underlies the involved allegories of the two sisters in chaps. 16 and 23. The text also has a strong cultic vision of the land. It frequently condemns the mountains of Israel as symbols of the sacred land because the people have defiled it with crimes and abominations (see chaps. 6, 36). The disaster that comes upon them is a result of disobeying the ordinances and commands of the Lord (5:6; 18:1–32; 33:25; and especially the reasons given in 20:1–44 and 22:1–31). While sins against the rights of others are occasionally cited, by far the largest number of offenses are against laws of purity or cultic fidelity to God.

There is a particularly close connection between the concerns of Ezekiel and the legal admonitions of Leviticus 17–26, the so-called "Holiness Code." Since this code is generally understood to have originated in the late preexilic period among Priestly circles, it is possible that Ezekiel was familiar with its general outline, although specific differences suggest that Leviticus 17–26 received its final form only after the time of Ezekiel. They both share a similar vision of a community ordered toward right worship of God with a clear distinction between the realms of the profane and the holy. This cultic-legal vision takes its ideal shape in the description of the new land and new city of chaps. 40–48.

Many critics have pointed to the use of apocalyptic imagery in Ezekiel 38–39. Often they take this as proof that these must be later insertions into the text. However, most of the language is tied to the ancient imagery of the cosmic battle of the gods in creation which was seen in early Israelite traditions of God as the divine warrior. The appearance of mythological themes of creation, including such major pagan themes as the cosmic tree (chaps. 17, 31) and the chaos monster (chaps. 29, 32), are used to emphasize God's lordship. It is unlikely that Ezekiel should be identified with the later apocalyptic movement; rather, these later developments owe some of their imagery to Ezekiel. Commentators (e.g., Reventlow 1961) have long pointed to the connections between the Holiness Code and the covenant traditions of the autumn festival of New Year, at which the divine kingship over creation was celebrated.

Ezekiel may have combined legal and creation language to reestablish the symbol power of the covenant for his day.

5. Special and Unusual Vocabulary. Although the text has quite a number of difficult words (e.g., *ʿābōtîm* in 31:3; *nĕḥōšet* in 16:36), most of these may be due to scribal copying errors, and a few to the use of Aramaisms. However, they remain few and may well be influenced by the Babylonian context of Ezekiel's ministry, where Aramaic was the lingua franca. More interestingly, the book lacks many key terms found commonly in OT theological language. Ezekiel never uses *yāšār* for the upright person, *ʾāhab* or *rāḥam* for the love of God, *ʾāman* for faithfulness, or *daʿat* for the knowledge of God, all common themes in the preexilic prophets. He also lacks many important words from the language of the Psalms and Deutero-Isaiah: examples include *bārak,* "bless," and *ʾārar,* "curse," *ḥesed* for "covenantal love," *ḥānan* for divine favor, or *ṣāddîq* as a noun for a righteous person. Many other important words dealing with the traditional prophetic attacks on idolatry such as the baals, asherahs, massebot, and the idols are also missing. There is very little of traditional wisdom language, and surprisingly, only one use of the important prophetic-legal term for indictment of the people by God, *rîb* (44:24).

On the other hand, there are 130 words found only in Ezekiel, or overwhelmingly found in this book (e.g., *gillûlîm,* perhaps meaning literally "dung balls," occurs 39 times, but only 9 times elsewhere in the Bible).

Most striking are the few major formulas used throughout the book. "Son of Man" is the form of address from God to the prophet. It is unique to Ezekiel, and underscores his merely mortal status before God who speaks and acts. The prophet may make eloquent words, but they are not his (cf. 33:30–33). The oath formula given by God, "As I live," is also common in Ezekiel, as is the formula for a divine saying, "the oracle of the Lord" (85 times), and the formula for closing a divine saying, "I the Lord have spoken," and the formula for a threat, "Behold, I am against you." What stands out in common among these heavily used words for structuring oracles is their intimate first-person nature. Their constant reuse creates a majestic effect of God speaking, but also emphasizes the direct encounter between God and prophet. These words from the divine side are matched by the introduction of new oracles with the formula, "The word of the Lord came to *me,*" in which the recipient is stated in the first person and not the customary prophetic third person. But by far the most important formula in Ezekiel is the recognition formula, composed of two elements joined together: "that you (or they) may know," and the conclusion, "that I am the Lord." The second half is clearly related to the frequently stated "because I am the Lord," at the end of laws in the Holiness Code (Leviticus 19). It is a formula of divine self-revelation used in a theophany to establish divine authority. The first half also comes from legal proceedings, where it concludes a presentation of evidence on behalf of an accused (as in the case of Joseph's brothers in Gen 42:34). This formula occurs 54 times in Ezekiel and declares God's freedom to act and his decision to act either on behalf of Israel or in judgment against it. The proof that God is indeed active lies in the coming about of the contents of the oracle just pronounced. Thus Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 1* Hermeneia, 37–38) has labeled this key expression a "proof saying."

6. Artistic Devices. Ezekiel's language has often been characterized as prosaic, and modern translations often put much of the book in prose form. But this should be questioned. Alliteration, assonance, chiasmus, the breakup of stereotyped expressions, heightened imagery, climactic series, polarity, intentional repetition and rhetorical euphemism are common. M. Greenberg (*Ezekiel 1–20* AB) has further identified other techniques: the use of panels in which parts are constructed parallel to one another; spiraling techniques in which an oracle moves to a higher or more intense level; and "halving," in which an echoing short oracle follows the main oracle as an afterwave. When combined with other patterns, such as the use of allegorical and mythological language, it would be better to identify the style of most oracles as a kind of artistic prose, what the Germans call *Kunstprosa,* which owes more to poetry than to ordinary narrative or legal prose (see Boadt 1978; 1986). There has been a decided movement in recent study of Ezekiel toward recognizing the literary coherence and powerful effect of its overall message.

K. Composition of the Book

Most commentators in this century have argued that much of the book of Ezekiel does not come from the prophet's own preaching but from the work of the redactors. This has been given massive and careful undergirding by the work of Zimmerli in his commentary. However, he himself represents a turn away from the tendency to see almost nothing of the prophet in the present book toward a moderating position that ascribes the majority of the book to Ezekiel himself. Still more recently, several studies have tried to find that all except a few editorial additions stem from the basic message of the prophet. However, arguments for or against claims of redaction hinge on several considerations that must be answered individually. The general "style" of the whole book alone cannot decide the question, since a thorough redaction could as easily leave a striking character on the book as the genius of the prophet would. Since the claim is put forward that many glosses have been added to the text, these need to be evaluated. Historical claims and references need to be situated: Are the dates reliable or are they an artificial device from a later time? Is the style clearly a written style or are there oral indications? Finally, are the main concerns of the book due to postexilic priestly reform or to problems that can most reasonably be attributed to the period from 593 to 571 B.C.E.?

1. Glosses. To answer the question of glosses in the text requires defining what one considers a gloss. Both Fohrer (1951) and Zimmerli consider single lines or short sections that seem to be missing from the *Vorlage* of the LXX as arguments for late glosses in the text. But if doubt is cast on the reliability of LXX as a witness to a better and more original text, then the argument collapses. Other phrases and words appear to be either repetitive or editorial linkage between sections. These, too, are often judged as secondary. Fohrer identified 25 percent of his glosses as some form of repetition, either by dittography or clarification. He recognized a further 21 percent as added comments to fill out and complete a thought; 5 percent to

be editorial connectors, but a full 43 percent to be later explanations of ideas that were not clear.

Zimmerli's *Nachinterpretation* focuses on the expansions of solid Ezekielan oracles that adapt them to reuse in the postexilic situation. Thus he identified much larger sections that he considered theological reinterpretations from later disciples. Examples include 1:6–10, 14–21; 3:16–21; 7:20–24; 12:13–16; 16:16–23, 26–34, 42–63; 17:22–24; 20:27–29; 23:39–49; 24:25–27; 33:17–20; 36:16–38; 37:25–28; 38:10–23; 43:13–27; 45:1–25; 46:1-24, and several others. When taken as a whole, they amount to a substantial part of the book. And where extensive, such as in chaps. 16 and 36, they eliminate major parts of the conclusion of the oracles. Greenberg, on the other hand, argues strongly against many of these decisions (see, e.g., his treatment of the unity of 17:1–19 and 20–22).

2. Oral vs. Written Prophecy. The oracles of the prophet are highly developed artistic productions embedded in a careful overall structuring of the book. This would lend support to the common opinion that much of Ezekiel is the result of literary activity and not oral presentation. Certainly the book of Ezekiel is not a collection of oracles strung together by an editor, but manifests all the signs of having a thorough plan behind its composition. And yet the combination of strong formulaic language for attracting and persuading an audience and the regular use of symbolic actions that accompany oracular speech suggest the opposite, namely that most of the oracles of judgment, at least, were forged in an oral setting. This is confirmed by the constant use of double imperatives, "prophesy . . . and say" (6:2–3; 13:2; 34:2; 36:1); "declare . . . say" (22:2–3); "lament . . . and say" (19:1–2; 27:2–3; 32:2); "proclaim . . . and prophesy" (20:46; 21:2) which highlight the necessity of speaking out immediately. The vivid connection of the oracles to particular events occurring in Babylonian or Egyptian campaigns and the specific dating of many of these oracles also argue for oracular utterances delivered on ad hoc occasions. It will be necessary to study more fully the indications in the book that reveal how the oral words of the prophet were edited into literary form that would speak to a later audience and generalize the lesson for them (see Clements 1986: 287–88).

3. Prophetic Influence on Ezekiel. By all criteria, Ezekiel stands closest to the book of Jeremiah in content and style. Both prophets introduce themselves into their words, almost to the point of composing autobiographical oracles. Their own personalities play a stronger role in their message than was true of Amos or Hosea or Isaiah. They also engage their hearers much more intensely in debate on issues, working to win them over by disproving all counterarguments. Both prophets are concerned with the question of divine justice to the individual and the relation of personal responsibility to national accountability. Indeed, both prophets counter the same proverb used by the people: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are on edge" (Jer 31:29; Ezek 18:2). Both prophetic books pioneer the use of the prose oracle style, and both share many rhetorical features, such as repetition of key words (*ḥereb*, "sword," in chaps. 5–7; *yôm*, "day," in chap. 7; *hāmôn*, "crowd," in chap. 29; and use of *yārad*, "go down," 15 times in chaps. 31–32; cf. use of *tqʿ*, "to blow the trumpet," in Jer 6:1–12 and of *ʾarez*, "cedar," in 22:6–23), word plays and puns (cf. use of *npl/tpl* in Ezek 13:11–12, *hikratî ʾet-kĕrētîm*, "I will cut off the Cretans," in 25:16, and *beḥōrābôt baḥereb*, "in the ruins by the sword (will they fall)," in Jer 31:15–22), and summing up important words for added emphasis (e.g., Ezekiel often repeats the reasons for the "recognition formula" a second time, as in 30:25–26; while Jeremiah favors the use of chiastic structure and inclusion to bolster a point by repetition, as in 2:33–37, where the sequence of particles, *mah, gam, gam, lō* is repeated; for further cases, see Lundbom 1975).

Above all, the topics they treat are often nearly identical. Jeremiah is to be a wall against this people, as is Ezekiel (Jer 1:18; Ezek 3:8); Jeremiah condemns the lying spirit of prophecy, as does Ezekiel (Jer 14:14; Ezek 12:24; 13–17); Jeremiah speaks of Judah and Samaria as sisters in infidelity, and Ezekiel expands this into an entire allegory (Jer 3:6–11; Ezek 23:1–27). This last passage is the key example showing that Ezekiel knew Jeremiah and built on his words, molding them in an even more dramatic fashion (Jer 8:1–3, on the desecration of bones, should be compared with the great vision of the bones coming to life in Ezek 37:1–14). It is probable that Ezekiel knew of Jeremiah's words written on the scroll prepared in 605 B.C.E. and then expanded by Baruch (Jeremiah 36). They both framed their message of warning in the years before 586 around a common concern, one in Palestine, the other in exile: "Do not rebel against Babylon, for it is a violation of your covenant bond with the Lord!"

Many scholars identify a school of Deuteronomists active in the early years of the Exile and point to close ties between its message and that of Jeremiah. Links to Ezekiel are much harder to pinpoint, since Ezekiel uses language much closer to the Holiness Code in Leviticus 17–26 (which itself is nearly parallel to Deuteronomic thought). In general, Ezekiel and Deuteronomy share a broad common outlook that understands God's covenantal word as either threat or promise, depending on the people's response. Ezekiel, however, like Jeremiah, was quite pessimistic about any possibility of turning back the divine punishment. Ezekiel may nonetheless depend on Deuteronomy in one important theme, namely that fidelity to God can be done only with all one's heart. This persistent theme in Deuteronomy inspired Ezekiel's reflections on the possibility of a new covenant with a new heart in 11:20; 36:27.

4. Priestly Connections. The literary similarities to Leviticus 17–26 have already been noted above. But does Ezekiel depend on the Holiness Code or vice versa? The contacts between the two are numerous, but they are clustered. Ezekiel is undoubtedly familiar with the ideas found in Leviticus 19–20 and 26, but it is harder to find many connections to Leviticus 21–25. What few there are almost all occur in Ezekiel 44–45, which many see as a later expansion. The most extensive parallels are between Leviticus 26 and Ezekiel 4–7 and 34–37. Even on specific laws, however, the two books differ frequently. The Talmud records that this so bothered the early rabbis that Hanina ben Hezekiah stayed up and burned three hundred jars of oil in his lamp at night until he could reconcile Ezekiel with the Pentateuch (*Šabb.* 13b). Unfortunately, his reconciliation has been lost! The best scholarly consensus now is that Ezekiel and Leviticus 17–26 represent independent uses of the covenant laws proclaimed in the Autumn

Feast, and that the final form of Leviticus 17–26 probably represents a slightly later state of growth than does Ezekiel.

5. Importance of the Date Notices. Enough chronological information has come to light from neighboring countries to establish a close correlation between the dates in Ezekiel and specific historical events to which the attached oracles seem to refer. A comparative study of the Babylonian and Egyptian chronicles of the period permits the conclusion that all of the dated oracles in the section against foreign nations (chaps. 25–32) stem from particular sermons triggered by known crises and therefore are likely to stem from the prophet himself (see Freedy and Redford 1970: 462–85; Wiseman 1956). The dating style of the book throughout is also similar to contemporary practices in Babylon and elsewhere.

Several other observations can be made about the dates given. Certain themes and predictions could only be made early in the Exile and do not fit a possibility of significant redaction after the restoration of 539 B.C.E. The reunion of Israel and Judah envisioned in chaps. 36–37 did not take place after the Exile but was true during the last years of Josiah. No prince of David regained the throne as chaps. 34 and 36 envision; Egypt never fell to the Babylonians as 29:17–21 promises; the temple portrayed in 40–43 never became the blueprint for the Second Temple of 520, and the schema shows much closer connections to the P ideals of the desert sanctuary and to the Solomonic temple than to any later developments. Nor did Ezekiel's concern for Zadokite priests (44:15) ever become regulation in the postexilic period. Finally, Babylon is never condemned even after the fall of Jerusalem, suggesting that the book of Ezekiel was edited while that nation still held power, i.e., before 539. All in all, the combined dates, historical situation, and the contents of oracles work together to support the position that the major editing of the book as it stands, including the temple vision of chaps. 40–48, was completed well before the end of the Exile.

6. Ezekiel's School. Besides the expansions in the text identified by Zimmerli, other scholars have pointed to whole blocs of material that they consider later additions. The two most notable examples are found in the vision of Gog in chaps. 38–39, and in the new temple description of chaps. 40–48. Seen in the larger perspective of the book as a whole, these chapters probably belong to the original level of editing, because the great battle scene and the building of a new temple reflect a primal pattern in Israelite tradition. On the one hand, the frequent use in Ezekiel of mythopoetic language from ANE creation stories argues that these chapters are modeled on the myth of the divine warrior Marduk (or Baal), who conquers the cosmic forces of evil and builds himself a palace as the climax of his victory celebration. On the other, it also fits the Priestly theology of Exodus that sees the great victory of God at the Red Sea climaxed by the building of the sanctuary in the desert.

Scholarship is still divided as to whether the advances that have been made in recent decades in understanding the intricate and purposeful structuring of the book as a whole support claims that the prophet Ezekiel himself had a major role in planning and executing its redaction. Greenberg would say yes; Clements (1986) would say no. B. Childs (*IOTS*) would also say no, although, because he writes from a canonical criticism viewpoint, he would reject a reading of the text that separated any original words of the prophet from later redactional expansions.

One of the major questions facing Ezekiel research for the future will be a clearer identification of exactly what composes a "school" of disciples. It is at least certain that they must have had ties to priestly ideals of a reconstructed community, that they functioned largely in the Exile and therefore do not precisely match the vision of the slightly later Priestly editors of the Pentateuch, and that they worked to produce a literary blueprint built on the oral message of Ezekiel. In all of these concerns, the prophet himself may have played either a minor or a major role.

L. Message of the Book

Because the book of Ezekiel has aspects of a ministry warning the people of God's impending judgment as well as of later prophecy of God's intention to restore, it contains three separate theological foci. The first is an explanation of what God is doing in bringing about the Exile and rejecting the covenant. The second is a program for what God will do in the future to reestablish the covenant relationship. The third is the combined meaning of the entire sequence of judgment and restoration as a new way to understand the divine purpose and avoid the failures of the past.

Ezekiel is uncompromising in his condemnation of Israel's infidelity to God. Even though he indicts Israel for numerous sins against justice and right ethical behavior (7:10, 23; 18:7–9; 22:11–12), his stress falls mainly on disloyalty to God. They are sins by which the people defiled themselves and the land when they rejected the God of Israel for other gods. Israel has been rebellious from its first days after the Exodus (chaps. 16; 20; 23) and has never given its heart to God. It profaned the Sabbath (20:12, 24), worshipped on high places (6:13; 20:28), and defiled the sanctuary (23:37–38). Ezekiel can even condemn cultic offenses such as having sexual relations with a woman in her menstrual period in the same sentence as he denounces adultery (18:6). They all equally violate the holiness of God, who has taken possession of this people and this land and put his holy name on it. Ezekiel betrays his priestly outlook in taking this stand. If Israel is to be God's people, then it must tolerate no defilement or infidelity in its midst. But, in fact, the sin of generations had piled up and now brought disaster to Ezekiel's own age.

He wrestles with this question in two major thematic attempts to address the why of responsibility. One is the theme of the watchman that heads both the period of judgment and the period of hope (chaps. 3 and 33). It addresses the frustration of preaching to people who will not listen. His answer is that God has given him the duty to do what he is commanded; the people must assume responsibility for their own actions. Just as God will demand that the prophet act responsibly, so God will treat this generation. The book's second theme is explaining why this generation must pay for the sins of its ancestors; it is found in chaps. 14:12–23; 18:1–32; 33:10–20. He boldly proposes that a generation that obeys God's commands will not suffer for the sins of its ancestors, nor will future generations be spared punishment for their sins

because of the goodness of a previous age. God will judge each generation on its own. In light of the pessimism that pervades chaps. 1–24 about reversing the coming punishment of God, we can be sure that Ezekiel did not believe repentance was any longer possible. And yet he proclaims the possibility of repentance for the people (16:54–63; 33:10–16). This ambivalence stems from the complete engagement of the prophet with the fate of his own people. He knows God will forgive, but he sees that they will not accept. This position is fully stated in the call of the prophet in 3:1–11.

In the salvation oracles of chaps. 33–37, the prophet stresses God as life-giver, and above all as the king over Israel. These oracles promise that God will take over the role of shepherd that had been abused by the kings (chap. 34); God will also purify the land, restore its boundaries, and bring the people back from exile (chaps. 36–37). In these passages, the stress falls clearly on the contrast between what Israel had done on its own and the faithfulness of God, who maintains the holiness and glory of his divine name. God will act out of the freedom of his divine power and commitment, and not out of duty to Israel. At the same time, the destruction of Israel has made God seem powerless in the eyes of the pagan nations. They will now discover the divine power when they are destroyed for their arrogance in attacking Israel (chaps. 35; 38–39).

A special aspect of this promise of restoration is the promise of a new heart (11:17–20; 36:26–28). Here Ezekiel clearly takes a stand that it will not be through repentance or recommitment that change will come, but only through the initiative of God transforming Israel. By means of a new heart and a new spirit, they will be enabled to be faithful. Repentance will come after the recognition that God is acting on their behalf, because they will be filled with shame at their past conduct (16:54; 36:32). This new teaching on the part of Ezekiel finds its natural fulfillment in the preparations of a new, purified people and city in chaps. 40–48, climaxed by the divine presence in its midst (43:1–9; 48:35).

The third aspect of the theological message of the book is found in its vision of God's activity in light of the sequence of disaster and salvation. The individual emphases of each half are combined in a single purpose: to renew the faith of Israel in God's credibility at a time when doubt and despair gripped the people in the terrible sequence of the loss of their land, nationhood, kingship, and temple, and their exile from home. Former confidence in the God who would never let Israel fall, based on a naive reading of Isaiah's oracles and the promise of the Davidic covenant in 2 Samuel 7, had led to serious questioning whether the God of Israel had any power at all compared to the gods of Babylon.

Such basic doubt accounts for the enormous stress that Ezekiel places upon the transcendence and majesty of God. The prophet never beholds God directly but only sees the form of the divine glory (1:26); and he speaks reverently not of the Holy One, as does Isaiah, but of the holiness of God's Name (20:39; 36:20; 43:7). For the same reason, he refers constantly to *ʾădōnāy yhwh*, "The Lord Yahweh," using a plural of majesty unique to this book; and to himself as prophet only by the humble "son of man." The use of the recognition formula, "That they shall know I am the Lord," is also calculated to engender new trust in the power of God to act decisively both in judgment and in salvation; against Israel or against any foreign power. Moreover, the expression is borrowed from the traditional cultic proclamation of the awesome power of God to save and deliver the people out of slavery in Egypt that is preserved in the Priestly level of the Pentateuch (Exod 6:6–8; 7:5; 10:1–2; 14:4, 18).

The book of Ezekiel attempts a complete program of reform that would reestablish the covenant in its proper relationship. God would again be overlord of the land and rule from the sacred mountains of Israel. To underscore this, the prophet introduces the theme of the mountains in chaps. 6, 17, 35–36, 38–39, and 40–43. In doing so, he condemns the defiled mountains of Israel, purges them, and then establishes his temple on them. In the process, Ezekiel never refers to the home of the temple as Mt. Zion, in effect rejecting the past theology. The new mountain of the temple in 40–48 is closely connected with careful observation of the priestly laws, and thus becomes instead a new Mt. Sinai. The people, on their part, would be the faithful vassals, who kept their loyalty to God alone and did not betray it for other gods. They would be separated off as a holy people, and nothing profane would defile the tribes in the land. God in turn would protect them and destroy their enemies as an overlord was supposed to do. Thus there is an important place in this scheme for both the oracles against foreign nations and the cosmic war against Gog in chaps. 38–39.

We must look to the cultic rituals for the background of much of this controlling vision. It was in the great feast-day liturgies that God was proclaimed in mythic categories as the victor over chaos, as the divine warrior, and as the king enthroned in the temple. It was a major purpose of the prophet to summon up the ancient convictions of God's power by structuring his message in the ancient mythic patterns. The oracles against nations mockingly allude to certain pagan myths on the divine status of kings to show how God destroys these divine pretensions of the kings of Tyre, Sidon, or Egypt. But the oracles of judgment in chaps. 15–19, with their strong allegorical coloring, also introduce cosmic language about the royal hubris in charges against Zedekiah and the rulers of Jerusalem. The parallel strongly suggests that Judah's royalty had fallen into idolatry by believing these false myths. To restore the power of the Yahweh myth, the prophetic plan then goes on to lay out the oracles of salvation in the pattern discussed above, namely that of the divine warrior who marches to victory from his holy mountain and returns at the end to his holy dwelling to rule (cf. the ancient hymns of Exodus 15; Judges 5; Habakkuk 3). It also follows the pattern of the Exodus-event itself, in which victory at the Red Sea is completed by the triumphal manifestation of God on Mt. Sinai.

Thus the book of Ezekiel proclaims not a god who is powerless to act but rather an awesome God who rightly exercises divine judgment and divine compassion; and who will not abandon the covenant but will rebuild it on an even stronger footing. Thus all will know by concrete evidence in action just who is God and what God will do for this people that obeys the covenant commands. Only then will God be worshipped properly.

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LAWRENCE BOADT

EZEL (PLACE) [Heb **ʾezel*]. A stone behind which David hid until Jonathan could inform him of King Saul's attitude (1 Sam 20:19); however, its location is unknown. The Hebrew text reads *ʾēṣel hāʾeben hāʾāzel*, "near the stone Ezel," but LXX reads *para to Argab ekeino*, "by that Argab/Ergab." Since Argab means "heap stone" (BDB, p. 918b) in Hebrew, the Gk demonstrative pronoun *ekeino*, "that," corresponds to the *hāʾāzel* of the Heb text. The Gk translation "by that Argab" presupposes the Heb original of LXX as *hāʾargab hallāz* (or *hallāzeh*), "this heap-mound (or cairn)." For this reason some consider *hāʾāzel* as the metathetical spelling of the Heb demonstrative pronoun *hallāz*, "this." The RSV renders this phrase, "beyond yonder stone heap."

Another possible interpretation of this "Ezel" is to seek a relation with the same triconsonantal Aramaic verb *ʾăzal*, "to leave, go." The noun *ʾezel* with the meaning of "leaving or departure" makes good sense in the context: "go, for Yahweh has sent you away" (1 Sam 20:21). Consequently, this phrase would be understood as "the stone of Parting" in the sense of a commemorative stone for the separation of the two intimate friends.

YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

EZEM (PLACE) [Heb *ʿeṣem*]. A settlement of the tribe of Simeon (Josh 15:29). The KJV variant, Azem, derives from a Masoretic pausal form in Joshua. Ezem appears twice in Joshua; in 15:29 it is listed as part of the tribe of Judah, and in 19:3 it is a Simeonite settlement. It is also listed as a town in Simeon in 1 Chr 4:29. Since Simeon was assimilated to Judah at an early date, it is recorded under both tribes.

Though the present literary context of the Judean town list is set in the period of Joshua, its original setting was as part of a post-Solomonic administrative division of the S kingdom. The date for the establishment of this system is debated, with suggestions ranging from the early 9th to the late 7th century B.C. Ezem is in the southernmost district of Judah, the Negeb.

The location of Ezem is problematic. It is apparently mentioned on an ostracon from Tell esh-Shariʿa (Oren and Netzer 1974: 265), which may mean seeking the site somewhere to the N of Beer-sheba (M.R. 134072). In the past many commentators have located Ezem at Umm el-ʿAzam, 20 km SE of Beer-sheba (Albright 1924: 154; Simons, *GTTOT*, 144, 178, 183; M.R. 140055), but this may be too far S. Cohen (*IDB* 2: 213) suggested Umm el-ʿAzem, two knolls not far to the N of Beer-sheba. It is possible that Ezem may be the *ʾ-i-d-m-iʾ* which is the 66th town Shishak claimed to have conquered in his topographic list (Simons 1937: 178, 183).

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

EZER (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēṣer; ʿēzer; ʿezer*]. The name of several men in the OT. The name *ʾēṣer* may come from a root meaning "store up." The *ʿezer* forms may have the meaning "help" (*IDB* 2: 213).

1. One of the clan chiefs listed in the genealogy of Seir the Horite in Gen 36:21, 27, 30 and in the matching genealogical clan list in 1 Chr 1:38, 42. He is said to be the sixth son of Seir and the father of BILHAN, ZAAVAN,

and AKAN/JAAKAN (Gen 36:27; 1 Chr 1:42a). The kinship terms found in the text may simply reflect alliances or the designation of tribal territories within this region.

2. A descendant of Judah in the genealogical clan list in 1 Chr 4:4. Ezer's exact relationship with Judah is unclear since the genealogy is confused, not giving the lineage of each of Judah's sons. Ezer is simply described as the father of HUSHAH. This latter name, like several others in the list (Tekoa, Bethlehem), is the name of a village in the Judahite hill country.

3. A member of the tribe of Ephraim mentioned in 1 Chr 7:21. Along with another Ephraimite, ELEAD, Ezer was killed by the men of Gath for raiding the Gathite cattle herds. Raids such as these are not uncommon among tribal peoples wishing to increase their own herds or weaken those of their neighbors (see Judg 6:2–5; 2 Kgs 13:20). It may also be reflective of the tensions which existed between the peoples of the high country and the towns and villages of the Philistine plain.

4. The chief of the Gadite warriors who joined David in his stronghold at Ziklag during the time he was outlawed by Saul (1 Chr 12:10—Eng 12:9). These men, along with those from several other tribes, represented David's growing political strength and gave him the "mighty and experienced warriors" he needed to form an army corps when he succeeded to the throne of Israel.

5. A Levite, a son of Jeshua, who was assigned to repair a section of the wall of Jerusalem during the administration of Nehemiah (Neh 3:19). He is described as the ruler of Mizpah and the section of the wall he was assigned was "opposite the ascent to the armory at the Angle." As a "ruler" his role in the construction probably consisted of providing the funds and the men to do the work.

6. One of the priests listed among those who participated in the dedication of the reconstructed walls of Jerusalem in Neh 12:42. They led the people with blaring trumpets and the offering of sacrifices.

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VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

EZION-GEBER (PLACE) [Heb *ʿeṣyôn geber*]. A port city on the S frontier of biblical Israel. The name is recorded in the Hebrew Bible seven times (Num 33:35; 36; Deut 2:8; 1 Kgs 9:26; 22:49; 2 Chr 8:17, 20:36). The former three are written *ʿeṣyōn geber* and refer to the camping stations of the Israelites en route to the promised land. The latter four pertain to the S port city of Solomon and Jehoshaphat. While most translations render the name verbatim, the Aram translation of *Tg. Ps. J.* to the first three verses translates the place-name as *kĕrak tarnĕgôlā'*, perhaps in the sense of the "strong citadel." For *ʿeṣyôn* KB (1958: 727) suggests the Ar cognate *ġaḍiān* (*Lane* 2269a) while *geber* is left unexplained.

Whether the Pentateuchal *ʿeṣyōn geber* is identical with the Judean kings' *ʿeṣyôn geber* is a question yet unanswered. No archaeological traces of the former have been uncovered so far and no location during that period has been unearthed. The place name *ʿeṣyôn geber* reappears in the history of Israel during the Solomonic era and is mentioned through the reign of Jehoshaphat. Solomon initiated construction of vessels and shipping on the Gulf of Elath with the Phoenician partners and for this reason he went to Ezion-geber and Jehoshaphat followed suit.

Where is the geographical site of Ezion-geber? The Bible locates it "near Eloth on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom" (1 Kgs 9:26). In the 19th century, Robinson (1856: 169–72) identified it as *ʿAin el-Ġuḍyan* along a small wadi opening into *el ʾArabah.* It was later revised by Phythian-Adams (1933: 137–46) to refer to *el-Meniyyeh.* These earlier identifications have been toppled by three seasons of archaeological excavations of N. Glueck during the years 1938–40, who argued that it should be identified with Tell el-Kheleifeh (M.R. 147884), a suggestion put forth by Frank (1934: 244). The mound lies at about the center of the N coast of the Gulf of Elath (Aqabah) between Aqabah of Jordan at its E end and Elath of Israel at the W end. Glueck's (1940a: 93–104) early explanations have revolved around what seemed then to be the main activities of Tell el-Kheleifeh: construction of seagoing vessels, a large smelting refinery of local copper in furnaces, and industry of tools made out of copper. To support the theory of a metallurgical center at that site, Glueck (1940b: 3–7) argued that remains of extensive sulfuric discoloration due to the smelting activities are evident on the furnace's wall, and copper slags in substantial quantities are found at the site. He unearthed a casemate wall characteristic of the Solomonic construction of buildings and dated the pottery excavated at the mound to the 10th century B.C., parallel to the Solomonic period. Hence, the conclusion that Tell el-Kheleifeh = Ezion-geber. Glueck further inferred that Solomon's commercial prosperity depended largely on exporting ingots of copper produced at Tell el-Kheleifeh, which were shipped abroad from the port city. Moreover, Glueck (1940a: 110; 1940b: 15) asserted that the findings included the burnt relics of a heavy rope industry of the type employed for anchorages and the stretching of the boat's sails. Among other things, he found pitch for caulking the boats, nails made of iron and copper, and fishhooks and spearheads popular among seafarers, which testified that naval construction and maritime activity took place there.

Glueck's identification was hailed by Wright (1957: 132–37), even though he admitted that actual remains of a port were never excavated. Albright (1960: 127–28), who agreed with Glueck that a tremendous metallurgical industry functioned at that site, nevertheless, following opinions of metallurgy experts, was perplexed as to how the production of copper was indeed accomplished.

Glueck's findings were challenged by Rothenberg (1962: 44–56), who refuted the existence of a large metallurgical complex at Tell el-Kheleifeh. He proved indubitably that the room thought to be a furnace room turned out to be a large storehouse and what was considered to be sulfide fumes of copper ores on the walls were the result of a tremendous conflagration. A closer look at the surround-

ings did not show a significant quantity of slag associated with the production of copper and the flue holes in the so-called furnace room were in fact holes for wooden beams. Even the theory of Glueck (1940a: 93–94) about the strong northern winds blowing in the area essential for smelting refineries was found wanting as a result of Rothenberg's meteorological measuring. Had the builders wanted to take advantage of the strongest winds, a geographical point further to the W should have been located, where the winds are indeed turbulent and effective for a refinery. In sum, Rothenberg questioned the validity of Tell el-Kheleifeh = Ezion-geber.

Glueck (1965b: 15–17) then radically revised some of his previous conclusions. He accepted that the place was primarily a fortified district granary and caravansary, yet he maintained that Tell el-Kheleifeh served as a copper center and that the place was the biblical seaport Ezion-geber. His excavations (1965a: 82–87) revealed five strata of settlements extending from the Solomonic age until the end of the 5th century B.C. when Tell el-Kheleifeh was abandoned and a subsequent Nabatean settlement was located at Aila. Biblical Ezion-geber existed during two of those periods. Period I dates to the Solomonic era. It contained a small center for storage, industry, and commodities which also served the main S seaport of the king, a place probably destroyed by Shishak during the reign of Rehoboam (1 Kgs 14:25–26; 2 Chr 12:2–4).

Indeed, biblical citations from the chronicles of the Judean kings indicate a disproportionately fierce struggle for control of the S Arabah, an area vital to the economy of the kingdom, especially with regard to the valuable trade with Arabia and regions beyond it. It is therefore not surprising that the only competitors for these routes, the Egyptian kings, did not look favorably at the spread of this trade. Against this backdrop it is possible to explain the military foray of Shishak (ca. 924 B.C.) into the Negeb. List XXXIV of the Great Temple of Amon in Karnak (Simons 1937: 178–87) includes a yet unidentified conquered location *š-b-r-t n g-b-r-y-*, which may be transliterated as *šblt n-gbr(y)*, meaning the whirling mass of water *gbr*, suggesting the likelihood of reference to Ezion-geber.

Possible reconstruction at Period II took place during Jehoshaphat's reign and it reveals strengthening of the location with massive double walls and elaborate city gates. While the royal fleet was destroyed by a stormy sea (1 Kgs 22:49) the city may have been destroyed later because of an Edomite rebellion in the middle of the 9th century (2 Kgs 8:20–22; 2 Chr 21:8–10). The name Ezion-geber is not mentioned again in the Bible.

Talmudical sources, however, preserve the tradition that the Sages visited a S town named *ʿsy*, geographically located along a seacoast which Klein (1939: 76, 122) identifies with Ezion-geber. Glueck (*Elath* 1963: 10–11) claimed that Elath (2 Kgs 14:22; 2 Chr 26:2) is the substitute for decimated Ezion-geber and was constructed on top of the mound of the city which was never to be rebuilt. In any event the excavations and findings of Tell el-Kheleifeh (*Elath*, 1963: 19–20) contain the histories both of Ezion-geber and Elath and therefore it is correct to say Tell el-Kheleifeh = Ezion-geber = Elath.

Avigad (*Elath*, 1963: 24) lent support to Glueck's theory when he found an inscribed signet ring which he deciphered as *"LYTM"* i.e., "belonging to Jotham," and described the picture on the ring as either an ignot of copper or a representation of bellows in front of a horned ram. This testified to continued metallurgical performance during a latter period of the Judean King Jotham. Aharoni (*Elath*, 1963: 71–73; 1982: 169, 243, 249–51) while agreeing with the identification of Tell el-Kheleifeh with Ezion-geber, nevertheless disputed the theory of the city as being a copper mining center. He suggests, instead, that it was a fortified depot in a network of citadels securing the land route for commodities exported and imported through the port of this fortified complex. He, like Glueck, suggested that biblical Elath took on the functions of Ezion-geber once the latter ceased to exist.

Glueck's identification of Tell el-Kheleifeh with Ezion-geber was contested again by Mazar (1975: 126–31) on the basis of topographical evidence. He disproved the theory of sea regression in the region of Tell el-Kheleifeh. Furthermore, the shoreline along the location of the mound is sandy, the water is shallow, leaving it unsuitable for small boats, let alone for a substantial trader fleet. Some of the scheduled trips extended for three years, and Ezion-geber, while not built by Solomon, was employed as a naval yard for building a commercial fleet. King Hiram of Tyre supplied the woodcraft, the skilled labor, and the navigational expertise while King Solomon provided manpower and located a safe port for anchorage. The magnitude of the operation required facilities which could not have been provided by the coast of Tell el-Kheleifeh. Furthermore, a recent restudy of Glueck's material by Pratico (1986: 24–35) summarized the following: Tell el-Kheleifeh is post-Solomonic, and the mound, while important by itself, cannot be identified as Ezion-geber.

The search for a natural harbor in the gulf of Elath suggested, therefore, the small island of Jezîrat Farʾôn (recently named Coral Island) as a safe anchorage for boats. Indeed, 19th-century diaries of travelers acknowledged the island as a haven during stormy seas. Robinson (1856: 160–61) described it as oriented from NW to the SE, some 300 yards in length with two hills, one higher than the other, linked by a narrow strip of land. On the island, an Arabian fort was found. It was surrounded with battlements, with two pointed arches often signifying gateways.

Unvanquished by the fleet of Ronald of Chatillon (ca. 1182 C.E.), the fort was identified by the Arabic geographer Abulfeda (ca. 1300), with the former citadel of Aila; however, in his own time it was already in ruins. While touring the place, Robinson also quoted former geographers, Laborde, Rüppell and Wellsted. The latter gave it the name Jezîrat Farʾôn, the "Island of Pharaoh," and described it as the only sheltered place for boats when caught in a stormy sea. He sensed that this was perhaps biblical Ezion-geber.

It should be noted that the only natural anchorage in the N part of the gulf is the harbor on the island, while the modern ports of Elath and Aqabah are of wholly artificial construction.

Mazar's scholarly interest in the island in 1956 (1975: 130), was followed by Rothenberg in collaboration with Aharoni and Hashimshoni (1961: 86–92, 183–89), who

mapped the island and established the existence of a small harbor.

Aharoni (1967: 182–83) was inclined to identify the island with Jotbatha, the Pentateuchal camping station listed before Ezion-geber. He relied on the phonetic similarity of biblical Jotbathah, Byzantine Yotabe (according to Procopius' testimony, a small island dominating the sea traffic in the gulf during the Byzantine era), and modern Ṭabeh.

Rothenberg (1967: 212–13), however, on the basis of the ceramics found on the island suggested occupation as early as Iron Age I, and posited that the place must be Ezion-geber. His identification gained credence through underwater archaeological surveys conducted by Linder and Flinder (Rothenberg 1972: 204–7) and a British-Israeli joint expedition in 1968. Flinder (1989: 39–41) concluded that Jezîrat Far'ôn is indeed biblical Ezion-geber. The survey plus the underwater archaeological search shows that Jezîrat Far'ôn had massive navigational installations put in position for heavy maritime traffic. It had a walled island comprised of an outer wall, an inner wall, and transversal walls forming casemate rooms plus towers. He confirmed that the edifice facing the mainland had groundwork similar to the casemate rooms, hence dated before its upper parts. Unique were the underwater archaeological findings which established the existence of an artificial enclosed harbor bordering a sizable natural anchorage, with jetties built out into the water to influence currents opposite the island on the shore of the mainland.

Can we definitively identify the island with Ezion-geber? Solid dating indications are yet to be uncovered. What can be said is that the island's pottery dates to Iron Age I and that the island was utilized as a pharaonic mining anchorage by the Egyptians (Rothenberg 1972: 203). Furthermore, Jezîrat Far'ôn's natural harbor shows man-made technological improvements by yet unknown ancient marine engineers. Comparisons of the structure of the port in the island suggest resemblance to the work done by Phoenician maritime personnel, who were the first to improve natural harbors in the Mediterranean basin.

Tyre, the capital of Hiram, was originally an island (Isa 23:2) upon which man-made jetties and safekeeping walls were built for the protection of sea vessels. (The path built across the water to connect the offshore island to the mainland was a later addition as a result of Alexander the Great's work during 322 B.C.) Leptis magna, founded by the Phoenicians from Sidon in what later became Roman Africa, was an offshore island with an artificial harbor adjoining a natural anchorage with breakwaters opposite the island on the mainland. Accordingly, it is not inconceivable to suggest that the partnership between the Tyrians and the Israelites was a continuation of what took place in the region during the reigns of earlier Egyptian monarchs who employed Giblite-Byblian mariners while embarking on their maritime endeavors along the Red Sea. It is likely that Solomon went to Pharoah's island, Jezîrat Far'ôn, whose name in the Bible is Ezion-geber, and Hiram sent in the navy, his servants, and maritime personnel, along with servants of Solomon (1 Kgs 9:27–28; 2 Chr 8:18).

This partnership is alluded to by Philo of Byblos, who cites the Phoenician historian Sanconiaton who in turn reports that a Phoenician caravan consisting of 800 camels carried timber to the southern port for the construction of the merchant fleet. The sources do not report improvements of anchorage facilities by either of the partners, but Ezion-geber, the point of embarkation for long voyages (1 Kgs 10:22; 2 Chr 9:21), required adequate port facilities for oceangoing boats, and underwater archaeological excavations proved that reconstruction indeed provided the necessary efficiency.

The identification of Ezion-geber with Jezîrat Far'ôn rather than biblical Eloth or Elath is supported by the Bible. The Bible plus the major translations, the LXX and the Vg, view Ezion-geber as separate from Elath or Eloth. The terms "next," "near," or "beside" are inserted between Ezion-geber and Eloth in 1 Kings (9:26) and the *wāw copulativum* joins them in Deuteronomy (2:8) and 2 Chronicles (8:17).

Flinder (1989: 45) further maintains that both sites fulfilled a commercial task for the partners. Ezion-geber, on the island, while adequate for loading and unloading sturdy seagoing vessels, was not equipped to store and disburse the goods. Therefore, it was necessary to transfer the merchandise via smaller seacraft to the mainland, i.e., to Eloth, from where it was distributed through the traditional network of Solomon's far-flung land trading posts.

Geographically, Israel enjoyed the role of an intermediary between adjacent countries. Not only did the Mediterranean seaports of the Solomonic empire offer commercial links with the communities W of the kingdom, but the S port gave Judah the added advantage of being able to control the valuable trade of luxury commodities. This was the exalted moment in Israel's secular history when the Israelites were the only land bridge between the two continents and had various ports serving the Mediterranean clientele, spreading toward the Atlantic Ocean in the occident, and Ezion-geber, which led to the Indian Ocean and farther to the orient.

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MEIR LUBETSKI

EZORA (PERSON) [Gk *Ezōra*]. Progenitor of a family which had six descendants who divorced their foreign wives during Ezra's reform (1 Esdr 9:34). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, "Ezora" does not appear among the names listed in Ezra 10. Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

EZRA (PERSON) [Heb *ʿezrā*ʾ]. "Nehemiah and Ezra, the creators of the post-exilic Jewish community in Palestine, are two of the greatest figures in Jewish history"; so concludes a recent (far from conservative) volume (Widengren *IJH,* 538). Does this dictum, even apart from notably putting Ezra in second place, reflect what we really know from history?

A. Biblical Data
B. Evaluations
C. Conclusions

A. Biblical Data

Ezra 7–10 and Nehemiah 8–12 contain only some twenty passages (mostly a single verse) giving any personal trait, title, or work of Ezra.

1. Only six of these are really "personal." In Ezra 9:3 is his highly emotional but also carefully calculated behavior, tearing his garments and beard, then sitting speechless an hour or more with a crowd waiting for his word. When it comes (9:6) that word is also deeply emotional, but in an oratorical composition nominally addressed to God and largely made up of biblical phrases. Also a lyric outburst is Ezra 7:27, which could well be an editorial gloss except that it concludes, "I took courage since the hand of my Lord God was upon me"; so also 8:22b. Ezra 10:6 features his night of fasting and mourning. The long speech of Neh 9:6–37, also a lyric cento of biblical echoes, is attributed to Ezra by the Greek text, but rather unexpectedly, and not by the Hebrew at all; and the Greek (2 Esdr 19:38, even more than Neh 9:15) seems to include the speaker as himself guilty of the marriage abuse he deplores.

2. Another six verses give titles, claimed by Saeb (1982: 380) to be our firmest clue to the real Ezra. Chief of these is Ezra 7:12, attributed to Artaxerxes, describing Ezra as "priest and scribe of the law of the God of Heaven" (so also 7:14, 21; in 7:6 Artaxerxes is said to detect God's hand upon Ezra). The biblical author himself presents Ezra (7:6 in third person; as also 8:5; 10; Nehemiah 8) only as a "scribe skilled in the law of Moses," though the preceding genealogy shows him as a descendant of known priests and of "Aaron the high priest."

"Scribe" (Aram *sāpar,* Heb *sōpēr;* probably an equivalent of Akk *šāpiru, AHW* 1172) as attested in Persian royal usage could well mean "an official" (Schaeder 1930: 46) of high or low degree; but in relation to the law of God and Moses it would seem rather "he is a jurist and patron of text-scholars" (Gelin 1960: 24) with an eminent role in promulgating and interpreting or even editing "the Law"—whether "the Pentateuch in its present form" as Myers still firmly and plausibly maintains (*Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, lxxiv; more cautiously Donner 1986: 429), or at any rate the Priestly Source (P) or others.

"The Law," of which Ezra is *sōpēr,* is in Ezra 7:12–26 *dāt,* which in other attested Aramaic cases means rather "the king's edict" (even if here "making the Judeans' law his own"). But in Nehemiah 8 "the Law" is *tôrâ,* which Ezra merely "reads out" (like any priest in a liturgical ceremony; not "promulgates" or "compiles," as Rendtorff 1984: 171 notes; he concludes sweepingly that any relating of Nehemiah 8 to the mandate of Ezra 7 is secondary).

The occasion for the king's edict of Ezra 7 is seen to be the reaction against rebellions precisely in 458 B.C. destabilizing coastal Dor near Jerusalem under Greek and Egyptian influence (Smith 1965: 361; Margalith 1986: 110).

3. A third group of some five passages shows what Ezra actually did do or had a mandate to do. He had a certain freedom not only to dispose of surplus funds but also to supply deficits "out of the king's treasury" (in Beyond the River, Ezra 7:20) up to amounts specified in v 22: a power he is never shown using. Then too (7:25, still in Artaxerxes' words) Ezra can appoint officials to impose the Jewish law on "everybody (Jewish?)" in Beyond the River, with fearful sanctions (hardly "the original Great Synagogue," Ellison 1981: 52).

Quite different are the two passages which show Ezra actually functioning (Cazelles 1982: 224). In Ezra 10:5 he merely implements (as "his duty") the advice of a local culpable official; and in Neh 8:13 "in the presence of Ezra" the people themselves discover and implement the *sukkot* law. The speaker of Neh 10:1 (Greek 2 Esdr 19:38; named as Ezra only in the Greek 19:6) merely states that a new covenant is being made; what follows in Nehemiah 10 is the work of Nehemiah and others, not including Ezra. (Neh 12:26 links Ezra with Nehemiah but as a purely chronological horizon, "in those days.") From the above evidence it may be concluded that "little political activity is ascribed to Ezra" (Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, lxxiv; rather than Gelin 1960: 24, "he too is a manipulator of men, but of a more logical approach than Nehemiah").

B. Evaluations

The above personal traits, titles, and real or authorized activities give us all we need in order to know who Ezra really was, "an ultraconservative would say," observes Williamson (*Ezra and Nehemiah* OTG, 69); he himself finds a solid historical kernel even while redimensioning such claims made by others. A historical minimum even smaller is clung to (following Noth *[NCH]*) by Kellermann in Ezra 7:12–26 and 8:26–27 (1967: 458), though he dismisses all

the rest of Ezra 8–10 and all of Nehemiah 8–12 as "the Chronicler's midrash"; so, too, In der Smitten (1973).

But in 1986 there appeared a strong scholarly revival of the opinion that Ezra never existed at all, and was invented only in 159 B.C. to be the emblem of a religious reform which turned out to be abortive. Garbini (1986: 212) traces the history of similar theories from Vernes through Renan and Torrey to Hölscher. The undoubted factual data which they invoke to prove that the Bible does not give us a real Ezra history, chiefly the silence of Sir 49:13 praising Nehemiah, have in fact never been ignored by Ezra scholars. Most notable is the veritable revolution effected by Van Hoonacker's claim that an Ezra *before* Nehemiah as our Bible presents him is unthinkable. His success in imposing an Ezra date in 398 B.C., the 7th year of Artaxerxes II, though not as complete as claimed by Castel (1985: 160) has doubtless contributed to the widely held third alternative of (Albright-)Rudolph, emending 7th to 37th of Artaxerxes I (so Pavlovský 1957).

The existence of a (first-person) "Ezra source" has, since the eminent Rudolph (*Esra und Nehemia* HAT), been held only by "the most conservative, like Kidner and Fensham" (Williamson *Ezra and Nehemiah* OTG, 21; see also Mowinckel 1961; cf. Kidner *Ezra and Nehemiah* TOTC, and Fensham *Ezra and Nehemiah* NICOT). Meanwhile the historical reality of Ezra has suffered also from either of two contrary extremes. On the one hand, rabbinical tradition attributed the veritable creation of Judaism to him (*m. ʾAbot* 1:1). "Ezra and the Torah surpassed in importance the building of the Temple" (*b. Megilla* 16b); "Ezra would have been worthy of receiving the Torah had Moses not preceded him" (R. José, *b. Sanh.* 21b; other citations in Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, lxxii). Doubtless rabbinic acclaim never quite reached the "Son of God and Messiah" claimed in the Quran 9:3 (Uzair, linked by Hirschberg [*EncJud* 6:1107] with Yemenite Jewish traditions; Ellison 1981: 49 does not specify the "traditions making Uzair the place of his burial in Babylonia"). Only Josephus informs us that Ezra died in honored old age in Jerusalem and was magnificently buried there (*Ant* 11.158; Tuland 1966; *Ant* 11.193 more soberly record Nehemiah's death).

At the other extreme were the early Pentateuch critics (less careful than Wellhausen) assigning to Ezra the invention of much "Mosaic" tradition. Though no one of the current interpretations of Ezra's law (as the whole Pentateuch; or P Source or the Holiness Code alone; or Deuteronomy; or lesser biblical-related prescriptions; or some purely civil authority conferred by Artaxerxes) can be categorically excluded, there is still a significant and sound group of critics regarding the "editing and promulgation" of the more ancient Pentateuch traditions as the work of an "Ezra-school."

C. Conclusions

The claim of having proved that "Ezra never existed," when looked at more closely turns out to mean rather that hagiographic and ideological features are attached to an individual who may have existed in some much humbler fashion, as in some Acts of the Martyrs or Golden Legends. It is surprising that Garbini does not ask us to consider that he is doing for Ezra precisely what has been done for Daniel, at first with great general scandal but now with almost universal acceptance: transposition of authorship to the Maccabean situation. His thesis is that in 1 Macc 9:54 Alcimus orders an inner Temple wall torn down in order to bring the populace closer to priestly functions; and though the opposition party prevailed ("he was struck by paralysis") the idea had worked itself out into general acceptance by the time of Herod's Temple (Garbini 1986: 227). In evaluating this thesis it would be well to put ourselves into the position of the scholarly and devout exegetes who were first confronted with the notion that Daniel reflects a Maccabean situation; and profit by their example in order to be more judicious and far-seeing in our reaction. In principle we admit the claim that around the vaguely known figure of Ezra (or Daniel, or Jonah, or Esther) were elaborated features intended to justify theologically the piety of a later date. Even Pfeiffer's discussion of Ezra (*IDB* 2: 215), pregnantly "assuming he is a historical figure," notes that in some lines of Jewish tradition his name is considered a variant of Malachi. Also, similarities between 2 Maccabees and 3 Esdras have been studied (Gardner 1986).

If Garbini had posed the question of whether his presumed Maccabean author was rather ornamenting the figure of an Ezra who genuinely existed in the 5th century, he would have noted that this is what almost every scholar admits "the Chronicler" or other compiler to have done. But then he should go on to explain more fully why such a procedure was more likely in the Maccabean period than in the momentous days of the return from Babylon. Instead, he weakens his case by going on to "prove too much," namely that his "Ezra exploits" are verified in the Damascus Rule-Zadokite Document 1:19 and the Qumran Temple Scroll 35:10–14. We do not object to his claim that "3 Ezra" (the Greek Esdras A) is the earlier form of the story because it is the one which Josephus follows; but neither do we find in it Ezra traits notably different from the twenty we enumerated above.

The four points with which Williamson concludes (*Ezra and Nehemiah* OTG, 69–76) are well worth noting, not only because they do provide in their way a viable underpinning for a realistic portrayal of "the historical Ezra," but also because in their redimensioning of almost every similar project they show that even the "likelier" approaches are still open to further inquiry.

1. That Ezra was a high or stable official of the Persian court is unproved, even by Schaeder's (1930) use of arguments which only an Iranologist can evaluate; "scribe" was taken in subsequent tradition simply as "religious leader," and any civil authority "simply vanishes from view" (apparently toning down even the mild dissent of Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 100 from North 1972).

2. Equally dubious is Koch's (1974) claim of a grandiose "second Moses" who came leading a "sacred Exodus procession" from Babylon to reform not only the Judeans but also the Samaritans. It is true that Ezra does not speak ill of the Samaritans as Nehemiah does (Cazelles 1982: 224), and our own sympathies still lie with those who claim that "Ezra's Pentateuch was accepted by the Samaritans" (Cazelles 1954). But this is at best a hypothesis; and it remains true that the Samaritans vilify Ezra, but also that Koch's claim of a "spectacular failure" by Ezra is unproved.

3. What was Ezra really sent from Babylon to do? Clearly

he is shown as somehow "in charge" of the Jews who were returning with him from Babylon at that time, and he may well have carried some token gifts from the king. The extent to which he had a mandate to investigate and reform Jewish religious practice remains somewhat mysterious, despite alleged parallels in the Passover Papyrus and the Cyrus Cylinder (*ANET*, 316). Partly at issue is what role in quashing mixed marriages is really to be ascribed to Ezra. Even Ackroyd (1984) exaggerates his "community-building" powers.

4. Ezra's recorded activity lasted only twelve months and was headed toward a bad ending (when last heard of), even if he was not involved in a pre-Nehemiah wall-building such as Ezra 4:12 may perhaps suggest.

The difficulties which Williamson faces under these four heads, and Garbini's too, would largely vanish if we limit ourselves to "what the Bible really says"—not in a fundamentalist or maximalizing way, but considering how human speech actually functions. For one thing, human nature is prone to give any high-placed person a title higher than he really deserves, and to interpret even the titles which he rightfully possesses as implying powers beyond what they really convey. Even the grandiose chancery-language of Artaxerxes' decree (as fondly preserved in Jewish sources) could quite normally mean no more than that Ezra is legitimately at the head of a group of returning exiles intent on law-abidingness—and to that extent in a general way likely to support the existing overlordship, whether or not in relation to Mediterranean coastal uprisings. Ezra at any rate was certainly *not* "the signer of a Concordat" nor even "Persian Under-Secretary for Jewish Affairs."

A second normal functioning of human speech is the proneness of lofty dignitaries to have themselves recorded as saying to humble people, "Any time I can be of help to you, just call on me!" Even taking into account conformity with known Persian usages, what is said about "appointing magistrates to apply strong sanctions" and "drawing upon the king's treasury" (in view of their total nonimplementation in the biblical narrative, as also in the relevant Temple building of Ezra 1:4) may quite literally, i.e., realistically be interpreted merely as a rhetorical expression of the greatness and power of the speaker.

This granted, what remains is not negligible. "Ezra is a genuinely pious individual whose concern for the Law was based on his conviction that it was God's revelation for Israel's welfare" (Hoppe 1986: 285; also Dulin 1986). He had come to observe and to teach, and it is chiefly by these two activities that the Bible shows him as leader of the community. By studying the Law and by listening to what the local Judean community themselves felt ought to be done about their mixed-marriage problems, he understandably earned the gratitude of all subsequent Judaism. The aggrandizement to which this eventually led may be due to trends, already apparent in Sir 49:13, more separatist than Ezra himself would have approved.

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ROBERT NORTH

EZRA, BOOK OF. See EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOKS OF.

EZRA, FOURTH BOOK OF. See ESDRAS, SECOND BOOK OF.

EZRA, GREEK APOCALYPSE OF. This work, known only in Greek, was first published in 1866 (von Tischendorf). Only two Greek manuscripts are known to date and both have been utilized in the most recent edition (Wahl 1977). Some emendations have been suggested (von Tischendorf 1866; Stone 1982: 17–18; Wahl 1977). The book has been translated twice into German (Riessler 1928; Müller 1976) and three times into English (Walker 1899; Stone *OTP* 1; Sparks and Shutt 1984). There seems to be no reason to doubt that *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* was composed originally in Greek. It seems to have utilized the

Greek version of *4 Ezra* (Violet 1910: l–lix), but that was in existence by the 2d century. It most likely originated sometime during the 1st millennium, as is evident from its literary affinities (see below).

Ezra fasts and prays for the mysteries of God to be revealed to him. In answer to his prayer he is taken to heaven where he intercedes for sinners. Ezra prays again, questioning the righteous of the world and the fate of the sinners, and is informed that Adam's sin was due to Satan. He then argues with God, pleading for mercy on behalf of the Christian people (chaps. 1–2).

Next Ezra petitions for a vision of the day of judgment. The signs of the end and the messianic woes are shown to him (2:26–3:7). He is then taken down to the depths of Tartarus where he sees various sinners being punished. A revelation of the signs of the Antichrist follows. Ezra sees further punishments and is taken to heaven (5:1–7).

At this point a new subject is introduced: the development of the human infant, which highlights Ezra's doubts about the creation of human beings (5:12–14). Miscellaneous revelations about the saints, cosmological matters, and judgment follow. The final part of the book deals with themes discussed in other Ezra apocalypses: the seer's struggle with the angel for his own soul, God's solace given him in the face of death, and the narrative of his death and burial (chaps. 6–7).

The work is clearly composite, and a number of sources have been distinguished within it (Stone *OTP* 1: 562–63). The descent to Tartarus (4:4–21) is shared with *Vis. Ezra* and formed a common theme of many Byzantine apocalypses (Stone 1982: 6–8; Himmelfarb 1983). There are also three bodies of apocalyptic themes which seem to have been incorporated into the book from various sources: (a) The "hanging punishments" (4:22–25, 5:2–4 [?5–7], 8–11, 24:25 [26?]). This material is connected by theme with the preceding and in broader terms with the ongoing concern of the author for the fate of humans. It is also found in *Vis. Ezra* (Stone 1982: 9–10). (b) The description of the physiognomy of the Antichrist (4:25–43). The same description, dependent on a common source, is found in *Apocalypsis Ioannou* (von Tischendorf 1866: 47–48) and many similar passages occur in later apocalypses (Stone and Strugnell 1979: 27–39). (c) The description of Paradise (5:20–23). In particular, the material from source (a) has been broken up and interwoven with the descent to Tartarus.

It has been suggested that the materials dealing with the tour of hell in *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* and in *Vis. Ezra* "derive from a Christian tour of hell written relatively early in the development of the genre" (Himmelfarb 1983: 167). These two works, together with *Apoc. Sedr.*, have been regarded as independent developments of a common stock of material (Stone 1983: 569), though the independence of *Vis. Ezra* has been questioned (Himmelfarb 1983: 26). The *Ques. Ezra* is a more remote representative of the same material.

The relationship of *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* to *4 Ezra* is quite unmistakable (Sparks and Shutt 1984: 929). In addition to the list of parallels noted above, the very argumentative character of the seer in his discussion with God and the dialogic character of the book are both derived from *4 Ezra* (Stone *OTP* 1: 569; Himmelfarb 1983: 26).

This apocalypse is part of a much broader literature that developed around the figure of Ezra in the Byzantine period. It is particularly closely related to the Greek *Apoc. Sedr.* and the Latin *Vis. Ezra,* and more remotely to the Armenian *Ques. Ezra.* By comparing it with *4 Ezra* we can see something of its possible sources and discern which aspects of *4 Ezra* were of concern to the writers of later apocalypses. Moreover, the complexity of the literary relationships between the various Ezra apocalypses is paralleled in other corpora of writings from this period, such as the Adam Literature.

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EZRA, QUESTIONS OF. The *Questions of Ezra* is preserved in two Armenian recensions. The first recension (A) was published by S. Yovsēpʿianc‘ (1896: 300–3) and translated into English by J. Issaverdens (1900: 505–9). The text is drawn from a *Ritual,* Ms. 570 of the Mechitarist Library in Venice (1208 C.E.). No other copy is known. The second recension (B) occurs in the 4th recension of the Armenian *Menologium.* This text, based on the printed edition of 1730, with readings from a single further manuscript (Oxford Ms. Marsh 438 of the 17th cent.), was published by Stone (1977). Another copy of it had been printed by Dashian, but its relationship to *Ques. Ezra* had not been noted (Dashian 1895: 79–80, from Venice, Mechitarist Ms. 10 of the 16th cent.). Recent English translations of both recensions exist (Stone *OTP* 1: 591–99. The text might be improved by examination of further manuscripts.

Recension B is much shorter than A, but where the two overlap, B often preserves details not in A. There are two physical lacunae in the single manuscript of Recension A, following v 10 and v 40. Conversely, B contains nothing corresponding to vv 11–30 of Recension A.

Ques. Ezra opens with a discussion of the fate of the righteous and sinners. Ezra poses questions to the angel about the fate of the wicked and the lot of the soul after death. In Recension B, at this point, a discussion of the aim of creation and the intermediate residences of the wicked is introduced. In Recension A, a fascinating de-

scription of the seven steps up to the Divinity then occurs. The role of expiatory prayer in liberating souls from Satan's clutches is discussed, and finally, in Recension B alone, the resurrection and judgment are foretold.

Ques. Ezra should be viewed within the larger context of the apocryphal Ezra literature. This includes not just *4 Ezra* (= 2 Esdras), but works such as *Gk. Apoc. Ezra, Vis. Ezra,* and others. The oldest of these works is *4 Ezra,* which clearly has influenced, perhaps inspired, *Ques. Ezra.* The concern for the fate of the souls after death, the question-and-answer form, and the seven levels of the ascent of the soul are all features betraying its connection with *4 Ezra.* The concern for the fate of sinners after death is also prominent in *Gk. Apoc. Ezra, Vis. Ezra,* and *Apoc. Sedr.* The *Ques. Ezra,* however, is not as closely related to these three works as they are to one another.

Connections have been made between *Ques. Ezra* and other Armenian dialogic works which deal with the fate of the soul after death (Sarghissian 1898: 452–82). It is impossible, however, to know whether *Ques. Ezra* was written in Armenian originally or in another language, such as Greek.

The comparison of Recensions A and B indicates that there may have been two source documents. The first was a dialogue between the prophet and an angel about the fate of souls (A, vv 1–10; B, v 4 or its original; A, vv 11–15; B, v 6 or its original; A, vv 31–40; and B, vv 10–14 or its original). The second document (A, vv 16–30) dealt with the ascent of the souls. This section has rather distinctive views and is a pastiche of older sources.

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EZRA, REVELATION OF. In a variety of languages of the Christian Orient and of Europe the name of Ezra is found associated with calendrical prognostications. The reason for the connection of such works with the person of Ezra remains unclear, but to some extent at least, his prophetic status, certified for the Middle Ages by *4 Ezra,* must have played a role in this (Stone 1982: 14–16).

The best known work of this type is the *Revelatio Esdrae,* which survives in several Latin manuscripts of the ninth century and later (Mercati 1901: 76). It prognosticates the weather of the seasons, the fertility of the flocks, and the abundance of the crops by the day of the week upon which the calends of January fall. Three versions of the Latin text were edited by Mercati (1901: 77–79), and further copies are known to exist. A modern English translation of the oldest of these has been published by Fiensy (*OTP* 1: 601–4).

The important article by Matter (1982) is replete with essential and thorough information about the Latin *Revelatio Esdrae.* The same text exists in Old French, Provençal, medieval Italian, German, and Czech (Matter 1982: 380–81). In English, the name of the author was later transformed into "Erra Pater" and under this title it saw many printings both in Britain and in North America (Matter 1982: 384–86).

In Greek, three versions are known. The first is a document, extant in two forms, communicating propitious and unpropitious days of the month (von Tischendorf 1866: xiii–xiv; Nau 1907: 14–15). The second resembles the Latin *Revelatio Esdrae* (Nau 1907: 15–16), and it, or some similar writing, is likely to be the ancestor of a Georgian version preserved in a manuscript of the year 949 C.E. (Tarchnišvili 1955: 355). The third Greek document lists the thirty days of the lunar month and the birth or death of assorted biblical personalities. It is variously attributed to Ezra, Aristotle, or said to have been found in a temple in Egypt (Nau 1907: 17–21).

Writings of like character, but with no particular association with Ezra, have been published in Syriac and Ethiopic as well (Grebaut 1913; Charlesworth *OTP* 1:473–80) and doubtless many similar works could be found in a variety of tongues.

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M. E. STONE

EZRA, VISION OF. A pseudepigraphal book written in the name of Ezra. The work is entitled in most manuscripts *visio beati Esdrae,* "Vision of the Blessed Ezra." It opens with a petition by Ezra that he should not fear when seeing the judgment of the sinners (v 1). Ezra is then taken by seven angels to hell. He sees the just passing the fiery gates, which the sinners cannot transverse (vv 4–10) and asks for mercy on them (v 11; this theme is also prominent in *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 1:15, 5:6). Ezra passes the gates and enters Tartarus, which is described in great detail (vv 12–55), far more than the corresponding passage in *Gk. Apoc. Ezra.* He then enters Paradise, led by Michael and Gabriel (v 56). The angels ask him to intercede with God for sinners (vv 60–62), but God replies that humans are justly recompensed (v 64). Ezra then poses a question about intercession that is not answered (v 66). All forms of the

text but one conclude at this point. A fourth recension (see Bogaert 1984) contains additional material on the Antichrist (vv 71–80) and on Ezra's argument with the angel concerning the taking of his soul (vv 97–111).

The work survives only in Latin with manuscripts chiefly from the 11th–14th centuries. The text is found in four forms. (1) The shortest is Vatican lat. 3838. Mercati, who first published it, regarded it very highly (1901: 64) and his assessment was accepted by others (e.g., Mueller and Robins *OTP* 1: 582; Sparks and Shutt 1984: 944). (2) A longer form occurs in manuscript L (Linz, Bibliothek der Priesterseminars A I/6—the oldest manuscript, 10th–11th centuries). (3) A third form is found in the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* (12th century) and in other Austrian manuscripts. This form of the text was used in the 12th century Vision of Alberich of Setterfrati, one of Dante's sources (Dinzelbacher 1976; Wahl 1977, 22–23). This is also a long form, like L, containing five additional passages, one of which is argued to be later than the 6th century. Dinzelbacher compared these three text forms, and argued for the priority of the Vatican manuscript (1976: 437). (4) A major reassessment is demanded, however, by the publication of the text of Vat. Barberini lat. 2318 (14th–15th century) by Bogaert (1984). This text is most important because it has additional material parallel to *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* and *Apoc. Sedr.* This makes *Vis. Ezra* a fuller text, comparable to both *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* and *Apoc. Sedr.* Bogaert suggests that the Barberini manuscript preserves a somewhat corrupted copy of the oldest form of *Vis. Ezra.* All other text forms, lacking the long ending, are secondary; the best of these is ms L. All the remaining text forms, including the shortest Vatican manuscript, derive from this.

Vis. Ezra was apparently originally written in Greek. This has been argued from its close relationship with *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* and *Apoc. Sedr.*, as well as on linguistic grounds. The matter merits some further investigation. The date of the work is uncertain, except to say that it is older than its oldest manuscript, which is of the 10/11th century. Mercati argued that it predates its two sister apocalypses, since it is far less dependent than they on the other Christian apocalypses (1901: 66). It seems, however, that this conclusion must be reassessed in light of the new text form.

On the basis of the previously known texts, although the existence of a relationship with the *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* and *Apoc. Sedr.* is commonly accepted, the exact nature of that relationship has resisted definition. For example, Mercati saw *Vis. Ezra* at one end of a chain of development, followed in turn by *Apoc. Sedr.* and *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* (1901: 67–68). Himmelfarb regarded it as later than those works (1983: 165). In his study of the new manuscript, Bogaert asserted that this matter will now have to be reexamined (1984). The same is clearly true of the relationship between *Vis. Ezra* and *4 Ezra.*

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M. E. STONE

EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOKS OF.

The name given to the unit composed of the OT books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

A. Name
  1. 1 Esdras
  2. 2 Esdras
  3. 3 Esdras
  4. 4 Esdras
B. Canonicity
C. Extent of the Original Work
D. Date and Place of Authorship
E. Text
F. Sources
  1. Ezra 1–6
  2. The Ezra Memoir
  3. The Nehemiah Memoir
  4. Other Sources
G. Composition of Ezra-Nehemiah
  1. Ezra-Nehemiah as Distinct from 1 and 2 Chronicles
  2. Ezra-Nehemiah as Part of the Chronicler's History
H. Historical Problems
  1. Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel
  2. Date of Ezra and Nehemiah
  3. Ezra's Book of the Law
I. Outline of Ezra-Nehemiah
J. The Message of Ezra-Nehemiah
  1. Return from Exile and the Rebuilding of the Temple
  2. The Second Scene in Ezra-Nehemiah
  3. Nehemiah and the Rebuilding of the Walls
  4. Climax of the Work of Ezra and Nehemiah
  5. Final Acts of Nehemiah

A. Name

The books of Ezra and Nehemiah were originally considered a single literary work called Ezra. Although this work was separated into two books by Origen (3d century C.E.) and Jerome (4th century C.E.), the division does not appear in Hebrew Bibles before the 15th century, and even in

modern Hebrew Bibles the *masora finalis* occurs only at the end of the twenty-three chapters of Ezra-Nehemiah. In addition to the canonical book, the following writings carry the name of Ezra (Esdras):

1. 1 Esdras. A Greek translation of 2 Chronicles 35–36; Ezra 1–10, and Neh 8:1–13, plus a major addition that is located at 1 Esdr 3:1–5:6 and lacks a counterpart in the Hebrew Bible, dealing with three royal pages, among whom is Zerubbabel, who debated before Darius to determine what is the strongest thing in the world. Zerubbabel won the contest by defending his nomination of "truth." In 1 Esdras the equivalent for Ezra 4:7–24 (1 Esdr 2:15–25) is placed before the supplementary wisdom tale (1 Esdr 3:1–5:6) and before the translation of Ezra 2:1–70 (1 Esdr 5:7–45). The work is also known as 3 Esdras in the Vg, where it appears in an appendix to the NT. The title 1 Esdras is used in the Vg for the canonical Ezra.

2. 2 Esdras. The translation of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah in the LXX; a few Greek manuscripts distinguish between Ezra and Nehemiah and call the latter III Esdras. The term 2 Esdras is used in the Vg for the canonical Nehemiah.

3. 3 Esdras. The name for 1 Esdras in the Vg.

4. 4 Esdras. The name in the Vg for the work called 2 Esdras in English bibles. Chaps. 3–14 are a Jewish apocalyptic work from late in the 1st century of the common era. Chapters 1–2 and 15–16, both Christian additions, are sometimes identified as 2 and 5 Esdras in late Latin manuscripts. Modern scholars usually designate chaps. 1–2 as *5 Ezra*, chaps. 3–14 as *4 Ezra*, and chaps. 15–16 as *6 Ezra*.

B. Canonicity

Ezra and Nehemiah consistently appear in all canonical lists of Judaism and of Western Christianity, though they and 1 and 2 Chronicles are lacking in lists of the Syrian church. In the Hebrew canon they are considered part of the Writings. In the Palestinian tradition, followed by Spanish Hebrew Bibles and the Aleppo Codex (10th century C.E.), the Writings begin with Chronicles and end with Ezra-Nehemiah; in the Babylonian Talmud, followed by German and French Hebrew manuscripts and modern printed Hebrew Bibles, the Writings end with Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles (Clines *Ezra Nehemiah Esther* NCBC, 2–3).

C. Extent of the Original Work

A principal issue in research on Ezra and Nehemiah is whether the books were once part of a longer Chronicler's history, or whether they formed from the beginning an independent work. The question has not been finally resolved in recent studies (see CHRONICLES, BOOK OF 1–2). The following discussion is presented in terms of diverse authorship.

D. Date and Place of Authorship

Because Ezra and Nehemiah recount the rebuilding of the Temple and the work of Ezra and Nehemiah after their return to Judah, it is universally granted that the books were composed in Palestine.

The date for the present shape of the books must be later than the events they recount: the dedication of the Temple in 515 B.C.E., the return of Ezra in 458 B.C.E. (or 398 B.C.E.; see H.2), and the governorship of Nehemiah, 445–433 B.C.E., and his second visit to Jerusalem, no later than 424 B.C.E. How many years elapsed after these dates until the basic shape of the books evolved depends on the compositional theory presupposed. Among recent commentators, Williamson (*Ezra Nehemiah* WBC, xxxvi) dates the final form of the books to about 300; Clines (*Ezra Nehemiah Esther* NCBC, 13–14) puts it "within a few decades" of the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, or about 400 B.C.E. Japhet (1982: 89, n. 55), who notes that the last king mentioned (in 12:26) is Darius II (423–404) or Artaxerxes II (403–359), if Ezra came during his reign, and who believes that the last high priest mentioned, Jaddua, served under these Persian kings, assigns the book to the first quarter of the 4th century.

E. Text

The principal textual witnesses, in addition to MT, are both in Greek: 1 Esdras, a paraphrastic rendering of the Hebrew-Aramaic text, and 2 Esdras, the formally equivalent, or literal, translation of Ezra and Nehemiah in the LXX. The Syriac translation of Ezra-Nehemiah was not originally a part of the Peshitta, and no Targum exists for these books (cf. also Daniel). Little has been preserved from the Old Latin or from Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. 1 Esdras appears to be typologically older than 2 Esdras, and the Semitic text it presupposes is further removed from MT.

In almost seventy cases, a Hebrew or Aramaic expression omitted by 1 Esdras is also omitted by 2 Esdras (see CHRONICLES, BOOK OF 1–2), the Syriac, or, in 2 Chronicles 35 and 36, the corresponding text of the Deuteronomistic History. Nearly a score of conflations in MT can be detected on the basis of 1 Esdras. The use of double translations and hendiadys reveals an attempt to give a full representation of the Vorlage. Many other pluses in 1 Esdras result from bona fide Hebrew-Aramaic readings, some of which may be original readings and not expansions.

MT is mildly expansionistic. The text of 2 Esdras appears to have been edited incompletely toward the *kaige* recension (Klein 1966; on the term, see SEPTUAGINT, D.1.d).

F. Sources

1. Ezra 1–6. Williamson (1983) isolates the following sources that were available to the editor of Ezra 1–6: *1:2–4*, the decree of Cyrus; *1:9–11*, the inventory of Temple vessels; *2:1–3:1*, the list of those who returned from the Exile; *4:6, 7*, a Hebrew summary of two letters; *4:8–16*, a letter in Aramaic from Rehum to Artaxerxes; *4:17–22*, Artaxerxes' reply, in Aramaic; *5:6–17*, a letter from Tattenai to Darius, in Aramaic; *6:3–12*, Darius' reply, in Aramaic, including an Aramaic copy of the decree of Cyrus in vv 3–5.

The Hebrew copy of the decree of Cyrus (1:2–4) provides for the repatriation of the Jews in addition to the rebuilding of the Temple. Bickerman (1946: 253, 273–75) suggests that these verses are the Hebrew text of a herald's proclamation addressed to the Jews that was also designed to be posted in a public place. A number of scholars,

however, argue that the narrator created the account of the decree in 1:2–4 on the basis of 6:3–5 (see Donner 1986: 409). The latter memorandum is almost universally held to be authentic today.

Williamson (*Ezra Nehemiah* WBC, 7) conjectures that the inventory of Temple vessels (1:9–11) was written in Aramaic.

There is no consensus on the original purpose of the list of returnees from the Exile (2:1–3:1). In its present context the list suggests that Zerubbabel replaced Sheshbazzar at an unspecified time. To Williamson (*Ezra Nehemiah* WBC, 31) it is a composite summary of a number of returns to Palestine during the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses. Galling (1951) thought it was drafted to offer proof to the Samarian adversaries (Ezra 5:3, 10) that the Jews had sufficient resources to rebuild the Temple. Hölscher (*Ezra Nehemiah* HSAT, 503–4) understood it as a Persian tax list; Alt (1934: 25–26) interpreted the list as determining the land rights of returning exiles; Albright (1963: 87, 110–11) proposed that it was a census of Judah from the time of Nehemiah. Mowinckel (1964a: 98–99) also believed it was a list of inhabitants of the province of Judah from a little after the time of Nehemiah.

Also controverted is the original location of this pericope within Ezra-Nehemiah. Williamson (29–31) argues extensively that Ezra 2 was copied from Nehemiah 7; hence the editor of Ezra 1–6 already knew the combined account of Ezra and Nehemiah. Noth, Kellermann, and Mowinckel, on the other hand, argue that the list had its original position at Ezra 2 and that its repetition in Nehemiah 7 was made subsequent to the editorial work of the Chronicler.

The two notices at 4:6, 7 summarize letters from Jewish adversaries in the time of Xerxes (4:6) and Artaxerxes (4:7). According to Clines (NCBC, 77), the latter letter was positive in its attitude toward the Jews.

The principal dispute about the letters of Rehum (4:8–16) is whether only the letters themselves were available as sources (so Williamson 1983: 16–23), or whether the correspondence had been woven together into an Aramaic Chronicle prior to its editing by the biblical writer (so Clines, p. 8; Gunneweg 1981: 150). De Vaux (1971) argues convincingly that the edicts of Cyrus and Darius in 6:3–12 are authentic.

2. The Ezra Memoir. The account of the activities of Ezra (here, conventionally, called his Memoir; abbreviated EM) contains narratives in the first person (7:27–9:15), as well as in the third person (Ezra 7:1–26; Neh 8, 9:1–5 [partim]). While the first-person narrative probably comes from Ezra himself, it is unclear whether the third-person perspective results from the recasting of Ezra's account by an editor (who was the Chronicler, according to Clines, p. 6) or whether there was an independent third-person source. Koch (1974: 177–78) finds an analogy to the alternation of third-person (7:1–26) and first-person (7:27–9:15) narrative in Egyptian biographical inscriptions; he attributes the return to the third-person perspective in Ezra 10 and Nehemiah 8 to the Chronicler.

The narrative in Nehemiah 8, the canonical text of which makes Ezra and Nehemiah contemporaries, is thought to have dealt originally only with Ezra and to have had an original location between Ezra 8 and Ezra 9 or after Ezra 10 (see G. below). The materials lying behind Neh 9:1–5, though not the present text itself, also seem to have had a different original setting (between Ezra 10:15 and 10:16 according to Williamson; after Ezra 10 according to Rudolph [HAT]). Clines assigns all of Nehemiah 9 to the Ezra Memoir and places it and Nehemiah 8 right after Ezra 8.

Within the Ezra material the following documents can be distinguished:

7:12–26, the Firman of Artaxerxes, an Aramaic document giving the Persian king's commission to Ezra. According to In der Smitten and Kellermann, this is virtually the only authentic document dealing with Ezra; the rest of the Ezra materials are assigned by them to the Chronicler or to later redactors. In der Smitten (1973: 11–21) identifies 7:14 and 7:20–24 as secondary, but regards 8:1–14 as material older than the Chronicler. Kellermann (1968b: 56–59) identifies 8:26–27 as possibly coming from a source prior to the Chronicler.

8:1–14, the list of those who returned with Ezra.

10:8–43, the list of those who had been involved in mixed marriages.

3. The Nehemiah Memoir. This first-person, autobiographical narrative (here, conventionally, called his Memoir; abbreviated NM) recounts events in which the author was personally involved. Because the author appeals to God to remember him and hear his prayer (5:19; 13:14, 22, 29, 31; cf. 6:9, 14), it must be considered in its present form as addressed in some sense to God. A number of formal analogies in ancient literature have been proposed (surveyed by Clines, pp. 4–5), among which are royal inscriptions, narrating the king's deeds in the first person, followed by a wish for good fortune and remembrance (Mowinckel); votive inscriptions (Sellin); biographical tomb inscriptions (von Rad); documents submitted for the defense in a lawsuit at the royal court (W. Erbt); reports to the king to safeguard the author from possible recriminations by opponents (M. Haller); and legal appeals to God against one's enemies; prayer of the falsely accused (Kellermann).

Though one or more of these forms may have been employed by Nehemiah, none of the proposals is completely satisfactory. For criticisms of the first five see Kellermann (1967: 76–84) and for criticism of Kellermann see Emerton (1972: 171–85).

The exact places where the NM breaks off and editorial work begins is in some dispute, though rarely is this a major interpretive problem. NM originally included the following passages:

1:1–7:73a. Contested passages within this unit include 3:1–32. This list of those involved with rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem and the sections to which they were assigned is usually included in NM (Mowinckel 1964a: 109–16 forms an exception), although there is debate whether Nehemiah himself composed it. Clines speaks of the possibility that it is an editorial addition though he holds it "reasonable" to regard Nehemiah as the original author (NCBC, 149). Williamson (p. 200) argues that Nehemiah himself did not write this chapter because its chronological standpoint is after the completion of the walls, because the account is in the third person, and because of the use of "nobles" for local leaders and a reference to Nehemiah as

"their lord," but he sides with Kellermann (1967: 14–17) and others in maintaining that Nehemiah included it in the original NM.

Also contested is 5:14–19 (cf. 13:4–14, 15–22, 23–31). Williamson (xxiv–xxviii) assigns this paragraph to a second edition of NM. See the discussion of 13:4–31 below. 7:5b–72a(—Eng 73a) is the list of those returning from the Exile. This document stems from the early years of the restoration period. Those who include it in NM (e.g., Clines, Williamson) argue that Nehemiah could have used it in his genealogical determination of who was to be translocated to Jerusalem. Kellermann (1967: 23–26) denies the list and the transitional verses 7:72a(—Eng 73b)–8:1a to both NM and to the Chronicler, assigning them both to a later redactor. He believes the Chronicler himself included this material in Ezra 2:1–3:1a.

11:1–2. These verses report the completion of the repopulation of Jerusalem, initiated by Nehemiah in chap. 7, but they are not in the first person and do not even mention Nehemiah. Clines (p. 211) holds that NM must have contained such an account while admitting that the wording may not be that of Nehemiah. Kellermann and Williamson deny the verses to NM.

12:31–43. These verses recount the dedication of the wall. Williamson believes that some of these verses stem from an alternate account and that only vv 31–32, 37–40, and 43 were in NM.

13:4–31. This description of activities during Nehemiah's second stay in Jerusalem is assigned by Williamson to a second edition of NM (cf. 5:14–19 above). He notes that there is a gap of twelve years between the account of the wall building and the items mentioned in chap. 13 dealing with Nehemiah's second stay in Jerusalem. All but one of the "remember" formulas (5:19; see the first paragraph under F. 3) refer to the later period and specifically to items also mentioned in chap. 10, which is historically later than chap. 13. He proposes that the first edition, written in Aramaic and without the prayers of 1:4–11, 3:36–37(—Eng 4:4–5), and 6:14, was a report on Nehemiah's work on the walls composed a year or two after his arrival in Jerusalem. In the second edition, Nehemiah claimed credit for certain activities for which he was not being given adequate credit in the community. The hypothesis of two editions is then used to explain the hybrid character of the document's genre. Kellermann (1967: 56) retains 13:4–31 in the NM though he identifies a number of late glosses (13:ab*b*, 6b, 7b*b*, 10b*b*, 22a, 23b, 24b, 29b*b*).

4. Other Sources. Williamson believes that there were a number of documents from the Temple archives that were favorable to the reforms of Nehemiah though they showed less allegiance than the NM to Nehemiah himself. These included, in addition to Neh 3:1–32 and 11:1–2 mentioned above, 10:1, 29–40(—Eng 9:38, 10:28–39) (a pledge by the people to live in accord with the law of Moses and touching on many of the issues in the account of Nehemiah's reforms in Nehemiah 13; Clines would add to this source the list of those who signed the pledge, 10:2–28[—Eng 10:1–27]); 11:4b–20 (a list of those who settled in Jerusalem); 12:27–43 (this account of the dedication of the walls is a mixture of the archival source and the NM); and 13:1–3 (a narrative of how the people themselves separated out from Israel all those who are of mixed descent; Talmon [*IDBSup*, 326–27] inserts this passage after Neh 9:1).

The materials in 11:21–36 (a list of the settlements of Judah and Benjamin not including Jerusalem) and 12:1–26 (lists of priests and Levites from various periods) were added at a very late time to Ezra-Nehemiah.

G. Composition of Ezra-Nehemiah

1. Ezra-Nehemiah as Distinct from 1 and 2 Chronicles. The composition of Ezra-Nehemiah consisted of the editing of previously available sources; the process may have taken place in two or more stages. Several recent proposals have been made. Williamson proposes that EM and NM were combined about the year 400 B.C.E into a work that juxtaposed the lives of the two great leaders of the restoration and brought their careers to a climax in Nehemiah 8–10. The editor began with Ezra 7–8, 9–10, part of which he recast from its original, first-person form. This editor was also responsible for moving Nehemiah 8 from its original position after Ezra 8 and Neh 9:1–5 from its original position between Ezra 10:15 and 10:16. In the latter case he recast and expanded 9:1–5 and added to it the prayer in vv 6–37 which was known to him from contemporary liturgical sources (WBC, xxxii). Neh 10:1, 29–40 was added from the Temple archives though the editor expanded it with a list of participants to show the participation of the whole community in the pledge. The editor concluded his presentation with 11:1–2, 4b–20, supplemented with 11:3–4a, a report of the repopulation of Jerusalem, drawn from the temple archives; 12:27–43, a description of the dedication of the walls made up of a combination of materials from NM and the Temple archives; 12:44–47, the editor's own composition dealing with tithes and offerings; 13:1–3, an archival record dealing with separation of the people from foreigners; and 13:4–31, which, together with 5:14–19, had been added to the NM in a second edition. A later hand added 11:21–12:36. Since the last high priest mentioned is Johanan, who served near the end of the 5th century (Jaddua is dismissed as a later gloss), the materials from Ezra and Nehemiah would have been combined by about 400 B.C.E.

This document, basically Ezra 7:1–Neh 13:31, lay before the editor who put together Ezra 1–6. He worked with the sources identified above and his knowledge of other relevant biblical literature (especially Haggai and Zechariah 1–8) to show that the Jerusalem Temple of his day and its cult were the legitimate successors of preexilic Israel (the comparison of the Second with the First Temple in Ezra 3 is dependent on the books of Chronicles; see Williamson 1983: 26–29). Williamson sees the purpose of Ezra 1–6 as a polemic against the building of the first Samaritan temple on Mount Garizim.

2. Ezra-Nehemiah as Part of the Chronicler's History. F. M. Cross (1975: 13–18) proposed a three-stage development: Chr 1, Chr 2, Chr 3.

Chr 1: [1 Chronicles 1–9], 1 Chronicles 10–2 Chronicles 34, 2 Chronicles 35–Ezra 3:13 (520–515 B.C.E.); thus without material about Ezra or Nehemiah. Originally Cross did not include most of the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1–9 in Chr 1 (cf. McKenzie 1984: 30, n. 32).

Chr 2: [1 Chronicles 1–9], 1 Chronicles 10–2 Chronicles 34, 2 Chronicles 35:1–36:23; Ezra 1–Nehemiah 8 and the

story of Zerubbabel's wisdom and piety now present only in 1 Esdr 3:1–5:6 (450 B.C.E.); thus including the Ezra tradition.

Chr 3: 1–2 Chronicles; Ezra-Nehemiah (400 B.C.E.); Nehemiah tradition added and other editing; wisdom tale about Zerubbabel dropped (1 Esdr 3:1–5:6).

Ulrich Kellermann (1967: 68) concentrated on the Ezra and Nehemiah materials, with little attention to Ezra 1–6. The only Ezra materials available for the Chronicler according to him were 7:12–23, 26, and possibly 8:26–27. The Chronicler supplied most of the rest of the Ezra materials in attempt to portray Ezra as parallel to and even superior to Nehemiah. The passages he assigns to the Ezra and Nehemiah sources, to the Chronicler, and to an even later redaction are laid out in table form in Kellermann (1968b: 56).

Clines (pp. 9–12) assumes that the Chronicler was the editor of Ezra and Nehemiah, although he acknowledges the divergent positions of Williamson and Japhet. He proposes that this editor transposed Nehemiah 8 and 9 from their original location in the EM, the most dramatic change from his sources, in order to emphasize that it was an obedient and repentant community that Nehemiah brought to inhabit Jerusalem (11:1). He believes that the Chronicler composed Neh 12:27–30, 44–47, and 13:1–3, but remains undecided on whether 11:1–3 and 11:13–19 were part of NM. Like Williamson, he assigns 11:20–36 and 12:1–26 to a very late redaction. Unlike Williamson, Clines does not propose an intermediate state in which EM and NM were combined prior to their inclusion in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

H. Historical Problems

1. Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel. According to Ezra, Sheshbazzar was prince (1:8; Hebrew) and governor (5:14; Aramaic) of Judah. Appointed by Cyrus and entrusted with the return of the Temple vessels (1:7–11), he laid the foundation (that is, repaired the platform or podium?) of the Temple (5:14–16).

Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel (Ezra 3:2, 8; 5:2; Neh 12:1), on the other hand, replaced Sheshbazzar, perhaps early in the restoration period (Ezra 2:2), and it was during his tenure that the Temple was founded (Ezra 3:10–12; cf. 5:2).

These data are difficult to harmonize, and they also stand in tension with material outside Ezra-Nehemiah. Though Zerubbabel is also called the son of Shealtiel in Haggai (1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 23), a genealogy in 1 Chr 3:17–24 makes him the son of Shealtiel's younger brother Pedaiah. Perhaps Pedaiah was his physical father and Shealtiel his legal father by Levirate marriage, but this genealogy in any case does make Zerubbabel a descendant of the Davidic line (cf. Hag 2:23; Zech 3:8). The silence about the royal ancestry of Zerubbabel in Ezra may reflect the book's anti-eschatological stance, which was receptive to Persian domination and which had no salvific hope tied to the house of David (Japhet 1982: 75–76). The Bible nowhere identifies the ancestry of Sheshbazzar, and recent studies (Berger 1971) have undermined the proposed identification of him with Shenazzar (1 Chr 3:18), a descendant of David. Japhet (1982: 96) nevertheless argues for his Davidic origins and deems the silence about this in Ezra-Nehemiah ideological. She even holds that Sheshbazzar may have been a son of Jehoiachin.

Zerubbabel is called "governor" in Haggai (1:1, 14; 2:2, 21), but not in Ezra (but see 2:63 and 6:7; cf. Neh 7:65, 69[—Eng 701]). Albrecht Alt (1934) contended that the use of the "governor" for predecessors of Nehemiah (Neh 5:14–15) was inexact and that Judah was part of the province of Samaria until the coming of Nehemiah in the mid-5th century (cf. McEvenue 1981: 363; contra Smith 1971: 196). It seems difficult to deny, however, that Nehemiah referred to predecessors of his as provincial governors (Clines, 171; Williamson, 242–44; note the anonymous governor referred to in the 5th-century book of Malachi [1:8]). Avigad's attempt (1976: 35; cf. *IDBSup*, 327) to reconstruct a list of such governors of Judah from the 6th–5th centuries is unsuccessful because a number of the names in question are actually the names of potters rather than governors (Cross 1969: 24). It is unclear whether the Hebrew title "prince of Judah" given to Sheshbazzar (Ezra 1:8) is to be equated with the Aramaic term "governor" that is also applied to him (5:14; so Japhet 1982: 97–98) or whether the title "prince of Judah" is merely one of the New Exodus motifs incorporated into the account of the first return (so Williamson WBC, 17–18). In the final analysis, it is almost impossible to decide whether either title is used in the technical sense of a governor of a province of the Persian Empire as early as the time of Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel. Almost all are agreed, of course, that Nehemiah was a governor in the strict sense of the term (for a refutation of the contrary opinion of Robert North, see Klein 1976: 365).

The exact date of the end of Sheshbazzar's tenure and of the beginning of Zerubbabel's is unclear from Ezra. Haggai and Zechariah seem to know of no work on the Temple before the time of Darius I (cf. Ezra 5:2), when the foundations of the Temple were laid (Hag 2:18–19; cf. Ezra 3:10–12). Williamson, who belives that Zerubbabel succeeded Sheshbazzar early in the restoration period, explains the reference to Sheshbazzar founding the Temple (Ezra 5:16) as an exaggeration by the Jews in their letter to the Persian court, designed to show that the decree of Cyrus had not been ignored. He also sees a chronological gap between the building of the altar in Ezra 3:1–6, shortly after the decree of Cyrus and under the leadership of Jeshua and Zerubbabel, and the laying of the foundations in 3:8–13, under the same leadership, in the time of Darius I (cf. 4:4–5; Zech 4:6–10). Halpern believes that Sheshbazzar laid the foundations of the Temple in 538 (he, too, concedes that the claim to uninterrupted activity from 538 on [Ezra 5:16] is hyperbole), and that the building of the altar (3:1–6) and the (renewed) laying of the foundations (3:7–13) were done 18 years later, under Darius I, by Zerubbabel and Jeshua. In his view, Sheshbazzar's preliminary work would have needed to be repeated at the later date. Others lessen the conflict between 3:10–12 and 5:16 by translating the references to the Temple's "foundation" in Ezra 3:10–12 as descriptions of the Temple's being "repaired" (Clines NCBC, 69; Ackroyd *CHJ* 1: 139).

2. Date of Ezra and Nehemiah. According to the present text of Ezra-Nehemiah, Ezra came to Jerusalem in 458 B.C.E. (Ezra 7:7–8, the 7th year of Artaxerxes) and Nehe-

miah in 445 B.C.E. (Neh 1:1; 2:1; 5:14, the 20th year of Artaxerxes). Nehemiah's first stay in Jerusalem lasted 12 years, to 433 B.C.E. (Neh 5:14; 13:6), with a second stay at an unknown time and of unknown duration (but before the end of Artaxerxes' reign in 424). In 445 Ezra read the law at a public ceremony at which Nehemiah was also present (v 9). All of these dates assume that the Artaxerxes to whose reign the chronology of both Ezra and Nehemiah is correlated is Artaxerxes I (465–424). In the case of Nehemiah the correlation seems confirmed by one of the Elephantine papyri (AP 30), which shows that by 407 B.C.E. the Samaritan governor Sanballat, Nehemiah's implacable foe, was an old man whose duties were being handled by his sons Delaiah and Shelemaiah. The papyrus also shows that the high priest in 407 was Johanan, presumably the second successor of Eliashib, the high priest at the time of Nehemiah.

The difficulty with this chronology is threefold (Clines, p. 16). With the exception of Neh 8:9 (the reading of the law) 12:26 (a note correlating Nehemiah and Ezra—in that order—with the high priest Joiakim), and 12:36 (the dedication of the walls), the two men are never mentioned together; they ignore one another completely. Since their powers and responsibilities are so similar, it seems unlikely that they would have played their respective roles in the Jewish community at the same time. Finally, Ezra, who came to implement and teach the law at the direction of Artaxerxes, did not hold the public law-reading ceremony recounted in Nehemiah 8 until 13 years after his arrival, which seems like an excessively long delay. (For 15 arguments customarily advanced in favor of this traditional date, see Kellermann 1968b: 73–75).

Three alternate modern chronological understandings have attempted to meet these objections. The first (associated with the names of Ackroyd, Bowman, Emerton, Galling, Rowley, von Hoonacker, Widengren and others) understands the Artaxerxes of Ezra to be Artaxerxes II (404–358), with a consequent dating of Ezra to 398. (Kellermann [1968b: 67–71] provides a list of 22 arguments often advanced in favor of this date.) While this solution involves no emendations of the figures given in the Hebrew Bible, it deletes the references which present Ezra and Nehemiah as contemporaries (probably correctly), and assumes (probably incorrectly) that the author who combined the Ezra and Nehemiah materials reversed the historical sequence of the two men despite the fact that Nehemiah antedated Ezra by nearly 50 years. Bright (*BHI*, 399) argues against this chronology because it suggests that Ezra stayed in the room of Jehohanan, the son of Eliashib (Ezra 10:6) even though Johanan (Joannes) had murdered his brother Jesus before 398 according to Josephus. But Josephus' negative interpretation of this event may not be the whole story. Johanan may have killed his brother because he saw in him a would-be usurper (Emerton 1966: 12). In addition, the murder may have happened at a later date (Mowinckel 1964a: 161; Saley [1978: 156–58] dates this incident about 350–340, during the reign of Artaxerxes III!).

A second alternative chronology changes the date of Ezra's arrival to 428 B.C.E. by emending the text of Ezra 7:7–8 to the 37th, instead of the present 7th, year of Artaxerxes. (For a list of 11 positive arguments for this date, see Kellermann 1968b: 75–77). This view, popularized in the United States through the influential history of John Bright (*BHI*, 391–402), is based on a very questionable emendation (Emerton 1966: 18–19) and leaves unexplained why there is so little organic relationship between these contemporary leaders of the postexilic community.

A third alternative leaves the dates of Ezra at 458 and of Nehemiah at 445, but transfers Ezra's public reading of the law to the first year after his arrival in Jerusalem by placing Nehemiah 8 immediately after Ezra 8 (Williamson WBC, 286; Talmon *IDBSup*, 325 includes both Nehemiah 8 and 9 at this position) or immediately after Ezra 10 (cf. Mowinckel 1965: 7–11; Pohlmann 1970: 127–48; cf. 1 Esdras). An editor later moved Nehemiah 8 to its present position in order to create a liturgical sequence of Nehemiah 8, reading of the law; Nehemiah 9, public repentance, and Nehemiah 10, undertaking of a covenant pledge.

According to this reconstruction, Ezra began his journey from Babylon to Jerusalem on month 1, day 1 (Ezra 7:9) or month 1, day 12 (Ezra 8:31) of the 7th year of Artaxerxes (= 458 B.C.E.) and arrived in Jerusalem on month 5, day 1 of the same year (Ezra 7:8–9). If Nehemiah 8 belongs historically after Ezra 8, the public reading of the law took place on month 7, day 1 (Neh 8:2). The public assembly called to deal with the problem of mixed marriages came together on month 9, day 20 (Ezra 10:9) and the commission appointed to resolve this problem completed its work on month 1, day 1 of the 8th year of Artaxerxes (Ezra 10:17). Thus, the activities attributed to Ezra in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah were completed in a single year. It is possible that the return from exile and the attempted, but unsuccessful, rebuilding of the walls, during the reign of Artaxerxes I (Ezra 4:12), is an allusion to the work of Ezra.

Several objections have been raised to this interpretation (these objections and other less serious ones are discussed by Clines, pp. 17–20). According to Ezra 10:1, Ezra found many people in Jerusalem, but it was underpopulated in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 7:4; 11:1–2). We cannot be sure what caused the depletion of population at Nehemiah's time; perhaps there had been some kind of disaster in the intervening period.

A second objection notes that the reforms of Nehemiah (Nehemiah 13) would not have been necessary if Ezra had brought about popular acceptance of the law. But in the 25 years between Ezra's arrival and the end of Nehemiah's first stay in Jerusalem, there would have been ample time for abuses to develop. In addition, Nehemiah seems to be dealing with abuses against an already accepted way of life, thus actually presupposing that Ezra had implemented the requirements of the Torah in daily life.

The wall that Ezra finds in Ezra 9:9 would seem at first to demand a date for his career subsequent to the arrival of Nehemiah, but the term "wall" may be metaphorical (the RSV translates it as "protection") and in any case the wall is not the city wall reconstructed by Nehemiah, but a wall "in Judea [!] and Jerusalem."

The most serious objection to this chronology involves the difficulty of correlating it to the sequence of contemporary high priests. According to Ezra 10:6, Ezra went to the chamber of Jehohanan the son of Eliashib. If this

Jehohanan is the same as the high priest Johanan, grandson of Eliashib, then this incident would have to be dated later than Nehemiah, because Eliashib was clearly the high priest in Nehemiah's time (Neh 3:1, 20–21; 13:4, 7, 28). Three ways out of this difficulty have been pursued. First, Ezra 10:6 does not indicate that Jehohanan and Eliashib were high priests. The names are relatively common, and the relationship of Jehohanan to Eliashib (son-father) is different from that of Johanan to Eliashib in the high priestly line (grandson-grandfather; Neh 12:22, but see 12:23). Secondly, the name Jehohanan may not have been associated with this room until the time of the person who edited the Ezra and Nehemiah materials. It was this editor who called the name of the room according to its contemporary designation and thus reveals only that he lived after the time of Nehemiah, a chronological sequence which is sure in any case.

A third way out of this difficulty is to suppose that the line of high priests found in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah is defective. That line includes Jeshua (high priest at the time of the Temple building), Joiakim, Eliashib, Joiada, Jonathan (= ?Johanan; cf. Neh 12:22; Williamson [p. 363] makes Jonathan a nephew of Johanan and his successor), and Jaddua (Neh 12:10–11).

Cross (1975: 10–11, 17), on the supposition that papponomy (the naming of a baby after his grandfather; see Sanballat II in the Samaria Papyri) was used within the high priestly line, conjectures that an Eliashib [I] and a Johanan [I] should be inserted before the Eliashib [II] listed in Neh 12:10 (cf. the list in *IDBSup*, 327). Thus Ezra would have functioned during the high priesthood of Johanan I, and it was to the latter's room that Ezra repaired in Ezra 10:6. The Eliashib who served as high priest during the governorship of Nehemiah must, therefore, be called Eliashib II. Critics of the Cross solution have pointed out that there is no necessary reason to conclude that papponomy was practiced at this point in the high priestly line, that the relationship between Joiakim and Eliashib I that Cross proposes (brothers) is contradicted in Neh 12:10–11, which makes Eliashib I the son of Joiakim, and that the chronological difficulties with the list of the high priests in Neh 12:10–11 and 22–23 are not as severe as Cross implies.

While the correlation between Ezra and the high priestly line remains the greatest difficulty in dating Ezra to 458, one or more of the three solutions above, dealing with the reference to the chamber of Jehohanan son of Eliashib, would still make it possible to retain the traditional early date for Ezra.

Either 458 or 398 is a possible date for the arrival of Ezra, but the former date seems more probable since it agrees with the seqence of Ezra and Nehemiah presupposed in the present text of Ezra 7–Nehemiah 13. Nehemiah's handling of mixed marriages also seems to presuppose the more general solution effected by Ezra and utilizes the type of hermeneutical approach Ezra employed in Ezra 9:1–2 (Williamson, p. xliii). Whichever date is selected, the text of Neh 8:9, suggesting that the men were contemporaries (cf. 12:26) is to be viewed as secondary calculation. It is not impossible, of course, that Ezra could have taken part in the procession at the dedication of the walls (12:36) as a private, if prominent, citizen.

Saley proposed (1978), with great caution, a unique chronology, placing Nehemiah into the time of Artaxerxes II. Like Cross he adds an additional Eliashib and Johanan to the line of high priests and identifies Nehemiah's high priest with Eliashib II. For him, contrary to Cross, this Eliashib served in the 4th century and the opponent of Nehemiah was Sanballat II, who appears elsewhere only in the Samaria Papyri. But the line of high priests he reconstructs would require a number of very long lives since Eliashib II (ca. 380) is only the fourth in succession after Jeshua (ca. 520). In addition, Nehemiah's enemy Sanballat is called the Horonite (2:10, 19), and this lack of a patronymic might suggest that he is the first in his line rather than the second. Nehemiah's other foe, Geshem, is also most easily dated to the 5th century (*IDBSup*, 320). Kellermann (1968b: 87) argues for a date about 448 for Ezra, but his position is weakened by his drastic reduction of material he considers authentic in the Ezra materials. See G.2 above.

3. Ezra's Book of the Law. Much attention has been focused on the "book of the law" of which Ezra was a scribe (Ezra 7:6, 12, 21). Artaxerxes sent Ezra to make inquiries on the basis of this law (Ezra 7:14) and to teach it to those who did not know it (Ezra 7:25). The Ezra story concludes with his festive reading from the law (Nehemiah 8). The Bible says nothing about Ezra writing or compiling this book, and the text seems to presuppose that it was already known before Ezra's arrival (cf. Ezra 7:25; but see Koch 1974: 182–83). Since the law is identified as the law of Moses in Ezra 7:6 and Neh 8:1; 13:1, the present text of Ezra-Nehemiah suggests that this law was the Pentateuch.

Numerous modern scholars have shared this opinion (e.g., Wellhausen, H. H. Schaeder, Galling, Mowinckel, and Albright). Others thought the law book of Ezra was only the priestly writing (A. Kuenen, H.-J. Kraus; Vink 1969: 63; for a discussion of the latter see Klein 1976: 367), a more or less undefined group of laws now included in the Pentateuch (e.g., Noth, von Rad, W. Rudolph), or some form of Deuteronomy (e.g., Bowman, Kellermann; the latter [1968a] believes that the P source was only a narrative and did not contain legal materials). Koch (1974: 181) finds no sure trace of D in Ezra's actions.

Most conclude that a law which proved so crucial in the restoration community would not be lost and therefore must be somewhere in the present canon. Texts like Ezra 9:2 seem to allude to Deuteronomy (7:1, 3; 23:3) while Neh 8:14–15 is best construed as an interpretation of Deut 16:15 and Lev 23:33–43. Hence a restriction of the law book to either D material alone or P material is unlikely. Since Ezra-Nehemiah is not explicit about the extent of this law book in any case, one's view of its identity may be colored by one's view of the composition history of the Pentateuch. If the Pentateuch was complete by the time of Ezra, there seems to be no reason to deny that his law book was the Pentateuch in its present form, or something very much like it.

Rendtorff (1984) distinguishes between the law (Heb *dat*), referred to in the Aramaic text of Ezra 7:12–26 and the Torah referred to in Ezra 7:6, 10; 10:3 and extensively in Nehemiah 8. In his view Ezra's law dealt only with legal issues and was given royal sanction in 7:12–26. The law of

Nehemiah 8 was the Pentateuch, to be sure, but this narrative reflects only contemporary worship practices, especially the synagogal reading of Scripture, and has nothing to do with the commission of Ezra. He presupposes, therefore, that the law of Ezra has been lost and that the editor of the text (the Chronicler) misunderstood what this law was. Both of these presuppositions seem unlikely.

C. Houtman (1981) notices that there are discrepancies between the laws cited in Ezra (6:18) and Nehemiah (8:14–15; chap. 10; 13:1–3) and the text of the Pentateuch and concludes that Ezra had a law book with a character of its own which has not been transmitted to us. He points to the recently discovered Temple Scroll as an analogous collection. But the Temple Scroll's laws in the first person may not be an adequate analogy and the discrepancies between Ezra-Nehemiah and the Pentateuch may result either from an ancient, less precise manner of citation or from Ezra's interpretation of the ancient laws to meet the needs of his day (Williamson, pp. xxxviii–xxxix; summaries of the history of research in Donner 1986: 428–30; Houtman 1981; Kellermann 1968a; Klein 1976: 366–68).

I. Outline of Ezra-Nehemiah

I. Return from Exile and Rebuilding of the Temple (Ezra 1–6)
  A. Cyrus Grants Permission for Jews to Return and Rebuild Temple; Temple Vessels Entrusted to Sheshbazzar (Ezra 1)
  B. A List of Those Who Returned with Zerubbabel from the Captivity (Ezra 2)
  C. Jeshua and Zerubbabel Rebuild Altar in Seventh Month (Ezra 3:1–6)
  D. Foundation of Temple Laid in Second Year of Their Coming to the House of God (Ezra 3:7–13)
  E. Adversaries' Offer to Assist with Temple Refused (Ezra 4:1–3)
  F. Oppostion of People of the Land Prevented Building until Time of Darius (Ezra 4:4–5)
  G. Summary of Accusatory Letter in Time of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) (Ezra 4:6)
  H. Summary of Letter (Against the Jews) in Time of Artaxerxes (Ezra 4:7)
  I. Aramaic Narrative (Ezra 4:8–6:18)
    1. The Incident with Rehum and Shimshai (Ezra 4:8–4:24)
      a. Introduction of Letter of Rehum and Shimshai to Artaxerxes (Ezra 4:8–10)
      b. Letter to Artaxerxes Reporting Jewish Rebellion (Ezra 4:11–16)
      c. Artaxerxes' Reply Forbidding Rebuilding of City (Ezra 4:17–22)
      d. Rehum and Shimshai Make Jews Cease Their Building (Ezra 4:23)
      e. Repetitive Resumption Linking to 4:5 (Ezra 4:24)
    2. The Incident with Tattenai and Shetharbozenai (Ezra 5:1–6:15)
      a. Inquiry about Rebuilding of Temple (Ezra 5:1–5)
      b. Introduction of Letter to Darius (Ezra 5:6–7a)
      c. Letter of Tattenai and Shetharbozenai to Darius (Ezra 5:7b–17), Including a Jewish Message in vv 11–16
      d. Introduction to Reply by Darius (Ezra 6:1–2)
      e. Reply by Darius (Ezra 6:3–12), Including a Quotation of Decree by Cyrus in vv 3–5
      f. Work on Temple Completed (Ezra 6:13–15)
      g. Dedication of Temple (Ezra 6:16–18)
  J. Celebration of Passover in Response to Completion of Temple (Ezra 6:19–22)

II. The Initial Work of Ezra (Ezra 7–10)
  A. Ezra Returns in Seventh Year of Artaxerxes—Narrative in Third Person (Ezra 7:1–10)
  B. Introduction to Artaxerxes' Commission (Ezra 7:11)
  C. Commissioning Letter (in Aramaic) (Ezra 7:12–26)
  D. First Person Narrative about Ezra (Ezra 7:27–9:15)
    1. Doxology (Ezra 7:27–28)
    2. List of Those Who Returned with Ezra (Ezra 8:1–14)
    3. Ezra's Trip to Jerusalem (Ezra 8:15–36)
    4. Crisis Arises over Mixed Marriages (Ezra 9:1–5)
    5. Ezra's Prayer (Ezra 9:6–15)
  E. Third Person Narrative about Ezra (Ezra 10:1–44)
    1. Covenant to Put Away Wives and Children; Assembly on Month 9, Day 20; Commission Appointed on Month 10, Day 1 to Handle the Task; Work Completed on Month 1, Day 1 (Ezra 10:1–17)
    2. List of Those Who Put Away Foreign Wives and Children (Ezra 10:18–44)

III. Return of Nehemiah and Rebuilding of Walls of Jerusalem (Neh 1:1–7:72a [—Eng 7:73a])
  A. Nehemiah Hears of Wall's Destruction; Offers Confessional Prayer (Nehemiah 1)
  B. Artaxerxes Authorizes Nehemiah to Return and Rebuild Wall (Neh 2:1–10)
  C. Nocturnal Inspection of Wall (Neh 2:11–15)
  D. Nehemiah Invites Jews to Rebuild; Opposed by Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem (Neh 2:16–20)
  E. List of Those Who Worked on the Wall (Nehemiah 3)
  F. Ridicule by Sanballat and Tobiah; Imprecation by Nehemiah (Neh 3:33–37 [—Eng 4:1–5])
  G. People Assigned to Work on Walls and to Guard Duty (Neh 3:38–4:17 [—Eng 4:6–23])
  H. Socioeconomic Problems during Wall Building (Neh 5:1–13)
  I. Nehemiah's Generosity; His Declination of Governor's Allowance (Neh 5:14–19)
  J. Nehemiah Avoids Plots by Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem and by the prophets Shemaiah and Noadiah (Neh 6:1–14)
  K. Completion of Wall in 52 Days (25th day of Elul); Further Conflict with Tobiah (Neh 6:15–19)
  L. Nehemiah Makes Plans to Repopulate Jerusalem (Neh 7:1–5)

M. A List of Those Who Returned with Zerubbabel from Captivity (Neh 7:6–72a [—Eng 73a] = Ezra 2:1–70)

IV. The Climax of the Work of Ezra and Liturgical Responses (Neh 7:72b [—Eng 7:73b]–Neh 10:40 [—Eng 39])
- A. Ezra Publicly Reads Law on Month 7, Day 1 (Neh 7:72b [—Eng 7:73b]–8:12)
- B. Celebration of Feast of Booths (Neh 8:13–18)
- C. National Mourning on Twenty-Fourth Day (Neh 9:1–5a)
- D. Confessional Prayer (by Levites?) (Neh 9:5b–37)
- E. A Pledge by the Community to Keep God's Law (Neh 10:1–40 [—Eng 9:38–10:39]; cf. Neh 13:10–31); List of Those Who Signed Pledge (Neh 10:2–28 [—Eng 10:1–27])

V. Further Acts of Nehemiah; Related Matters (Neh 11:1–13:31)
- A. People Cast Lots to Increase Population of Jerusalem (Neh 11:1–2)
- B. List of Residents in Jerusalem (Neh 11:3–24)
- C. List of Other Dwelling Places (Neh 11:25–36)
- D. List of Priests and Levites at time of Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh 12:1–9)
- E. List of High Priests from Jeshua to Jaddua (Neh 12:10–11)
- F. List of Priests and Levites from Time of Joiakim (Neh 12:12–26)
- G. Dedication of Wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12:27–43)
- H. Supervisors of Contributions Appointed (Neh 12:44–47)
- I. Separation from Foreigners (Neh 13:1–3)
- J. Reforms during Nehemiah's Second Term in Jerusalem (Neh 13:4–31)
  1. Misuse of Temple Chambers (Neh 13:4–9)
  2. Provisions for Levites (Neh 13:10–14; cf. 10:38–40 [—Eng 37–39])
  3. The Sabbath Day (Neh 13:15–22; cf. Neh 10:32 [—Eng 10:31])
  4. Intermarriage with Foreigners (Neh 13:23–30a; cf. 10:31 [—Eng 10:30])
  5. Duties of Priests and Levites (Neh 13:30b)
  6. Wood Offering and First Fruits (Neh 13:31; cf. 10:35–37 [—Eng 10:34–36])

J. The Message of Ezra-Nehemiah

In addition to the valuable historical data supplied in Ezra-Nehemiah, the canonical form of these books also conveys an important theological message, which may be summarized as follows (see also the accounts of the canonical form of Ezra-Nehemiah by Childs, Eskenazi, Gunneweg, Williamson):

1. Return from Exile and the Rebuilding of the Temple. At the beginning (1:1–3) and end (6:22) of this section, the text asserts that Yahweh had brought about both the return of the exiles to Judah and Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the Temple through the favorable actions of the Persian kings toward Israel. Cyrus' own decree permitted the rebuilding of the Temple and the restoration of its vessels (6:5), and Darius reinforced these privileges and added to them a curse against any who would attempt to countermand them (6:6–12). The Persian authorization to rebuild includes not only the work on the Temple, fostered by Cyrus and Darius, but also, because of the mention of Artaxerxes in 6:14, the rebuilding of the walls as well (the term "house of God" in Ezra-Nehemiah may include both the temple and the refortification of the city).

The book seems to foster a collaborative attitude toward the Persians, or at least a resignation to the status quo (perhaps an argument against the late date for these chapters advocated by Williamson), and this may explain the absence of any reference to the Davidic ancestry of Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel, and the failure to refer to the governors of Judah except in materials drawn from the author's sources, both of which might lead to a more eschatological or revolutionary orientation (Japhet 1982). The work of Cyrus fulfills the prophecy of Jeremiah (1:1), and contemporary prophets like Haggai and Zechariah merely encourage the Temple building (Ezra 5:2; 6:14) without setting forth any additional eschatological promises.

The community in Jerusalem is made up of those who returned from the Exile (2:1–70) and who constitute the true Israel (note the 12 leaders mentioned in 2:2, with Nahamani restored from Neh 7:7 and 1 Esdras). In order to maintain continuity with the great preexilic traditions, the totality of the Temple vessels, captured by Nebuchadnezzar, is returned to Jerusalem through the agency of Sheshbazzar (1:7–11; 5:14–15; 6:5; cf. Ackroyd 1972: 178), and both altar (3:3) and Temple (6:7) are reerected on their former sites. The return from the Exile (1:6) and the rebuilding of the Temple (3:7–13) show similarities to accounts of the first Exodus and the construction of the First Temple respectively. The celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles after the completion of the altar (3:4–5) anticipates the joyful dedication of the Temple (6:16–18) and the equally joyful observation of the Passover a few months thereafter (6:19–22).

The reason for the delay in the completion of the Temple is not blamed on the people's concern for their own comforts (as in Hag 1:4), but on the actions of the enemies of Judah and Benjamin, the people of the land, who persistently opposed the work in Jerusalem and disheartened the people (3:3; 4:1–24) and who later enlisted Artaxerxes I in their efforts to stop the building of the walls (4:21–22). The laying of the foundation for the Temple was a time for rejoicing, but also a time for weeping when the foundation was compared with the First Temple by older members of the community. The great noise produced by these emotions (3:13) was heard by the adversaries, and it spurred them on to a deceptive offer to help with the Temple building. Their opposition in the days of Cyrus (3:1–6) had already prevented further work on the Temple until the time of Darius (3:7–13; see the summary notation in 4:4–5 and *IDBSup*, 322).

2. The Second Scene in Ezra-Nehemiah. This scene (Ezra 7–10) is formed by the initial activities of Ezra some 58 years later. Like Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel, he, too, led a group of exiles home (8:1–14; 8:15–34). His lineage is traced back to Aaron, the high priest (7:1–5), and his own attitude toward the law parallels that of Moses (7:10). The authority of the law is underscored by the firman of Artaxerxes (7:12–26), which commanded Ezra to lead Jews to Jerusalem (7:13), deliver gifts offered by the Persian

authorities and by the people to the Temple (7:15–18), make inquiry about conformity to the law in Judah and Jerusalem (7:14; 10:16–17), and appoint magistrates and judges to teach the law (7:25; cf. Nehemiah 8). Blenkinsopp finds an analogy to the mission of Ezra in the work of a contemporary Egyptian scribe and priest, Udjahorresne.

After the leaders reported their concern about the problem of mixed marriages (9:1–5), the prayer of Ezra in 9:6–15 made clear that the community was not yet the complete embodiment of Yahweh's will since it was still under bondage to Persian power. Still, Yahweh's love for the community precisely in these circumstances was considered as a sign of his favor and evidence for hope of a little reviving (Ezra 9:8–9). Ezra articulated the people's confession of sin because of their intermarriage with foreigners (9:10–15), a fault deemed doubly shameful because they had sought a link with the surrounding powers from which every generation of the restoration community had experienced hostility. Ezra's prayer and confession were accompanied by public weeping (10:1) and fasting (10:6).

The people echoed Ezra's confession of sin and resolved to correct it (10:1–5), gathered in a mass assembly during inclement weather to express their contribution publicly (10:6–12), and requested the creation of a special commission to carry out the removal of the foreign wives and their children (10:13–17). Within a year of Ezra's departure from Babylon (cf. 7:9 with 10:17), a purified community was created in Jerusalem. (This was in addition to the earlier reestablishment of sacrificial worship and the completion of the Temple, which are the themes of Ezra 1–6).

3. Nehemiah and the Rebuilding of the Walls. Nehemiah, too, led exiles home (cf. Sheshbazzar, Zerubbabel, and Ezra). Opposition from Sanballat and his allies was met by Nehemiah's defensive maneuvers (Neh 4:15–17 [—Eng 4:21–23]). He saw through the opponents' plots and their false charges about his desire for the office of king (6:1–14); he prayed for deliverance from them and placed an imprecation upon them (3:36–37 [—Eng 4:4–5]). The nations lost self-esteem when they perceived that the completion of the wall was the work of God (Neh 6:16). Nehemiah's work, then, authorized by Persian authorities (2:6–8; cf. Cyrus and Darius in Ezra 1–6 and Artaxerxes in Ezra 7–10) was ultimately successful: the purified community (Ezra 7–10) completed the building of walls (Neh 6:15) around the holy city (Ezra 1–6). Nehemiah himself corrected abuses in the making of loans and charging of interest (Neh 5:1–13) and generously provided for others at his table with no help from taxes enjoyed by former governors (5:14–19).

After the threefold restoration of the community and city reported in Ezra 1–6, 7–10, and Nehemiah 1–6, Nehemiah decided to remedy the lack of population in the city and resolved to select people for relocation there whose genealogy could be correlated with the list of those who returned at the first with Zerubbabel (7:5, 6–72a [—Eng 73a]), again identifying those who had returned from the Exile as the true Israel.

4. Climax of the Work of Ezra and Nehemiah. Before the actual repopulation of Jerusalem the people unanimously requested Ezra to read them the law (Neh 8:1). Instructed by the Levites, and urged on by them and by Nehemiah and Ezra, the people heard the law with both joy and weeping. Ezra reassured them that the joy of the Lord offers protection against the judgments proclaimed by the law against transgressors (Neh 8:10; Williamson WBC, 292).

The people resolved to study the law (Neh 8:13) just as Ezra had done (Ezra 7:10). On the basis of this study, they held a unique celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles (the booths signified the wilderness wandering and not just harvest booths), unparalleled since the days of Joshua (Neh 8:17). (According to 2 Chronicles, the Passover at the time of Hezekiah was the first of its type since Solomon (30:26) while the Passover at the time of Josiah was without parallel since the days of Samuel [35:18].) The celebration at the time of Ezra also recalls the Tabernacles celebration at the erection of the altar (Ezra 3:4), and the dedication celebration (Ezra 6:16–18) and Passover (Ezra 6:19–22) observed at the completion of the Temple.

According to the present arrangement of the materials, the people next separated themselves from foreigners and confessed their sins and those of their parents (Neh 9:2–3). A speech by the Levites (Neh 9:6; LXX Ezra) rehearses the sinfulness of Israel in the days of the wilderness wandering (9:16–18), during the stay in the land (9:26–30), and including the present generation (9:33) despite Yahweh's repeated benefactions in creation (9:6), in the time of Abraham (9:7–8), in the Exodus from Egypt and the giving of the law on Sinai (9:9–14), in providing food, water, and guidance in the wilderness (9:15, 19–21), in the gift of the land (9:22–25), and in providing rescue and patient warning through the prophets in the land (9:27–30). Even the defeats at the time of the Exile did not bring Yahweh's mercies to an end (9:31).

The confession concludes with an acknowledgment that the present international situation, accepted elsewhere with equanimity in Ezra-Nehemiah, leaves the community in a less than perfect situation: "We are slaves this day . . . and we are in great distress [9:36–37; cf. Ezra 9:8–9]. It appeals to God not to take this hardship lightly [9:32]."

In chap. 10 of Nehemiah, the community, then, enters into a covenant to walk in God's law and to do all his commandments (10:29 [—Eng 10:28]; cf. Ezra 7:10). The community obligates itself to correct practices in areas that later in the book will require Nehemiah's direct actions: mixed marriages, the Sabbath, the wood offering, firstfruits, Levitical tithes, and proper care of the Temple.

Nehemiah 8–10, therefore, sets forth an ideal picture of the community. Made joyful by the reading of the law, after an initial reaction of grief, they celebrated Tabernacles, confessed their previous sins and God's constant deliverance—and their less than perfect current status. The appropriate sequel to reading the law and offering a confession was a community-wide commitment to keep the prescriptions of the law. McCarthy (1982: 35) saw the emphasis on law as an important factor in giving the covenant renewal rites of Ezra-Nehemiah their different cast from those in the books of Chronicles.

5. Final Acts of Nehemiah. The perfected community decided to relocate one of every ten persons from the local towns to Jerusalem, thus carrying out what Nehemiah had

begun in Neh 7:1–5. Subsequent lists identify those who lived in Jerusalem (11:3–24) and in the villages (11:25–36) and provide the names of priests, Levites, and high priests at various times of the restoration period (12:1–26). With the city fully repopulated, the author provides an account of the dedication of the city's wall, featuring a double procession in which both Ezra and Nehemiah play a role. The joy at the dedication (12:43) echoes the joy at the reading of the law (Neh 8:12, 17), at the beginning of the rebuilding of the Temple (Ezra 3:12–13), and at its dedication (Ezra 6:16). As at the commencement of the Temple building (Ezra 3:13), the joy at the dedication of the wall was heard at a great distance (Neh 12:43).

After the appointment of supervisors of contributions, following the command and example of David (Neh 12:44–47), and a decision to separate from all foreigners (13:1–3), the rest of the book consists of specific corrections of abuses during Nehemiah's second stay in Jerusalem. He removed the Ammonite Tobiah from a chamber in the Temple (Neh 13:4–9), restored the portions due to the Levites (Neh 13:10–14), reinstituted proper observance of the Sabbath (Neh 13:15–22), remonstrated with those who had married foreign women and whose children could not speak Hebrew (Neh 13:23–27), chased away the son of the high priest who had married the daughter of Nehemiah's arch-rival Sanballat (Neh 13:28–29), cleansed the community from foreign contamination and established priests and Levites in their duties (Neh 13:30), and provided for the wood offering and firstfruits (Neh 13:31). These reforms are precisely in those areas where the community had undertaken covenantal obligations according to Nehemiah 10.

The line "Remember me, O my God, for good" (Neh 13:31) and similar expressions in Neh 13:14, 22, and 29, whatever their function in the Nehemiah Memoir, call attention in the canonical context to the virtue of Nehemiah, wall-builder and reformer of the community. At the same time, Nehemiah 13 reminds the reader that even the best intentions of the perfect community under ideal leadership (see the ceremonies in Nehemiah 8–10) can fail and the people can lapse into sin. While the people confessed in chap. 9 that God's saving goal for them had not yet been achieved, the final chapter of Nehemiah concedes that the behavior of the restored community, too, is never fully perfected and often in need of reform. The real circumstances in which people live—still under Persian rulership and in imperfection—set limits to the salvation that God gives in fulfilment of his promises. The author leaves unresolved the relationship between the present and the future in the divine plan of salvation (cf. Gunneweg 1981: 161).

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RALPH W. KLEIN

EZRAHITE [Heb *ʾezrāḥî*]. Clan or family name of Ethan and Heman, wise men in ancient Israelite literature (1 Kgs 5:11—Eng 4:31; Pss 88:1; 89:1). It has also been suggested that "Ezrahites" could be another form of the "sons of Zerah" found in 1 Chr 2:6.

W. F. Albright has proposed that the term "Ezrahite" means "native," that is, Canaanite (*ARI,* 210). In this case, Ethan and Heman would be two pre-Israelite figures renowned for their great wisdom. The writer of Kings incorporates these men as symbols of great wisdom and states that Solomon's wisdom was greater than even these sages from the past.

PHILLIP E. MCMILLION

EZRI (PERSON) [Heb *ʿezrî*]. A state official and the son of Chelub. He was one of twelve stewards of royal property appointed by David, and is named in a list of administrative officials (1 Chr 27: 25–31). His specific charge was to oversee the workers in the royal fields (1 Chr 27:26).

RICHARD W. NYSSE

F

FABLE. See FOLKLORE IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST.

FACE. The Hebrew *pānîm* is the primary OT word for "face." In its various forms, the word *pānîm* occurs over 2100 times. In Hebrew the word *pānîm* occurs only as a plural, unlike the cognate form in Akkadian, *panū*, which occurs both as a singular and as a plural. The plural is often explained as the plurality of features that make up the face. Like the English word "face," the Hebrew root has both a common noun and a less frequently occurring denominative verb, "to face, turn," *pānāh*. The word *pānîm* can refer to the face of a human, God, an animal, and inaminate objects such as the earth and waters.

Although other Hebrew words are occasionally translated as "face," no other word expresses the range of emotions that could be indicated by *pānîm*. The word *ʿayin*, literally "eye," is translated five times in the RSV as "face." Four times the phrase used is "cover the face *(ʿayin)* of the earth," and once it is the phrase "face to face" *(ʿayin bʿayin)*. The word *ʾap*, literally "nose," is translated "face" at least 15 times in RSV. In 14 of these cases, the expression speaks of falling upon the face *(ʾap)* or bowing the face. The one other occurrence of *ʾap* translated as "face" speaks of the sweat of the face.

Pānîm is the most common word in the OT for "presence" in a broader sense than just "face." Thus *pānîm* was used in reference to entering or leaving the presence of a king or a superior, or of being in Yahweh's presence. The technical term *lipnê YHWH*, literally, "before or to Yahweh," occurs 225 times in the OT and regularly refers to cultic activity in Yahweh's presence. In a number of uses, *pānîm* becomes synonymous with the person. Thus references to "the angel of his (Yahweh's) presence" and to "the bread of the presence," and even a statement as "My (Yahweh's) presence will go with you, and I will give you rest" refer respectively to Yahweh's own angel, his own personal bread, and his own presence.

As indicated above, the face expressed a full range of emotions to the Hebrews. Thus anger, especially from a feeling of being rejected, was indicated by a fallen face or countenance. A closely related phrase, "to fall on one's face," was a sign of obeisance or homage. The opposite of the fallen face is having one's face lifted or raised. This probably has its origin in the literal lifting the face of one who has fallen on his face. The meaning is acceptance or approval and often implies the granting of a request. When Yahweh lifted his face upon one, it was a sign of blessing.

"To see the face of a king" indicated having an audience or entering his presence directly, and not being permitted to see his face indicated the absence of such an audience. In one unusual phrase the same verb, *rāʾāh*, occurs in a *Hitpaʿel*, with *pānîm* meaning "to look at one another in the face" in the sense of doing battle. Probably in a related usage, the Mesha stela speaks of Chemosh causing Mesha "to see over" all his enemies—giving Mesha victory.

It seems obvious that "seeing Yahweh's face" had much the same meaning, of entering Yahweh's presence directly. However, Hebrew theology had definite problems with the worshiper literally seeing God. Yahweh was not physically visible in the sanctuary, nor even in theophany. In the form the OT text is preserved, it is aniconic—the Hebrews had no images of Yahweh in their sanctuaries. Further, Exod 33:20 clearly states that man cannot see Yahweh or Yahweh's face and live, thus the smoke and cloud of the theophany hid God. Even the *kābôd*-glory does not represent the fullness of God and God's presence. It shields the individual from Yahweh's unmediated presence. Deuteronomic theology spoke less of Yahweh or his presence being in the sanctuary, but instead stated that the sanctuary was the place Yahweh caused his name to dwell. Only occasionally does the OT speak of one seeing God's face or seeing God face to face. The more common phrase is the passive *(Nipʿal)* form of "to see" with *pānîm*, literally, "to appear (be seen) before the [face of] Yahweh," a technical term for visiting a sanctuary.

Other phrases that relate closely to an audience with an important person include "seeking the face of" and "entreating the favor of." Both of these phrases are used frequently in reference to Yahweh. Seeking the face of Yahweh may originally have referred to divination or seeking an oracle. "To entreat the favor of Yahweh" literally meant "to make sweet or appease [the face of] Yahweh." Its meaning is more generally that of seeking favor, as is evident from one occurrence in reference to a man.

When the king, or God, with whom one has an audience recognizes the person, he turns his face toward the person. This is a way of expressing the king's attention and usually his positive response. Turning away the face, or turning the back and not the face, is a lack or attention and response; it is normally a sign of rejection. Hiding the face normally has a similar meaning. When, however, Yahweh hides his face from one's sins, it is a gracious act. Also, one response of mankind to the presence of God is to hide the

face, usually out of fear. Strong determination was shown by the phrase "to set the face" or "to set one's face like flint." When Yahweh set his face on one it was usually set against one in judgment.

The face could be either cheerful or sad, or even tearful. The light of one's face represented a bright, beaming, or cheerful face and therefore one's favor. A shining face speaks of a cheerful or joyful person. Thus when Yahweh caused his face to shine on someone or gave the light of his face, it represented Yahweh's joy and, therefore, his blessing.

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JOEL F. DRINKARD, JR.

FAIENCE. See JEWELRY, ANCIENT ISRAELITE.

FAIR HAVENS (PLACE) [Gk *Kaloi Limenes*]. Harbor located along the S coast of Crete near the town of Lasea (Acts 27:8). The harbor (Leekley and Noyes 1975: 91–92) is now identified with a bay E of Cape Littinos. The biblical name means "fair harbor." The ship carrying Paul, during his voyage to Italy, anchored at Fair Havens and supplies were probably obtained from the nearby Lasea, located about five miles to the E (Acts 27:8). The captain of the ship decided not to winter here, despite Paul's warnings, and sailed on to the W into a storm which wrecked the ship (see Smith 1880: 251, 259).

Captain T. A. B. Spratt (1865: 1–6) in 1853 led a Mediterranean survey team to this area and located a church dedicated to Paul on a hill overlooking the bay. This naval officer determined that the harbor would have been unsafe in the winter because of strong winds from the E and SE. Perhaps this is what prompted the captain of Paul's ship to leave the harbor. See Foakes Jackson and Lake 1932: 338.

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JOHN D. WINELAND

FAITH. This entry consists of three articles. The first expounds upon the concept of faith as it is expressed in the Old Testament. The second treats the concept in the Hellenistic period, focusing especially on the New Testament. The third article discusses the peculiar NT expression *pistis Christou,* which is often rendered "faith *in* Christ" but may mean "faith *of* Christ."

OLD TESTAMENT

A. Introduction
B. Terminology
C. Biblical Descriptions of Faith
  1. Abraham
  2. David
  3. Prophets
D. Believing and Doing
E. OT Faith in Holistic Perspective
  1. Remembrance
  2. Faith Confronts Fear

A. Introduction

Faith is a peculiarly Christian concept. While other religious traditions have aspects of what the churches have come to name "faith," none has the specific quality of intellectual assent that distinguishes faith from fidelity. The problem of faith and the central discussion of it arises in the context of the medieval attempts to codify and integrate the Christian experience into the emerging philosophical language of the scholastics. From these attempts there arose a uniquely Western view of faith which finds exquisite expression in the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas. "Faith is the act of the intellect when it assents to divine truth under the influence of the will moved by God through grace" (*Summa Theologica* II.II.q2.a.9).

But such a view intellectualized the experience of God and appeared to reduce this inexpressible encounter to a sort of syllogism. In the period of the Reformation it was precisely to this point that Luther and the early reformers came seeking new ways to express it. Luther, of course, appealed to a biblical idea of faith, distinguishing it sharply from this scholastic model.

While there was rich territory to mine in the writings of St. Paul and, indeed, in the Gospels themselves, the notion of faith in the Hebrew Bible was not so clearly articulated as to allow the fullest development of the reformed theology.

The Hebrew Bible, in fact, does not really have a word for faith. The New Testament term which is used to express the idea is *pistis,* which occurs frequently. *Pistis* does translate, or at least approximate, the sense of faith as assent. But *pistis* does not express very well the variety of meanings encompassed in the Hebrew Bible's terminology. The Hebrew terms are much more elastic.

B. Terminology

The Hebrew Bible uses the root *ʾmn* to express what we are calling "faith." The verb *ʾamān* occurs in the *Qal, Nipʿal,* and *Hipʿil* forms. In the *Qal* form it never means "believe" but expresses the basic sense of the root "to sustain, support, carry" (2 Kgs 18:16).

The root occurs in the *Nipʿal* form referring to daughters carried at their mothers' sides (Isa 60:4); it refers to firm places (Isa 22:23); permanent posts in the royal

service (1 Sam 2:35; 1 Kgs 11:38); to the people of Israel in perpetuity (Isa 7:9); to a variety of notions all of which have the sense of firmness, stability, confidence (1 Sam 2:35; 3:20; Deut 7:9, 12; Isa 49:7; Jer 42:5; 1 Kgs 8:26; Pss 89:29, 111:7; Neh 9:8).

The root occurs in the *Hipʿil, heʾemîn*, a significant number of times (52) in the Hebrew Bible. The *Hipʿil* form often occurs with the prepositions *b* and *l*, and in several instances with subordinate clauses introduced by *kî* (Exod 4:5, 31; Isa 43:10; Job 9:15; Lam 4:12). It is also used in the absolute, without an object. The general sense of the word in the *Hipʿil* is "to be firmly set in/on something." With the preposition *b* it means to have confidence (1 Sam 29:12), and with the preposition *l* it seems to mean "to hold something to be true," "to believe" (Gen 45:26). Three significant passages occur with the *Hipʿil*. The first is Gen 15:6, "And [Abraham] believed in Yahweh and He counted it as righteousness in him." Further in Exod 3:1–22, the narrative has a dialogue between Moses and God where Moses noted that if he were sent even at God's command the people would not believe him. Again in Exod 4:28–31 the people are said to "believe" or "not to believe." Another instance of the word coming close to the idea of "belief in" something is in Isa 7:9, the oracle of Isaiah to Ahaz: "If you do not believe you will not endure." In the latter the two nuances (to believe and to be firm) of the meaning are nicely expressed.

In these instances the sense of *trusting* and having confidence is most noticeable. In Isa 43:10–12 the *Hipʿil* occurs in a context that would readily lend itself to the understanding of faith as "assent." "You are my witness, says the Lord, and my servant whom I have chosen, that you may know and believe in me and understand who I am." Here the intellectual quality seems clear: knowing and believing. A distinction is made in some authors (Pfeiffer 1959: 155) between "profane" and "religious" use of the term "believe." For example, Gen 45:26, where Jacob refuses to believe the report of his sons that Joseph was indeed alive and in Egypt, would be a "profane" use. But "faith" in the primary sense (that it has in the communities of faith) is faith in God, "not only in his *ʾemet* but all his characteristics and attributes (truth, constancy, goodness, love, justice, holiness, his claims on humanity), in a word, everything that makes God God" (Pfeiffer 1959: 157).

The root also occurs in the nominal forms *ʾemet* and *ʾemunâ*, both meaning "steadfastness," "reliability," and the like, and both are also used for the concept "truth." The word *ʾemet* is translated in the LXX by *pistis, aletheia*, and *dikaiosune*, "because in the biblical context truth is grounded upon the divine faithfulness and the covenant relationship which sets it up" (Torrance 1956: 112).

This brief overview of the etymological situation is intended simply to point out the variety of meanings which are attached in Hebrew to the root *ʾmn*. Even the Greek *pistis* which generally translates the verbal forms is said to be nuanced in its use. One author even goes so far as to say that it "is never used to signify faith in the LXX but always translates the sense of faithfulness" (Torrance 1956: 111).

The classic statement of this remains Martin Buber's *Two Types of Faith* (1951). Buber argues that the differences between the Christian and Jewish religious experience lies primarily in the distinction between *pistis* and *ʾemunâ*, believing in something and fidelity. Buber, of course, approached the question from an existentialist point of view. He was especially concerned with the "objectification" of God in the Christian act of faith.

This distinction can also very clearly be found in the examination of the Hebrew Bible and the models of faith which are present there. The central texts are Gen 15:6 and Hab 2:4. But these two texts need to be seen in the context of the description of faith in the Hebrew Bible.

C. Biblical Descriptions of Faith

Faith is described rather than defined in the Hebrew Bible. The description tends to be used in two ways, one where the relationship of Israel to Yahweh is described and the other where the relationship of certain key figures to Yahweh is described. Two models are clear, Abraham and David. One could certainly add others (Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Ruth, Deborah, etc.), but in a sense Abraham and David are paradigmatic for an understanding of faith. The common characteristics of the two are their unswerving loyalty to Yahweh even in the face of what appear to be insurmountable obstacles, and second is the purely gratuitous character of their chosenness.

1. Abraham. In a way Abraham best exemplifies the notion of faith in the religion of ancient Israel. Perhaps that is the key role from a purely theological point of view that Abraham plays. The faith story of Abraham is clearly a conflation of varied traditions and so the role of Abraham is not to be seen as some well-delineated historical chronicle. Rather Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph (Isaac plays a very slight part in the history) found and articulate the notion of "relationship" which is at the root of the Yahweh-Israel connection. The stories about them are told almost as "afterthoughts" to this primary notion. They come from the classic traditions, traditions amalgamated over time and first clearly documented in the Davidic-Solomonic monarchy (*CMHE*, 294–95).

Von Rad argues that the oldest statement of faith in the Hebrew Bible is found in Deut 26:5, the "wandering Aramean" story. In that statement he notes: "the events in the saving history up to the conquest were still very simply enumerated as facts in chronological sequence, without any special theological connection being brought out between the patriarchal era and that which followed or between the individual facts themselves generally" (*ROTT* 1: 170). He further argued that the story of the patriarchs was to be seen as a history of "promise and fulfillment" (ibid.). The absence of tradition, cult, priesthood, and calendars, the utter simplicity and unquestioning character of the narrative, he thought, all indicated a developed and conscious theological view, rather than evidence of "primitive religion" in early Israel.

If one examines the story of Abraham from Genesis 12–15 it is most striking that the whole emphasis is on the notion of testing. Leaving aside the gratuitous character of the choosing (to which we will return), what is uppermost in the stories is the sense that this is a test, almost Jobian in its premises. Abraham is given divine instructions without explanations and is expected to fulfill these instructions unquestioningly. This he does over and over. Despite the

hesitancy and ridicule he encounters from his wife and family, he leads them on in response to the demands.

Now the rationale for the response lies surely in the promise. "Leave your own country, your kinsmen, and your father's house, and go to a country that I will show you. I will make you into a great nation. I will bless you and make your name so great that it shall be used in blessings" (Gen 12:1–2). But again the promise is based on a logical impossibility, since Abraham is "old" and since he has no offspring, and since Sarah is barren. The whole idea that this promise represented a real possibility is ludicrous. It may have represented what Johnson said of the second marriage of a friend, "the triumph of hope over experience," but it clearly did not represent a measured response. This same motif of the impossible dream occurs again and again in this narrative, reaching its peak in Gen 18:12 where Sarah laughs.

But the promise is fulfilled in Genesis 21. Only the tale is not finished because, immediately after, Yahweh tests a final time in the story of the binding of Isaac (Genesis 22). Again von Rad writes extensively on this.

> That which happened to Abraham in this story is called in the very first verse a "testing." For in commanding Abraham to offer up Isaac, God apparently destroys his whole continually reiterated promise to Abraham. All the blessings which he had promised to bring about were all bound up with Isaac. The story of the offering up of Isaac goes beyond all the previous trials of Abraham and pushes forward into the realm of faith's extremest experience where God himself rises up as the enemy of his own work with men and hides himself so deeply that for the recipient of the promise only the way of utter forsakenness by God seems to stand open.
>
> (*ROTT* 1: 174)

The story of Abraham contains the notion of promise and fulfillment as von Rad shows. But that aspect is not sufficient, for surely Abraham's relationship with the God whom he worshiped was much more complex than this. Abraham was *tested* and the testing it would seem was not peripheral to but foundational for the relationship.

It might be helpful to consider a further remark of von Rad concerning the patriarchal narratives. "For it is by no means the case that the later Israel simply projected herself and the theological ordering of her life and problems back into the era of the ancestors. Rather she here depicted a relationship to God of a quite peculiar and unique character" (*ROTT* 1: 125).

It would be important to note that it is in this complex of narratives that the Hebrew Bible uses the word "faith" in a sense close to what contemporary theologies mean (Gen 15:6). But as we noted earlier it occurs in this sense only twice in the Hebrew Bible.

2. David. The second figure we should consider in the notion of faith in ancient Israel is David. David has, of course, much greater historical data in his stories but, as is evident from the two variants of his origins (1 Samuel 16 and 17), there is considerable legend and lore associated with him. Whatever the purpose of hero stories may have been, it is David's peculiar relationship with Yahweh that interests the writer. Whether David was chosen out of the sons of Jesse by an oracle to Samuel, or emerged as a war hero out of the conflicts with the Philistines, he is established clearly in the court of Saul as a rival to Saul and to his dynasty. It is in this rivalry that the book of Samuel is set, and the reflection on the issues of kingship itself and then on the character of the two first kings, Saul and David, is the theological point of the book.

The story of David cannot be disconnected from the Deuteronomistic History. The whole piece of the Deuteronomistic work and reflection is intimately woven together. And the most astonishing aspect of the story is the utter gratuitousness of the relationship and the way in which "chosenness" supplements "testing" as the central piece of the work.

Once we begin to consider the model of David we are necessarily compelled to examine the notion of covenant as it pertains to the faith of ancient Israel. In a very brief synopsis we ought to note that there are two distinct "covenants" in Israel. See also COVENANT. The Sinai covenant articulates a relationship based on mutual (although as this pertains to Yahweh the term is certainly analogical) obligations and promises: "You shall be my people. I shall be your God" (Exod 19:5). "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities" (Amos 3:2). The second is an unconditional covenant or a covenant of grant (Weinfeld 1970: 185). The Davidic covenant falls into this latter category. The promises made to David do not depend on David's future responses or those of his descendants. The oath which Yahweh takes on behalf of David is the result of David's *previous* activity. "In other words, it is the ancestor who is the human partner in the covenant" (Levenson 1985: 101).

David's actions are clear enough. He is called. He responds. He serves Yahweh's purpose. He is the agent of historical change in Israel. He is the instrument of God's power against the enemies of Israel. For the Hebrew Bible David is the paradigm of the faithful Israelite. David's fidelity is manifested in his history, by which is meant that David's life history is the model of fidelity. His activities prosper as he obeys the call(s) of Yahweh. His victories over the Philistines contrast sharply with the continuous failure of Saul and his descendants to achieve the goals of the promised land. Of course, one could argue that the events are constructed to prove the claim or that David's political astuteness is mythologized into a religious calling. And from a historical-critical point of view that may very well be. But theologically, or perhaps more correctly, as a lesson in faithful living, David's intense loyalty, his unswerving devotion to the cause of extending the land which God had promised to Abraham, those things make David the paradigm. He listened and obeyed unquestioningly (again in sharp contrast to Saul). So he achieved goals, and the goals he achieved made real the divine promise.

Thus, as in the binding of Isaac, David too was "tested," not so much in specific acts, but in the whole thrust of his life. His life's actions are a response to the call he had received. And, as a result of his fidelity to the call of Yahweh, he is made the bearer of unconditional promises from God.

Thus, in Abraham and in David, the two poles of the life of faith in the Hebrew Bible are illustrated: in Abra-

ham obedience and fidelity, in David chosenness and reward. The Hebrew Bible does not contrast these two as if they represented opposites. Rather in its narrative and its structure it continually illumines now one side, now the other of this model of fidelity.

3. Prophets. Another important model of the life of fidelity is the prophet. The prophetic message reflects not primarily an ethical instruction, but rather a call to an ongoing relationship of trust. If one considers the parade example of "faith" in Isa 7:9, where Ahaz's timidity is reprimanded by a reminder of the power of Yahweh (Pfeiffer 1959: 160–62), it is clear that the faith which Ahaz is called to exhibit is not an intellectual act but an act of trust in the action of the God of Israel.

Further, the examples of the prophetic call and mission demonstrate over and over again that what is required is not understanding but trust. The prophet does not seek to understand God's way or God's call to him but seeks to respond to an imperative by acting appropriately. In fact, of course, it is often the case that reason and understanding serve as barriers to responding (Jer 15:10–18).

The opposite of faith in the prophets is not unbelief; it is apostasy, because the faith which is required is not an act of assent but a commitment to a tradition, to a body of received things. The prophetic faith is clearly based in the covenant, especially the Sinai covenant, and expresses itself in *acts* of fidelity, not in creedal formulas. The passage of Jeremiah at the Temple gate (chap. 7) is quite illustrative. The interpretation of this passage as a polemic against temple worship is a complete misunderstanding of the context and scope, indeed the power of the passage. The prophet does not condemn temple or priests, or ritual—quite the opposite. He condemns the contempt of these, the reduction of these "holy things" to mere formulas. He asserts the fundamental necessity of conversion of heart in the act of doing those things which are required, because to do these things without an upright heart is to apostasize and be unfaithful.

In this the prophetic message reflects the Deuteronomistic proposition that faithfulness consists in the acknowledgement and keeping of commandments (*ROTT* 1: 379).

D. Believing and Doing

Again, it is important to reiterate the basic idea that faith in the Hebrew Bible is a multifaceted idea which is more clearly exemplified than explained. Perhaps to further illustrate the point we might consider a series of other texts related to the Hebrew notion of faithfulness.

Mic 6:8
God has told you what is good
and what is it that the Lord asks of you?
Only to act justly, to love loyalty;
to walk wisely before your God.

Here the notion of fidelity is tied to the actions of the "good" person. This is a classic text for "activist" religion, but, in fact, it really addresses a more fundamental notion: the tight connection between believing and doing.

Deut 30:1–2
. . . If you turn back to him and obey him and obey him heart and soul in all that I command you this day, then the Lord your God will show you compassion and restore your fortunes.

In this passage faith is seen as a response to a command of God. And the reward of faith (a loving relationship to Yahweh) is conditioned on that obedience. So we find the theme of "commanded love" (Moran 1963: 83–87). Obedience is an essential element in the faith relationship. All the "models" of faith were obedient first and foremost.

Jer 29:10–14
If you invoke me and pray to me, I will listen to you: when you seek me, you shall find me; if you search with all your heart, I will let you find me . . . I will restore your fortunes and gather you again from all the nations and all the places to which I have banished you.

There are two important aspects of Hebrew faith in this passage. First, the faithful seek God. They not only wait for God, they actively search for God and for God's purpose. And this search is a total commitment (with *all* your heart). And this search is not an intellectual quest (with all your *heart*). The second point to be noted in the text is the historical consciousness which grounds the relationship. The relationship is not ethereal but real, concrete, earthly (prosperity, return from exile, restoration).

Ps 103:17–18
But the Lord's love never fails those who fear him, his righteousness never fails their sons and grandsons who listen to his voice and keep his covenant, who remember his commandments and obey them.

The Psalms, of course, reflect the worship of Israel, and so the theme of the Psalms leads us into the heart of the believer's self-understanding. The notions that stand out here are (a) the *fidelity of God,* (b) the obedience of the follower, and (c) the remembrance of the acts of God.

God's fidelity is foundational. "The words 'faith' and 'to believe' *(he'emin)* do not properly describe a virtue or quality of man, in the sense that virtues such as prudence or courage are ascribed to him, they describe *man taking refuge from his own frailty and instability in God who is firm and steadfast*" (Hebert 1955: 374).

Obedience we have already discussed. So finally there is the notion of remembrance (Heb *zikkārôn*). This important notion identifies the historical and "eschatological" dimensions of the faithful life as a catalytic concept for understanding the faith of the Hebrew Bible. But before discussing this idea and its role in understanding the faith of the Hebrew Bible, it is necessary to recapitulate what has been discussed already.

We have explored the etymological data in the Hebrew Bible from which it should be clear that faith and fidelity are intertwined inextricably in the Hebrew Bible, that is, faith is primarily not an intellectual act but an attitude which encompasses the two-sided sense of the root *'mn:* steadfastness, which addresses the concept of acts of obedience; and trust or confidence, which rests on the notion of God's constancy and fidelity. Moreover, there is a dual sense associated with trust: one aspect touches the notion

of hope and future directedness; and the other alludes to the idea of assent, but not assent to a proposition so much as assent to a way of life that is consistent with the claims of God upon the community.

There is an important factor present in all the texts that ought not to be overlooked. That is the sense of faith as residing in a community. It would require another lengthy article to elaborate on the notion of the individual and the corporate in the Hebrew Bible, but it seems fairly clear that at least in its early phases, or at least in the presentation of its early phases, the faith of Israel was seen primarily as a relationship between the faithful community and Yahweh. It was not a "conversion" experience that brought individuals to faith. It was their inclusion in the community of Yahweh, the People of the Lord.

It is sometimes argued that the evolution of Israel's religion from the epic narrative to the prophetic interpretation includes the notion of a change in the nature of faith from a community-based to an individually-based idea. Both von Rad and Vischer argued for the origins of Israel's idea of faith in corporate notions. Von Rad saw it emerging from the Holy War ideology, and Vischer saw it coming from the cult. Many have argued that the prophetic faith uncoupled the notion of individual faith from the faith of the community (Pfeiffer 1959: 163). Such evidence as we have gives no clear indication either way. But the intellectual movements of the late biblical period did involve a general development of the notion of individuality, so such a development in the religion of Israel would not be surprising. Moreover, in the late biblical period, after the Maccabean revolt, the whole question of which community represented the faithful Israel necessarily involved the notion of the holiness and fidelity of the members. Apocalyptic ideas of sin, evil, punishment, reward, and the like also influence the notion of faith.

To attempt to identify the chief among all the strands that are interwoven in the notion of Hebrew faith is an awesome task. It may be, also, a fruitless and even deceptive task. Believers and scholars, historians, and the curious all look for the unique and special qualities of Israel's faith. And because the search often begins with the conclusion, the quest is simply confirmation.

Further, the faith of the OT is alive and well in a living community, indeed in a number of living communities of faith. And so there is a history and a course of development that each of the communities keeps, cherishes, studies, and elaborates. So the task of commentary is not uncharted. Indeed, the tasks may be so well charted that there is very little room for comment.

E. OT Faith in Holistic Perspective

At the risk of reviving a long debate over biblical theology, it seems appropriate to comment finally on the faith of the OT from a holistic point of view. It is a progressive development that comes from a common and identifiable source, because, whatever the manner of its development, every development claimed continuity with the original.

1. Remembrance. It seems that among the many themes and strands thus far explored, one in particular might serve as the central focus of Israel's faith: the idea of "remembrance" (Heb *zikkārôn*). The core of Israel's faith is found now, as it always has been, in the elements of the Seder meal and celebration of Passover. Since the Mosaic period the community of Israel has gathered on the 14th day of Nissan (or the appropriate alternatives in history) to celebrate, to pray, and to remember. The central notion among these three, in the writer's view, is that of remembering.

The notion of remembrance as a central religious concern in the culture of the ANE can be illustrated in the Aramaic inscriptions from Zinjirli, where the king predicates the blessing of God toward his offspring on their fidelity to the remembrance of the king's name and deeds forever (*KAI* 214.21). So much of our knowledge of the culture and religion of the ANE is built precisely on the habit of memorializing. And, as with the Pannamū inscription, remembrance is not a single act of recollection. It is in effect the re-creation of the deed.

"Moses said to the people, 'Keep this day in remembrance, the day you came out of Egypt from the house of slavery, for it was by sheer power that Yahweh brought you out of it' " (Exod 13:3–4).

> For ask now of the days that are past, which were before you, since the day that God created man upon the earth, and ask from one end of heaven to the other, whether such a great thing as this has ever happened or was ever heard of. Did any people ever hear the voice of a god speaking out of the midst of the fire, as you have heard, and still live? Or has any god ever attempted to go and take a nation for himself from the midst of another nation, by trials, by signs, by wonders, and by war, by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, and by great terrors, according to all that the Lord your God did for you in Egypt before your eyes?
>
> But take care what you do and be on your guard. Do not forget the things your eyes have seen, nor let them slip from your heart all the days of your life; rather—tell them to your children and your children's children.
>
> (Deut 4:9–10)

It is this remembering that is the essence of the faith of Israel. In the stories of Israel's triumphs and its tragedies, through glory, destruction, love, and hate, fidelity and apostasy are the two constant and enduring aspects of Israel's remembrance of Yahweh's deeds. In the retelling of the myth of the fateful night on which the angel of death passed by the Israelite children to destroy Egypt's firstborn, Israel's whole meaning is gathered. So even today, among all the religious ceremonies and cultic acts we experience or learn about, there is no more solemn or sacred night, no more poignant or "pregnant" question than this which the youngest child is to ask: *Why* is this night different from every other night?

2. Faith Confronts Fear. At the beginning as now, the question confronts the very nature of faith itself, because faith in the OT, as all faith by its very nature, confronts *fear*. Not just fear, but *the* fear. The fear that limits the possibilities of human life—fear of death, fear of self, fear of the universe. And Israel's faith asserts that the universe of human experience is the domain of human freedom.

> When you raise your eyes to heaven, when you see the sun, the moon, the stars, all the array of heaven, do not be tempted to worship them and serve them.
>
> (Deut 4:19–20)

What both enthralls and enslaves human beings is this overpowering sense of being unable to control not just nature, but one's destiny. What the faith of Israel affirms in the Seder and Passover is to place humanity under the power not of nature, or fate, or political, or economic forces, but in the power of the God of Life itself. And so it confirms the ultimate freedom of the believers.

But this freedom was not left abstract. This freedom is founded on a relationship, and this relationship is described in a significant way through the analogy of a covenant. The covenant analogy illustrates the tension between the Creator God and God's creative partner—the human community—and specifically the community of Israel as the chosen instrument of the divine love. And since God declares humanity free and gives over to it the power to create nature anew, and further, since God requires the exercise of this dominion as a condition for ongoing relations, the stage is set for the long drama of conflict between the divine and the human, between this world and the world to come, time and eternity, between moral absolutes and ethical compromise. It is a monumental struggle exquisitely illustrated in the story of Job, who serves as a brilliant metaphor of the faithful models (Moses, Abraham, David) discussed above.

Because the faith of Israel rests on this strange and unique relationship between the believing community and God, it is always difficult and dangerous to try to explain it too carefully. The danger of the covenant analogy is to reduce this creative tension to a somewhat narrow, legalistic idea. It is rather a co-creative union. And the danger of historicizing the faith of Israel is that one fails to engage the journey that this co-creative union represents. The journey does not deny the history. It simply refuses to absolutize the history. The history of Israel is not past- but future-oriented. God is not bound. God is not predictable except that his *ḥesed* endures. So, wherever hope triumphs over despair (or logic), wherever justice vanquishes injustice, wherever the creative potential of humanity emerges to respond to the needs for life, for love, for the solution to social, political, or economic problems, there the God of Israel is affirmed. God gives existence its completeness.

These triumphs come at a cost, however. The compulsion to seek security gives the *status quo* a legitimacy to challenge God, since it seeks to answer rather than to ask questions. So the prophetic element emerges as a vital part of the faith of Israel. Prophets reveal the eternal in the temporal, proclaim the future against the present, and make the remembrance of God real.

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JOSEPH P. HEALEY

NEW TESTAMENT

In the NT "faith" belongs to the terms of self-definition of what is later called "Christianity." It is thus not advisable to determine the NT meaning of "faith" on the basis of a phenomenological investigation. In order to do this, one needs to ascertain the general concept of faith, which can be done only by reference to the history of Christian theology. For this reason, the following article follows the Greek vocabulary closely: however, the investigation of such a central theological category cannot remain purely lexical; much more, it must determine the sense which the word conveys.

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A. The Word "Faith"

The noun "faith" is the very consistent translation of the Greek word *pistis*, and the verb "to believe" translates the Greek verb *pisteuein*. Other than in the Germanic languages (German: *Glaube* and *glauben;* Scandinavian: *troen* and *troer*), the Romance languages translate the noun and verb using different stems (French: *foi* and *croire*), just as

the Latin language consistently rendered *pistis* with *fides* and *pisteuein* with *credere*. Because in the English language "believe" corresponds to "belief" (just as in German *glauben* corresponds to *Glaube*), the noun "faith" goes back to the Latin *fides*.

Just as the Latin translation of the Bible had influenced the language of Western theology, the other ancient translations provided, respectively, precise equivalents for what in the Semitic languages appeared as *'mn*. As the result of Bible translations, "faith"/"to believe" came to occupy a central position in the Christian language tradition. Recent translations of the Bible societies, produced for the purpose of missionary activity, often deviate from this straightforward way of translating, so that often a single word does not satisfy the translators. This is not unrelated to the fact that "faith" is not a general phenomenon in all religions; rather, this central meaning was gained first in Christianity. This is clearly related to the Jewish language tradition, which, in addition, Islam took up in its own way. In Buddhism, Hinduism, or other religions unrelated to Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, to inquire as to the meaning of "faith," as it is always interpreted, leads nowhere or at least to the conclusion that "faith" is in no way such a central category as in the religions of the West.

B. Greek

The Greek words which come from the root *pist-* have a broad range of meanings, which correspond to belief, confidence, trust, faith/faithfulness (LSJM 1407f.). The noun appears first in Theognis (66, 831, 1137, 1244) with the meaning "confidence," "trustworthiness" (the passage listed in LSJM 1408, Hesiod, *op.* 372, appears only in later manuscripts). The opposite of *pistis* is *apistia* (*Theog.* 1831). The noun and verb have technical meanings in the linguistic fields of law and philosophy.

1. Legal Usage. In legal language *pistis* conveys, in addition to the general meaning of "trustworthiness," the special meaning of "guarantee," "trust," or alternatively "argument," "proof," which sense one encounters especially in rhetoric. Frequently it is also connected with an oath. The Latin legal concept *bona fide* can be traced back to the Greek with *kale pistei*. Thus one can show the semantic and etymological closeness of *fides* and *pistis;* yet the two words are not exactly congruent, as the different interpretations of comparing *pistis* and *fides* among Greeks and Romans (Polyb. 20.9f.) showed. This legal linguistic usage approaches the understanding of what is meant in the NT by *pistis*, but only insofar as it plays a role in the Letter to the Hebrews (see D.8 below) and in Philo (see C.5 below) as the *pistis* of Abraham is connected with God's oath. In the Western tradition generally, as it has been mediated by Roman law, "faith" remains a legal concept until the present day.

2. Philosophical Usage. More important than the legal linguistic tradition, however, is the philosophical tradition. In the latter one encounters *pistis* in the sense of "faithfulness" with Pittakos (*FVS* 10.3.5.13) and with Thales (*ibid.*, line 4) in a catalog of virtues. Parmenides uses *pistis* first in his theory of knowledge: *pistis alethes* in contrast to *doxai* ("meanings" in the sense of "the true understanding of the essence"; *FVS* 28 B 1.30; cf. *FVS* 28 B 8.28). In Empedocles (*FVS* 31 B 71) *pistis* is, in opposition to "doubt," the understanding of the rightness of an opinion.

Throughout the Pre-Socratics *pistis* could mean the entrance to the knowledge of truth; for Plato, however, it is the highest step of knowledge only in the realm of the visible. It is in fact superior to *eikasia*, the "apprehension by means of images"; for the knowledge of ideas *noesis* ("understanding") or, respectively, *episteme* ("knowledge") is necessary, a level completely opposite to *dianoia* ("thought") (*Resp.* 6.511 D–E; 7.533E–534A). The exact opposite of *pistis* is the sensible world (*Ti.* 27D–28A); suffice it here to say that it does not approach the world of ideas. In opposition to *mathesis* ("learning"), *pistis* can be either true or false (*Grg.* 454D–E). According to Plato, *pistis* succeeds through rhetoric; more importantly, it is the higher art of dialectic which leads to *episteme*.

Differently from Plato, Aristotle applies the meaning of "faithfulness" to *pistis*. In his *Rhetoric*, the different styles of *pisteis* ("arguments") play important roles; this corresponds with the legal linguistic usage (see B.1 above). For Aristotle *pistis* is not the opposite of *episteme;* rather, it is a step on the way to the *mathesis* ("learning") of knowledge, which leads from *doxa* through *pistis* to *logos*.

In the Stoa, one finds *fides* (= *pistis*?) in a citation from Chrysippus, according to Seneca (*Ben.* 2.31), as a virtue of the wise along with *pietas* ("piety") and *iustitia* ("justice"). In his doctrine of knowledge, *pistis* was the opposite of *apistia* (*SVF* 3.147, no. 548): "confidence" as opposed to "distrust." According to Epictetus and his students, *pistis* meant the "faithfulness" of the wise man in relation to himself (*Diss.* 2.4.1), a virtue certainly among others in which the purpose of life was realized. This corresponds as well to a customary Greek usage of *pistis* as to the Latin usage of *fides*.

As soon as early Christianity makes its claim before philosophy (see E below), a self-definition of "faith" as opposed to the Platonic tradition is dangerous. It would indeed mean that the Christian faith was a priori inferior to philosophical knowledge. In this case, philosophers of the Platonic school would find that Christianity was an intellectual absurdity.

3. Greek and Hellenistic Religion. "Faith" as a central category of Greek religious language did not exist. The History-of-Religions school and their follower R. Bultmann freely maintained that "*pistis* became a catchword in those religions which engaged in propaganda. This did not apply to Christianity alone" (Bultmann, *TDNT* 6: 181). The texts given as evidence for this assertion about *pistis*, however, did not use the term *pistis*, or were not unquestionably independent of the usage of Christianity or Judaism. Hence, one cannot postulate that "[a]ll missionary preaching demanded faith in the deity proclaimed by it" (*TDNT* 6: 181). We will show that what is meant in early Christianity by "faith" cannot be deduced by a general religious linguistic usage in the Hellenistic period.

Bultmann had suspected such a usage first for the Hellenistic period, and he argued in favor of such a usage in the Classical period (*TDNT* 6: 179), so that his conclusion concerned the Greek language generally (see Barth 1982 and von Dobbeler 1987: 283–303, concerning both parts of Bultmann's conclusion). He was, of course, correct that *pistis* and *pisteuein* were not foreign words in Greek. On the

other hand, it can be shown in the passages to which Bultmann refers, and in other texts as well, that although *pistis* and *pisteuein* are encountered in religious texts, they do not form a comprehensive or adequate self-definition of religious groups. In Greek tradition, one can refer here to *eusebeia* ("piety"); the conviction in favor of the existence of gods was formulated as *nomizein theous einai* ("to hold that gods exist"). Such terminology is to be found first in early Christianity at a later time (see E below). What was evidence for a special religious use of language can be seen to be a general usage of language: how human beings can believe in or trust the gods, how human words or oracles can be trusted. In contrast, the Christian use of "faith" is exclusive, and its object is God alone. *Pistis* and *pisteuein* are nevertheless Greek words and not words foreign to Greek; yet they gained their meanings from the language of Greek-speaking Jews, as it has been taken up in the NT.

C. Judaism

Strongly formative for the language of at least the first generations of early Christians was the Greek of Jewish tradition. From Greek-speaking Judaism came not only basic words, but also the framework for basic conceptions. All early Christian authors were influenced by it more or less, and particularly were they influenced by the language and word choice of the LXX. The point of reference for the NT is therefore not the Hebrew Bible as such, but rather Judaism, which for several centuries had taken its place in the Greek world, by way of being open to the Greek world or closed off from it.

1. **LXX.** The LXX translates with unusual consistency the Hebrew words from the root *'mn* with Greek words with the root *pist-*, while otherwise throughout the LXX, Greek words can correspond to a variety of Hebrew words. Most obvious of all is the fact that *(em-, kata-) pisteuein* translates exclusively (with the single exception of Jer 25:8) the Hebrew verb *'mn* in the *Hip'il* and the *Nip'al* conjugations. *Pistis* translates only the nouns formed from *'mn*, including *'mth*, which is otherwise translated by *aletheia* ("truth," including especially 22 times in the Psalms for *'emunâ*). This indicates a strong affinity between *'mn* and *pist-*, which is conveyed by the meaning of "trust" for both words. This affinity has neither to do with similar uses of these words in religious language, nor with similar uses in legal language, which accounted for the equivalence of the Greek *pistis/pisteuein* and the Latin *fides/credere*.

Although the NT did not quote Isa 7:9, the LXX translation of this verse, *Kai ean me pisteusete, oude me synete* (*cf.* Vulgate: *Si non credideritis non intelligetis;* as well as the Syriac translation), "if you do not believe, you will not understand," became important for the later history of theology (see E below). In certain traditions of Greek philosophy, albeit in opposition to Platonism, *pistis* can be seen to be the crucial preliminary stage for knowledge. Irenaeus of Lyons was the first Christian writer to appeal to this verse; he used it to show that Christian faith justifies, which philosophical knowledge does not.

a. Ecclesiasticus. Clearly influenced by the language of the LXX was the Greek translation of a book composed originally in Hebrew, the book of Ecclesiasticus, or Jesus ben Sirach. It dates from the second half of the 2d century B.C.E. Here again *'mn* is translated by *pist-*, although the compound verb *empisteuein* is used instead of *pisteuein*. *(Em)pisteuein* also translates Hebrew verbs other than *'mn*. The ancient wisdom speech includes passages in which *'mn* in the *Hip'il* conjugation appears in the sense of "credulity." While in all parts of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus (as much of it as we possess), there is no evidence of a connection between *'mn (Hip'il)* or *'emunâ* to God or to the Law, the Greek translation speaks of *(em)pisteuein kyrio* or *nomo* ("to be faithful to the Lord" or "to be faithful to the Law"); and this Greek usage is traceable to other Hebrew verbs than *'mn (Hip'il)* (35[32]:24; 36[33]:3). There exist other passages, for which no Hebrew text is available to us, where the Greek translation appears to render other Hebrew verbs as well (2:6, 8, 10; 11:21). One can thus see in the Greek translation of Ecclesiasticus that "faith" occupies a central position in the understanding of the relationship to God, whereby the Law is the document of the will of God. The adjective *pistos* (1:14) becomes a self-designation of those who involved in the Law; Abraham (44:20) and Moses (45:4) become models of "faith."

b. Wisdom of Solomon. The tendency observed in the Greek translation of Ecclesiasticus is carried forward in the Wisdom of Solomon, where in 1:2; 12:2; and 16:26 "faith" becomes a designation of the relationship to God, even though in the rest of the book the author follows philosophical language of the Greek tradition.

c. Later Books. In later books of the LXX *pist-* is used as the overall designation of the relationship to God and his Law. This meaning is, however, not limited to the Greek-speaking world, and should not be explained as an adaptation in Greek of previous terminology. Rather, *pistis* became more and more a self-definition of Judaism, from within its own linguistic world, a world enlarged from the outside only in the case of Philo (see C. 5 below).

2. *4 Maccabees*. In *4 Maccabees* faith is, above all, the observance of the Law under persecution. Included within *pisteuein* is the meaning of faith in eternal life (7:19). This "faith" appears in a series with "philosophy" and "virtue" (7:21). Models of faith include Abraham, Daniel, and the three men in the fiery furnace (16:22), along with the mother whose seven sons were put to death (15:24; 17:2). In *4 Maccabees pist-* designates the ability to hold fast to God and his Law.

3. Qumran. Written in the Hebrew language without direct contact with the intellectual categories of Greek, the Qumran texts take as the object of "faith" the commandments (1QpHab 2:14), the covenant (2:4), the interpretation of the words of the prophets by the priests (2:6), and the interpretation of the Law by the "teacher of righteousness" (8:1–3). It may well be that this understanding of faith in Judaism was influenced by Deuteronomy (9:23) or, respectively, by the Deuteronomistic tradition (2 Kgs 17:14), as well as by Hab 2:4. The Hebrew text of Hab 2:4a is unclear; 2:4b is to be translated as follows: "the just shall live by his faith" (RSV). This statement is founded upon a declaratory form, wherein life is promised to the just (e.g., Ezek 18:9). In Hab 2:4 faith stands for life, corresponding to the life-promising commandment of God, which is in response to the faithfulness of God, just as the righteousness of the righteous corresponds to the righteousness of God. After the closing of the canon of the Hebrew Bible,

the righteousness of the righteous was defined in this way: that they hold fast to the will of God revealed in the Law. Turning to this God means "to come to believe" (Jonah 3:5; Jdt 14:10). See also FAITH (OT).

4. The Wider Sphere. That "faith" has become a term of self-definition of Judaism in the times preceding early Christianity, cannot indeed be explained by the encounter of Judaism with the Greek world. This concept developed within a sphere little affected by such an encounter, and the equivalence of *pist-* and *'mn* evidenced in the LXX transferred into the Greek-speaking world. Immediately arose the problem of how such a self-definition could be made understandable in connection with the Greek language.

In the wider sphere of early Jewish Greek literature, *pist-* is in any case used as, in Greek usage, it refers to "faithfulness" (Pseudo-Hecataeus and Pseudo-Phocylides), "trustworthiness" (Ezekiel the tragic writer), "to trust" (Pseudo-Phocylides). The definition of *pist-* as a relationship to God is indeed lacking in the *Letter of Aristeas* and in *Joseph and Asenath.* The texts collected in the *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum,* which displays the everyday use of Greek words, provide only *pistis* and *pisteis,* respectively, in the sense of legal terminology (*CPJ* 143.17; 146.44; 490.4; 508.5; *cf.* 424.6, 450.31). In the inscriptions of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* we find *pistis* once as "faithfulness" (*CIJ* 1451.4); in the same collection the meaning of *fides* appears twice (*CIJ* 72.3; 64.1), along with one occurrence of the meaning *vera fides* ("reliable pledge," *CIJ* 476.7). The fragments of literary texts, especially Jewish texts, which are contained in papyri and inscriptions, therefore, demonstrate a great restraint in the use of *pist-* as a self-definition; it is much easier to identify a familiarity with the possibilities of the meanings of words in Greek.

5. Philo. Philo of Alexandria is the first theologian known to us who represents his Jewish tradition as *pistis.* He clearly follows the Greek usage which connects *pistis* ("faithfulness") with the oath or employs *pistis* to mean "proof"; yet he also uses the phrases *pisteuein to theo* and *pistis pros theon* ("to believe in God"/"to be faithful to God") as a central part of his representation of the "Mosaic philosophy." In this connection, he attaches great importance to the story of Abraham and especially to the passage Gen 15:6; concerning Moses, he refers not to Exodus 4 but Num 12:7. *Pistis to theo* is, throughout, the opposite of putting trust in the creature or in vain reasonings; it is, rather, turning to the one who alone is truth and stands over and above the creature. The interpretation of Gen 15:6 in *Heres* 90–101 is a good example of how Philo understood *pistis* (cf. also *Abr* 262–74). He asks the question of whether *pisteuein* is worthy of praise. He understands *pistis* to be the most perfect of virtues (91); it was also a virtue in Stoic tradition (see B.2 above), although not the most perfect virtue. *Pistis* is not easy to achieve, because of our "mortality, which works upon us to keep our trust *(pisteuein)* placed in riches and repute and office and friends and health and strength and many other things" (92); *pistis* is "to distrust created beings . . . , and to trust in God, and in him alone, even as he alone is truly worthy of trust" (93). On the second part of Gen 15:6, Philo remarks "that nothing is so just or righteous as to put trust in God alone" (94).

In *Heres* 96–99 Philo explains the journey of Abraham out of Chaldaea (Gen 15:7) as a departure away from *apistia.* Abraham turned away from his trust in the creature to a trust in the Creator. Abraham thus became the model for conversion to Judaism as the true way to honor God. The way to faith, according to the Aristotelian tradition (see B.2 above) was in *mathesis* ("learning"); yet a *mathesis* which did not simply pertain to an investigation of the nature of the world, but a complete transformation: "to put on that surest and most stable quality, faith" (*Conf* 31). In Philo is displayed a self-definition of Judaism as *pistis* under the conditions of Greek philosophical language. Philo obviously cuts himself off from the tradition of the Stoa and to Aristotelianism, though not from Platonic tradition. From his biblical texts he took up *pistis* as a key word and interpreted it in categories which were understandable and plausible in the Greek philosophical tradition. How difficult such an enterprise was can be seen in the fact that no Christian achieved such a synthesis until Clement of Alexandria (see E below).

6. Josephus. It is interesting to compare Philo's use of *pist-* with that of Josephus, even though in the latter's representation of the OT he makes use of the word group *pist-* only where it could be understandable to Greek readers. This word group is lacking in Josephus' representation of Abraham, just as it is lacking, incidentally, in the writings we possess from other Jewish-Hellenistic authors. The concept which stands for Judaism as a whole is, according to Josephus, *eusebeia* ("piety"); *he peri theou pistis* ("the belief concerning God") is only a version of it as teaching (cf. *AgAp* 2.163–171). The meanings of *pistis* which predominate in Josephus are "faithfulness," "pledge(s)," "proof," and he registers his description of OT legal passages in the Greek language, whether or not the LXX had *pist-* or the Hebrew text had *'mn.* Otherwise, just as Philo led Josephus in works written for non-Jews, faith in Josephus is not a self-definition of Judaism; and nowhere is it visible in Josephus' works that "faith" is a phenomenon specific to Judaism.

D. New Testament

In the NT, in otherwise theologically quite different writings, *pist-* predominates as a self-definition of what the essence of the Christian proclamation is. Lexically, one finds first in the NT the connection between *pistis* and *pisteuein* through the preposition *eis,* "in," a connection made possible by the interchangeability of *eis,* "in(to)," and *en,* "in," in Koiné Greek. Such a dominance was prepared for in the Greek language of Judaism, which was influenced by the translation of the LXX (see C.4 above); those who, through the Diaspora synagogues, had confidence in this specific language, could well understand what was meant by, and could take offense at, Christianity's frequent use of *pistis* to define itself.

1. "Faith" and Self-definition. It is therefore indicative that in the later writings of the NT, e.g., the Pastoral Epistles (see D.5.), the theological language of Christianity relieved itself of ideas originally influenced by Judaism, and went back more strongly to religious ideas traditional in Greek. On the other hand, Christianity understood *pistis* as "faithfulness," yet it also understood *dikaiosyne* ("righteousness"), corresponding to Greek tradition, all the

more in the ethical sense. Since the Christian canon of the Hebrew Bible and the NT passed on *pistis* so strongly as a self-definition of Christianity, the Christian theologians of the 2d and 3d centuries gave up *pistis* not simply in favor of other categories; but they had to take on *pistis*, and in the Latin-speaking world *fides*, as fundamental categories (see E below).

At the beginning of early Christianity, it was not the linguistic usage of Jesus which had formed the language of Christian theology. Rather one can see in the NT a variety of traditions, which at the same time in Judaism had taken up the developed meanings of *pist-*, and from them formulated concepts of how salvation was accomplished in Jesus. At the beginning there was no unified concept of faith, which was interpreted in different ways; yet early Christianity did have a common self-definition of *pistis*, which referred in different ways to salvation accomplished in Christ.

2. The Jesus Tradition. In the Jesus tradition of the Synoptic Gospels, one encounters *pist-* quite often. A large and obvious block of occurrences of these words is in miracle stories. Since these stories go back to stories of Jesus told by the Church, they will be dealt with separately. There are, however, a series of passages which use *pist-* partly in the general sense of "trust" (Mark 13:21 and par.); yet partly these passages are to be traced back to the later Church (e.g., Mark 1:15: "believe in the Gospel"). The word group *pist-* is lacking in the tradition of the parables which can be unquestionably ascribed to Jesus.

Jesus had not encouraged "faith" in and of itself. Such a formulation appears first in Matt 18:6 (it is lacking in Mark 9:42, although many manuscripts add there the words *eis eme* ["in me"] from Matthew). In the tradition of the words of Jesus there does appear nonetheless the logion on faith able to remove mountains in Mark (11:22–24 [= Matt 21:21f.]. Paul refers to it in 1 Cor 13:2 (*Gos. Thom.* 24 and 106 have it without the motif of faith). In Mark, the conclusion of the story lies in the opposition between faith and doubt; in Q, where Matt 17:20 has the original version (except for the final "and nothing shall be impossible for you") compared with Luke 17:6, the conclusion of the story refers to the discrepancy between faith as little as a mustard seed and its ability to remove mountains. This saying is in accordance with other sayings of Jesus, proclaiming trust in God alone (e.g., Luke 12:22–34; Matt 6:25–34).

3. Missionary Language. The missionary language of early Christianity did not take up this linguistic usage of Jesus, yet it did use *pist-* as a central term in the sense of conversion. It is joined in a minor way to Jewish language, where, in Jonah 3:5; Jdt 14:10; Wis 12:2; and Philo, *Heres* 99, *pisteuein* in the aorist tense means "to come to believe." As opposed to *epistrephein* ("to turn toward") or *metanoein* ("to change one's mind"), which appear as synonymous with *pist-* (cf. 1 Thess 1:9; Acts 20:21), *pist-* did not have in Greek the meaning or sense of "conversion." The fact that *pisteuein* in the aorist, along with *pistis*, appear with this meaning in the NT, is to be explained by the fact that *pistis/pisteuein* was in both Judaism and Christianity a term of self-definition. Paul, for example, reminded his readers in 1 Cor 15:1–11 how they came to faith (*episteusate*, 1 Cor 15:2, 11). He cites there the words he used to preach the gospel to the Corinthians, and he uses terms of verbal transmission ("to deliver"/"to receive"). The content of this gospel is that Christ died for our sins and that he has been raised on the third day (1 Cor 15:3f.); this content of the gospel is the content of their faith. "To come to believe" means therefore the acceptance of this proclamation. In the letters of Paul noun and verb display a thorough affinity to the *Christos*-title. This title has a firm position in the tradition taken up by Paul in 1 Cor 15:3b–5, where different interpretations of the death and resurrection of Jesus are compared. The connection of this precise content with *pisteuein* in the aorist, along with *pistis*, often is not traceable back to Paul himself; Paul, rather, took up already existing early Christian language (cf. Acts 24:24; Col 2:5). Faith has, in this connection, the meaning of the acceptance of the proclamation of the death and resurrection of *Christos* as a final salvific event (cf. 1 Thess 4:14; Rom 6:8). The reason why Paul speaks only in 1 Thess 1:8 of faith in God is to be found in the fact that in his tradition, faith had this specific content. One should not suppose that faith in Jesus stood over against faith in God; rather, faith was in God who in the death and resurrection of Christ had accomplished salvation. God is the logical subject of the passively formulated expression concerning the resurrection of Christ. This expression of faith did, of course, set itself over against Judaism; yet it did not proclaim a new God, but the final salvific activity of God. This faith set itself also against paganism, as 1 Thess 1:9–10 shows: the proclamation of the living and true God (in contrast to the idols), along with God's son, whom God raised from the dead and who will deliver us from the wrath to come. The acceptance of this faith meant salvation (1 Thess 5:9–10).

That God achieved salvation is also a theme of NT miracle stories, while in other ancient miracle stories *pistis/pisteuein* often does not occur. Particularly typical is the story of the healing of the epileptic boy, Mark 9:14–29, where faith on the part of the healer, as well as those who seek healing, is a condition for the success of the miracle. The connection of *pistis* with gifts of healing and the working of miracles in 1 Cor 12:9f. shows that *pistis* can mean a special charisma of the healers of the sick. In Acts 9:42; 13:12; and 14:9, faith is indeed the reaction of the observers of the miracle; this corresponds to the linguistic usage of conversion: on the basis of the miracle, faith is present as the act of turning oneself toward the proclamation.

4. The Letters of Paul. The linguistic usage presented above is above all to be found in the letters of Paul. For Paul *pistis*, along with *pisteuein* in the aorist, means conversion to the proclamation of God, who raised Jesus from the dead, a new God for people who were previously pagans, the same God for Jews. With the exception of Rom 3:3 and Gal 5:22, where *pistis* appears with the meaning "faithfulness," *pistis* always means "faith" in this sense; in the connection *pistis Christou* the genitive always designates the content of faith (cf. otherwise the pairing of *eis Christon Iesoun episteusamen*, "we have believed in Christ Jesus," and *pistis Christou*, "faith in Christ," in Gal 2:16), not the faithfulness of Jesus. Such a conversion Paul describes for himself in Phil 3:4b–11 (cf. Gal 1:11–16) as the turning away from the Law and the turning toward faith. The Law

does not lead to the righteousness of God; only faith does. Faith here indeed means salvation, citizenship in heaven (Phil 3:20).

Programmatic is the connection between justification and faith formulated in Rom 3:21–31, where verb and noun appear no less than 9 times. Paul had said in Rom 1:16 that in the gospel the righteousness of God has been revealed unto salvation for everyone who believes. This he takes up again in 3:21, now in contrast to the Law, even though this righteousness of God is demonstrated from the Law and the Prophets. The basis of his argumentation is the christological formula he takes over (3:24–26a), which describes salvation as a renewal of the covenant through the redemption by means of the blood of Christ, which will suffice for the forgiveness of sins. Paul, however, attaches to the end of the formula the result of salvation history, justification by faith in Jesus (3:26b). For this exclusive connection of justification and faith (in Christ) Paul appeals in Romans 4 to the story of Abraham, which indeed comes from the Law in Gen 15:6, where righteousness is reckoned to him because he believed God. The Jewish traditions had always maintained that Abraham had known the Law and kept it (cf. Sir 44:20; *Jub.* 24:11; among other passages), and that Abraham's *pistis* (= faithfulness) had been demonstrated in his readiness to sacrifice his son Isaac (cf. Sir 44:20; 1 Macc 2:52). Against this view, Paul maintains that the Law came 430 years after Abraham, while Jewish tradition since Gen 26:5 had understood Abraham's faith as resting on his observance of the Law. Paul maintained in Rom 4:9 that Gen 15:6 was said before Abraham was circumcised (cf. Gen 17:24). Paul takes as the content of Abraham's faith the belief that God gives life to the dead and calls into being that which is not (Rom 4:17). This was already interpreted as faith in God, who justifies the godless (4:5); at the end of the chapter Paul takes up those who believe in God, who raised Jesus, our Lord, from the dead (4:24).

For Paul, therefore, Abraham becomes the example of conversion, in fact the conversion to the proclamation of God who has achieved salvation in Christ. Paul in this way goes back to Jewish traditions which held Abraham to be the first proselyte (cf. *Jub.* 11:16–24; 12:1–18 among others; above all Philo, *Heres* 90–101). In Jewish interpretation, Abraham turned at his conversion to the Law, while Paul sets Law and faith as alternatives: Abraham came to faith before he knew the Law. His circumcision was only the "seal of the righteousness by faith" (Rom 4:11). Such an interpretation of Gen 15:6 had been spoken against by the author of the letter of James (see D.9. below). According to Paul, faith is first of all made precise from its content, which achieves salvation; faith is made possible by proclamation (Rom 10:14 f.). Indeed, where *pistis* is used absolutely (cf. especially Gal 3:23–25), without specification of its content, this content is understood: faith in God, who in the death and resurrection of Christ has achieved salvation, outside of the Law. The triad of faith, love, and hope (1 Thess 1:3; 5:8; 1 Cor 13:13; cf. Col 1:4 f.; Eph 1:15–18; Heb 10:22–24) is often put forward by Paul; in 1 Thess 5:8 these three ideas are assigned to the two parts of disarmament in Isa 59:16. Paul explains the triad thetically, not polemically; the triad is not used here as an antignostic attack (Porphyry was the first to understand a way from faith to the knowledge of the truth, to love, to hope, in opposition to the Christian insistence on faith). Paul interprets the triad in Rom 5:1–5 in the sense of his doctrine of justification: justification by faith (5:1), hope in the glory of God (5:2), grounded in the gift of God's love (5:5). The three concepts are therefore fulfilled, according to their content, through justification.

5. The Deutero-Pauline Letters. The use of *pist-* is established in two directions in the Deutero-Pauline letters. On the one hand, proclamation is established as right teaching, as opposed to heretical teaching (cf. Eph 4:5; 1 Tim 4:6); on the other hand *pistis* as "faithfulness" is understood as a virtue which, for example, Timothy should take for his example (cf. 1 Tim 1:5; 2 Tim 1:5, among other places). *Pistis* in this double sense is a criterion of opposition to heretics; yet it has otherwise become a central term of self-definition. In its internal usage, however, *pistis* remains a self-definition; although it is especially submerged in the Pastoral letters beneath the Greek terms *eusebeia* or *epiphaneia;* otherwise *pistis,* like *dikaiosyne,* is understood as an ethical concept, corresponding to the tradition of Greek usage.

6. The Synoptic Gospels. a. Mark. Mark locates programmatically at the beginning of the activity of Jesus a summary of the proclamation of Jesus (1:15): the nearness of the kingdom of God and the demand for conversion and faith in the gospel. In this demand, the early Christian linguistic usage of conversion is taken up (see D.3 above). Those addressed by this demand are the readers of the gospel, who should put their honest faith in the name of Jesus, as he is presented in the gospel itself (13:21 f.). It is important to note that the proclamation of the nearness of the kingdom of God in 4:1–34 is followed immediately by the story of the stilling of the sea (4:35–41), in which Jesus reproaches his disciples' failure of faith (4:40). For Mark, the kingdom of God has come near only in the word of Jesus, not in the situation of the destruction of the Temple in the Jewish War; faith in the gospel means, therefore, to hold fast to this gospel. Such a faith can remove mountains; Mark 9:14–29 clearly shows that faith, free of doubt, was an obvious problem for the readers of Mark.

b. Matthew. Matthew brings into prominence, out of the Sayings Collection Q (Luke 12:28 = Matt 6:30), the usage of *oligopistia* ("little faith"; Matt 8:26; 14:31; 16:8; 17:20). This usage has parallels in rabbinic terminology. According to Matthew (and by way of contrast with Mark), faith is an attitude which can be quantitatively expressed as smaller or greater. Since Matthew's gospel was written in argument with newly forming Judaism after the Jewish War, *pist-* cannot display the disagreement with Judaism as a Christian self-definition; such a self-definition lacks the encouragement to belief (= conversion), for example, in Matt 4:17 as compared with its parallel Mark 1:15.

c. Luke. Luke, in his two-volume work Luke-Acts, takes over from earlier tradition the meaning of *pist-* as "conversion." It is obvious that in the speeches of Acts, *pist-* is encountered, in fact, in the speeches made to Jews (Acts 16:31; 10:43; 13:39; 20:21; 24:24), but not in those made to gentiles (Acts 14:15–17; 17:21–31). Luke also shows, therefore, the difference between the internal linguistic usage and such usage of language which occurred in

Judaism without the influence of the outer world. In contrast to Matthew, who defined the Jesus tradition as over against Judaism after the destruction of the Temple, Luke looks back into Judaism from the standpoint of his contemporary Church, which was truly formed by gentile Christians. Unlike the later apologists, however, who entered the battlefield against Greek tradition, Luke revealed himself to be aware of the problem of defining Christianity against its background as *pistis*.

7. The Johannine Tradition. a. The Gospel of John. The gospel according to John was written "that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, you may have life in his name" (20:31). This passage shows that the content of the gospel is understood to be signs, of which Jesus had performed even more than were written in this book (20:30). These "signs" were miracle stories (cf. 2:11, 23; 4:54; 12:37, among other passages). In contrast to the Synoptic Gospels' miracle stories, John's miracle stories lack the motif of faith which saves (cf. D.3 above). Faith is not the entity that makes miracles possible, from the side of the healer or of those who needed the miracle; rather, miracles happen in order to compel Jesus' followers to believe (2:11, 23; 4:54), who quite occasionally do not do so (12:37). John probably took these miracle stories out of a "gospel of signs," of which indeed the first half of the original end of the gospel (as cited above; 20:31a) is to be explained as a summary. This source recounted the miracles of Jesus (partially parallel to the synoptic miracle stories) with the purpose of awakening faith in Jesus. As the miracle worker of these signs, Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; one would believe in him because he had performed the miracle. The church which stands behind this tradition continues this activity of Jesus; the faithful also do miracles, even greater ones than Jesus (14:12).

In the gospel of John this miracle tradition is integrated into a larger connection in which especially the self-interpretation of Jesus is expressed in speeches; these speeches partially take up motifs of the miracle stories. The speeches make possible not only the faith in the miracles of Jesus; the miracle stories are also the proclamation of Jesus, the Christ, the Son of God. Thus faith is not bound to the direct encounter with Jesus (in the gospel of John only the verb *pisteuein* occurs, not the noun *pistis*). Faith is present on the basis of "witness" or "testimony" (1:7; 3:11, 32f.) and is drawn from the word (2:22), and from the words (5:46 f.; 6:63) which are continued in the word of the disciples (17:20). The sayings in the gospel of John, which are against a linking of faith and sight (20:29; 4:48), refer on the one hand to a continuation of the activity of Jesus in the proclamation of the Church; on the other hand, the content of faith refers to a specifically Johannine christology, which is to be found in the sayings about the sending of the Son (5:24, 38; 6:29; 11:42; 12:44; 17:8, 21) and in the sayings about the relation of the Son to the Father (14:1, 10f.; 16:27, 30f.). The "I am"-sayings of the gospel are taken up in 8:24 and 13:19; they mean that in believing in Jesus, all human hopes for life, truth, bread, etc., find their fulfilment. Just as in Paul (see D.4 above), faith is strongly specified by its content; clearly the content of this faith is not formulated in terms of the death and resurrection of Jesus, but in terms of a christology of God's sending Jesus into the world. Salvation is accomplished in the sending of Jesus; faith, the acceptance of this salvation, means salvation, so that the believer already possesses eternal life (3:15f., 36; 5:24; 6:40, 47; 11:25f.) and no longer comes into judgment (3:16, 18). "To believe" is thus synonymous with "to realize" (6:69); "to realize" (which, like believing, occurs only as the verb, not the noun) means, just as "to believe" does, the acceptance of salvation which has already happened. In taking up the linguistic usage and the intention of his "gospel of signs," John therefore specifies the content of faith with the faith that is connected to salvation.

b. The Johannine Letters. The linguistic usage and intention of the gospel of John is taken up in the Johannine letters: faith rests upon evidence (1 John 5:10f.), "to believe" and "to realize" stand side by side (4:16). Inside the Johannine tradition, however, the definition of the content of faith is debated (in 1 John 5:4, one finds indeed the noun *pistis*), whereas in 1 John 5:1–12 it is formulated against every sort of Docetism. The victory over the world has been won because the Son of God "is come in the flesh" (1 John 4:2). The struggle concerning this confession brings hate into the Church, even though love is commanded.

8. Epistle to the Hebrews. In Hebrews, *pisteuein* and *pistis* occur very frequently, although the majority of occurrences are in the stereotyped repetition of the noun in chap. 11. *Pistis* which is bound to an object is found only in 6:1: "faith toward God." This occurrence stands in the midst of a list of "principles," in parallel to "repentance from dead works," which indeed recalls the conversion of the addressees of the letter. The use of the verb *pisteuein* in the aorist with the meaning "to come to faith" (4:3, in opposition to *apistia*) also takes up this usage. The verb and the noun, however, are not applied in this letter to the widely unfolding christology of the Son, who was appointed as high priest according to the order of Melchisedek. The single statement of the content of faith (11:6) takes up a Jewish confessional formula: "that he is, and that he is a rewarder of those who seek after him." *Pisteuein* and *pistis* occur especially in the paraenetic parts of the letter; the dogmatic basis of Christianity does not make use of a self-definition as *pistis*. *Pistis* is in this letter, in contrast to Paul and John, not used in connection with the christological content of faith, but it marks the way which those who belong to the Christ, as Son and High Priest, must follow. The word *pistis* can be seen to stand behind "patience" (*hypomone* 10:36; 12:1; *makrothymia* 6:12). *Pistis* means above all "perseverance," the holding fast to a promised hope; it is threatened by *apistia* as the loss of such a hope. This is unfolded in chap. 11. In 10:32–34 the author had reminded his readers of "perseverance"; the reality of the promise is proven by the OT (10:37f.: Isa 26:20 and Hab 2:4; the series is turned about in Hab 2:4). Because of its opposition to shrinking back in cowardice (10:38f., according to Hab 2:4), *pistis* has here the meaning of "perseverance" or "endurance" in view of the hope. In 11:1 follows a defining sentence; the noun *hypostasis* occurs also in 1:3 and 3:14 and, corresponding to the philosophical linguistic tradition, should be translated with "substance" (not "assurance" as in the RSV): "faith is the substance of things hoped for, the proving of things not

seen." This sentence is exemplified through the whole chapter with a long series of examples from the history of Israel. For Christians, this "cloud of witnesses" should mean those who have followed the previously ordained way (12:1); Christ is the model for them as "author and perfector of faith." "Perfector" means that he is the only one who has reached the goal of the way. In Hebrews, one sees also the same conception of faith which is used in Philo of Alexandria (see C.5.) in the Stoic sense (see B.2.), as an attitude; this is in opposition to how faith is meant in Paul and John as the content of belief.

9. Epistle of James. Only through the genitive object in 2:1, "of our Lord Jesus Christ in his glory," is faith defined christologically in James. As in Hebrews, faith is above all an attitude; so in 2:1 the readers are warned against partiality, which is not appropriate to faith. Faith is put to the test through temptations, which produces patience. James 1:6 urges the right way to pray, "in faith," which stands in opposition to doubt. The poor are the ones who can be rich in this faith (2:5). In 2:14–26, the theme of "faith and works" is handled with the thesis (2:20) that faith without works is useless (cf. 2:17, 26). This section is obviously polemically oriented, in contrast to the paraenetic character of the rest of the letter; this polemic can only be directed against the theological tradition which emanates from Paul, since Paul first presented the expressed antithesis of faith against works. This can be seen from the fact that James, in his examples from Abraham and Rahab, uses the catchword "justification" (2:21, 24f.), according to which he spoke of deliverance. The Pauline connection, "works of the Law," is lacking; yet the theme of the Law is indeed taken up in 2:8–13, and the addition "of the Law" to "works" can also in the wider transmission of the Pauline doctrine of justification be omitted (Eph 2:9; cf. Titus 3:5, among other passages). In Jas 2:19 the content of faith is given as a monotheistic confession, which even a demon can say. The passages in James given above, outside this polemical section, show that the Pauline definition of faith as holding fast to something is contradicted; the sayings concerning the Law in 2:8–13 intentionally do this. We encounter in James a massive theological debate between two currents which, particularly in their understanding of faith, are diametrically opposed to one another, resulting only in an either/or: in Paul *pistis* is based on the proclamation of the death and resurrection of Christ, resulting in the antithesis of faith *vs.* works of the Law; in James the understanding of *pistis* is as a Christian virtue, resulting in the unacceptability of Paul's thesis.

E. The Early Church

The NT writings display throughout different settings of what is meant by the same self-definition of faith. This is partially because of different ways of taking up Jewish language and Jewish tradition, as well as critical dissociations among them. The Church's compilation of a canon of the NT did not result in a unified concept of faith, just as no unified concept of faith was achieved by the Church's connection with the Hebrew Bible through its acceptance of the LXX as the first part of a Christian canon.

The later history of theology was, however, influenced by the canon. Faith was there as a term of self-definition, and every determination of Christian theology will have to refer back to what is said in the canon about faith. Since Paul, Hebrews, and James all had to supply, for example, an interpretation for the story of Abraham, this was also true of those who taught about faith. One can see first in Augustine the medieval and also the modern theological differentiation between the *fides quae creditur* and the *fides qua creditur*, i.e., the difference between faith as teaching and faith as behavior, which is in a certain way a product of the connection of NT traditions, in which faith is primarily viewed on the basis of its content (Paul, John), along with the tradition found in Hebrews and James, as well as Matthew, in which faith is viewed primarily from its subjective side. Yet this differentiation is not worthy of recognition in the interpretation of biblical writings. In the strictest sense, NT writings were quoted as part of a normative canon first in the second half of the 2d century C.E.

It is in the Apostolic Fathers, however, that one next sees the continuation of the lines of thought which we had observed in the writings which would become the NT canon: the line of Hebrews can be seen to continue in *1 Clement* and the *Shepherd of Hermas;* the line of Paul continues in Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp, and Justin Martyr in his *Dialog with Trypho.* These two lines converge in the *Epistle of Barnabas.* The combination of different early Christian understandings of faith occurs, however, in the time in which the question of faith of the two sides was yet again asked anew: once in the inner-ecclesial debate with Christian Gnosticism, and again in the new, unfriendly discussion with the Greek philosophical tradition. Indeed if these two new contexts of the question concerning faith were seldom suggested in the NT, and then appear to stand out clearly in the 2d century, then the asking of the question has become more radical, and the categories for the designation of faith in both of these horizons must first be developed. For this reason, solutions cannot be sought close at hand.

In the debate with Gnosticism, faith was dealt with primarily as the inner determination of faith, which is part of a whole complex of relationships with God, the world, and the human being. Clearly, Gnosticism was in no way a unified movement; hence, there was no single terminology developed. Thus it should not be surprising that gnostics spoke in entirely positive terms of faith, in which the traditional Pauline formulas of "salvation through faith" were taken up or in which the term "faith" was used polemically with a newly developed meaning and content; other gnostics, such as the Valentinians, exercised caution with respect to "knowledge" *(gnosis),* which was used by them as a concept opposed to "faith," a concept which they devalued. The role of *pistis* is obvious in the Sethian *Paraphrase of Shem* (NHC VII,*1*), even though this theme is lacking in the parallel report of Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.19–22, as well as in other reports of the Sethians. Clearly one does not encounter *pistis* in the cosmology with the otherwise well known triad of Light, Darkness, and Mind, which appears in soteriology along with Spirit, *pneuma.* Since it was related to Light, the demon who became powerful, it led directly to the revelation of Faith. *Pistis* finally destroys *physis. Pistis* is used here as the name of the redeemer, and that is not to be explained by way of the Christian tradition.

in which Paul established *pistis* as that which expected the *Christos* (e.g., Gal 3:23–25). The gnostics could also speak very positively about faith, in terms of faith as something within the human person, which was not obtained by the previous activity of God in Christ. Otherwise it is possible that a devalued sense of faith was meant, e.g., by the Valentinians (according to Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.2), when *pistis* was assigned to the *psychichoi,* and these persons were identified with the Christians in the Church.

The decisive difference between Gnosticism and the theologians referred to as orthodox was formulated in the "rule of faith" *(kanon tes pisteos = regula fidei); pistis,* or *fides,* is there the orthodox position. This rule of faith was not something already formulated in a previous confession, such as a baptismal confession, which could be brought into play against those who deviated from it. It had to be hammered out in a concrete theological debate. It is not surprising that in the very same Church father, the formulation of the *regula fidei* could be, not insignificantly, disagreed with in its actual wording. The point of disagreement with the gnostics was that the Creation was not the work of an alien, evil God, but the work of the father of Jesus Christ. Another point of disagreement was that Christ was susceptible to suffering, and was in fact crucified. In the shadow of this development of the inner-ecclesial debate about faith, there stood also a longstanding dispute with Jews concerning what faith is. Here, as one views Justin's *Dialog with Trypho,* there are indications that these debates did not take place in a purely literary way. The subject of the debates was in what way, given the foundation already laid down by Paul of the identity of Christian faith with the OT, the Christian faith could claim "faith" as a self-definition of its own, indeed in direct opposition to the Jews.

More radical than the challenge of Gnosticism to the Christians, the philosophical tradition brought the faith of Christianity into question. In the philosophical tradition, *pistis* had stood since antiquity among the ideas of knowledge. As in the wide circles of Judaism, which were strongly affected by the Greek background surrounding them (see C.4 above), where faith was not understood to be a self-definition, so also the early Christian apologists attempted to justify Christianity in the face of its Greek and Roman background. They used as technical terms of self-definition ideas from the religious and philosophical tradition, which did not include faith.

Particularly obvious is the usage of Melito of Sardis, who used *pistis* throughout as a self-definition for his Christian readers; Justin Martyr also claimed faith for Christianity as a self-definition, denying it to Jews. In both of these apologies, insofar as words with *pist-* are used, the apologists appear embarrassed for their philosophically trained readers. Out of the Platonic tradition, in which *pistis* could mean knowledge only in the realm of the world of appearances, came Celsus' *Alethes Logos* (about 178 C.E.) as an attack on Christianity. He reproached Christianity directly because of its *pistis* character, and he maintained the superiority of philosophical knowledge over simple *pistis* on the part of Christians.

Even before Origen, who took up the debate with Celsus, Clement of Alexandria was preoccupied in the second book of his *Stromata* with the justification of the *pistis* character, as represented by him, against the background of philosophical epistemology. Behind these prepared defenses against philosophers stood controversial debates; yet for Clement and for any similarly trained Christians the problem was also inner-ecclesial. In the following generations, one can see more and more experiments of a Christian philosophy, which were carried out with the aid of philosophical epistemology. The problem was eased for Clement by the fact that in Stoicism *pistis* could be understood quite positively as "confidence," as opposed to "vain reasonings"; thus the problem did not appear here in its full sharpness, as it would in the encounter with the Platonic tradition. Clement defined faith as an "introduction" *(prolepsis)* and as an "assent" *(synkatathesis),* as it developed from Heb 11:1, which he understood to have been written by Paul: "Faith *(pistis),* however, spoken of as terrible by the Greeks, who hold it to be empty and barbaric, is an introduction *(prolepsis)* out of a free decision, an assent *(synkatathesis)* with the fear of God" (*Strom.* 2.8.4). Origen, on the other hand, in opposition to Celsus, relativized the self-definition of faith insofar, in his view, that all other religious and philosophical schools claimed faith. Thus Origen made faith a general idea, and faith no longer meant the exclusive self-definition of Christianity. The translation of Isa 7:9 in the LXX and Vulgate, which made faith the presupposition of knowledge, was not to be found in the NT, and was first used by Irenaeus to specify the relationship between faith and understanding.

In the time in which the NT canon was being formed, Christianity was forced by Gnosticism, by Judaism, and by philosophical traditions, especially Platonism, to deal with its self-definition of faith; it had to make it precise, defend it, and establish it. With roots in Jewish tradition, taken up in different ways by Christianity, faith as a self-definition became the criterion for differences both within Christianity and outside.

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DIETER LÜHRMANN
Trans. Frank Witt Hughes

"FAITH OF CHRIST"

The phrase *pistis Christou* (or its equivalent) occurs eight or nine times in the Pauline corpus (Rom 3:22, 26; Gal 2:16 [twice], 20; 3:22 [3:26 in P^{46} et al]; Eph 3:12; Phil 3:9). Grammatically speaking, the genitive *Christou* may be objective or subjective. In the former case, its meaning is: "faith whose object is Christ." Thus most modern translations render it "faith in Christ" although one can question whether "faith *in*" is equivalent to "faith *whose object is.*" In the latter case, its meaning is "faith(fulness) of Christ." A modern translation which accepts this meaning is the Hebrew version of Franz Delitzsch, which renders it "the faith of the Messiah." In recent years a number of studies have concluded that Paul intended to express a subjective genitive.

A. Arguments in Favor of the Subjective Genitive

The construction of *pistis* followed by the genitive of a person or of a personal pronoun occurs 24 times in the Pauline corpus not counting the places where *pistis Christou* and its equivalent appear. Twenty times this construction refers to the faith of Christians, individually or collectively, one time to the faith(fulness) of God (Rom 3:3), two times to the faith of Abraham (Rom 4:12, 16) and one time to anyone who has his faith reckoned to him for righteousness (Rom 4:5). In all cases the phrase refers to the faith *of* the individual, never to faith *in* the individual. Kittel (1906: 424) observed that after Paul had used the subjective genitive in Rom 3:3 in reference to the "faith of God," and the subjective genitive in 4:16 in reference to the "faith of Abraham," he would have hopelessly confused his readers unless he intended the same grammatical construction in 3:22, 26 to refer to the "faith of Christ."

A peculiar change of idiom in Gal 2:16 points to the subjective use of the genitive. Paul says that "a man is not justified by the works of the law but through the faith of Jesus Christ, and we believed in Christ Jesus, in order that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the Law." The passage makes a distinction in construction by alternately using the genitive to express the faith *of* Christ and *eis* with the accusative to express man believing *in* Christ. These phrases can hardly mean the same thing; otherwise the sentence is full of redundancies and tautology.

The use of *pistis* in Hellenistic Jewish literature supports the subjective genitive. *Pistis* followed by the personal genitive is quite rare; when it does appear it is almost always followed by the nonobjective genitive. Thus *pistis* occurs 23 times in the OT Apocrypha. Twice it is followed by the subjective personal genitive (Sir 46:15; 1 Macc 14:35) but never by the objective personal genitive. In Philo *pistis* occurs 116 times. Twice it is followed by the subjective personal genitive (*Spec Leg* IV 30, 34); never is it followed by the objective genitive. Josephus uses *pistis* 93 times, four times followed by the subjective personal genitive (*Life* 1.84; *AgAp* 2.218; *JW* 3 §6; 6 §330) and one time by the objective genitive (*Ant* 19 §16). This last reference reads: "provides good evidence *(pistin)* of God's power." In this case *pistin* does not refer to the active faith of a person and consequently is unparallel to the construction *pistis Christou.*

From the above statistics one can argue that it was inappropriate to the Hellenistic Jewish mentality to express the object of faith by means of the objective genitive. Though a theoretical case can be made for it, in actual practice it does not occur. Characteristically the writers use the preposition when they wish to express the object of faith. Thus such phrases as *pistis pros ton Theon* frequently occur (*4 Macc.* 15:24; Philo *Mut* 201). But never does *pistis* followed by the genitive of person appear with this meaning. Conversely, the genitive of person is used after *pistis* when the construction expresses the subject of

the implied action. Thus frequently such phrases occur as *ten pistin tou Simonos* (1 Macc 14:35) and *tou plethous . . . pistis* (Joseph. *Vita* 84), each referring to the faith of the person(s) involved.

The early versions of the NT (the Syriac, Latin, and Coptic) make it clear that the early Church understood *pistis Christou* to mean "faith(fulness) of Christ." The evidence is as follows. The Peshitta renders *pistis Christou* as *haymanutha dameshiḥa,* "the faith of Christ" (or the like) in all 9 occurrences in the Pauline corpus. On occasion it uses the anticipatory *He* to express the genitive relationship and in doing so it renders the phrase even more explicitly to mean "the faith *of* Christ." In Gal 2:16, for example, the Syr reads: *demen haimanutheh dameshiḥa neʾdadaq,* "that by his faith, that of the Messiah, we might be justified." There can be no doubt; the translator understood the genitive to be subjective and the meaning of the phrase to be "the faith of Christ." The Syriac, on the other hand, clearly distinguishes this from phrases that mean "believing in Christ." For the latter the Syriac uses the preposition to convey the meaning. Thus in Gal 2:16 it reads: *ʾaph ḥenan beh beyeshu meshiḥa haymen,* "and we believed in him, in Jesus the Messiah." This renders the parallel Greek phrase, *eis Christon Jesoun episteusamen.*

The Vg always renders *pistis Christou* literally *fide Christi,* "the faith of Christ." In addition it always maintains a clear distinction between this phrase and the act of our believing in Christ. It translates the latter *in Christo credimus.* The consistency with which the Latin makes this distinction makes it clear that the Vg translator(s) understood *pistis Christou* as a subjective genitive.

The Sahidic version renders *pistis Iesou Christou* consistently *tpistis ñiš peχ̄ς̄,* "the faith of Jesus the Christ." The Sahidic distinguishes this from "faith in Christ Jesus" by rendering the latter *pistis hm̄ peχ̄ς̄ ī̄ς̄.* Again there can be no doubt; the two concepts were kept distinctly separate by the different renditions in the Sahidic version.

Although an account of all the versions of the Church lies beyond the scope of this survey, it appears that translations of the NT used throughout the Middle Ages understood *pistis Christou* as a subjective genitive. This is true for the Latin Vg, the Sahidic and Bohairic Coptic, and the Peshitta Syriac. During the Reformation period translations both in England and on the continent continued to render the phrase with the meaning of "faith of Christ." Typical examples are: (a) the old Spanish version of Casiodoro de Reine revised by Ciprano de Valera in 1602, which translates without exception *la fe de Cristo;* (b) the version of John Wycliffe, dating *ca.* 1380, which translates invariably (including Gal 3:26) "the feith of Jhesu Crist"; and (c) the Authorized Version of 1611 which translates the phrase "faith of Christ" (an exception is Rom 3:26).

Although it would have to be proven by an exhaustive study of all NT versions, it appears that Luther was the first in the history of NT translators to render *pistis Christou* as an objective genitive. He consistently (except for Gal 2:20) translated the Greek *Glauben an Christum.* His rendition, which was perhaps influenced by his theology, has become dominate today and is followed by virtually all modern translations (an exception being that of Delitzsch; see above).

B. Objections to the Subjective Genitive

It has been argued that elsewhere in the NT, outside the Pauline corpus, *pistis* is occasionally followed by a personal genitive that is nonsubjective. The key passages are Mark 11:22; Acts 3:16; Jas 2:1; Rev 2:13; 14:12. None of these passages, however, uses an unambiguous objective genitive. Each may be understood as employing a subjective genitive or some other nonobjective usage of the genitive. Mark 11:22 may be translated: "Hold on to the assurance of God [who will do for you what you ask]." (Cf. *AgAp* 2 §218, "confirmed by the sure testimony *(pistin)* of God.") Acts 3:16 may be translated: "And by the assurance *(pistei)* of his name, this one whom you see and know, his name has made strong, and the certainty *(pistis)* which [comes] through it [i.e., his name] has given to him this wholeness before you all." The last three passages, Jas 2:1; Rev 2:13; 14:12, can also be understood as employing a nonobjective use of the genitive. In each instance a genitive of author or source may be implied.

Arland Hultgren (1980) has argued that there is a syntactical reason why *pistis Christou* should not be considered a subjective genitive. Whenever Paul uses the *pistis Christou* formulation he never has the article before either noun. Elsewhere when Paul uses *pistis* before a genitive that is clearly subjective he uses the article before *pistis.* Twice the genitive is a noun (Rom 3:3 and 4:12); in other cases it is a pronoun such as *hēmōn* (Rom 1:8, 12; etc.). But the article with *pistis* followed by a pronoun does not provide evidence for Paul's use of *pistis* followed by a noun since, as Williams (1987: 432) correctly pointed out, usually in the NT the anarthrous noun followed by a personal pronoun does not occur. In other words one normally finds *hē pistis hēmōn,* not *pistis hēmōn.* This means that Hultgren has only two examples where articular *pistis* is followed by a subjective genitive noun to set against the *pistis Christou* formula. This is insufficient to prove his point. Furthermore, according to the canon of Apollonius (3d century), if two nouns are united by a genitive the article should occur with both or neither. Paul regularly employs both ways of writing nouns united by a genitive as the following examples show: *tō nomō tēs hamartias* (Rom 7:23), *nomō hamartias* (Rom 7:25); *tō nomō tou Theou* (Rom 7:22), *nomō Theou* (Rom 7:25). These examples suggest that no difference in meaning exists between such forms as *pistis Christou* and a theoretical *hē pistis tou Christou.*

C. The Meaning of "Faith of Christ"

A number of interpretations have been given to the *pistis Christou* formula by those who believe it employs a subjective genitive. Herbert (1955: 373–79) explained it as the frailty of man taking refuge in the firmness and faithfulness of Christ. Torrance (1957: 111–14) explained it as both the faith of God and the faith of man being performed by Christ. Taylor (1966: 58–76) believed that for Galatians the phrase referred to the *fidei commissum* of Roman law. According to him it explains in juristic terms how Abraham's inheritance is passed on through Christ to both Jews and Greeks. Goodenough (1967: 57) argued that Christ's faith was "his trusting that the cross would not be the end, and that God would save him from death because God is *pistos,* God is the righteous one who is absolutely supreme in that he is beyond life and death."

He further stated that we share Christ's faith when we identify with him. Hays (1983: 174) concluded that Christ's faith "was manifested in his death on the cross, which, as a representative of human faith, brought about redemption and which at the same time manifested the faithfulness of God." He further said that Christians are saved not by their own faith but by participation in Jesus Christ who was a representative figure. Pollard (1982) interpreted the phrase as Christ's own faith in God demonstrated by his obedient life and death. He suggested that Christians participate in this system of faith by believing in God and by obeying him as Christ did.

It is likely that the *pistis Christou* formula, especially when it occurs in Romans and Galatians, relates primarily to the inclusion of the Gentiles. The faith of Christ is the fulfillment of the promise given to Abraham that all the nations will be blessed in him. Christ kept faith (= faith of Christ) with the divine promise by opening the doors to the Gentile nations. For Paul, then, the doctrine of justification by faith is the doctrine that by the faith of Christ God has united Israel and the nations in the present age in order to lead them to faith in God and to accomplish the salvation of mankind.

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GEORGE HOWARD

FALCON. See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

FALSE APOSTLES [Gk *pseudapostoloi*]. False apostles are mentioned only in 2 Cor 11:13 within the context of Paul's defense of his apostleship (chaps. 10–13). The term may have been coined by Paul himself as a derogatory refutation of his opponents' claim to be apostles (cf. "false witnesses" *[pseudomartys]* in 1 Cor 15:15 and "false brethren" *[pseudadelphos]* in 2 Cor 11:26). The term aptly summarizes Paul's characterization of his opponents which is antithetical to a true apostle. They preach another Jesus, offer a different spirit, and proclaim a different gospel (11:4). Although claiming to be servants of Christ (10:7; 11:23), they are really servants of Satan disguised as apostles of Christ and servants of righteousness (11:13–15).

Virtually nothing is said about the teaching of the false apostles. Some scholars claim that they are Judaizers because they stressed their Jewish heritage (11:22). Paul's accusation that they are false apostles and his later insinuation that they are false brethren (11:26) recall his characterization of Judaizers in Galatians as false brethren (Gal 2:4). There is some indication that, like the gnostics, they claim to possess special knowledge (10:5; 11:6).

Only slightly more can be surmised about the character of the false apostles. They are so boastful of their own accomplishments (10:12; 11:12, 18, 21) that Paul ironically refers to them (or the Corinthians appraise them) as "super apostles" (11:5; 12:11). They claim that Paul was weak and their speaking ability superior to his own (10:10; 11:5–6). They challenge Paul's claim that the Corinthian Church was his own field of mission (10:13–18). They were leading the Corinthians away from a sincere devotion to Christ (11:3) for selfish exploitation (11:19–20; cf. 11:9).

The false apostles claim that because Paul accepted financial support from other churches while refusing it from the Corinthians, he did not love them (11:11; 12:13). With this accusation they may have capitalized upon contemporary understanding that by refusing to fulfill patron-client expectations, Paul was affronting the Corinthians' friendship. Perhaps they went so far as to stress that rather than receive their support Paul chose to be a craftsman (tent maker), the most demeaning way an itinerant teacher could make a living.

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DUANE F. WATSON

FALSE CHRISTS [Gk *pseudochristoi*]. The sole NT references to false Christs are parallel sayings of Jesus found in the eschatological discourses of Matthew (24:24) and Mark (13:22). In both contexts Jesus warns his disciples of the appearance of false prophets and false Christs who will show signs and wonders (and also probably teach falsely) for the purpose of deceiving the elect into thinking that his Parousia has arrived (cf. the description of the false prophet in Rev 13:11–18). In a related passage, it is said that these deceivers will even claim, "I am the Christ" and "The time is at hand" (Matt 24:4–5 = Mark 13:5–6 = Luke 21:8). Since the genuine Parousia will be sudden and everywhere visible (Matt 24:27; Mark 13:26), the sign that they are false Christs will be the proclamation of both their followers and false prophets that they reside in a specific hidden location prior to their public appearance, such as the wilderness (where John the Baptist found Jesus) or inner rooms (as if plotting revolution) (Matt 24:26; cf. Mark 13:21).

There is considerable disagreement over whether or not these false Christs are to be equated with the antichrists or the Antichrist mentioned elsewhere in the NT. Stressing their distinction, the false Christs are said to be those who make false claims to be the Messiah, impersonate him, and allow others to proclaim them as such. Stressing their equality, it is argued that the false Christs' very act of impersonating Christ is akin to the antichrists' attempt to usurp his position and pervert his teaching. Like the antichrists, the false Christs are active opponents of Christ, seeking to undo his work and teaching (1 John 2:18, 22; 4:3; 2 John 7), like the supreme Antichrist of the last days (2 Thess 2:1–12; Rev 13:1–10). See also *DNTT* 1: 124–26.

DUANE F. WATSON

FAMILY. This entry focuses on aspects of family structure in ancient Israel, as well as on the association of household units with early Christianity.

OLD TESTAMENT

An understanding of the nature of the family in the OT is complicated by two factors. One is the historical length of time involved and the changes in cultural and social patterns within that span of time. The other is the range of terminology for kinship relationships, which is often not accurately reflected in English versions of the Bible. The word "family" is used to translate several Hebrew words, none of which means exactly what "family" means in modern, Western usage. In the following survey of the major components and terminology of Israel's kinship system, allowance must be made for variation and changes in the course of history, and for some terminological fluidity.

A. Terminology
1. *Šēbeṭ/Maṭṭeh* ("Tribe")
2. *Mišpāḥâ* ("Clan")
3. *Bêt-ʾāb* ("Father's House")
4. Other Kinship Terms
B. Social Functions
1. The *Mišpāḥâ*
2. The *Bêt-ʾāb*
C. Marriage
D. Parents and Children

A. Terminology

Israelite nomenclature is the clearest window into Israelite kinship structure. The search for the guilty person responsible for Israel's defeat at Ai narrows down from "tribe" *(šēbeṭ)* to "clan" *(mišpāḥâ)* to "family" *(bêṭ-ʾāḇ)*, and finally to the individual, Achan. These three major social units are then repeated in reverse order when his full name is given: "Achan son of Karmi [patronymic, his own father's name], son of Zabdi [grandfather and head of his *bêṭ-ʾāb*], son of Zerah [name of his *mišpāḥâ*], of the tribe of Judah" (Josh 7:16–18). The same three levels of kinship are to be found in many other texts where names are used or selected, e.g., the selection of Saul (1 Sam 10:20f.), and the self-deprecating formulas of Saul (1 Sam 9:21) and Gideon (Judg 6:15): *tribe, clan,* and *house.*

1. *Šēbeṭ/Maṭṭeh* ("Tribe"). This was the primary unit of social and territorial organization in Israel. The tribes bore the names of the twelve sons of Jacob/Israel, with Joseph divided into Manasseh and Ephraim. Their varied histories are as complex as the history of the emergence and settlement of Israel in Palestine itself. Although, as the nomenclature shows, a person's tribal identity was important, and in wartime the military levy was on a tribal basis, in terms of practical social impact on ordinary life, the tribe was the least significant of the circles of kinship within which one stood. The secondary and tertiary subdivisions of the social structure were both more socially relevant and also closer to what we could recognize as meaningfully "family" structures.

2. *Mišpāḥâ* ("Clan"). This word is awkward to translate. English versions (e.g., RSV) often render it "family," but this is misleading since the *mišpāḥâ* could comprise quite a large number of families. It was a unit of kinship, but of far wider scope than the English word "family" denotes (except metaphorically). For a subunit of the tribe, the words "clan" and "phratry" are sometimes used (cf. Anderson 1969; *IDBSup,* 519–24). However, in common anthropological and sociological terminology these words usually designate exogamous kinship divisions (i.e., where marriage must take place outside one's own clan or phratry), whereas the Israelite *mišpāḥâ* was normally (and in some circumstances, statutorily) endogamous, in order to preserve Israel's system of land tenure (cf. Num 36:1–12). Nevertheless, in spite of this difficulty (fully discussed by Gottwald 1979: 301–5), the word "clan" is perhaps the best available rendering (as in the NIV), since it signifies something smaller than a tribe but larger than a family—precisely its intermediate role in Israel.

The primary nature of the *mišpāḥâ* was a unit of recognizable *kinship.* The clearest evidence of this is in the census

lists of Numbers 1 and 26 (cf. Mendenhall 1958), where the sons (in a few cases, the grandsons) of the tribal ancestors (i.e., the sons of Jacob) give their names to the clans of each tribe, as its major subdivisions. It is this kinship factor which lies behind the motive for the supportive and restorative roles of the *mišpāḥâ* in the social and economic spheres (see B.1, below). The tribal and subtribal lists of Numbers 26 would yield a total of about 60 clans in Israel. But it seems certain that there were many more than that, since the numerical size of each would have been very large if limited to 60 clans. In the narratives, some clan names occur which are not recorded in the census lists, and there were probably many more: Saul, for example, was from the Matrite clan (1 Sam 10:21), and David was from the Ephrathite clan (1 Sam 17:12), but neither of these names are found among the clans of Benjamin or Judah in Numbers 26. It also appears that in the process of settlement some place-names became absorbed into the genealogical structures as clan names, so that some clan names and village or town names became interchangeable (Mic 5:2; 1 Chr 2:5ff.; 4:5). Thus, for example, Shechem, Tirzah, and Hepher, which were Canaanite towns (Genesis 34; Josh 12:17, 24), were included among the clans of Manasseh (Josh 17:26; Num 26:31–33).

This points to the second major feature of the *mišpāḥâ*—its *territorial* identity. The clearest evidence for this is found in the ancient tribal boundary lists purporting to give the tribal portions in the division of the land, in Joshua 13–19. It is repeatedly recorded there that in the division, the tribes were allotted land "according to their clans" (e.g., Josh 13:15, and *passim;* cf. Num 33:54). Within these clan portions, each household also had its patrimonial portion *(naḥălâ)*, as is clear from Judg 21:24, but the role of the *mišpāḥâ* in Israel's economic system was very important (see below). So when an Israelite gave his full name, including his house, clan, and tribe, it not only stated his kinship network but practically served as a geographical address as well.

3. *Bêt-ʾāb* ("Father's House"). This was the third level of the kinship structure of Israel, and the one in which the individual Israelite felt the strongest sense of inclusion, identity, protection, and responsibility. The "father's house" was an extended family, comprising all the descendants of a single living ancestor (the head, *rōʾš-bêt-ʾāb*) in a single lineage, excluding married daughters (who entered their husbands' *bêt-ʾāb* along with their families), male and female slaves and their families, resident laborers, and sometimes resident Levites. Thus, the *bêt-ʾāb* included the head of the house and his wife (or wives), his sons and their wives, his grandsons and their wives, plus any unmarried sons or daughters in the generations below him, along with all the nonrelated dependents. Given the early age of marriage, a head of household could well preside over three generations below his own, so that his house would comprise several nuclear (two-generation) families and (with average fertility even under monogamy) would have been numerically substantial. It is likely that a *bêt-ʾāb* could have comprised some 50–100 persons, residing in a cluster of dwelling units. Thus, Achan was a married man with children, but he was part of the house of Zimri, his grandfather (Josh 7:17f.). Gideon, likewise, though married with teenage sons and servants of his own, lived under the authority and the protection of his father Joash and his house (Judg 6:11, 27, 30f; 8:20). The household of Micah the Ephraimite occupied several dwelling houses and could muster a contingent of men, but they were no match for a superior *mišpāḥâ* (Judg 18:14, 19, 28f.).

The *bêt-ʾāb* in Israel was patrilineal (descent was reckoned through the male line) and patrilocal (the wife left the *bêt-ʾāb* of her father and went to reside within the *bêt-ʾāb* of her husband). Growth would happen by births, acquiring wives for sons, adoptions, attraction of resident workers and craftsmen (*gērîm* and *tôšābîm*), and purchase of slaves. Conversely, a *bêt-ʾāb* could shrink even to extinction, through deaths (natural, or unnatural—i.e., war or famine), infertility in general or lack of sons especially (since daughters would marry into other households), and the extremity of selling land and dependents because of debt. Various mechanisms existed to protect households from such attrition or extinction (see below). It is probable that on the death of the head of the household, his sons in the next generation would become heads of their own houses, either dividing the patrimony, or possibly in some cases choosing to live on it together (cf. Deut 25:5).

4. Other Kinship Terms. Kinship terms in the Israelite family were simple, the same terms being used both for immediate blood relatives in the family and for wider relationships both vertically and horizontally, on the male side. Thus: *ʾāb*, "father" (and any male ancestor in the same lineage); *ʾēm*, "mother"; *bēn*, "son" (and any male descendant in the same lineage); *bat*, daughter; *ʾaḥ*, "brother" (and any male member of the same *mišpāḥâ*); *ʾāḥōt*, "sister." Since kin was reckoned unilineally through the male, the mother's relatives were not counted genealogically as kin, nor given differentiated generic names (cf. *IDBSup*, 519–24 on different systems of distinguishing kin). Thus, *dōd* and *dōdâ* refer respectively to the paternal uncle (father's brother) and his wife (sometimes father's sister). But although the terminology could be elastic in scope, the relationships themselves within the empirical extended family were carefully regulated. The prohibitions on certain degrees of kinship for marriage purposes (Lev 18:6–18; 20:11–14, 19–21) were not concerned so much with sexual ethics in a general sense, but with limiting and protecting the permitted sexual liaisons within and between the nuclear units within the extended family, for the sake of its overall stability (see Porter 1967).

B. Social Functions

The Israelite capture of Palestine meant the replacement of one social system with a very different one. Palestine before Israel was a city-state culture, with a very stratified social and economic hierarchy, topped by the local kings and their elites, supported by the mass of taxpaying tenant peasants. This power-at-the-top, poverty-at-the-bottom pattern was accurately portrayed and warned against in Samuel's speech to monarchy-seeking Israelites (1 Sam 8:10–18). By contrast, Israel emerged as a social system based on a broad equality of kinship groups, initially without a centralized, elite power base. Even after the establishment of the monarchy (after much resistance, which never really died out), the kinship pattern survived as a potent social reality at local levels of authority and decision making. Many studies have shown

that it was within the smaller kinship units, especially the *bêt-ʾāb* and the *mišpāḥâ*, that the individual found his or her identity as a member of the covenant people of Israel, and learned his or her obligations to the society and the God of Israel. The following brief survey of the social roles and functions of the *mišpāḥâ* and the *bêt-ʾāb* will show this familial basis of Israelite society and its significance in its members' theological self-understanding.

1. The *Mišpāḥâ*. a. Socioeconomic. The expression "protective association of extended families" (Gottwald 1979: 257ff.) is accurate as a description of the *mišpāḥâ* because its role was primarily protective and restorative for the constituent households. The focus of this role was the figure of the *gōʾēl*, the "kinsman-redeemer." The extent of kinship within which a man could be required to act as *gōʾēl* was bounded by the *mišpāḥâ*. This is clear from the regulations for land redemption by a relative in Leviticus 25:49. The responsibility starts with a brother, moves to uncle, cousin, and then to "any blood relative [lit. "of the flesh of"] in his *mišpāḥâ*." The range of responsibilities that could fall on the shoulders of a kinsman as a *gōʾēl* was wide and varied.

First, he was supposed to avenge the murder of a kinsman (Numbers 35). This is obviously a form of deterrent protection of the lives of the personnel of the *mišpāḥâ* (though it could, in extreme circumstances, be counterproductive, as the hypothetical, but presumably realistic, story of 2 Sam 14:4–11 shows).

Second, the *gōʾēl* was supposed to raise a male heir for a deceased relative (Deut 25:5–10). This was a form of emergency marriage (known as "levirate," from Latin, *levir*, brother-in-law) to the widow of an Israelite who had died childless. Its purpose was to preserve his name and patrimony by raising a son who would be counted as the son and heir of the deceased, even though fathered by the kinsman. It appears to have been a less than popular duty, judging by the form of the law. The economic reasons for the reluctance to perform it appear in Ruth 4. The nearer kinsman to Boaz declined to redeem the land of Naomi and Elimelech (deceased) when it turned out he would have to marry Ruth, since any son born to them would inherit the land which he had paid for and would have to maintain throughout the child's minority. Boaz's contrasting willingness to act as *gōʾēl* for both the land and for Ruth is consequently seen as even more praiseworthy. The local residents appropriately pray that he will have more than one son (Perez was a twin, and bore two sons)—the first for an heir to Elimelech, and others as heirs for himself.

Third, land within the *mišpāḥâ* had to be redeemed (Lev 25:23–28). If a kinsman became poor and had to sell part of the land of the *bêt-ʾāb*, it was the duty of a fellow kinsman either to buy it in advance (preemption) or buy it back if sold (redemption—the law has been interpreted both ways and both were possible). It then remained in the hands of the redeemer until the Jubilee year, when it returned to the original *bêt-ʾāb*.

Fourth, the redeemer was supposed to maintain or redeem the person or dependents of a kinsman in debt (Lev 25:35–55). The duties included providing interest-free loans (vv 35ff.), complete maintenance within one's own work force (39ff.), and redemption from bondage if the poor brother or his dependents had sold themselves to an outsider (i.e., outside the *mišpāḥâ*, not necessarily to an ethnic foreigner, vv 47ff.).

From this it is clear that the *mišpāḥâ* existed primarily for the good of the constituent families. There is no evidence that it exercised any separate authority over them, or wielded any economic demands of its own. As Gottwald (1979: 267) notes: "The *mišpāḥāh* stands out as a protective association of families which operated to preserve the minimal conditions for the integrity of each of its member families by extending mutual help as needed to supply male heirs, to keep land, to rescue members from debt slavery, and to avenge murder. These functions were all restorative in that they were emergency means to restore the normal autonomous basis of a member family, and they were all actions that devolved upon the *mišpāḥāh* only when *bēth-ʾāv* was unable to act on its own behalf."

b. Military. The census lists of Numbers 1 and 26, which stress the listing of clans and houses, were explicitly linked to military capacity and the enrollment of the army. The term *ʾelep*, as well as being the numeral "one thousand," also could be used synonymously for *mišpāḥâ*, usually in military contexts. It seems that the *ʾelep* was the "*mišpāḥâ*-at-arms"—i.e., the contingent of soldiers supplied as its quota to the tribal levy. This may have been very ideally 1,000, but in reality was far fewer than that. (Some scholars reckon that this accounts for the impossibly high figures for the army in Numbers 1 and 26: the number of "thousands" may actually be the number of clan units in the tribal quotas.) When Gideon set out to raise an army against the Midianites, he began with his own Abiezrite *mišpāḥâ*, after which he called out the rest of the clans of Manasseh, and only then came the wider appeal to the clans of other neighboring tribes (Judg 6:34ff; 8:2). Jesse's Ephrathite clan's contribution to Saul's army against the Philistines included three out of his eight sons in the *bêt-ʾāb*, and the provisions he sent by young David included ten cheeses for the commander of their *ʾelep* (1 Sam 17:12–19). Thus the obligations of kinship in Israel included not only the socioeconomic restorative role of the *mišpāḥâ*, but also the duty of providing manpower for the army in time of war, and both were regarded as fundamental obligations to Yahweh himself. The Song of Deborah is strong evidence for this sense of mutual obligation and equates the "righteous deeds [i.e., military triumphs] of Yahweh" with the "righteous deeds of his peasant farmers in Israel" (Judg 5:11).

2. The *Bêt-ʾāb*. Sociologically the *bêt-ʾāb* was the most important small unit in the nation and for the individual Israelite, man, woman, or child—slave or resident alien—it was the essential locus of personal security within the national covenant relationship with Yahweh (cf. Mendenhall 1960; Wright fc.).

a. Economic. The *bêt-ʾāb* was the basic unit of Israel's system of land tenure, each having its own *naḥălâ* (inheritance) of land, and therewith intended to be economically self-sufficient. The intention of Israel's land tenure system, namely that ownership of land should be as widely spread as possible with broad equality over the network of economically viable family units, was embodied in and protected by the principle of *inalienability*. This was the rule that the land should remain in the family to which it

had been apportioned, and could not be sold permanently outside the family. It was a rule tenaciously adhered to through Israel's history, as far as the evidence points. The whole OT gives us no single example of an Israelite voluntarily selling land outside his family. Recorded land transfers were either kinship redemption (Jeremiah 32, Ruth), sale by non-Israelites (2 Samuel 24; 1 Kgs 16:24), or nonvoluntary mortgage of land for debt (Neh 5:3). Nor is there any inscriptional evidence from Palestine of Israelite sale and purchase of land, even though there are abundant records of such transactions from Canaanite and surrounding societies. The only legal method by which land in the OT period "changed hands" was by inheritance within the family. Even Ahab recognized this, when faced with Naboth's stand on this principle (1 Kings 21). The means used to circumvent it and the forcible confiscation of Naboth's family land show the grim fulfillment of Samuel's prediction as to what monarchy would entail for the previously economically autonomous families of Israel. In fact royal intrusion into Israel's traditional family land tenure system went back to David himself (see Ben Barak 1981). The case of the daughters of Zelophehad, according to which surviving daughters could inherit land in the absence of sons but must marry within their own *mišpāḥâ*, expresses the principle of inalienability most explicitly (Num 27:1–11; 36:1–12).

It was this inalienability principle which lay behind the duty of redemption within the *mišpāḥâ*, which we have already observed (Lev 25:23). Even more so it was the rationale of the Jubilee institution. One effect of the exercise of land redemption over a period of time could be that a few better-off households within a *mišpāḥâ* could acquire (by redemption or preemption) the land of more impoverished ones, thus producing a polarization of economic wealth and social power by legal and superficially laudable means. The Jubilee functioned as an override to this potential inequity by requiring that in the fiftieth year (i.e., approximately every other generation), any land that had changed hands within the *mišpāḥâ* through redemption should return to the original *bêt-ʾāb*, along with any dependents who were in bondage for debt. The Jubilee was thus designed to maintain the viability of families on their own land by periodic restoration. It illustrates the point that Israel's economic system was geared—in principle at least, if not in practice—not to the interests of a wealthy elite, but to the economic survival and social health of the lowest socioeconomic units—the extended families on their patriomial land.

b. Judicial. Law and the administration of justice were features of life to which the faith of Israel very specifically addressed itself, so much so that it has markedly affected the very shape and substance of the canon of Hebrew scriptures. In this sphere we also find that the *bêt-ʾāb* was of central importance. The role of the family had two dimensions in this matter: internal, domestic jurisdiction, and external, public administration, of justice.

(1) Internal Jurisdiction. In certain matters the head of an Israelite household had authority to act judicially without reference to any external civil authority. These included marriage and divorce, matters relating to slaves (except murder or physical injury, Exod 21:20f., 26f.), parental discipline (see Phillips 1973; 1980). This judicial independence of heads of households can be gauged also from the degree of inviolability enjoyed by members of a household under a strong head. They could not simply be seized on suspicion (Deut 24:10f.; Judg 6:30f.; 2 Sam 14:7). Only a "fool" would allow such a thing (Job 5:3f.). The law of the rebellious son (Deut 21:18–21) shows that it was only after internal family action had been persistently flouted that the matter came before the civil elders for public intervention. The *bêt-ʾāb*, therefore, was the primary framework of legal authority within which the Israelite found himself from childhood, and to which he remained subject for a considerable period of his life—even into adulthood and parenthood, while his father was alive. The fifth commandment endows this social fact with all the weight of fundamental covenant obligation to Yahweh.

(2) The Administration of Justice. As well as their responsibility for jurisdiction within their own households, the heads of houses acted judicially in the local civic assembly—"the gate." This was probably their major public function as "elders" in the everyday life of the community. The OT never spells out exactly the identity of the elders nor the qualifications for eldership, so there has been room for debate among scholars on the matter. But the most likely view is that they were composed of the senior males from each household—i.e., the *rōʾš-bêt-ʾāb*, who were qualified by their substance—their family and their land (see Wolf 1947; Gordis 1950; McKenzie 1959; Phillips 1970: 17). Job 29, for example, gives a very informative picture of Job's prominent role within the local judicial assembly, which he tragically lost as a result of the loss of his family and substance, described in chap. 30. From this example (which must be true to life, whatever one's view of the historicity of Job himself), it can be seen how disastrous were the results of the loss of land and family. While Israel preserved a social fabric of free, landowning households, the administration of justice by the plurality of local elders would have been potentially healthy and "democratic." But when large numbers of Israelite farmers lost land and dependents, not through sickness but through economic oppression, debt bondage, and dispossession, the results were unavoidably felt in the shift of power in "the gate" in favor of the wealthy few. The combination of economic and judicial corruption was keenly observed and bitterly denounced by the prophets. Obviously not even the judicial reform of Jehoshaphat in the 9th century could halt the process (2 Chr 19:4–11).

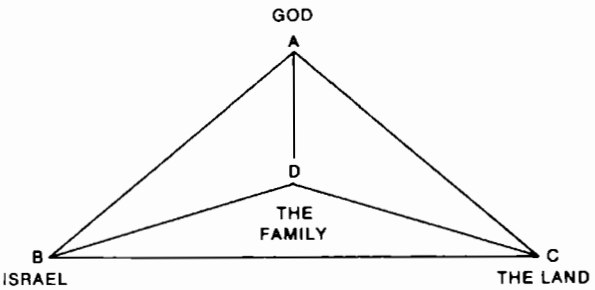
c. Didactic. A most important aspect of the role of the family in ancient Israel was as the vehicle of continuity for the faith, history, law, and traditions of the nation. The preservation of these "national assets" lay in the hands of the father especially. He was to teach the law of Yahweh to his children, not only as a duty of parenthood, but indeed (in the theology of Deuteronomy) as a condition of his own prolonged enjoyment of the gift of the land (Deut 6:7; 11:19; 32:46f.). Though it is going too far to see the family as the originating source of Israel's distinctive legal traditions, as Gerstenberger (1965) does, he is right to emphasize the influence of the ancient tribal and patriarchal structure of early Israel on the form and development of Israel's law, and the role of the *bêt-ʾāb* and the *mišpāḥâ* in preserving it.

As well as teaching the law itself, the father was to give explanations to his child concerning particular events, institutions, or memorials. There are five such question-and-answer texts: Exod 12:26f.; 13:14f.; Josh 4:6f., 21–23; and Deut 6:20–24. Soggin (1960) termed these passages "catechetical," in view of the repeated formula "When your son asks you . . . you shall say . . ." He regarded them as liturgical in form, which may be so, but that does not exclude the natural locus for such material, i.e., family-level teaching. The examples given offer a catechesis that included events related to the Exodus, the Conquest and gift of the land, and the receiving of the Law—all themes which were at the very heart of Israel's historical faith and relationship with Yahweh. The family's role in preserving both knowledge and understanding of these things was correspondingly crucial.

One of the occasions for this parental catechesis related to the consecration of the firstborn son (and the sacrifice or redemption of all firstborn animals). The texts relating to the human firstborn are Exod 13:2, 12–15; 22:28; 34:1–20; Num 3:11–13; 8:16–18; and 18:15. The rite itself is important as a link between family life in Israel and the national relationship with Yahweh. It had a double significance. First, it seems to have been a symbolic declaration of Israel's complete belonging to Yahweh. The firstborn of Israel had been spared when the firstborn of Egypt had been slain. Hence, those whom God had delivered from death belonged entirely to him (Num 3:13). And since the firstborn, like the firstfruits, represented the whole of which they were the part, this was the basis of the sanctification of the nation as a whole (cf. Jer 2:3). Secondly, it was a declaration of the continuity and permanence of Israel's relationship with God. By claiming the firstborn in each family, God was claiming the whole succeeding generation as his own. The birth of the first son was a very significant event in the life of any family, since it ensured the continuation of the family into the next generation. The consecration of that son to Yahweh symbolically ensured the continuation of the covenant relationship into that generation also. As the psalmists delight to recall, Yahweh is Israel's God "from generation to generation." Like the Passover, to which it is closely related in the text (note the parallelism of the two rites in Exod 13:9 and 16), it is to serve as a constant memorial of the foundational redemptive events of the Exodus. And also like the Passover, it was within the family that this memorial and sign was to be perpetuated.

d. Covenantal. From all the above points it can be seen that the family (meaning the *bêt-ʾāb*) was of pivotal importance to Israel's relationship with Yahweh. Its position could be diagrammatically pictured as in Fig. FAM.01 (cf. Wright 1983: 184). First, the family was the basic unit of Israelite kinship and social structure (BD), with important military and judicial functions. Second, it was the basic economic unit of Israel's land tenure (CD), with a wide range of rights, responsibilities, and functions. Third, it was of central importance in the experience and preservation of the covenant relationship with Yahweh (AD).

The social, economic, and theological realms were thus bound together and converged on the focal point of the family. It can be understood how anything which threatened the stability of the socioeconomic structure of the



FAM.01. Chart of family relationships in ancient Israel.

nation (the triangle BCD) would have serious repercussions on the national covenant relationship with Yahweh also, by undermining its roots and soil—the network of free landowning families. From this perspective one can appreciate better the strong concern for the family in the Law and the Prophets. As well as the various institutions designed to protect the family and its economic viability (levirate, inalienability, redemption, Jubilee), there were laws whose severity can best be understood against this familial background. The death penalty for breaking the fifth commandment (honor to parents) and the seventh (adultery) served to protect the family *internally* from the disruption of its domestic authority and its sexual integrity. The eighth (stealing), tenth (coveting a neighbor's house and all that went with it), and prohibitions on the removal of landmarks (boundary encroachment) or kidnapping of persons protected it *externally* from the diminution or total loss of its economic substance.

The importance of the family and its land in the relationship between Israel and Yahweh also illuminates the prominence of the socioeconomic dimension in the prophetic preaching. From the time of Solomon onward, many factors in monarchic Israel militated against the characteristic socioeconomic structure of earlier Israel with its broad network of economically self-sufficient households, equitable land division, and protective mechanisms. These factors included the political reorganization of the state by Solomon into administrative districts which cut across the older kinship groupings, especially in the N; the acquisition of foreign territories where concepts of land tenure were very different from the inalienable family inheritance structure of Yahwistic Israel; the imposition of taxation and forced levy, which, even when it only included Canaanites, fell heavily on Israelite households which were periodically deprived of working members; and the growth of a wealthy class whose wealth came from Solomon's trade, not from the land, but whose greed led to the intrusion of royal grants and confiscations and the accumulation of large estates at the expense of poorer farmers. The prophets protested against these processes, not merely as the side effects of the wider rejection of Yahweh and his laws, but as an intrinsic threat to the whole covenant relationship itself. If the relationship with Yahweh was so closely bound to the life of the household units

and their land, then the social and economic forces which were destroying them would inevitably shatter the nation's relationship with Yahweh also, certainly as it was enjoyed by the members of those households. The familial aspect is apparent, for example, in Isa 5:8–10; Mic 2:1–3, 8f.; 7:5f.

C. Marriage

The arrangement of marriage fell within the category of family law in Israel (i.e., as distinct from civil and criminal law, though the distinctions are not as clear-cut as in modern legal categories; see Phillips). Marriages were normally arranged between families, outside the prohibited degrees of kinship in the *bêt-'āb* (Leviticus 18 and 20), but usually within the kinship of the *mišpāḥâ*. The latter was obligatory in the case of marrying daughters who, in the absence of sibling brothers, had inherited the land of their father (Numbers 36). Exceptions would have been marriage as the result of prior rape (Exod 22:16f., amended in Deut 22:28f.), and the taking of a wife from captives of war (which was hedged with humanitarian restrictions on mere rapacity, Deut 21:10–14). Marriage with foreigners is recorded (e.g., Gen 26:34; 41:45; Exod 2:21; etc.). For ordinary people, this may sometimes have been the result of economic necessity (e.g., Ruth 1:4); for royalty, a matter of political expediency (e.g., 1 Kgs 11:1ff.; 16:31). The Law, at any rate, disapproved of it (at least, as regards the Canaanite population, Deut 7:3f.) and in postexilic times draconian measures were taken against foreign marriages by Ezra (Ezra 9 and 10) and Nehemiah (Neh 10:30; 13:23–37). Genesis 2:24 and the common prophetic imagery of the exclusive relationship between Israel and Yahweh as sole wife to divine husband shows that monogamy was the ideal. But it is equally clear that polygyny (though not polyandry) was practiced, though the Law (e.g., Deut 21:15–17, and the law governing concubinage, Exod 21:7–11) and some narratives (e.g., Genesis 29 and 30; 1 Sam 1:1–8) are aware of its inherent problems. It seems very likely that an additional wife or concubine was taken primarily for the purpose of acquiring or adding to one's children, that monogamy was probably the general rule among ordinary people (for economic reasons), and that the taking of many wives was purely a symbol of prestige and power (or political alliances) indulged in by royalty, though condemned by Deut 17:14–17.

As in many societies, ancient and modern, the arrangement of a marriage between families involved the exchange of gifts, cementing the relationship not merely between bride and groom but also between their families. This is the context in which to understand the Israelite *môhar*—the money or equivalent given by the bridegroom to the bride's father (Gen 34:12 for Dinah; Exod 22:15f. and Deut 22:28f. for a violated virgin; 1 Sam 18:25, David's exploit for Michal). The common translation, "bride-price" is very misleading in giving rise to the idea that marriage in Israel was solely a matter of *purchase*. (In fact, the etymology and precise meaning of *môhar* is not at all clear, either in the OT or the comparative material which scholars have relied on heavily.) This view, and its oft-repeated correlates, that wives in Israel were chattel property and that adultery was simply a property offense, cannot be supported from a careful study of the laws and narratives about wives in the OT. (Texts concerning daughters or concubines or women in general cannot be used as evidence, though they are often loosely quoted. Daughters were considered a father's property, but that status did not continue after marriage; concubines were purchased slaves; but the status of wives was legally and socially quite distinct.) Nor does this view stand up to the impact of extensive anthropological and sociological research into societies where such exchanges of money or gifts at the time of marriage still take place and where the practice in no way indicates that marriage is simply purchase (see Thiel 1970). In India, for example, the direction of dowry is the opposite of the OT—that is, it is common practice for the girl's parents to pay large amounts to the bridegroom's family. Scholarly research in this century on the status of women in general and wives in particular in ancient Israel has tended steadily to the consensus that the older view of marriage by purchase and wives as chattels is simply untenable (see Wright fc. chap. 6; Burrows 1938; Mace 1953; Otwell 1977).

Divorce was permitted in ancient Israel. The law of Deut 24:1–4, however, is not so much a law about divorce itself or the conditions on which it might happen (being a matter of family law, divorce cases did not come before the elders and the reasons for divorce in any case were not a matter of civil adjudication: hence the vagueness of the opening phrases of the law on that point). Rather, it is regulating for the protection of the woman in the event of a divorce taking place. First, she must be given a certificate of divorce (so that she could not be accused of adultery if she married again, nor could her second husband be so accused). Secondly, she could not be taken back by the original husband once she had married another (so that she could not be degradingly treated as a sexual object). Though the Law thus permitted divorce, it was not taken lightly in OT faith. Malachi's denunciation of divorce as something Yahweh "hates" (2:13–16) as a form of self-inflicted violence was surpassed only by Jesus himself. The same could be said of the high view of marriage, and the inner springs of thought and desire which threaten it, that are part of the lofty ethical content of Job's self-defense (Job 31:1, 9ff.). Even more inspiring are the portrait of the joys of sexual love and fulfillment in the Song of Songs, and the exalted evaluation of a good wife in Proverbs (31:10–31).

D. Parents and Children

It is very evident that children in ancient Israel were regarded as a precious gift from God (e.g., Pss 127; 128). Besides long life, a large family was among the most tangible and desirable of God's blessings. Not only was it the essence of the Abrahamic covenant (Gen 15:5, etc.), a large family was an important element in the blessings that were promised for obedience in the Sinai covenant (Lev 26:9; Deut 28:4). Conversely, barrenness or loss of children were great tragedies.

The authority of parents (both father and mother) and the duty of honor and obedience on the part of children is likewise stressed throughout the OT (e.g. Exod 20:12; 21:15, 17; Deut 21:18–21; 27:16; Proverbs *passim*, but N.B. 20:20; 30:11, 17; metaphorically Isa 1:2; Mal 1:6). In

view of the foregoing discussion of the centrality of the family to the national relationship with Yahweh, this emphasis on internal discipline can be more fully appreciated. The security and stability of the family as a whole was valued even more highly than the life of one of its members, as the law of the incorrigible son shows (Deut 21:18–21). (The son in question should not be thought of as merely a mischievous child, but rather as of an age to seriously threaten, by his rebellious behavior, the very substance of the *bêt-ʾâb,* and incapable of being entrusted with an inheritance from it.)

As in the case of the status of wives, however, caution is needed in giving an accurate assessment of the position of children vis-à-vis their parents, especially the father. The view is sometimes expressed that children were the personal property of the father, who, accordingly, had absolute power over them *(patria potestas),* including the right of life and death. The first point is partially correct, with qualifications; the conclusion drawn from it is mistaken.

Several laws do show that a man's children were *legally* regarded as his property with a calculable economic value. In common with other ANE laws, Israelite law protected the child before birth, prescribing that one who injured or destroyed its prenatal life, even accidentally, should pay compensation to the father (Exod 21:22). A daughter had an economic value related to the *môhar* that could be expected at her marriage. Hence, if she were violated while unbetrothed, the offender must compensate the father for the presumed loss of the *môhar* (Exod 22:15f.). Similarly, compensation must be paid to the father of a bride if her husband made accusations about her which could be proved false (Deut 22:13–19). A man could sell his daughter as an *ʾâmâ* (maidservant), sometimes for the purpose of concubinage (Exod 21:7ff.). In circumstances of extreme poverty, parents might be reduced to selling children into bondage, as working pledges against loans (cf. Neh 5:1–5; 2 Kgs 4:1–7). Thus, children did have a value as property, which could be "realized" in two kinds of circumstance, as far as the legal evidence goes, (i) if they were harmed or "devalued," and (ii) if financial extremity forced parents to use children as "assets."

However, the view that this gave the father absolute power over his children in *any* circumstance must be disputed. It is possible that the father had the legal right of execution over his children in the earliest, patriarchal period, but the evidence is not as strong as sometimes implied. Only Genesis 38:24 is a case of the head of a household passing a death sentence (on a daughter-in-law). Genesis 19:8 and Judges 19:24 describe a father's willingness to sacrifice his daughter's virginity, not the judicial right of life and death. No examples are to be found in the postpatriarchal narratives (Jephthah's daughter was a sacrifice, not an execution; see below). On the contrary, the law of Deut 21:18–21 explicitly limits any such interpretation of *patria potestas* by placing the power of execution of a son in the hands of a court of elders, after due investigation which includes the presence and testimony of the mother as well as the father—probably an added element of protection for a son, in that the consent of both parents was required for the charge to be legally actionable.

Child sacrifice is sometimes said to show the extent of a father's power over his children. Certainly, where it is practiced, it does. But it is decidedly not the same thing as the legal right of execution. The latter is the father's judicial authority over a child legally guilty of an offense. Sacrifice of a (legally) innocent child as a religious or propitiatory rite is a different phenomenon altogether. We have seen that it is very improbable that fathers had the judicial power of life and death over their children. Likewise the majority of scholars would now dissent from the older view that child sacrifice was ever an acceptable, let alone prescribed, feature of Yahwistic religion in Israel. Nevertheless, it happened. But, with the exception of the puzzling story of Jephthah's daughter (Judges 11; cf. also Genesis 22), the incidence of child sacrifice in Israel is limited in time and place: it was mainly concentrated in the reigns of Ahaz (2 Kgs 16:3) and Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:6), in Jerusalem, and survived also in the remnant of the N kingdom after the destruction of Samaria (2 Kgs 17:17). This locates it in the late 7th and early 6th centuries, when Assyrian domination was at its height, and Israel's reversion to pagan practices of all sorts was at its worst. The condemnation of the horrific rite is universal in the Law, the prophets, and the narrative text mentioned above.

Finally, there are several incidents in the OT where a whole family, or especially children, suffer death because of the sin or crime of the father. These have sometimes been understood as showing that in Israel children could be punished along with or instead of guilty parents. This has then been cited as evidence of "corporate personality," or the "primitive mentality" of the Hebrews. Such ideas, however, have been shown to be inadequate and misleading in more recent legal and anthropological research (see Porter 1965; Rogerson 1970; 1978). It must first be pointed out that none of the incidents in any way illustrates normal judicial procedures in Israel (Korah's rebellion, Numbers 16; Achan, Joshua 7; the Gibeonites' revenge on Saul's sons, 2 Sam 21:1–9). They are explicable rather in terms of the solidarity of the family, in cases of serious violation of the covenant or of blood vengeance. Secondly, the Law itself actually excludes collective or vicarious punishment, in practice and in principle. The law of the goring ox (Exod 21:28–32), by stipulating that the owner of the ox must be dealt with in the same way, whether its victim is an adult or a child, excludes, probably deliberately the common ANE legal principle that for injury to a child the culprit could be punished by injury done to his own child (or even death, e.g., *ANET,* 176, 230). Similarly, in the case of a blow to a pregnant woman causing miscarriage (Exod 21:22f.), the Israelite law provides for compensation, but not the substitution by the offender of one of his own children, as in Middle Assyrian Law A 50 (*ANET,* 184). Such forms of vicarious, substitutionary or collective punishment of children for parents' offenses is ruled out in principle by Deut 24:16. This very law is regarded by the historian of 2 Kgs 14:5f. as the reason for Amaziah's refusal to execute the children of the murderers of Josiah.

Our conclusion must therefore be that while children were certainly subject to the authority of parents, under severe penalty, and while they did count legally as part of the father's property, the social reality was not as harsh as is sometimes depicted. On the contrary, there is much in

the OT to indicate that love, joy, care, and honor were to be found in the Israelite home.

NEW TESTAMENT

A. Terminology

Two words are used in the NT for family and related concepts. The first is *patria,* which signifies family from the perspective of historical descent, i.e., its lineage. Thus in Luke 2:4, Joseph is of the *patria* of David—his biological lineage, as well as his house, *oikos,* with which it is paired (cf. Luke 1:27). In Acts 3:25 it is used to translate the promise to Abraham that in him all "families" of the earth will be blessed. In Ephesians 3:14 it is linked to the fatherhood of God, which Paul discerns behind all human parentage and lineage.

The second word, *oikos* (plural *oikia*) is much more common and signifies family as household, in much the same way as *bayit* in the OT which this word frequently translates as. In the Greco-Roman world, the *oikos* (Latin, *familia*) was a comparable social unit to the Israelite *bêt-ʾāb.* It included not only blood relatives of the head of the house, but also other dependents—slaves, employees, and that peculiarly Roman phenomenon known as "clients," (i.e., freedmen, friends, and others who looked to the head of the house for patronage, protection, or advancement). *Oikia* could also be used to indicate the property or substance of the household (e.g., Mark 3:23ff.; 10:29f.; 12:40).

B. Households and the Church

Since the household was a major feature of the Jewish world, and the *oikos* likewise in the Greco-Roman world, it is not surprising that households played a significant role in the growth and character of the early Christian movement. The Jerusalem church worshiped and was instructed *kat'oikon* (Acts 2:46; 5:42; 12:12). The conversion of the entire household of Cornelius (Acts 10) was the first decisive transition of the gospel to the gentiles. Paul's missionary strategy followed suit, as the nucleus of most of his churches consisted of one or several households. Thus, we may note the households of Lydia and the jailer at Philippi (Acts 16:15, 31–34); Stephanas, Crispus, and Gaius at Corinth (Acts 18:8; 1 Cor 1:14–16; 16:15; Rom 16:23); Priscilla and Aquila, as well as Onesiphorus at Ephesus (1 Cor 16:19; 2 Tim 1:16; 4:19); Philemon at Colossae (Philemon 1f.); Nympha at Laodicea (Col 4:15f.); and Aristobolus, Narcissus, and others at Rome (Rom 16:10ff.). In some of these, Paul refers to "the church *(ekklēsia)* which meets in their house *(oikos).*" This could mean that the household itself constituted a church (e.g., all the categories addressed in the "household codes" in Ephesians and Colossians—husband and wife, parents and children, master and slave—would be comprised in a single household), or that it was the nucleus of a wider group of believers who met under its hospitality. At any rate, it is clear that the social nature of early Christianity was markedly centered on household units.

C. Social Functions

The important social and religious functions of the *bêt-ʾāb* in Israel have been outlined. They could be summarized by saying that the household, for the Israelite, was the place of inclusion, authority, and spiritual continuity (by its role in teaching and preserving the faith and traditions). The same three features are noticeable in the household-church pattern of NT Christianity.

1. Inclusion. When Paul describes the new inclusiveness of the gospel in Ephesians 2, he draws heavily on the kinship language of the OT. In Christ, through the cross, gentiles are no longer "para-family" *(paroikos),* that is, no longer "foreigners and aliens" (the equivalent terms to the *gērîm* and *tôšābîm,* whose only means of sharing in Israel was to reside within an Israelite household). Rather, they have become "members of God's own household" (a term used to describe Israel), indeed "fellow heirs" (Eph 2:19ff.; 3:6).

Inclusion in the family of God produces strong obligation to one's "kin" in the faith. The social and ethical demands of *koinōnia* (a word with much more practical content than its common translation, "fellowship") are prominent in the NT (Acts 2:42, 44; 4:34; Rom 12:13; 15:26f.; Gal 6:6; 2 Cor 8:4; 9:13; Phil 1:7; 4:15ff.; 1 Tim 6:18; Heb 13:16). The emphasis on sharing, meeting needs, equality, and generosity strongly recalls the economic ethic of the OT and has roots in its household ethos. Thus, the "household of faith" ("family of believers," Gal 6:10, NIV) has priority in the general command to "do good." And within that, obligations to one's own relatives are strongly reaffirmed (apart from the household codes, cf. also 1 Tim 5:4–8). See also HOUSEHOLD CODES. Of course, the early Christian community also included those for whom natural family ties had been disrupted as a result of their response to the gospel. Foreseen by Micah and commented on by Jesus, this was something for which the early Christian household churches provided compensation. "The way in which the Gospels take up Micah's prophecy of the end-time (Mic 7:6 = Matt 10:35f.; Luke 12:53) indicates that the primitive community had to reckon with the disruption of the family for the sake of the Gospel. Those who take this upon themselves are promised 'now in this time' new 'houses and brothers and sisters and mothers and children' (Mk 10:29f; Matt 19:29; Luke 18:29f). The place of the disrupted family is taken by the family of God, the Christian community" (Goetzmann *NIDNTT* 2: 250).

2. Authority. In Israel, authority and leadership, for all practical purposes at local level, lay in the hands of elders, who were almost certainly the senior males from each household. Whether consciously imitating this pattern or not, the early Christian movement entrusted its leadership (under the apostles) to "elders" in each church (always referred to in the plural in the NT), and these seem to have normally been drawn from the functioning heads of households, whose own family life was exemplary (see the guidelines for appointing overseers [*episkopoi*], elders [*presbyteroi*]—probably synonyms—and deacons [*diakonoi*], in 1 Tim 3:2–7, 12; Titus 1:6). It is interesting that women are mentioned as heads of households (e.g., Lydia, Nympha, and Priscilla are always named before their husbands). They are not explicitly called *presbyteroi* of the churches which met in their homes, but it seems not at all improbable that they would have been.

3. Worship and Teaching. The Israelite family was the

locus of key elements in the continuity of Israel's faith, such as Passover, circumcision, and the teaching of the Law. Similarly in the NT, much of the Church's functioning life took place *kat'oikon*, in homes. This included the preaching of the gospel (Acts 5:42; 20:20); administering baptism (Acts 16:15; 1 Cor 1:16); breaking bread, probably meaning the Lord's Supper (Acts 2:46); and systematic teaching (Acts 20:20). In this last text, Paul recalls that his prolonged teaching ministry in Ephesus was conducted both in public and in homes. And the household codes envisage not only the family-centered nature of the Church, but also the home as the place of Christian education for wives (1 Cor 14:35) and children (Eph 6:4).

Finally, with all this wealth of familial characteristic and their OT background, it is not surprising that the early Christians also took over the metaphorical use of family as a picture for the whole Church. As Israel could be called the *bêt-Yahweh*, "house/family of Yahweh" (Num 12:7; Jer 12:7; Hos 8:1; and Mic 4:2, where the Temple probably stands for the whole land and people of God), so the Church, as the heir and organic continuum of Israel, could be called the *oikos* of God (Eph 2:19; Gal 6:10; Heb 3:2–6; 1 Tim 3:15; 1 Pet 4:17).

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C. J. H. WRIGHT

FAMINE. The main word used in biblical Hebrew for famine is *rāʿāb*. The same word is used to express the simple idea of hunger. As a noun this word occurs 100 times in the Hebrew Bible. Its verbal cognate *rgb*, "to be hungry," is attested in Ugaritic. The difference between the two main uses of this word depends on the number of persons involved. Hunger is experienced by an individual or small number of persons whereas a famine in biblical thought is a corporate hunger of a larger body of persons. When a famine was particularly severe it was described literally as "heavy" (e.g., Gen 12:10). The Greek term *limos* occurs twelve times in the NT, and a majority of these occurrences refer to famine in the broader sense.

A. Origin
B. Climatology
C. Historical Famines
D. Famine and Theology

A. Origin

A famine or shortage of food with which to feed the population can develop when the process of production and delivery of food is interrupted anywhere along the chain. Two main types of disruptions bring this about. The first is climatological. In this case the production of food—especially the grain crops—is cut off in its initial growth phase through inadequate rainfall. A significant decrease

in the amount of rainfall in the grain-growing areas results in a corresponding shortage in the amount of grain produced. If this is severe or widespread the population may experience a famine of sufficient severity that some persons die from starvation.

Classical biblical examples of famines which resulted from conditions like these include the famines in the times of the patriarchs (Gen 12:10; 26:1; 41:54–57) and the famine in the time of Elijah (1 Kgs 17:1). In ANE texts these conditions were encountered especially during the First Intermediate Period in Egypt (ca. 2150–2000 B.C.E.) from which come an extensive series of inscriptions from local governors who complained about low Nile river levels and poor crop production, and the need to search upriver and downriver to find grain with which to feed their subjects.

Plant disease or plagues of insects, especially locusts, may accompany drought conditions and worsen a famine by further destruction of crops, or this kind of damage may occur apart from a drought (note Joel 1–2). The 8th-century prophet Amos referred to the fact that plagues of this type had afflicted Israel by his time (Amos 4:9).

The other main type of disruption that can occur in the chain that brings food to human beings results from factors that destabilize the sociopolitical conditions necessary for the production of crops and their delivery to the consumer. An example of this type of famine is that which results from siege warfare. In this case it is the direct aim of the attacking army to produce famine in the besieged city by cutting off its food supply. This aspect of warfare was widely practiced in ancient times.

A detailed description of the effects of a famine that resulted from a siege of Samaria by Ben-hadad of Damascus is narrated in 2 Kgs 6:24–7:20. It became so severe that some residents of the city resorted to cannibalism (6:29). Although the details of the siege of Samaria later by the Assyrians (725–722 B.C.E.) are not specifically mentioned in the biblical text (2 Kgs 18:9–12), it is likely that the royal storehouses there did not have sufficient supplies to withstand such an onslaught. The population of countries attacked like this commonly fled into the walled and fortified cities from the countryside for protection, placing greater stress upon the supplies of food stored there. The severity of the famine in Jerusalem when it was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon is described in several texts (2 Kgs 25:3; Lam 2:11–12; 4:9, 10).

Famines caused by siege are well known in extrabiblical sources. It took the Egyptian pharaoh Thutmose III seven months to starve the Canaanite coalition besieged in Megiddo into submission (ca. 1475 B.C.E.; *ANET*, 238). The Assyrian artist who executed Sennacherib's reliefs, which depict the conquest of Judahite Lachish by the Assyrian army, showed some of the animals emerging from the city more emaciated than the captured people, which probably indicates the preferential use of foodstuffs within the besieged city. Josephus provided an extensive description of the horrors of the famine experienced in Jerusalem during its siege by the Romans (*JW* 5.424–38, 571; 6.1–3, 193–213).

Similar conditions were also produced on occasion by internal factors within an ancient country without the invasion of foreign forces. When the central governmental control over a country disintegrated to such an extent that conditions of anarchy and chaos took over, farmers could no longer work their fields effectively, the delivery of the food produced was interrupted, and supplies in central storehouses were emptied and not replaced. This type of thing occurred on two prominent occasions in Egyptian history; at the beginning of the First Intermediate Period (ca. 2200–2100 B.C.E.), and at the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period (ca. 1200–1100 B.C.E.). The disturbed conditions of the former period are vividly illustrated by the description of the Admonitions of Ipuwer (*ANET*, 441–44).

B. Climatology

Shifts in climate along marginal and transitional zones in the ANE, between the desert and the sown, directly affected the amount of land available for human occupancy and agricultural use. The riverine societies of Egypt and Mesopotamia were able to circumvent some of these difficulties through the development of irrigation. Ancient Canaan, on the other hand, was more directly dependent upon and vulnerable to the amount of rainfall.

General theory suggests that there are rather wide swings in climate between wet and dry periods that extend over centuries. Superimposed upon this larger pattern are lesser oscillations in rainfall and temperature that occur over shorter periods of time. The most likely time for a serious drought and famine comes at the bottom of the trough during a longer dry period when a short-term downward fluctuation provides an even greater decrease in rainfall. Scientists and historians have employed studies of tree rings, pollens, varves of glaciers, peat-bog stratigraphy, and written and unwritten archaeological sources in an attempt to work out the pattern of fluctuations of the climate of the Near East through ancient times.

The evaluation and integration of the data derived from these different fields of investigation have been complex and sometimes disputed matters. In general it may be said that climatologists have not found any major long-term swings in climatic conditions through the historical period from the beginning of the EB Age, ca. 3000 B.C.E., to the last pre-Christian centuries in Roman times (Raikes 1967: 52). The period that comes closest to being an exception to this general rule is the intermediate period from the end of the EB Age to the beginning of the MB Age, ca. 2200–2000 B.C.E. (Crown 1972).

It is from this intermediate period that the single largest collection of ancient famine texts has come, those from the nomarchs or local governors of Egypt from the 9th through the 11th Dynasties (Bell 1971). Changes in Egyptian fauna and retarded development of the Nile flood plain confirm the aridity of this period. Elsewhere in the Near East study of the laminated sediments from the Dead Sea indicates that the period from 2300 to 2000 B.C.E. was exceptionally dry, but since that time the climate of Palestine has been rather static (Neev and Emery 1967: 26–30). For the first millennium B.C.E., however, no major shifts away from the customary climate of the Near East have been detected.

C. Historical Famines

1. The Period of the Biblical Patriarchs. Gen 12:10; 26:1; and 41:54 indicate that famines due to drought

occurred in Canaan through three successive generations of biblical patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The multiple references to this type of phenomenon suggest that this period as a whole may have been more dry than usual. If the patriarchs are dated somewhere around 2000 B.C.E. approximately, as is commonly the case, something similar can be said for Egypt at the same time.

This is the period from which some 20 Egyptian famine texts have come. The earliest of these is the Admonitions of Ipuwer, which probably dates to the first half of the 22d century (7th–8th Dynasties). The last of these famine texts comes from the time of Sesostris I of the 12th Dynasty, ca. 1950 B.C.E. The distribution of these texts through time indicates that this was a dry period generally, and these were also the conditions experienced by the biblical patriarchs living in nearby Canaan. While the famines of the patriarchs cannot be connected directly to specific famines in Egypt, it can be said that the two periods of relative drought and famine in these two sources correlate well with each other.

During the first and third of the patriarchal famines Abraham and Jacob migrated to Eygpt with their families and followers in order to survive. Thus while Canaan could not survive the crop failure due to lack of rainfall, Egypt was still able to produce some crops through irrigation from the Nile, reduced though it may have been. During the second patriarchal famine Isaac did not migrate to Egypt. Rather he simply moved farther N in Canaan from the Negeb, according to the place-names given for his settlements. In so doing he moved from a zone of lower rainfall to one of higher rainfall, from two inches of annual rainfall to an area of eight inches of annual rainfall, according to modern standards (*Atlas of Israel* 1970: 4/2).

The third and final patriarchal famine had the most far-reaching historical consequences because it involved more than just a temporary sojourn in Egypt. Jacob and his family moved to Egypt and settled there. The prolonged nature of this settlement led to the subjugation of their descendants by the Egyptians during the period known as the Sojourn. The conditions of bondage which they experienced during that period were relieved only when Moses finally led them out of Egypt. Tracing this problem back to its origin, it was a famine in the time of the patriarchs which caused the Eisodus that ultimately required the Exodus for its resolution.

2. The Late Bronze Age. There is no specific biblical reference to a famine in the time of the generations of the Exodus, Conquest, and Settlement which may be dated generally in the LB Age (ca. 1500–1200 B.C.E.). There are, however, some indications that drought and famine did occur on occasion in some parts of the Near East during this period. The twenty years of plague for which the Hittite king Mursilis petitioned the storm god for relief in the mid-14th century B.C.E. may have been accompanied by famine (*ANET*, 394–96). The Amarna Letters from the same period tell of ravaged fields and depleted grain supplies due to internecine warfare between the Canaanite city-states. Shipments of grain were sent by Rameses II and Merneptah of Egypt to their treaty partners the Hittites to save them from starvation in the 13th century B.C.E., and these conditions were presumably caused by drought (*ARE* 2: 243–44; Barnett *CAH* 1/2: 360, 369). It has been suggested that drought and famine in the W and central regions of the Mediterranean were either one of or the most important of the conditions which triggered the eastward migration of the Sea Peoples to Syro-Palestine and Egypt (Carpenter 1966: 59–66). This theory is, however, unproved and disputed. From the same period in biblical history come the threatenings of famine as a curse for violation of the covenant (Lev 26:18–26; Deut 11:17; 28:23–24; 32:24).

3. The Early Iron Age. References to famine are more common from the Early Iron Age (ca. 1200–1000 B.C.E.) than from the LB Age, and this may be considered the next dry period after that of the First Intermediate Period. The evidence for this comes from Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Israel. From Egypt come the records of a prolonged period of intermittent labor strikes by the royal tomb cutters. They were not paid their wages of grain because the royal granaries were severely depleted. The strikes extended over the middle half of the 12th century, from the end of the reign of Rameses III to the reign of Rameses X (*CAH* 2: 184–95). These have previously been interpreted as symptoms of political instability due to the lack of a strong central government, but more recent study suggests that drought may also have played a part in them.

Climatological evidence drawn from tree rings, glacier variation, shifts in pollen and vegetation, soil samples, and samples of sediments from lakes and rivers indicates that the period from 1200 to 900 B.C.E. was a warm and dry period in both the Near East and Europe (Neumann and Parpola 1987). Texts of this time from Assyria and Babylonia talk of crop failure, high grain prices, and outbreaks of plague. Repeated incursions of nomads have been attributed primarily to drought and famine in their own areas (Brinkman 1968: 280, 389). Political and military effects from these conditions have been noted in the "dark age" during which Assyria and Babylonia suffered from a reduction in strength and power. Both texts and scientific studies indicate that a wetter and cooler climate returned after 900.

Evidence for similar conditions in the same period in Israel comes from three biblical narratives. The incursions of the Midianites, probably in the 12th century, resemble similar incursions of nomads at the same time in Babylonia. The severe pressure they placed upon food supplies and pastureland in Israel is described in the story of Gideon (Judg 6:2–6, 11). An approximate date in the early 11th century can be derived for the story of Ruth from the genealogy at the end of the book (Ruth 4:21). The experience which ultimately led to the incorporation of Ruth the Moabitess into the line of David's ancestors occurred because of a famine in Judah which drove Naomi and her family into Transjordan in search of food and crops for survival (Ruth 1:1–2). The three-year famine experienced in the time of David (2 Sam 21:1), in the early 10th century, occurred toward the end of this dry period. At the time of the dedication of the temple Solomon appealed for release from any potential future famine through prayer (1 Kgs 8:33–40).

These three biblical famines from the 12th, 11th, and 10th centuries respectively parallel Mesopotamian famines which extrabiblical texts date from ca. 1140 to 940 B.C.E.

The Egyptian famine texts of the 12th century document a similar experience in the early part of this period.

4. The Later Iron Age. References to a three-year famine in the time of Elijah (1 Kgs 17:1) and a seven-year famine in the time of Elisha (2 Kgs 8:1–3) suggest that the middle of the 9th century B.C.E. may have seen a temporary return to drier conditions. There is no direct extrabiblical textual evidence for this but this is the time in which the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II began to take his army on the road to commence building an empire. In a text dated to 881 B.C.E. he mentions that he brought back to Assyria some of his subjects who had emigrated to the land of Shubru because of famine (Neumann and Parpola 1987: 181).

The occurrence of Elijah's famine in a generally wet period emphasizes its exceptional nature, which is the point that Elijah made (1 Kgs 17:1). The famine mentioned by Amos probably refers to one that occurred after the time of Elijah (Amos 4:6–8). Also coming from this time are references to famines caused by disturbed political conditions, especially siege warfare. The siege of Samaria by Ben-hadad (2 Kgs 6:24–29) and the later famine caused by Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 25:3; Lam 4:7–10) provide examples of this type of development.

5. The Persian Period. References to reduced productivity of crops and relative deprivation of the people in Hag 1:6 and 2:16 indicate that 520 B.C.E. and the immediately preceding period was a time of shortage. The description is not one of total crop failure and famine, only one of relative shortage. In their reduced condition, residents of the community of returned exiles were more susceptible to serious problems from such shortages than a well-established and prosperous community. This description of the people's plight resembles that of the futility curses found in extrabiblical covenant texts from Sefire (*ANET,* 659–61) and Tell Fekheriyeh (Millard and Bordreuil 1982: 138). No descriptions of drought at this time are presently known from extrabiblical sources.

6. Greco-Roman/Intertestamental Period. References to famine in sources for the history of Judea from this period are not common, but one example of each major type illustrates that they did occur. A famine from siege warfare is mentioned in 1 Macc 6:48–54 and the parallel account in Josephus (*Ant* 12.378). Beth-zur surrendered to Antiochus V Eupator in 162 B.C.E. because the supplies of food for its defenders were very low; the reason being that the crops had not been harvested that year since it was a Sabbatical Year. Most of the defenders of the temple complex in Jerusalem fled for the same reason, but those who remained were able to reach a truce with Antiochus.

A famine due to drought occurred in the time of Herod the Great according to Josephus (*Ant* 15.299–316). A drought lasting through 25 and 24 B.C.E. created famine conditions and an outbreak of the plague. Domestic animals were destroyed or consumed. With state supplies exhausted Herod stripped his palace of gold and silver in order to purchase grain in Egypt. His generous but careful distribution of the supplies obtained created much goodwill toward him on the part of a previously hostile public.

7. The NT Period. Two OT famines are referred to in the NT, those of Joseph (Acts 7:11) and Elijah (Luke 4:25). Only one historical famine in NT times is referred to in NT records, that which was predicted by the prophet Agabus during the reign of Claudius (Acts 11:27–30). Famines in the time of Claudius (41–54 C.E.) are well attested by Roman historians (Suetonius, *Claud.* 18.2; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.43; Dio Cassius, *Hist.* 40.11; Eusebius, *Chron.*, Yr. of Abraham 2065). Josephus mentions the high prices of grain during this period but notes that notwithstanding the priests did not consume any of the flour to be utilized in the Feast of Unleavened Bread (*Ant* 3.320–21). Queen Helena of Adiabene, a convert to Judaism, bought large supplies of grain from Egypt and distributed them to the needy in Judea (*Ant* 20.101). Christians in Antioch took up a collection for relief for those in Judea at this time, and it was sent to Jerusalem with Paul and Barnabas (Acts 11:29–30). According to the procurators at this time named by Josephus, this famine can be dated between 44 and 48 C.E.

D. Famine and Theology

1. Canaanite Theology. Baal Hadad was the storm god of the Canaanite pantheon who was in charge of bringing the rains that made the crops grow. In one mythic cycle of the Canaanites, Baal engaged the god Mot in battle. Mot won the battle and vanquished Baal to his underworld. Then Anat, the consort of Baal, did battle with Mot and won Baal back so that he could take up his activities in the world and the realm of the gods again (*ANET,* 138–41). This myth is commonly interpreted as derived etiologically from the annual cycle of rainy and dry seasons in Syro-Palestine. Drought and famine could result only if this pattern and Baal's absence or inactivity was prolonged beyond the annual cycle. In an epic text the king Danel prayed that Baal would withhold his clouds, dew, and rain for seven years, possibly as a punishment for the murder of his son (*ANET,* 153). Thus the Canaanites saw Baal in control of the factors that brought or relieved drought and famine, and they could petition him for their presence or withdrawal. The contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal on Mt. Carmel at the end of three years of drought should be seen against this background (1 Kgs 18:23–39).

2. OT Theology. In contrast to the Canaanite view, the monotheistic religion of Israel saw Yahweh as the one god in control of all of the forces of nature, including those that brought the fructifying rains. While there was a normal course of nature which he established (Gen 1; 8:22) he could, on occasion, intervene in those regular appointments. This aspect of God's work was especially prominent in the blessings and curses of the covenant (Leviticus 26; Deuteronomy 28). Related to the idea of famine as a covenant curse is the prophetic pronouncement of famine as a judgment upon a covenant-breaking people. Along with threats of the sword and plague, warnings of famine to come through the actions of Nebuchadnezzar's troops became a prominent part of the pronouncements of the late preexilic prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Jer 24:10; 27:8–13; 29:17; 34:17; 38:2; Ezek 6:11; 7:15; 12:16). On the other hand, judgments by famine could also call the people to repentance, lest they suffer a more severe fate (Amos 4:6–11). Amos also extended the imagery drawn from literal famine into a description of extended and unrelieved spiritual hunger, "a famine . . . for hearing the words of the Lord" (8:11). Solomon acknowledged that

relief from famine could come especially through prayer and supplication (1 Kgs 8:37–40).

In other biblical instances the coming of famine is not specifically attributed to divine activity, it is simply noted as a fact of historical occurrence. Even in these instances, however, God could still act on behalf of his righteous people, to preserve them through such trying times (Ps 33:18; 37:19; Prov 10:3). Thus Joseph saw his exile to Egypt before the famine as a providential way through which the preservation of the entire family of Jacob was accomplished (Gen 45:5–7). In a similar way God's servant Elijah was cared for in a special way through the famine which he was sent to announce (1 Kgs 17:1–6).

3. NT Theology. Aside from the two historical (Luke 4:25; Acts 7:11) and one contemporary (Acts 11:27–30) famines referred to in the NT, Jesus indicated that famines would occur prior to, and as a sign of, his Parousia at the Eschaton. Jesus also drew the contrast, as Amos had before him, between the relative importance of physical and spiritual bread (Matt 4:4). In the spirit of the OT prophets, Rev 6:8 indicates that famine would play a part in the judgments unleashed when the fourth seal was broken. Famine is also to play a part in the end-time judgment upon spiritual Babylon (Rev 18:8). Finally, conditions are to be established in the coming kingdom of God whereby no human beings will ever have to suffer from hunger and famine again (Rev 7:16; 21:4).

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WILLIAM H. SHEA

FARA (NORTH), TELL EL-. See TIRZAH (PLACE).

FARA (SOUTH), TELL EL-. See SHARUHEN (PLACE).

FAST, FASTING.

Fasting is the deliberate, temporary abstention from food for religious reasons. In the biblical material, fasting is total abstention, and is thus to be distinguished both from permanent food restrictions, like those against unclean animals, and also from occasional abstention from certain foods, like meat on Fridays, a practice adopted by the later Christian Church.

At the end of the 19th century, our subject attracted the attention of social anthropologists of religion. They set out to compare fasting practices in many primitive religious cultures in order to construct a general theory of their origin and development (see Westermarck 1907). Some scholars, adopting an individualist perspective, emphasized that fasting produced heightened states of consciousness, resulting in visions and dreams, which were identified as the ground of all religious conceptuality (Tylor 1871: 410). Others, taking a collectivist starting point, treated fasting simply as a rite of preparation for the sacramental eating of holy food, positing that in fasting is to be found the communal origin of religion (Smith, 1894: 434). More recently, modern semantic anthropology has been far less concerned with theories of the origin of religion than with the analysis of cultures as living systems. This approach refuses to isolate fasting from the total complex of purity rules that form the basic categories through which the universe of meaning and the self-identity of any religious group is structured (Neusner 1973: 137–42). The implications of this development for the interpretation of the biblical material have yet to be fully worked out by biblical scholarship.

A. Terminology
B. Fasting in Ancient Israel
C. Fasting in Intertestamental Judaism
D. Fasting in Early Christianity
E. Fasting in the Jesus Tradition

A. Terminology

The usual Hebrew noun for fasting is *ṣôm;* its cognate verb is *ṣûm.* These occur 14 and 20 times respectively in the Hebrew Bible. Periphrastic alternatives are "to eat no bread" (e.g., 1 Sam 28:20; an idiom reflected in Luke 7:33) and "to afflict oneself" or "to afflict one's soul" (*ʾinnah nepeš),* a technical term for fasting in the Priestly Code. The usual Greek words for fasting are the noun *nēsteia* and its verb *nēsteuo* (formed from a negative prefix and *esthio,* "I eat"). These denote the total abstention from food, whether by necessity or by deliberate choice. The verb may also be extended metaphorically, for instance it means "to hold back from evil or pollution" in the *Gospel of Thomas, logion* 27: "fasting from the world." There are 20 occurrences of the verb in the NT and 8 of the noun, but in three of these the text is uncertain (see below). The adjective *nēstis* occurs only at Mark 8:3 and Matt 15:32 in the involuntary sense "on an empty stomach." Two synonyms occur once each in the NT: *asitia* (Acts 27:21), probably in the natural sense of "hunger," and *tapeinophrosunē,* "humiliation of mind" (Col 2:18), which appears to echo the Semitic periphrasis "affliction of one's soul" and ought therefore to be translated "fasting."

B. Fasting in Ancient Israel

The Day of Atonement is the only annual national fast day prescribed in OT Law. Although the legislation was reworked in the exilic period, the rite, with fasting as its central motif, is probably preexilic. The requirement to fast on this day is universal, and its penitential character is underlined by the terminology of "self-affliction" (Lev 16:29, 31; 23:27, 32; Num 29:7). There may have been

other liturgical fasts in the early period (see Jer 36:6); and a public fast could be called at special times of penance (1 Sam 14:24). The remaining preexilic references to fasting involve smaller groups or individuals, and are associated with the rites of mourning, personal penance, or the reinforcement of supplicatory prayer (e.g., Ps 35:13; 1 Kgs 21:27; Num 30:13).

The allusions to fasting as a mourning custom in 1 and 2 Samuel deserve special note. David's fast following the deaths of Saul, Jonathan and Abner (2 Sam 1:12; 3:36) is related with approval. But in 2 Sam 12:16 the king is said to have fasted only while the child produced by his illicit affair with Bathsheba was still alive. When it died, David discontinued his fast (2 Sam 12:20). Questioned as to his conduct, he explained: "Now he is dead, why should I fast? Can I bring him back again? I shall go to him, but he will not return to me" (1 Sam 12:23). Hertzberg (*1, 2 Samuel* OTL) suggests that the baby's death was accepted as an atonement for the sin of adultery, so that the usual mourning customs were inapplicable. The incident bears some similarities to the gospel controversy on fasting, in which Jesus is questioned for refusing to fast (Mark 2:18–22) and where, in its immediate sequel (Mark 2:23–28), breach of the Sabbath is justified by an appeal to Davidic precedent.

In the postexilic period, the number of annual public fasts was increased (see Ezra 8:21–23; Neh 9:1). In Zech 8:19 four fast days are specified. These clearly owe their origin to customs established during the Exile, though in later Jewish tradition they were given a wider historical rationale, and the Purim fast (following Esth 4:16) was added to them. Zechariah urges that these fasts be continued on the understanding that they are "seasons of joy and gladness" now that the Temple has been rebuilt. In postexilic prophecy, the need for fasting to be accompanied by sincerity and charity is stressed (e.g., Isa 58:3–9; Joel *passim*, e.g., 2:12–13). These passages use a pun on the words for fast *(ṣôm)* and day *(yôm)*, i.e., the day of the Lord's judgment, a pun which is reflected in the gospel controversy (Mark 2:20 "they will fast on that day").

Fasting may well have been used in ancient Israel as a technique for divination. Moses' 40-day fast on the mountain (Exod 24:28; Deut 9:9–10) was interpreted by the rabbis in this sense (*b. Yoma* 4b.), although in the original story the dominant idea was that of miraculous sustenance (cf. 1 Kgs 19:8). The fasting of Hannah (1 Sam 1:7) may contain a vestige of this practice, since it is linked with a form of ecstatic prayer which could be mistaken for intoxication (1 Sam 1:14).

In later apocalyptic literature the use of fasting as a technique to become more receptive to divine revelation becomes more prominent. While penitence is probably the motivation of fasting in Dan 9:3, the use of fasting as preparation to receive visions cannot be excluded as a subsidiary idea (cf. Dan 10:3) since intertestamental references to this practice abound (e.g., 2 Esdr 5:13; *2 Bar.* 5:7f.; *Ascen.Is.* 2:7–11, etc.).

E. G. Hirsch (*JEnc* 2: 166) expresses the not uncommon opinion that the relative paucity of references to fasting in the OT proves that asceticism was essentially alien to the outlook of ancient Israel. The tacit assumption underlying this judgment, namely that asceticism always entails a pessimistic worldview and a body-soul dualism, and therefore can only have resulted from hellenizing influence is highly questionable. What the OT evidence indicates is that even before the Greek period, fasting practices were the social and religious norm in several different contexts and for a variety of motivations.

C. Fasting in Intertestamental Judaism

The intertestamental period witnessed a marked increase in Jewish asceticism, not only among sectarian groups, but also in popular piety. Fasting as an act of devotion, having value in itself, is commended alongside prayer and almsgiving in Tob 12:8. The book of Judith argues that fasting is rewarded with divine favor (Jdt 4:9), but observes that it should not be used in an attempt to bend the divine will (8:16). The conservative Ben Sira reiterates prophetic warnings against ritualism (Sir 36:26); but the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* make frequent reference to fasting as the hallmark of piety, e.g., *T. Jos.* 3:4: "They that fast for God's sake receive beauty of face" (cf. Dan 1:15 and Matt 6:16–18). According to Josephus, the ascetic practices of the Essene sect included fasting (*JW* 2.8.5). The Dead Sea Scrolls contain no explicit rules concerning community observances apart from the Day of Atonement, but discretionary practice by individuals is probably assumed. The Egyptian Therapeuts, as described by Philo, regularly fasted during the hours of daylight (*Vita Cont* 34). The pious Pharisee, according to Luke 18:12, fasted twice a week. Admittedly, there is some doubt about the accuracy of Luke's presentation, for the twice-weekly fast (on Mondays and Thursdays) cannot certainly be traced to Pharisaism of the pre–70 C.E. period, and when these fasts are referred to in the Mishnah, they are special devotions in time of drought, and not a regular pious devotion (*b. Taʿan.* 12a; but cf. *Did.* 8:1). Nevertheless, the ascetic tendency of Pharisaism is indisputable, and the rabbinic warnings against the danger of excessive mourning fasts for the destruction of the Temple (*b. Taʿan.* 57) only serve to underscore the point that asceticism was a customary reaction to such disasters.

In addition to the sects, there were notable individual ascetics during this period, among them Haninah ben Dosa (*b. Taʿan.* 24b) and John the Baptist (Matt 11:18). The former fasted to increase the efficacy of his charismatic prayer; the latter seems to have wanted, rather, to evoke by his abstemiousness an ideology of wilderness simplicity and dependence upon God. Thus, in the background to the NT one finds widespread approval of voluntary fasting as a mark of religious devotion, as well as the almost spontaneous rise of individual and communal asceticism. "Fasting like a Jew" had become proverbial in the Roman world of the first century (Suet. *Aug.* 76).

D. Fasting in Early Christianity

The fasting practice of the early Church closely reflects that of its Jewish milieu. When Christian leaders are commissioned, fasting is the natural adjunct to fervent prayer (Acts 13:2–3 and 14:23). In Luke's infancy story, Anna the prophetess is held up as a paragon of traditional piety that expresses itself in fasting and continual prayer, and as a model for the church order of holy widows (Luke 2:27 cf. Acts 6:1 and 1 Tim 5:5). Similarly, Cornelius the God-

fearer is renowned for his prayer and almsgiving (Acts 10:30–31). The textual tradition (P^{50},A^2,D) quickly supplemented these two acts of piety (prayer and almsgiving, v 31) with a reference to the third, fasting. In the same way, the allusion to prayer in 1 Cor 7:5 attracted a textual addition of fasting in some manuscripts (Codex Sinaiticus, K, L).

Paul mentions "fastings" in his lists of the sufferings of a true apostle. In 2 Cor 6:4–5 it is unclear whether natural hunger or deliberate abstinence is meant; this difficulty hinges on whether one reads the word more closely with the preceding or with the following items. The list in 2 Cor 11:27–28 has already included "hunger and thirst" and so voluntary fasting is probably indicated. When Paul encounters difficulties regarding food regulations in culturally mixed Christian communities (1 Corinthians 8; Romans 14) it is interesting to note how readily he adopts the ascetic solution.

Exaggerated asceticism evidently caused some problems in the early Church. In Colossians, the error involved "self-humiliation" (2:18). This is probably a Semiticism for fasting, since the practice is coupled with "angel worship," i.e., it was intended to induce visions of angels. In 2:23 the term is further defined as "severity to the body." Despite this, the writer refrains from rejecting asceticism completely; he simply opposes this form of it, which is, in his view, ineffective against the passions of the flesh and involves undue submission to external regulations. Elsewhere, despite the perversions of extremists, "bodily training," *askesis*, is commended as "beneficial up to a point" (1 Tim 4:8).

The Church in the NT period did not reject the pious Jewish practice of fasting. But it had not yet formalized its own discipline, considering it a matter of individual conscience. There is no trace in the NT of the requirement that candidates for baptism should fast (but cf. *Did.* 7:4; Justin *apol.* 61.2) nor is there reference in the NT to a twice-weekly Christian fast in imitation of and rivalry with the rabbinic custom. This first appears in the *Didache* (8:1). It was only during the 2d century that the statutory public fast on Good Friday took root—a practice that seems to have arisen in the wake of the Quartodeciman controversy. The Quartodecimans (see Eus., *Hist. Eccl.* 5.23–25) adopted the anti-Jewish practice of fasting during the feast of Passover and celebrating Easter the following day. When the date of Easter came to be determined independently of the Jewish calendar, always on a Sunday, the conditions were established for the institution of a public Christian fast on the preceding Friday. Eventually, as baptisms were normally celebrated at Easter, partial abstinence during the preceding weeks of preparation began to be observed not only by the candidates, but also by all Church members as an annual Lenten fast of penitence.

E. Fasting in the Jesus Tradition

Most of the references to fasting found within the Synoptic Gospels conform to the common pattern of piety indicative of 1st-century Judaism and early Christianity. There is, however, one exception, the fasting controversy in Mark 2:18–22 and parallels which stands out as dissimilar from both backgrounds.

Matthew's version of the longer Temptation narrative (4:2) states that Jesus fasted for forty days in the wilderness. The Moses typology here (cf. Exod 34:28) suggests that deliberate abstinence is meant; the Lukan parallel is more equivocal on the point: "he ate nothing" (Luke 4:2). The shorter Markan scene omits any reference to fasting, and the author's allusion to the "ministry of angels" (Mark 1:13) may even imply that he pictured Jesus receiving heavenly food in the desert. It is, therefore, likely that the motif of a forty-day fast has been introduced into the developing tradition of Jesus' temptation from the post-Easter preconceptions of the Church.

Matthew includes a series of exhortations in the Sermon on the Mount (6:1–18) concerning the three pious duties, which contrast the hypocrisy of outward display with the secret devotion which earns divine approval. Since the Evangelist interrupts the closely parallel structure of the exhortations by inserting the Our Father into the section on prayer, this material is likely to be pre-Matthean (see SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN). This view is supported by the presence of several Matthean *hapax legomena* in the passage, and also by the tension between its theme of secret devotion and the redactional publicity motif at Matt 5:16, "Let your light shine before men." But, that the tradition is pre-Matthean does not necessarily mean that it goes back to Jesus: for it is in line with conventional Jewish wisdom (cf. e.g., Sir 23:19)—upon which any early Christian preacher could have drawn. The assumption of the passage, that the disciples are to fast in secret, is also contradicted in the later controversy on fasting. The Evangelist seems to be aware of this, for he has slightly altered Mark's wording, so that Jesus can be understood to have rejected only the mourning custom of fasting (Matt 9:15) and not all other kinds. This alteration allows other motivations for fasting (i.e., inward devotion) to be appropriate for Christians, without making the practice a matter of coercion. Matthew's attitude to celibacy (Matt 19:10–12) is closely comparable. Certainly, his church could not have understood fasting as a mourning custom for removal of the bridegroom, for the Risen Christ was still continually present with the community (cf. Matt 28:20).

In the majority of mss at Mark 9:29 a saying of Jesus on exorcism by prayer and fasting appears. Notably, Codex Sinaiticus and B omit the fasting reference. This case is much less clear-cut than that of the two other variants mentioned above, but scribal addition is more likely than scribal omission at this point. The secondary insertion may have arisen from the erroneous supposition that the statement refers to the qualities required of a successful exorcist; in fact, if the shorter form is original, it refers to the qualities required in a successful suppliant for exorcism, and alludes to the hesitancy of the father's supplicatory prayer (cf. Mark 9:24).

The controversy dialogue found in Mark 2:18–22 and its parallels is the only NT text which raises any objection to the propriety of fasting. Its striking dissimilarity from prevailing views both in Judaism and in the early Church may be taken to indicate its substantial authenticity. The passage records that unidentified inquirers asked for an explanation of the difference in fasting practice between the followers of the Baptist and the Pharisees and the followers of Jesus. To the question "Why do your disciples not fast?" he does not reply, as one might expect from

Matt 6:6–18, "How do you know they are not fasting; appearances can be deceptive!"; instead, he justifies the disciples' present neglect of fasting practice by analogy with wedding guests who are dispensed from ordinary religious duties during a marriage feast. This opening statement is then qualified: Jesus prophesies that fasting will, nevertheless, become appropriate at some later date, i.e., on the day when "the bridegroom is removed"; and the passage concludes with the two short parables of the old garment and the new wineskins.

The pioneer NT form critics M. Dibelius and R. Bultmann explained this puzzling text by a complex history of transmission, in which the original stance of Jesus against fasting was modified by the post-Easter Church to bring it into line with its own practices (Dibelius 1971: 65; Bultmann 1963: 19, 49). The Church, however, still wished to differentiate itself from Judaism and so made the further addition of the two concluding parables. This analysis faces two major difficulties. First, there is no evidence that the Church in the NT period practiced a memorial fast for the death of Christ; the weekly Friday fast and the annual Good Friday fast are of later origin, as we have seen. Secondly, the retention within the paradigm of an element which radically contradicts its overall message is contrary to the usual form-critical presupposition. For these reasons, a unitary, historical approach to the passage may be preferable. On this view, Jesus rejected fasting as inappropriate to the initial period of his ministry. But his rejection was not unqualified; he predicted that at some later stage "fasting," in the sense of deprivation and persecution, would again become appropriate, and he may have expressed this in language deliberately reminiscent of Joel 2:16. At the same time, in response to those who were ready to criticize both the Baptist for his asceticism and Jesus for his lack of it (cf. Matt 11:16–19), he argued by means of the parables that both lifestyles were justifiable in the context of their different aims. The Baptist's reform movement was concerned to repair the old order, by penitence and fasting (by "shrinking the patch"); whereas a more flexible dispensation was needed ("new wineskins") to accommodate the eschatological joy of the dawning Kingdom.

Whichever analysis of this passage is deemed to be more plausible, the way Jesus distances himself here from the pious practice of fasting, which was as widely esteemed in 1st-century Judaism as it continued to be in early Christianity, is highly distinctive.

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JOHN MUDDIMAN

FATE, GREEK CONCEPTION OF. "Fate" in the strict sense may be defined as "the principle, power or agency by which events are unalterably predetermined from eternity" *(OED).* Properly speaking, the concept presupposed some sense of a cosmic unity within which all individual events may be comprehended, as a system of causal chains. However, at the earliest stage of Greek thought, such a notion was not present in any coherent form, and indeed the ultimate implications of the concept were not worked out until after the Classical period by the philosophers of the early Stoa, in particular Chrysippus. The counterpart to the concept of Fate is that of Chance *(Tychē, Fortuna),* another concept which, while always present in Greek thought, attained vast influence in the Hellenistic and later Roman eras. In the case of Fate, all is determined; with Chance, nothing is; but the consequences, from the point of view of the ordinary individual, appeared very much the same.

A. Lexical Introduction
B. Greek Thought
   1. Homer and the Poets
   2. Prose Writers
   3. The Philosophical Tradition

A. Lexical Introduction

The English word "fate" derives from the Latin *fatum,* past participle of the verb *fari,* "speak," and means "what is uttered (sc. by the gods)"—analogous to the Greek adjective *thesphaton.* The earliest Greek terms for Fate are *moira, aisa,* and *to peprōmenon;* later, and generally in philosophical contexts, the usual term was *heimarmenē.* The etymology of *aisa* is obscure, but probably originally means "one's proper share" (of booty, cogn. with the verb *aiteo,*

"ask for one's share"). *Moira* is the noun from *meiromai*, "apportion" (of which *heimarmenē* is the [fem.] past participle), the idea behind it being that of giving every man his due. *Peprōmenon* is the (neuter) past participle of a root **por-*, "provide" (cf. *poros*, "provision"), which conveys a similar notion. The idea of "due portion" is thus firmly rooted in the early Greek concept of Fate.

B. Greek Thought

1. Homer and the Poets. In early Greek thought, the concept of Fate is pervasive but in a rather loose form. Homer envisages a fated course of life woven for each person at birth (*Il.* 18, 115ff.; 24.525f.; *Od.* 7. 197–98), but this does not seem to result in determinism in any strong sense and there is even the periodic suggestion that one might "go beyond" one's fate (though that is never actually achieved)—a notion expressed by the phrases *hyper aisan* or *hyper moron*, "beyond fate" (*Il.* 16.780; 20.30; 21.517). There is some speculation, also, as to the relation of the decrees of Fate to the will of the gods, and in particular Zeus. Homer presents Zeus in *Iliad*, Books 16 (441ff.) and 22 (179ff.) as contemplating the overthrow of what is fated as a real option (in respect of saving Sarpedon and Hector), and only dissuaded from this by threats of retaliation from his wife Hera. Similarly, Poseidon in the *Odyssey* (5.288ff.) has to recognize that it is Odysseus' *aisa* to escape death at sea and reach home safely, but he does his best to dispose of him nonetheless. But this serves to remind us that Homer is a poet, not a theologian or philosopher.

These concepts, *moira, aisa*, and the allied notions of *kēres*, "death spirits," and *daimon*, "divinity" seen as an apportioning force, are susceptible of personification on occasion, both by Homer and later writers (*Il.* 18.535; *Od.* 10.64; 11.61). The Moirai seem originally to have been birth goddesses, balancing the *Kēres*. In Hesiod, we find the three Fates (Moirai) personified, and given names, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, and differentiated roles (*Th.* 211–19). In at least one genealogy (*Th.* 901–6) they are subordinated to Zeus as his daughters by Themis (an abstraction meaning "right order"), but their decrees are still unalterable. In personifying them and linking them closely with the *Kēres*, Hesiod seems to suggest in this passage that they actually pursue evildoers and punish them, but all he can really mean is that evil deeds have their inevitable consequences.

Pindar, like Hesiod, places emphasis on the "moral" role of the Moirai, and their connection with Zeus—though he actually presents them as bringing Themis to be wed to Zeus, rather than as being her offspring (Fr. 30 Bergk). He speaks of Moira both in the singular (*Nem.* 7.57) and in the plural (*Pyth.* 4.145). In this latter passage, he speaks of the Fates "withdrawing in shame" if kinsmen fight. He lays down the general precept, "that which is fated cannot be escaped" (*Pyth.* 12.30).

This basic principle might serve as a keynote for Greek tragedy. The tragedians obviously dwell much on what is fated, often through the medium of a prophecy delivered by one of the gods (usually Apollo), or the agent of a god (a prophet such as Teiresias of Thebes or Calchas, prophet to the Greek army at Troy). A favorite theme, originally of myth, but then of tragedy, is the tracing of the futile efforts of a mortal to evade (and thus nullify) a prophecy—Laius, king of Thebes, and then his son Oedipus, being perhaps the most notable examples (celebrated above all in Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*). A curious feature of Apollo's prophecy in this case, as in certain others, is that it is stated as a conditional ("If you have a son, that son will kill you, and marry his mother"), though we know there is no real choice. A good statement of this occurs near the end of Euripides' *Hippolytus* (1256), where the Chorus is actually commenting on the fulfillment of Theseus' curse on his son, "No refuge is there from Fate and what must be!" (also Aesch. *PV* 511–25; Soph. *Ant.* 133708; Eur. *Or.* 976–81). In one play, however, the *Alcestis* (based on a folktale), Euripides presents the apparent overturning of the "fated" death of Alcestics by the plotting of Apollo (he actually got the Moirai drunk) and the agency of Heracles (who wrestled successfully with Death), but this is most peculiar and probably has something to do with the fact that the *Alcestis* was presented as the fourth play of a tetralogy, in place of a satyr play.

2. Prose Writers. The historian Herodotus (ca. 485–425 B.C.E.) has a very vivid sense of Fate, allied with the concept of divine retribution for both human transgressions and overweening human pride. In Book 3.40, King Amasis of Egypt warns Polycrates of Samos against excessive good fortune, "for I know how jealous is the divine nature." In Book 1.91, we find a particularly interesting statement of the relationship between Fate and the gods, in the words of the Delphic priestess to the envoys of King Croesus of Lydia: "It is impossible even for a god to escape his destined fate *(peprōmenē moira)*." But nevertheless she claims that Apollo delayed the capture of Sardis by three years and saved Croesus from death on the pyre. Where that leaves the inevitability of fate is not quite clear, but Herodotus does not appear to see any problem here.

Thucydides, by contrast, is not oppressed by either a sense of fate or of the jealousy of the gods, so he calls for no comment here. In the orators of the 4th century B.C.E., however, we find many examples of a belief in fate. Lysias (ca. 455–380 B.C.E.), at the end of his *Funeral Speech* (78), reflects that "the divinity *(daimon)* to whom has been allotted the charge of our fate is inexorable"—a suitable sentiment, of course, for such an occasion. Demosthenes, in the *De Corona* (205), on the other hand, seeks to make a distinction between one's "fated and natural death" and a death one might take upon oneself for the fatherland. This contrast between fate and free will, while purely rhetorical in this instance, is yet pregnant with significance for later philosophy, and specifically for later Platonism.

3. The Philosophical Tradition. When we turn to the philosophical tradition, the technical term for Fate becomes, as we have said, *heimarmenē*, which became falsely linked etymologically by the Stoics with *heirmos*, a "chain" or "series." The first philosopher to whom a concept of Fate can be attributed is Heraclitus of Ephesus (fl. ca. 490 B.C.E.). He is reported by Diogenes Laertius (9.7) as having declared that all things take place through Fate, but the terminology here, and perhaps the doctrine also, may be a Stoic rationalization of his position. All we can be sure of is that he saw *logos*, which might be rendered "Reason" or "Cosmic Order," as the dominant principle of the universe. He was at any rate a powerful influence on the Stoics, so

something in his recorded utterances must have attracted their attention. Parmenides (fl. ca. 480 B.C.E.) employs the term *moira* (Fr. 8.37 D–K), but only in a poetical phrase, to indicate the logical necessity of his concept of the plenitude and immobility of Being.

In Plato, the issue of Fate and Free Will is certainly addressed, but Plato's conclusions are obscured by the mythological and poetic form in which he chooses to present them. The most notable passage is the myth of Er (*Resp.* 10.617Dff.). Here Lachesis, who is presented as the daughter of Necessity *(Anankê)*, makes a speech (through a prophet) to the assembled disembodied souls, which attempts to preserve a place for free will while laying down laws of fate. This passage is philosophically problematical, but it was taken in later times as Plato's definitive pronouncement on the subject, so it deserves careful study.

"Souls that live for a day, now is the beginning of another cycle or mortal generation where birth is the beacon of death. No divinity *(daimon)* shall cast lots for you, but you shall choose your own fate *(daimon)*. Let him to whom falls the first lot select a life to which he shall cleave of necessity. But Virtue has no master over her, and each shall have more or less of her according as he honors or dishonors her. The blame is his who chooses; God is blameless."

On the one hand, then, one's course of life is determined by one's choice of life in the antenatal distribution of lots, but in fact one's choice, as becomes clear, is itself determined by how one has lived one's previous life. And yet Plato wishes to preserve the autonomy of "virtue," or the rational soul, in determining its future. This was a position clung to by later Platonists such as Albinus (*Didaskalikos*, ch. 26) and Pseudo-Plutarch *(On Fate)*, as well as by the Aristotelian Alexander of Aphrodisian *(On Fate)*, and later again by Plotinus, in Enneads 3.2–3 *(On Providence)*. They tried to restrict the Stoic doctrine of determinism to the physical world and the lower soul (though Alexander is more defiant than the Platonists on that question), while freeing the rational soul from the ineluctable chain of causation.

Aristotle does not contribute anything to the theological problem of Fate, but his discussion of the truth value of statements about the future, and his rejection of the view that they are necessarily true or false, in chap. 9 of the *De Interpretatione*, did provide a stimulus to later Stoic theorizing.

It is only with the Stoics, in particular Zeno (335–263 B.C.E.) and Chrysippus (ca. 280–207 B.C.E.), that Fate as a philosophical problem comes into its own. *Heimarmenē* is now seen as coextensive with the structure of the universe and identical with both Nature and God (who is simply the soul or mind of the universe). This results in a blending of the notion of blind necessity with that of purposive ordering, producing a doctrine which, while apparently depressing in its implications, yet, if assented to, seemed to bring solace to the Stoic philosopher.

Chrysippus' principle that nothing takes place without an antecedent cause seemed to leave no room for anything spontaneous or "unprogrammed," but in fact the Stoics wished to find a place for the exercise of free will and responsibility, difficult though it might seem to do so. Chrysippus recognized that we do in fact make decisions, though such decisions are necessarily "co-fated" with the results that accrue from them. "Free will" is thus at best a subjective phenomenon, but one can decide to assent to the rational structure of the universe, which is God, and that way lies happiness and true freedom. To quote the later Stoic philosopher Seneca (*Ep.* 107, 11), "The Fates lead the willing subject, but drag along the unwilling" (cf. also *SVF* II 974–1007: *On Fate and Free Will*).

Meanwhile, on the popular level, a growing "science" of astrology, given a stimulus from Hellenistic contact with Babylonian star-lore and beliefs, made Fate seem an overpowering force which, however, it was thought possible (illogically) to tamper with through the use of magic.

Not far removed from the thought-world of magic, the movement broadly known as Gnosticism had a distinctive theory of Fate which is of some relevance for Christianity. For the gnostics, *Heimarmené* becomes a technical term for the sphere of existence ruled over by the Demiurge and his agents, and thus by definition a malevolent force, but also one from which the *pneumatikos*, or spiritual man, can escape (Jonas 1958: 156–210).

This has been exclusively a survey of Greek thought. The Romans, in fact, contribute nothing of significance to the concept of Fate, but a number of Latin authors, particularly Cicero in *De Fato*, *De Divinatione*, and *De Natura Deorum*, and the Stoic philosopher Seneca in his essays and letters, constitute good evidence for Greek philosophical theories.

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JOHN M. DILLON

FATHER. See FAMILY.

FATHERS, APOSTOLIC. See APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

FATHOM. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

FAUNA. See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

FAYUM FRAGMENT. The so-called Fayum Fragment is a small scrap of papyrus (3.5 × 4.3 cm.), dating from the 3d century, that partially preserves a version of Jesus' prediction of Peter's denial. The papyrus, discovered in 1885 among a collection of ancient Egyptian documents acquired by Archduke Rainer, is now held by the Austrian National Library (P. Vindob. G 2325; Aland: Ap 13). It carries seven incomplete lines of Greek text consisting of 106 characters. With plausible reconstructions, the text may be translated as follows:

(He said, after)
eating according to custom, "Al[l of you on this]
night will fall away, [according to]
scripture: 'I will strike the [shepherd and the]
sheep will be scattered.' " [When]
Peter said, "Even if all, [yet not I," (Jesus said) "Before]
the cock crows twice [today]
[three times] you will deny me."

In substance this is closely parallel to the narrative given in Mark 14:26–31 = Matt 26:30–35 (cf. Luke 22:31–34), but there are some noteworthy differences. The fragment does not give the statement found in Mark 14:28 = Matt 26:32, "After I am raised up I will go before you to Galilee," which seems intrusive and irrelevant in Mark and Matthew. But even apart from this, the narrative as given in the fragment is considerably more brief (42 words) than the versions of Mark (71 words) or Matthew (76 words). Generally, the style of the fragment is much less literary than the synoptic accounts. The fragment has points of agreement with each of the synoptic accounts, but separately: with Mark it shares the simplicity of Peter's response (14:29) and mentions the cock crowing twice (14:30, absent in Matthew and Luke); with Matthew (26:31) it inserts the phrase "on this night" in Jesus' earlier, general prediction (omitting it in the later specific prediction about Peter, where, however, Matthew retains it [26:34]); with Luke (22:39) it mentions Jesus' following custom (although Luke relates this to going to the Mount of Olives, and the fragment seems to relate it to the eating of the meal). At the same time, the fragment differs appreciably from all the synoptic accounts. The fragment also exhibits some linguistic peculiarities: the formula for the citation of scripture *(kata to graphen)* "according to scripture" is peculiar and not exactly paralleled in the NT; its word for "cock" *(alektruōn)* has another form than the term exclusively used in the NT *(alektōr)*; and whereas the synoptic accounts use *phonein* ("to speak") of the crowing of the cock, the fragment uses the onomatopoetic *kokkuzein*.

These observations pose the question of the relationship of the fragment to the Synoptic Gospels. Three alternatives have been considered: (1) that the fragment offers a secondary, somewhat abridged version of the episode, based on the account of Mark and/or Matthew, whether recalled from memory or perhaps drawn from a gospel harmony; (2) that the fragment comes from a primitive gospel document *(Urtext)* on which Mark depended; (3) that the fragment offers an independent version of the synoptic pericope, and that the larger document of which the fragment is a part was an early gospel, otherwise unknown, composed on the basis of oral tradition. The last explanation has been the most widely held among students of the fragment, and gives the most plausible account of the pattern of similarities and differences between the fragment and the synoptic texts. The absence in the fragment of a reference to resurrection appearances in Galilee is especially telling. This is a Marcan motif (cf. 16:7), and seems to be a secondary element in the pericope: the disciples do not remark on it, and it is beside the point of the narrative. Without it, the incident is tightly coherent. Further, the idiomatic freshness of the fragment's version and its distinctive word usage do not suggest any literary dependence on Mark or on another known gospel. The plausibility of the fragment's having belonged to an independent gospel is enhanced by the modern awareness that many such documents circulated in the early Church, perhaps especially in Egypt. At least some of those that have survived are clearly independent of the canonical Gospels (e.g., the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Gospel of Peter*). However, any conclusion about the Fayum Fragment must be tentative, owing to its slight scope.

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HARRY Y. GAMBLE

FEAR OF ISAAC [Heb *paḥad yiṣḥāq*]. An ancient title of the divinity used twice in the OT (Gen 31:42, 53, *paḥad ʾābîw yiṣḥāq*, "the Fear of his father Isaac"), uniformly rendered in ancient times and generally in later times as "the fear/terror of Isaac." Some modern scholars have challenged this interpretation, which they believe conforms poorly to the context, and instead understand "kinsman of Isaac" (Albright *FSAC*, 248; de Vaux in *La Bible de Jérusalem*, but with more nuance in *EHI* 269–71; Anderson *IDB* 2: 260; Stähli *THAT* 2: 411; Schoors 1987). They appeal to the Arabic *faḫid* and to the Palmyrene *pḥd* with the sense "tribe, clan, family" (*DISO*, 226). The meaning "kinsman" is not convincing, however, and has been strongly attacked (Hillers 1972; Puech 1984). Arabic *faḫid* never refers to "kinsman" as an individual, but always signifies a social group, so that this expression designates at best "the clan of Isaac." This sense is confirmed by the Palmyrene usage of *pḥd*, no more than a straightforward borrowing from the Arabic, to designate exclusively Arab tribes in or around Palmyra. (In Palmyrene the forms *pḥd* and *pḥ(w)z* are employed equally; /z/ and /d/ are two ways of rendering the Arabic /d̄/ and not Aramaic archaisms for transcribing the original /d̄/.)

The first sense of the Arabic *faḫid* is "thigh," as in Sabean; the Aramaic *pḥdyn (Tg. Onq.)* and the Syriac *pwḥd'* both signify "testicle(s)" or "thigh" in Job 40:17, and elsewhere "jugular veins," according to lexicographers. *Paḥad* in Job 40:17 must mean "thigh," but this unique usage of the Hebrew word is better understood as an Aramaism in Job, considering the irregularity of a Proto-Semitic development of /d̄/ > /d/ in Hebrew, instead of the expected /z/.

Albright appealed also to Ug *pḫd* in the sense of "flock," but its single occurrence in *ʾimr bpḫd* is not all that clear. If it is related to Akk *puḫâdu*, "lamb" (Hillers 1972: 92), the word is not to be derived from *pḥd*; but since the sense "lamb" in this passage is hardly satisfying, some scholars have linked it to the Akk *paḫīdu*, "flour." However, the sense of "thigh" is not to be excluded here also (Puech 1984: 359–60 n. 5). Whatever the proper interpretation of Ug *pḫd* is, the meaning "flock," derived from "clan, tribe" in the Arabic, is improbable. This same meaning should not be sought in the plaster inscription of Deir

ʿAlla where the word does not in fact appear, not even in II 8, *phzy*.

Since the meaning "kinsman" is never attested in Semitic, not even in Arabic, and since the meaning "clan," known only in Arabic, does not make sense in our context, an explanation which refers to the Arabic root *phd* cannot be retained. In fact, on the basis of its construction, the expression *phd yṣḥq* must be parallel to *ʾĕlōhê ʾābî/ʾabrahām/nāhôr*. "God of [my] father/Abraham/Nahor," or *ʾăbîr yaʿăqōb*, determinative titles of the God of the patriarchs and, consequently, of their clans; cf. *ʾăbîr yiśrāʾēl* (Isa 1:24; see Alt 1966: 25–30). The phrase cannot be the euphemistic "father's thigh" (= sexual organs) by which Jacob swears (Koch 1980; Malul 1985; 1987) since the formula "put the hand under the thigh" (e.g., Gen 24:9) is missing. There remains, then, the only other root, well known in the sense of "to fear, tremble, be frightened," in the noun form "terror, fright, fear," as the ancient translators understood it (LXX *phobos*). The expression *paḥad yiṣḥāq* cannot signify "refuge of Isaac" without other convincing parallels (Kopf 1959).

The element *paḥad* is not a divine name (as argued by Lemaire 1978); the personal name ZELOPHEHAD (Heb *ṣĕlopĕḥad*), Num 26:33 shows, in its historically more correct Greek vocalization *Salpaad* (Num 26:37 LXX), cannot be compared to Akk names such as *Ṣilli-Adad, Ṣilli-Amurru, Ṣilli-bal*, or Heb *bṣlʾl*, nor understood as "the Parent is [my] refuge" (*HALAT* 3: 872) or "Shadow of *Paḥad*" (Müller 1980: 120; *TWAT* 6: 560; *DBSup* 11: 485–86). It rather means "the [divine] Fear is a/my refuge" (Puech 1984: n. 10); cf. Akk *puluḫti ṣillika* and for the construction compare names whose theophoric element is a kinship term (see *TPNAH*, 40–50). However, this does not permit *paḥad yiṣḥāq* to be translated as "Protector of Isaac" (Westermann *Genesis 27–35* BK, 607), where it is clear that "the god of X" is his protector.

The phrase must mean "Terror/Fear of Isaac," to be understood as a principal attribute of the god of Isaac, whose protective power sows terror among all his enemies. But this objective sense taken in the context of holy war (cf. Gen 35:5) does not exclude the *numen tremendum*, the divine majesty which inspires reverential fear of the sort well attested in ancient rituals (expressed in Akk *puluḫtu û melammu;* see 1 Sam 11:7; 2 Chr 19:7; Ps 36:2; Sir 7:29). It is even probable that the latter entails the former (see Becker 1965: 178–79). The phrase *phd yṣḥq* is comparable to *ʾăbîr yaʿqōb*, "the Powerful/Bull of Jacob" (Gen 49:24) an expression originating with regard to Baal, whose animal is the bull (see the Hyksos scarabs with *Yaqub-Baʿal* and *ʾibrd* at Ugarit: "Adad is the Bull" [Puech 1984: 357]). The sense of the word *paḥad* is not always negative: it is sometimes parallel to *yārēʾ*, "to fear" (see Ps 119:120). A protector god such as would inspire reverential fear and terror could be invoked as guarantor for the oath in Gen 31:53, and as the divinity on whom one could count in Gen 31:42. If so, then indeed "the sacred terror is a shelter" (a possible meaning of the name Zelophehad [corrected to *ṣalpaḥad*]). It is noteworthy that Zelophehad son of Hepher son of Gilead (Heb *gilʿad*) son of Machir son of Manasseh had only *daughters* (Josh 17:3) and that the story in Gen 31:42–53 for its part involves the *daughters* of Laban and the name *galʿad/galʿēd*. These two precise points of contact are not due to chance, and it is probable that the name Zelophehad *(ṣalpaḥad)* has some relation to the designation of the God of Isaac, *paḥad yiṣḥāq*, at some point in the tradition.

In conclusion, neither the unattested sense of "kinsman," nor the meaning "clan" nor the euphemistic "thigh" can be upheld. The traditional interpretation of ancient and many modern commentators remains the best by far: "Fear of Isaac."

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EMILE PUECH
Trans. Sarah Lind

FEINAN, WADI. Wadi Feinan is cut into the E escarpment of the Wadi Arabah, about halfway between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba. Its catchment area is the depression of the Wadi el-Ghuweir that divides the Edomite plateau into two halves: el-Jibāl to the N and esh-Sharā to the S. The Wadi Feinan area includes the major concentration of copper ore in the S Levant (Hauptmann et al. 1985: 164–66). Ancient roads connected the area with N Edom (el-Jibāl) via Wadi Ḍānā, and with S Edom (esh-Sharā), via esh-Shawbak.

A. The Name

Feinan is primarily the name of a district, not a settlement. It can be explained by means of Arabic *faynān*, "to have long, beautiful hair." Like "Seir" (literally: "the hairy one"), "Feinan" refers to a region according to its vegetation: trees, grass, and reeds. Typologically, the name may go back as far as the 4th or 3d millennia B.C. (Knauf 1987).

In the 13th century B.C., Rameses II might have re-

ferred to *pwnw* (that is, **pōnō* from **pānā* from **paynā*) as one of the regions inhabited by Shasu, "nomads" (Görg 1982). The Feinan region is mentioned twice in the OT (Gen 36:41; Num 33:42–43). In the first passage (Gen 36:41), *Pînōn* was one of the tribes of Edom at the time in which the list (Gen 36:40–43) originated. This list is one of the later lists compiled in Genesis 36. It is dependent on the lists of Gen 36:10–14 and Gen 36:20–28 (Weippert 1971: 443–44). A date at the end of the 6th century B.C., which means after the Neo-Babylonians conquered Edom, is highly likely (Weippert 1971: 456–58). Regardless of whether one translates *'allûp* as "tribe" or as "chief" (Weippert 1971: 453–56), Pinon is a tribe of Edom whose name is derived from the name of a region. Tribes in ancient Palestine (and in ancient W Arabia and S Arabia) were primarily regional organizations (de Geus 1976: 124–56). In the same list (Gen 36:40–43), the tribal names Mibzar, Elah, Teman, and Timna also seem to be derived from geographical names. Pinon does not occur in the older lists which were partially the sources for Gen 36:40–43. This indicates that the Feinan region rose to prominence between the time of the compilation of the earlier lists (8th to early 7th centuries B.C.; Knauf and Lenzen 1987: n. 43) and the end of the 6th century B.C. This agrees well with the archaeological evidence (see below). Although a settlement at Khirbet Feinan (M.R. 197004) existed in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., becoming the administrative center of the region and, finally, preserving its name, it is likely that Gen 36:41 refers to the region and/or the tribe rather than to this specific settlement.

The second biblical text (Num 33:42–43) lists *Pûnōn* (variant reading: *Pînōn*) as a road station in the Wadi Arabah. The different forms of the name (Weippert 1971: 433–34) may be explained both graphically (*w* for *y* by scribal error) and linguistically (cf. Egyptian *pwnw*, supra). The itinerary of Num 33:1–49 may date to the Persian period, 5th century B.C. (Hauptmann et al. 1985: 164; Knauf 1987). In the Roman-Byzantine period, this town was called *Phainō* (for the missing *-n*, cf. again the Egyptian reference); for both literary and epigraphical references, cf. Weippert 1971: 696, n. 1637.

B. History of Exploration

A. Musil gave the first detailed description of Kh. Feinan and its vicinity (Musil 1907: 293–98). F. Frank and N. Glueck discovered more ancient copper smelting sites to the N of Wadi Feinan (Frank 1934: 221–24; Glueck 1935: 20–34). Ancient mining sites have been described by geologists who worked in the Feinan area in the 1960s (Kind 1966). G. R. D. King surveyed Wadi Arabah during the survey "Late Antique and Early Islamic Sites in Jordan," and covered Wadi Feinan. He may have been the first to discover evidence for Early Bronze Age copper mining and smelting in the region (King 1985: 44–45). Since 1983, the Deutsches Bergbau-Museum, Bochum, has been conducting an archaeometallurgical and mining-archaeological survey in the Wadi Feinan region (Bachmann and Hauptmann 1984; Hauptmann et al. 1985). Archaeological survey work was carried out in 1985 by B. MacDonald and F. Koucky (MacDonald and Koucky 1987), and in 1986 by S. Hart and E. A. Knauf (Hart and Knauf 1986; and cf. Knauf and Lenzen 1987: n. 3).

C. History of Occupation

The Wadi Feinan region has been continuously occupied since the Late Neolithic period, i.e., from ca. 7000 B.C. onward. Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic villages are reported (Raikes 1980; 1985). Intensive copper mining seems to have begun with the EB I period (3200–3000 B.C.); it is possible that mining and metallurgy started earlier in the Feinan area, but sufficient archaeological evidence for this assumption has not yet been presented. Another period of high mining activity was the EB IV (MB 1) period, 2200–1900 B.C. Human presence was scarce in the Feinan region during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (1900–1200 B.C.).

Mining and smelting activities were more frequent in the Iron Age. Although the archaeological evidence for the earlier part of the Iron Age (1200–800 B.C.) is presently unclear (Hart and Knauf 1986), it can be reasonably assumed that from 1200 B.C. onward, if not some fifty or hundred years earlier, the Feinan region became increasingly important for the copper supplies of Syria-Palestine (and maybe even for Egypt; cf. Görg 1982). The troubles in the Aegean world around 1200 B.C. must have cut off Syria-Palestine from its main copper supplier in the Bronze Age: Cyprus (Knauf and Lenzen 1987). Under Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian rule, the Edomites exploited the copper ore deposits of the Feinan region industrially and left approximately 100,000 tons of slag; they must have produced several thousand tons of copper. Edomite (800/700–400 B.C.) smelting sites, with architectural remains, comprise Kh. el-Ghuweibeh, Kh. el-Jāriyeh, Kh. en-Naḥās (M.R. 191010), and Kh. Feinan (all these sites are already described by N. Glueck [1935], who, however, dated the Edomite pottery to the 13th through 9th centuries B.C.; these dates are excluded by recent excavations on the Edomite plateau, cf. Hart 1986). It is likely that Job 28:1–12 describes mining as it took place in the Feinan area in the 6th or 5th century B.C. The references to Edom's "wisdom" (Jer 49:7; Obadiah 8) may allude to the technical skill of the Edomites in mining and processing copper, and may also reflect some envy on the part of their neighbors. Edomite copper smelting seems to have come to an end around 400 B.C. (Knauf and Lenzen 1987).

In the Nabatean period (1st century B.C. through 1st century A.D.), the area housed a number of small, isolated farmsteads. It is impossible to tell from the surface evidence how extensive and how urban the settlement at Kh. Feinan was at this time. The Nabateans did not mine copper in the Feinan area, probably because the ore deposits that could have been processed by the technical means of the Bronze and Iron Ages had been exhausted. It was the Romans who resumed metallurgy in the Feinan region. They mined new types of ore by means of new types of mines, and processed these ores in new types of furnaces (Hauptmann et al. 1985: 185). These activities took place mainly in the late 3d and 4th centuries A.D., another time of crisis and turmoil. Christians were among the slaves and criminals that were sent by the Romans to the furnaces and into the mines of Phaino/Feinan. In *The Martyrs of Palestine*, Eusebius of Caesarea includes a vivid description of the working conditions in Feinan ca. 300 A.D.

In the Byzantine period, Feinan became the seat of a

bishopric. Ruins of three churches and some tomb inscriptions have been found which date to the 5th to 7th centuries A.D. Another ecclesiastic building, the so-called "monastery," seems to have been subsequently transformed into a mosque. The latest smelting site known so far belongs to the late Ayyubid/early Mamluk period, 13th century A.D. More discoveries are to be expected in the next few years.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

FEJJA (M.R. 141165). A ruined Arab village, today located within the municipal limits of Petah-Tiqvah, about 5 km from Ras el-ʿAin (biblical Aphek/Antipatris). The name Fejja recalls the Gk name of the Hellenistic site Pegai, meaning "the springs." Pegai is first mentioned in the Zenon Papyri (ca. 259 B.C.) as a frontier post between Judea and Samaria, although for topographic reasons it seems more likely that this post was actually located at Ras el-ʿAin, not at Fejja. Mishnaic sources distinguish two places—Mei-Pigah ("Waters of Pegai"; *m. Para* 8:6) and Pigah (*m. Ter.* 1:15). It seems that from the Hellenistic period onward the whole area around Aphek/Antipatris was called Pegai ("The Springs"), and this would explain the persistence of the name in such a remote settlement.

A survey in 1951 showed that the Arab village had been built on formerly uninhabited land, although ancient remains were found scattered in three areas, all in the same vicinity just N of Fejja. Area A, closest to the ruined Arab village, contained a sizable number of MB and Persian sherds. Area B, NW of area A and parallel to the road connecting Petah-Tiqvah with Lod, was covered with small fieldstones and many sherds from the Iron II and Persian periods. In area C, about 100 m NE of area A, the remnants of a wine industry were found sunk into the ground.

Twelve years later trial excavations were conducted in areas A and B. Five short trenches were dug in area A. In trench A-1 were uncovered two settlement levels, but no building remains. The upper settlement dated from MB II–III; the lower one, built on virgin soil, dated from MB I. Trench A-2 yielded similar finds, including two Ghassulian potsherds and a single (bow rim) potsherd belonging to the Wadi Rabah culture. A number of Iron II sherds were also found, and on the surface near A-2 was found a coin of Alexander Jannaeus. In trench B a 60-cm-thick Persian-period stratum was followed by two MB strata, the first belonging to MB II–III and the second (on virgin soil) to MB I. In trench C a stratum was uncovered containing the remains of a Roman settlement, including a Roman coin from the 1st century A.D. Below the Roman stratum was a MB II–III settlement stratum, containing two sections of mud-brick walls with typical sherds of the period on the floor. A MB I stratum was below this level, founded on virgin soil; in its upper part was uncovered the foundations of a stone wall. Trench D was apparently beyond the ancient zone of settlement; the top stratum yielded only a dump of mixed Persian and MB pottery fragments. Beneath it, however, were discovered fragments of a basalt bowl with a rim decorated in a manner typical of the Chalcolithic period.

Area C was found to contain the remains of Roman period wine presses and winery pits. The remnants of three separate installations were uncovered. The first was mostly in ruins, except for part of its mosaic-paved treading floor. The second was also almost completely ruined, except for part of a round winery pit and paved mosaic floor. The third was almost completely preserved, making it possible to clear a section of the floor and the entire square winery pit; the floor was paved with mosaics, and a lead pipe was found running from the treading floor to the pit.

In conclusion, the presence of Wadi Rabah and Ghassulian sherds indicates that somewhere nearby are buried the remains of a Chalcolithic settlement. It appears, however, that the site at Fejja itself was established and reached its zenith mainly during the MB Age, from which time building remains were also found. This MB settlement was no doubt connected with the mother settlement of nearby Ras el-ʿAin. See ANTIPATRIS (PLACE). The extent of the Iron II settlement was not examined, but it appears to have been limited. In contrast, the Persian stratum (appar-

ently 5th century B.C.) revealed extensive settlement. The lack of Hellenistic remains seems to reinforce the suspicion that Pegai was not here specifically, but more generally within the wider surrounding area. Settlement was renewed at this site in the 1st century A.D. and continued through Byzantine times.

J. KAPLAN

FELIX (PERSON) [Gk *Phēlix*]. The procurator of Palestine from A.D. 52–60 who, supposedly "possessing accurate knowledge of the Way" (Acts 24:22), heard Paul's defense shortly after the apostle had been removed from Jerusalem to Caesarea (Acts 23:23–24:27). The little we know about Felix we learn from Josephus and from a number of Roman historians.

Felix, interestingly, was a freed slave of the family of the Roman emperor Claudius. Since his brother, M. Antonius Pallas, was the freed slave (or "freedman") of Claudius' mother, Antonia, this may have been the case with Felix as well. His full name was probably Marcus Antonius Felix (for the problems entailed, cf. Schürer *HJP*^{2} 1: 460 n. 19). We may reasonably suppose that Felix shared his brother's aspirations to royalty through descent from Pallas, son of Evander, and the kings of Arcadia (who were also significant figures in the foundation myths of Rome): these aspirations were even given formal recognition by the Senate under Claudius (Tac. *Ann.* 12.54).

Felix was a particular favorite of Claudius, who appointed him to a command in Palestine, a most unusual post for a freedman (Suet. *Claud.* 28 notes that Claudius had a reputation for giving excessive power to freedmen). However, our sources give conflicting evidence as to the precise nature of his post. It seems that Felix was appointed before A.D. 52 to govern Samaria and Judea, while Ventidius Cumanus governed Galilee. When problems arose, Quadratus, the governor of Syria, punished Cumanus but dealt favorably with Felix, though he was allegedly no less guilty (Tac. *Ann.* 12.54; Josephus' silence and contrary indications are puzzling; Schürer *HJP*^{2} 1: 459 n. 15 tends to reject Tacitus' account). Josephus presents Felix as Cumanus' successor, as he was after the latter's removal; the high priest Jonathan had even called upon Claudius to appoint Felix (*Ant* 20.162).

However, it was during Felix's term as procurator that rebellion firmly took hold in Palestine (*HJP*^{2} 1: 460), so Felix was an obvious candidate for blame. Josephus reports that he paid a large sum to induce the closest friend of Jonathan, the high priest, to arrange for the high priest's murder by *sicarii* (*Ant* 20.162ff.). Jonathan, it is said, had annoyed Felix by repeatedly urging him to be a better governor; yet Felix had evidently taken strong (if not entirely honest, and perhaps even counterproductive) actions to deal with the growing disorder (*Ant* 20.161; *War* 2.252ff.). Indeed, Josephus' account of Felix's suppression of Jewish rioters at Caesarea shows that he tried persuasion before force and that, having made his point, withdrew his troops at Jewish request and referred the matter to Nero (*Ant* 20.177–78; *War* 2.270; cf. *Life* 13). It is against this background of severe and growing disorder that we must understand Felix's detention of Paul (Acts 24: 26–27). Felix's reputation will not have been helped by his slave origins; his "servile nature" seems to be the burden of Tacitus' critique of him (*Hist.* 5.9; cf. Pliny *Ep.* 7.29 on Pallas). However, it must be observed that our sources are unanimous in their hostility toward Felix and it may very well be that their judgment is essentially sound (Schürer *HJP*^{2} 1: 462–66).

Felix was succeeded as procurator of Judea by Porcius Festus in about A.D. 60 (*War* 2.271; *Ant* 20.182; Acts 24:27). Felix's influential brother, Pallas, is said to have saved him from punishment for his maladministration (*Ant* 20.182). As procurator he married DRUSILLA, daughter of Agrippa, after having seduced her away from her husband; she bore him a son, Agrippa, who died during the volcanic eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in A.D. 79 (*Ant* 20.144). She was one of three "queens" whom Felix is said to have married (Suet. *Claud.* 28). The second was granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra—perhaps an otherwise unknown daughter of Juba II and Cleopatra Selene (herself the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra) and thus a member of the royal house of Mauretania. She may also have been called Drusilla (Tac. *Hist.* 5.9). Felix's third royal wife cannot be identified. Inscriptions record persons who might be his descendants (*CIL* 5.34; *BCAR* 1907, 215).

DAVID C. BRAUND

FELIX, MINUCIUS (PERSON). See MINUCIUS FELIX.

FELLOWSHIP, TABLE. See TABLE FELLOWSHIP.

FEMINIST HERMENEUTICS. Writing a dictionary article on feminist hermeneutics may encourage several misconceptions. It gives the impression that feminist hermeneutics is a finished research product rather than an ongoing process within the context of women's societal and ecclesial struggles for justice and liberation. It also highlights proposed solutions rather than the experiences and questions which have engendered them. Insofar as this article is qualified by "feminist" and other entries are not marked, for instance, as "masculinist" or "white," readers may assume that an objective discipline and unqualified approach to hermeneutics exists. As long as other contributions do not explicitly articulate the fact that knowledge and scholarship is perspectival, such a misapprehension seems unavoidable. Yet feminist inquiry is not more, but less, ideological because it deliberately articulates its theoretical perspective without pretending to be value-free, positivistic, universal knowledge.

A. A Delineation of Terms

Since the expression "feminist" evokes reactions, emotions, and prejudices, it becomes necessary to delineate the ways in which the term is here used in conjunction with hermeneutics.

1. Feminist/Womanist. The term "feminist" is commonly used today for describing those who seek to eliminate women's subordination and marginalization. Although women have resisted their subordinate position of exploitation throughout the centuries, the roots of feminism as

a social and intellectual movement are found in the European Enlightenment.

a. Although there are diverse articulations of feminism, feminists generally agree in their critique of masculine supremacy and hold that gender roles are socially constructed rather than innate. The "root experience" of feminism is women's realization that cultural "common sense," dominant perspectives, scientific theories, and historical knowledge are androcentric, i.e., male-biased, and therefore not objective but ideological. This breakthrough experience causes not only disillusionment and anger but also a sense of possibility and power.

Feminist analyses often utilize categories such as *patriarchy, androcentrism* or *gender dualism* as synonymous or overlapping concepts. Patriarchy is generally defined as gender dualism or as the domination and control of man over woman. Androcentrism refers to a linguistic structure and theoretical perspective in which man or male represents the human. Western languages such as Hebrew, Greek, German, or English—grammatically masculine languages that function as so-called generic languages—use the terms "male" or "human" as inclusive of "woman" and the pronoun "he" as inclusive of "she." Man is the paradigmatic human, woman is the other.

Masculine and feminine are the two opposite or complementary poles in a binary gender system, which is asymmetric insofar as masculine is the primary and positive pole. Dualistic oppositions such as subject/object, culture/nature, law/chaos, orthodoxy/heresy, and man/woman, legitimate masculine supremacy and feminine inferiority. Franco-feminist criticism therefore has termed this structuring of man as the central reference point "phallocentrism," understanding the phallus as a signifier of sociocultural authority.

The philosophical construction of reason positions elite Western man as the transcendent, universal subject with privileged access to truth and knowledge. The Western construction of reason and rationality has been conceived within the binary structure of male dominance as transcendence of the feminine. Femininity is constituted as an exclusion. In analogy to "woman" and the "feminine" the nature of subordinated and colonialized peoples is projected as the devalued other or the deficit opposite of elite Western man, rationalizing the exclusion of the "others" from the institutions of knowledge and culture.

b. In protest of this ideological construction feminist liberation movements around the globe unmask the universalist essentializing discourse on "Woman" and the colonialized "Other" as the totalizing discourse of the Western Man of Reason. Instead they insist on the specific historical-cultural contexts and subjectivity, as well as on the plurality, of "women."

Women of color consistently maintain that an analysis of women's exploitation and oppression only in terms of gender does not suffice, for it does not comprehend the complex systemic interstructuring of gender, race, class, and culture that determines women's lives. Therefore, feminist hermeneutics must reconceptualize its categories of analysis. It has to distinguish between the categories of *androcentrism* or gender dualism as ideological obfuscations and legitimizations of elite male power on the one hand, and *patriarchy* in the strict sense of the word defined as a complex social system of male domination structured by racism, sexism, classism, and colonialism on the other hand. The system of Western patriarchal ideology was articulated centuries ago by Aristotle and Plato in their attempt to define the democratic *polis*, which restricted full citizenship to Greek, freeborn, propertied, male heads of household. Although cultural and religious patriarchy as a "master-centered" political and cultural system has been modified throughout the centuries its basic structures of domination and ideological legitimization are still operative today.

African-American feminists in religious studies, therefore, have introduced Alice Walker's term "womanist" (i.e., feminist of color) to signal the fact that feminism is more than a political movement and theoretical perspective of white women. When we speak of Africans, Europeans, the poor, minorities, *and* women, we speak as if women do not belong to all the other groups mentioned. Yet the expression "women" includes not just white, elite, Western, middle- or upper-class women, as conventional language suggests, but all women. Whereas feminist scholarship has become skilled in detecting the androcentric language and patriarchal contextualizations of malestream theory and biblical interpretation, it does not always pay attention to its own inoculation with gender stereotypes, white supremacy, class prejudice, and theological confessionalism.

Jewish feminists in turn have pointed out that Christian feminists perpetuate the anti-Semitic discourse of otherness ingrained in Christian identity formation when they uncritically reproduce the anti-Jewish tendencies inscribed in Christian Scriptures and perpetrated by malestream biblical scholarship. This is the case, e.g., when Judaism is blamed for the "death of the Goddess" or when Jesus, the feminist, is set over and against patriarchal Judaism. It also would be the case if this article on "feminist hermeneutics" would be read as giving a descriptive and comprehensive account of feminist biblical hermeneutics as such, although it is written from a Christian but not from a Jewish or Islamic hermeneutical perspective. If feminist interpretation does not wish to continually reproduce its own internalized structures of oppression, it must bring into critical reflection the oppressive patriarchal contextualizations of contemporary discourses and those of the biblical writings themselves.

2. Feminist/Womanist Hermeneutics. While women have read the Scriptures throughout the centuries, a feminist/womanist hermeneutics as the theoretical exploration of biblical interpretation in the interest of women is of very recent vintage.

a. When one remembers Miriam, Hulda, Hanna, Mary Prisca, Felicitas, Proba, Macrina, Melania, Hildegard of Bingen, Margret Fell, Antoinette Brown, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Jarena Lee, Katherine Bushnell, Margret Brackenbury Crook, Georgia Harkness, or Else Kähler, it becomes apparent that women have always interpreted the Bible. Moreover, books about Women in the Bible—mostly written by men—as well as studies of prescriptive biblical male texts about women's role and place have been numerous throughout the centuries.

Biblical scholarship *about women* engages diverse historical, social, anthropological, psychological, or literary models of interpretation without analyzing their androcentric

frameworks. In addition, it tends to adopt the scientific posture of "detached" inquiry that eschews feminist politics. Although such scholarship focuses on "women," it reproduces and reinscribes the androcentric-patriarchal dynamics of the text as long as it does not question the androcentric character of biblical texts and reconstructive models.

Only in the context of the women's movement in the last century, and especially in the past twenty years, have feminists begun to explore the implications and possibilities of a biblical interpretation that takes the androcentric or patriarchal character of Scripture into account. This exploration is situated within the context of both the academy and the church. Insofar as feminist analysis seeks to transform academic as well as ecclesial biblical interpretation, it has a theoretical and practical goal. This praxis-orientation locates feminist hermeneutics in the context of philosophical/theological hermeneutics as well as critical theory and liberation theology.

b. The technical term *hermeneutics* comes from the Greek word *hermeneuein/hermeneia* and means the practice and theory of interpretation. The expression was first used as a technical term for exegetical handbooks that dealt with philology, grammar, syntax, and style. Today the term *exegesis* is generally used to describe the rules and principles for establishing not only the philological, but also the historical sense, of biblical texts.

Hermeneutics, by contrast, explores the dialogical interaction between the text and the contemporary interpreter in which the subject matter of the text or the reference of discourse itself "comes-into-language." It is not simply conveyed by, but manifested in and through, the language of the text. Understanding the meaning of texts emerges from a dialogical process between interpreter and text. This dialogical process presupposes a common pre-understanding of the subject matter of the text, since we cannot comprehend what is totally alien to our own experience and perception.

Biblical interpretation seeks to understand the text and its world as a rhetorical expression in a certain historical situation. Insofar as the interpreter always approaches biblical texts with certain preunderstandings, and from within a definite linguistic-historical tradition, the act of interpretation has to overcome the distance between the world of the text and that of the interpreter in a "fusion of horizons." Interpretation has as its goal to establish agreement to and acceptance of the subject matter of the text. Understanding is achieved when the interpreter appropriates the ways of being human projected by the text. According to Gadamer the authority of the text has nothing to do with blind obedience, but rests on recognition *(Anerkennung),* because the subject matter of the text can be accepted in principle.

c. However, insofar as patriarchal ideology and systemic domination have been passed down through the medium of Christian Scriptures, feminist biblical interpretation does not only seek to understand but also to assess critically the meaning of androcentric texts and their sociopolitical functions. Although I have introduced the nomenclature "feminist hermeneutics" into the theological discussion, I have at the same time maintained that a critical feminist interpretation has to move beyond dialogical hermeneutics. It does not just aim at understanding biblical texts but also engages in theological critique, evaluation, and transformation of biblical traditions and interpretations from the vantage point of its particular sociopolitical religious location. Not to defend biblical authority but to articulate the theological authority of women is the main task of a critical feminist hermeneutics.

Insofar as hermeneutical theory insists on the linguisticality of all reality and on the sociohistorical conditioning of the act of interpretation, it is useful for womanist/feminist biblical interpretation. However, dialogical hermeneutics does not consider that classic texts and traditions are also a systematically distorted expression of communication under unacknowledged conditions of repression and violence. It therefore is not able to critique the androcentric, male-centered character of Western classics and texts, nor to problematize the patriarchal character of the "world of the text" and of our own. Even Ricoeur's insistence on the restoration of the link between exegesis and hermeneutics as the dialectics between alienating distanziation and appropriating recognition cannot encompass the transformative aims of a critical feminist hermeneutics for liberation, because such a dialectics does not get hold of the "doubled vision" of feminist hermeneutics.

3. A Critical Feminist Hermeneutics of Liberation. Feminists/womanists have become conscious of women's conflicting position within two contradictory discourses offered by society. Unconsciously women participate at one and the same time in the specifically "feminine" discourse of submission, inadequacy, inferiority, dependency, and irrational intuition on the one hand and in the "masculine" discourse of subjectivity, self-determination, freedom, justice, and equality on the other hand. If this participation becomes conscious, it allows the feminist/womanist interpreter to become a reader resisting the reifying power of the androcentric text.

a. The theoretical exploration of this contradictory position of women from the vantage point of an emancipatory standpoint makes it possible to "imagine" a *different* interpretation and historical reconstruction. For change to take place women and other nonpersons must concretely and explicitly claim as their very own those values and visions that Western Man has reserved for himself. Yet they can do so only to the extent that these values and visions foster the liberation of women who suffer from multiple oppressions.

This "doubled vision" of feminism leads to the realization that gender relations are neither natural nor divinely ordained but linguistically and socially constructed in the interest of patriarchal power relations. Androcentric language and texts, literary classics and visual art, works of science, anthropology, sociology, or theology do not describe and comprehend reality. Rather they are ideological constructs that produce the invisibility and marginality of women. Therefore a critical feminist interpretation insists on a *hermeneutics of suspicion* that can unmask the ideological functions of androcentric text and commentary. It does not do so because it assumes a patriarchal conspiracy of the biblical writers and their contemporary interpreters but because when reading grammatically masculine sup-

posedly generic texts women do not, in fact, know whether they are meant or not.

b. The realization that women are socialized into the "feminine discourse" of their culture and thus are ideologically "scripted" and implicated in power relations engenders the recognition that women suffer also from "a false consciousness." As long as they live in a patriarchal world of oppression, women are never fully "liberated." However, this does not lead feminists to argue that historical agency and knowledge of the world are not possible. Western science, philosophy, and theology have not known the world as it is. Rather they have created it in their own interest and likeness as they wished it to be. Therefore, feminists/womanists insist that it is possible for liberatory discourses to articulate a different historical knowledge and vision of the world.

In order to do so feminist/womanist scholars utilize women's experience of reality and practical activity as a scientific resource and a significant indicator of the reality against which hypotheses are to be tested. A critical feminist version of objectivity recognizes the provisionality and multiplicity of particular knowledges as situated and "embodied" knowledges. Knowledge is not totally relative, however. It is possible from the perspective of the excluded and dominated to give a more adequate account of the "world." In short, womanists/feminists insist that women are "scripted" and at the same time are historical subjects and agents.

Therefore, a critical feminist/womanist hermeneutics seeks to articulate biblical interpretation as a complex process of reading for a cultural-theological praxis of resistance and transformation. To that end it utilizes not only historical and literary-critical methods which focus on the rhetoric of the text in its historical contexts, but also storytelling, bibliodrama, and ritual for creating a "different" feminist imagination.

B. Approaches and Methods

In conjunction with feminist literary criticism, critical theory, and historiography, four major hermeneutical strategies have been developed for such a critical process of interpretation.

1. Texts About Women. a. In pondering the absence of women's experience and voice from biblical texts and history, a first strategy seeks to recover information about women and to examine what biblical texts teach about women. This analysis usually focuses on "key" women's passages such as Genesis 1–3; the biblical laws with regard to women; or on the Pauline and post-Pauline statements on women's place and role. This selective approach was adopted by Elizabeth Cady Stanton in *The Woman's Bible* and has strongly influenced subsequent interpretations. Its "cutting up and cutting out" method isolates passages about women from their literary and historical contexts and interprets them "out of context."

After having gathered the texts about women, scholars then catalog and systematize these texts and traditions in a dualistic fashion. They isolate positive and negative statements in order to point to the positive biblical tradition about woman. They isolate positive texts about women and the feminine from "texts of terror" that are stories of women's victimization. All statements about woman and feminine imagery about God are cataloged as positive, ambivalent, or negative strands in Hebrew-Jewish and early Christian tradition. Negative elements are found in the Hebrew Bible as well as in the intertestamental and post-biblical writings of Judaism, whereas in the Christian tradition they are seen as limited to the writings of the Church Fathers. Such a biased classification favoring Christian over and against Jewish tradition engenders anti-Jewish attitudes and interpretations.

b. A second approach focuses on the women characters in the Bible. From its inception, feminist/womanist interpretation has sought to actualize these stories in role-playing, storytelling, and song. Whereas the retelling of biblical stories in midrash or legend is quite familiar to Jewish and Catholic women, it is often a new avenue of interpretation for Protestant women. Interpretations that focus on the women characters in the androcentric text invite readers to identify positively with the biblical women as the text presents them.

Since popular books on "the women of the Bible" often utilize biblical stories about women for inculcating the values of conservative womanhood, a feminist/womanist interpretation approaches these stories with a *hermeneutics of suspicion*. It critically analyzes not only their history of interpretation but also their function in the overall rhetoric of the biblical text. Such a critical interpretation questions the emotions they evoke and the values and roles they project before it can reimagine and retell them in a feminist/womanist key.

Within the African-American tradition of storytelling R. Weems, e.g., creatively reconstructs the "possible emotions and issues that motivated biblical women in their relation with each other" in order to draw "attention to the parallels between the plight of biblical women and women today." Weems informs her reader that the only way she could "let the women speak for themselves" was to wrestle their stories from the presumably male narrators.

Although it is important to retell the biblical women's stories, it is also necessary to reimagine biblical stories without women characters. In order to break the marginalizing tendencies of the androcentric text feminists/womanists have also to retell in a female voice and womanist perspective those stories that do not explicitly mention women.

c. A third approach seeks to recover works written by women in order to restore critical attention to female voices in the tradition. This work has restored many forgotten or obscured women writers. In early Christian studies scholars have, e.g., argued that the gospels of Mark and John were written by a woman evangelist or that Hebrews as authored by Prisca. Others have pointed out that at least half of the Lukan material on women must be ascribed to a special pre-Lukan source that may have owed its existence to a woman evangelist. While such a suggestion expands our historical-theological imagination, it does not critically explore whether the androcentric text communicates patriarchal values and visions, and if so to what degree. It fails to consider that women also have internalized androcentric stereotypes and therefore can reproduce the patriarchal politics of otherness in their speaking and writing.

d. Historical studies of women in the Bible or that of

Jewish, Greek, or Roman women are generally *topological* studies that utilize androcentric texts and archaeological artifacts *about women* as source texts. They understand these sources as descriptive data about women in the biblical worlds and as "windows" to and "mirrors" of women's reality in antiquity. Sourcebooks on women in the Greco-Roman world assemble in English translation literary documents as well as inscriptions and papyri about women's religious activities in Greco-Roman antiquity. However, such source collections are in a certain sense precritical insofar as they obscure that androcentric texts are ideological constructions. They must be utilized with a *hermeneutics of suspicion* and placed within a feminist model of reconstruction.

Recognizing the absence or marginality of women in the androcentric text feminist historians have sought to articulate the problem of how to write women back into history, of how to capture the memory of women's historical experience and contribution. The historian Joan Kelly has succinctly stated the dual goal of women's history as both to restore women to history and to restore our history to women.

Feminist/womanist historical interpretation conceptualizes women's history not simply as the history of women's oppression by men but as the story of women's historical agency, resistance, and struggles. Women have made sociocultural contributions and challenged dominant institutions and values as well as wielded destructive power and collaborated in patriarchal structure.

Feminist/womanist scholars in religion have begun to open up many new areas of research by asking different historical questions that seek to understand the socioreligious life-world of women in antiquity. What do we know about the everyday life of women in Israel, Syria, Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor, or Rome? How did freeborn women, slave women, wealthy women, or businesswomen live? Could women read and write, what rights did they have, how did they dress, or which powers and influence did they gain through patronage? Or what did it mean for a woman of Corinth to join the Isis cult, the synagogue, or the Christian group? What did imprisonment mean for Junia, or how did Philippian women receive Luke-Acts?

Although many of these questions need still to be addressed and might never be answered, asking these questions has made it possible for instance to rediscover Sarah, the priestess, or to unearth the leadership of women in Judaism as well as in early Christianity, or to locate the household-code texts in Aristotelian political philosophy. However, insofar as such sociohistorical studies do not problematize the descriptive character of the androcentric source text as reflecting sociohistorical reality, they cannot break through the marginalizing ideological tendencies of the androcentric text.

2. Ideological Inscription and Reception. Whereas feminist historical interpretation tends to be caught up in the factual, objectivist, and antiquarian paradigm of biblical studies, literary-critical studies insist that we are not able to move beyond the androcentric text to the historical reality of women. They reject a positivist understanding of the biblical text as a transparent medium as reflecting historical reality or as providing historical data and facts.

a. Their first hermeneutical strategy attends to the ideological inscriptions of androcentric dualisms or the politics of gender in cultural and religious texts. The relationship between androcentric text and historical reality cannot be construed as a mirror image but must be decoded as a complex ideological construction. The silences, contradictions, arguments, prescriptions, and projections of the androcentric text as well as its discourses on gender, race, class, or culture must be unraveled as the ideological inscription of the patriarchal politics of otherness.

Feminist literary studies—be they formalist, structuralist, or narratological—carefully show how the androcentric text constructs the politics of gender and feminine representation. By tracing out the binary structures of a text or by focusing on the "feminine" character constructs (e.g., mother, daughter, bride) of biblical narratives, structuralist and deconstructionist readings run the risk of reinscribing rather than dislodging the dualistic gender politics of the text.

By laying out the androcentric bias of the text feminist literary criticism seeks to foster a hermeneutics of resistance to the androcentric politics of the canonical text. Such a feminist literary hermeneutics aims to deconstruct, debunk, and reject the biblical text. However, by refusing any possibility of a positive retrieval they reinscribe the totalizing dynamics of the androcentric texts that marginalize women and other nonpersons or eliminate them altogether from the historical record. Such a hermeneutics relinquishes the heritage of women be it cultural or religious, since not only the Bible but all cultural classics written in androcentric language contain such an androcentric politics. A critical feminist reading can only break the mold of the sacred androcentric text and its authority over us when it resists the androcentric directives and hierarchically arranged binary oppositions of the text, when it reads texts against "their androcentric grain."

b. A second strategy of feminist reading shifts the attention from the androcentric text to the reading subject. Feminist reader-response criticism makes conscious the complex process of reading androcentric texts as a cultural practice. By showing how our gender affects the way we read, it underlines the importance of the reader's particular sociocultural location. Reading and thinking in an androcentric symbol system forces readers to identify with what is culturally "male." This intensifies women's internalization of a cultural patriarchal system whose misogynist values alienate women from themselves.

The androcentric biblical text derives its seductive "power" from its generic aspirations. For instance, women can read stories about Jesus without giving any significance to the maleness of Jesus. However, theological emphasis on the maleness of Jesus reinforces women's male identification and establishes Christian identity as a male identity in a cultural masculine/feminine contextualization. Focusing on the figure of Jesus, the Son of the Father, when reading the Bible "doubles" women's oppression. Women not only suffer in the act of reading from the alienating division of self against self but also from the realization that to be female is not to be "divine" or "a son of God." Recognizing these internalizing functions of androcentric Scriptural texts which in the liturgy are proclaimed as "word of God," feminist/womanist theologians have insisted on an inclusive translation of the lectionary.

Women's reading of generic androcentric biblical texts, however, does not always lead with necessity to the reader's masculine identification. Women's reading can deactivate masculine/feminine gender contextualization in favor of an abstract degenderized reading. Empirical studies have documented that so-called generic masculine language ["man," pronoun "he"] is read differently by men and by women. Whereas men connect male images with such language, women do not connect images with the androcentric text but read it in an abstract fashion. This is possible because of the ambiguity of generic masculine language. In the absence of any clear contextual markers a statement such as "all men are created equal" can be understood as generic-inclusive or as masculine-exclusive.

When women recognize their contradictory ideological position in a generic androcentric language system they can become readers resisting the *master-identification* of the androcentric, racist, classist, or colonialist text. However, if this contradiction is not brought into consciousness, it cannot be exploited for change but leads to further self-alienation. For change to take place, women and other nonpersons must concretely and explicitly claim as our very own the human values and visions that the androcentric text ascribes to "generic" man. Yet once readers have become conscious of the oppressive rhetorical functions of androcentric language, they no longer are able to read "generically" but must insist on a feminist/womanist contextualization of interpretation as a liberating practice in the struggle to end patriarchal relations of exploitation that generate "the languages of oppression" and are legitimated by it.

3. A Critical Rhetorical Paradigm of Historical Reconstruction. A third approach seeks to overcome the methodological split between historical studies that understand their sources as windows to historical reality and literary-critical studies that tend to reinscribe the binary structures and dualistic constructions of the androcentric text. It does so by analyzing the rhetorical functions of the text as well as by articulating models for historical reconstruction that can displace the dualistic model of the androcentric text. It does not deny but recognizes that androcentric texts are produced in and by particular historical debates and struggles. It seeks to exploit the contradictions inscribed in the text for reconstructing not only the narrative "world of the biblical text" but also the sociohistorical worlds that have made possible the particular world construction of the text.

a. Such a critical feminist reconstruction, therefore, does not heighten the opposition of masculine/feminine inscribed in the androcentric text but seeks to dislodge it by focusing on the text as a rhetorical-historical practice. Androcentric texts produce the marginality and absence of women from historical records by subsuming women under masculine terms. How we read the silences of such unmarked grammatically masculine generic texts and how we fill in their blank spaces depends on their contextualization in historical and present experience.

Grammatically masculine language mentions women specifically only as a special case, as the exception from the rule or as a problem. Whereas grammatically masculine language means both women and men, this is not the case for language referring to women. Moreover, the texts about women are not descriptive of women's historical reality and agency but only indicators of it. They signify the presence of women that is marginalized by the androcentric text. An historically adequate reading of such generic androcentric texts therefore would have to read grammatically masculine biblical texts as inclusive of women and men, unless a case can be made for an exclusive reading.

By tracing the defensive strategies of the androcentric text one can make visible not only what the text marginalizes or excludes but also show how the text shapes what it includes. Androcentric biblical texts tell stories and construct social worlds and symbolic universes that mythologize, reverse, absolutize, and idealize patriarchal differences and in doing so obliterate or marginalize the historical presence of the devalued "others" of their communities.

Androcentric biblical texts and interpretations are not descriptive of objective reality but they are persuasive and prescriptive texts that construct historical reality and its sources. Scholars have selected original manuscript readings, established the original text, translated it into English, and commented on biblical writings in terms of their own androcentric-patriarchal knowledge of the world. Androcentric tendencies that marginalize women can also be detected in the biblical writers' selection and redaction of traditional materials as well as in the selective canonization of texts. It is also evident in the use of the Bible in liturgy and theological discourse. As androcentric rhetorical texts, biblical texts and their interpretations construct a world in which those whose arguments they oppose become the "deviant others" or are no longer present at all. The categories of orthodoxy and heresy reinscribe such a patriarchal rhetoric.

Biblical texts about women are like the tip of an iceberg indicating what is submerged in historical silence. They have to be read as touchstones of the reality that they repress and construct at the same time. Just as other texts so also are biblical texts sites of competing discourses and rhetorical constructions of the world. We are able to disclose and unravel "the politics of otherness" constructed by the androcentric text, because it is produced by an historical reality in which "the absent others" are present and active.

A feminist/womanist interpretation is able to unmask the politics of the text, because women participate not only in the androcentric discourse of marginalization and subordination but also in the democratic discourse of freedom, self-determination, justice, and equality. Insofar as this "humanistic" discourse has been constituted as elite "male" discourse the reality to which it points is at the same time already realized and still utopian. It has to be imagined *differently*. Such "imagination" is, however, not pure fantasy but historical imagination because it refers to a reality that has been accomplished not only in discourse but also in the practices and struggles of "the subjugated others."

b. The second strategy elaborates models of historical reconstruction that can subvert the androcentric dynamics of the biblical text and its interpretations by focusing on the "reality" that the androcentric text marginalizes and silences. One has to take the texts about women out of

their androcentric historical source contexts and reassemble them like mosaic stones in a feminist/womanist model of historical reconstruction that does not recuperate the marginalizing tendencies of the text.

A critical feminist reconstructive model, therefore, aims not only to reconstruct women's history in early Christianity but seeks also a feminist reconstruction of early Christian origins. To that end it cannot limit itself to the canonical texts but must utilize *all* available texts and materials.

Another strategy questions androcentric models of interpretation that interpret early Christian origins, e.g., in terms of the split between the public and private spheres. This model renders women's witness to the resurrection and their leadership in the early Christian movements "unofficial" or distorts it to fit "feminine" cultural roles. Another strategy looks at economic and social status, at domestic and political structures, at legal prescriptions, cultic prohibitions, and religious organizations. However, reconstructions of the social world often uncritically adopt sociological or anthropological models of interpretation without testing them for their androcentric ideological implications.

The strategy of a "negative" mirror image which constructs early Christian women's history in contrast to that of Jewish women or Greco-Roman and Asian women in the first century is not only biased but also methodologically inadequate. Instead, a feminist reconstruction must elaborate emancipatory tendencies in Greco-Roman antiquity that made it possible for the early Christian movements to stand in critical tension to their dominant patriarchal society. It must identify institutional formations that have enabled the active participation of women and other nonpersons.

Finally, a critical feminist/womanist reconstruction does not take the texts indicating the gradual adaptation of the early Christian movement to its dominant patriarchal culture as descriptive of historical reality. Rather it understands them as rhetorical arguments about the patriarchal "politics of submission." They do not reflect "what really happened," but construct prescriptive arguments for what the authors wished would happen. This applies not only to biblical texts but also to those "parallel" texts that are cited for the "depraved status" of Jewish or Greco-Roman women.

In short, in a critical model early Christian history is reconstructed not from the perspective of the "historical winners" but from that of the "silenced" in order to achieve an historically adequate description of the social worlds of early Christian women and men. The objectivity and reliability of scientific historical reconstructions must therefore be assessed in terms of whether and how much they can make present the historical losers and their arguments, how much they can make visible those who have been made "doubly invisible" in androcentric sources.

Feminist/womanist historiography, therefore, understands itself not as antiquarian science but as engaged inquiry since it seeks to retrieve women's history as memory and heritage for the present and the future. Insofar as reconstructions of the past are always done in the interest of the present and the future, a critical reconstruction of early Christian history as the history of those who have struggled against hegemonic patriarchal structures seeks to enpower those who today engage in the struggle to end patriarchy.

D. Theological Hermeneutics

Both sides in the often bitter struggles for ecclesial leadership and full citizenship of freeborn women, for emancipation of slave women and men, and for the survival of poor women and their children have invoked biblical authority to legitimate their claims. Consequently, a feminist theological hermeneutics has centered around the question of Scriptural authority.

Several hermeneutical positions have crystallized in confrontation with biblical authority claims. The first rejects the Bible because of its patriarchal character. The Bible is not the word of God but that of elite men justifying their patriarchal interests. The opposite argument insists that the Bible must be "depatriarchalized" because, correctly understood, it fosters the liberation of women. A middle position concedes that the Bible is written by men and rooted in a patriarchal culture but nevertheless maintains that some biblical texts, traditions, or at least the basic core, essence, or central principle of the Bible are liberating and stand in critique of patriarchy.

1. Biblical Apologetics. Historically and today the Bible has functioned as a weapon against women in their struggles for access to public speaking, to theological education, or to ordained ministry. In response a Christian feminist apologetics asserts that the Bible, correctly understood, does not prohibit but rather authorizes the equal rights and liberation of women. A feminist hermeneutics therefore has the task to elaborate this correct understanding of the Bible so that its authority can be claimed.

However, insofar as historical-critical scholarship has elaborated the rich diversity and often contradictory character of biblical texts, it has shown that taken as a whole the canon cannot constitute an effective theological norm. Therefore it becomes difficult to sustain the traditional understanding that the canon forms a doctrinal unity which in all its parts possesses equal authority and which in principle rules out theological inconsistencies.

Feminists who feel bound by this understanding of canonical authority propose three different hermeneutical strategies. A *loyalist* hermeneutics argues that biblical texts about women can be explained in terms of a hierarchy of truth. Whereas traditionalists argue that the household code texts require the submission and subordination of women or that Gal 3:28 must be understood in light of them, evangelical feminists hold that Ephesians 5 requires mutual submission and that the injunctions to submission must be judged in light of the canonical authority of Gal 3:28.

A second strategy is *revisionist*. It makes a distinction between historically conditioned texts that speak only to their own time and those texts with authority for all times. For instance, the injunction of 1 Cor 11:2–16 to wear a head covering or a certain hairstyle is seen as time-conditioned whereas Gal 3:28 pronounces the equality of women and men for all times.

A third approach is *compensatory*. It challenges the overwhelmingly androcentric language and images of the Bible by pointing to the feminine images of God found throughout the sacred writings of Judaism and Christianity. It

uncritically embraces the divine female figure of Wisdom or the feminine character of the Holy Spirit in order to legitimate the use of feminine language for God and the Holy Spirit today.

2. A Feminist Canon. Recognizing the pervasive androcentric character of biblical texts, other feminists isolate an authoritative essence or central principle that biblically authorizes equal rights and liberation struggles. Such a liberation hermeneutics does not aim to dislodge the authority of the Bible but to reclaim the empowering authority of Scripture over and against conservative, right-wing, biblical antifeminism.

A first strategy seeks to identify an authoritative *canon within the canon,* a central principle or *the* "gospel message." Since it is generally recognized that the Bible is written in androcentric language and rooted in patriarchal cultures, such a normative center of Scripture allows one to claim biblical authority while rejecting the accusation that the Bible is an instrument of oppression. Feminist biblical and liberation theological scholarship has not invented but inherited this search for an authoritative "canon within the canon" from historical-theological exegesis that recognizes the historical contingency and contradictory pluriformity of Scripture but nevertheless maintains the normative unity of the Bible.

Just as male liberation theologians stress God's liberating acts in history or single out the Exodus or Jesus' salvific deeds as "canon within the canon," so feminist liberation theologians have sought to identify God's intention for a mended creation, the prophetic tradition or the prophetic critical principle as the authoritative biblical norm. However, such a strategy reduces the historical particularity and pluriformity of biblical texts to a feminist "canon within the canon" or a liberating formalized principle.

The debate continues in feminist hermeneutics as to whether such a feminist normative criterion must be derived from or at least correlated with the Bible so that Scripture remains the normative foundation of feminist biblical faith and community.

Some would argue that the Bible becomes authoritative in the hermeneutical dialogue between the ancient world that produced the text, the literary world of the text, and the world of the modern reader. Yet such a position rejects any criteria extrinisic to the biblical text for evaluating the diverse, often contradictory biblical voices. Instead it maintains that the Bible contains its own critique. It points, for instance, to the vision of a transformed creation in Isa 11:6–9 as a criterion intrinsic to Scripture. The principle of "no harm"—"they shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain"—is the normative criterion for assessing biblical texts. However, this approach does not critically reflect that it is the interpreter who selects this criterion and thereby gives it normative canonical status.

A second strategy recognizes that a feminist critical norm is not articulated by the biblical text. However, it insists that a *correlation* can be established between the feminist critical norm and that by which the Bible critiques itself and renews its liberating vision over and against corrupting deformations. Such a feminist hermeneutics correlates, for instance, the feminist critical principle of the full humanity of women with the prophetic-messianic critical principle or dynamics by which the Bible critiques itself. However, such a hermeneutics of correlation reduces the particularity and diversity not only of biblical texts but also of feminist articulations to abstract formalized principle and norm. It neglects biblical interpretation as the site of competing discursive practices and struggles.

A third hermeneutical strategy argues that feminists must create as a new textual base a feminist *Third Testament* that canonizes women's experiences of God's presence. Out of their revelatory experiences of agony and victimization, survival, empowerment, and new life women write new canonical stories. Such a proposal recognizes women's experiences of struggle and survival as places of divine presence. Just as the androcentric texts of the First and Second Testaments reflecting male experience, so also the stories rooted in women's experience deserve canonical status. However, such a canonization of women's stories rescribes cultural-theological male-female dualism as canonical dualism. Just like canonized male texts, so also are women's texts embedded and structured by patriarchal culture and religion. Consequently both must be subjected to a process of critical evaluation.

3. Critical Process of Interpretation. A critical feminist hermeneutics of liberation therefore abandons the quest for a liberating canonical text and shifts its focus to a discussion of the *process of biblical interpretation* that can grapple with the oppressive as well as the liberating functions of particular biblical texts in women's lives and struggles.

Such a critical process of feminist/womanist interpretation for liberation presupposes feminist conscientization and systemic analysis. Its interpretive process has four key moments. It begins with a *hermeneutics of suspicion* scrutinizing the presuppositions and interests of interpreters, and those of biblical commentators as well as the androcentric strategies of the biblical text itself. A *hermeneutics of historical interpretation and reconstruction* works not only in the interest of historical distanziation but also for an increase in historical imagination. It displaces the androcentric dynamic of the text and its contexts by recontextualizing the text in a sociopolitical model of reconstruction that can make the subordinated and marginalized "others" visible.

A *hermeneutics of ethical and theological evaluation* assesses the oppressive or liberatory tendencies inscribed in the text as well as the functions of the text in historical and contemporary situations. It insists for theological reasons that Christians stop preaching patriarchal texts as the "word of God," and cease to proclaim the Christian God as legitimating patriarchal oppression. Finally, a *hermeneutics of creative imagination and ritualization* retells biblical stories and celebrates our biblical foresisters in a feminist/womanist key.

Since such a critical process of interpretation aims not just to understand biblical texts but to change biblical religion, it requires a theological reconception of the Bible as a formative root model rather than as a normative archetype of Christian faith and community. As a root model, the Bible informs but does not provide the articulation of criteria for a critical feminist/womanist evaluation of particular in the interest of liberation. Christian identity that is grounded in the Bible as its formative prototype must in ever new readings be deconstructed and recon-

structed in terms of a global praxis for the liberation not only of women but of all other nonpersons.

Such a proposal does not abandon the canon as some critics have charged. It also cannot be characterized as extrinsic to the text, insofar as it works with the notion of inspiration. Inspiration is a much broader concept than canonical authority insofar as it is not restricted to the canon but holds that throughout the centuries the whole Church has been inspired and empowered by the Spirit. The NT writings did not become canonical because they were believed to be uniquely inspired; rather they were judged to be inspired because the Church gave them canonical status. Inspiration—the life-giving breath and power of Sophia-Spirit—has not ceased with canonization but is still at work today in the critical discernment of the spirits. It empowers women and others excluded from ecclesial authority to reclaim *as Church* their theological authority of biblical interpretation and spiritual validation.

The "canon within the canon" or the hermeneutics of correlation locates authority formally if not always materially in the Bible, thereby obscuring its own process of finding and selecting theological norms and visions either from the Bible, tradition, doctrine, or contemporary life. In contrast, a critical evaluative hermeneutics makes explicit that it takes its theological authority from the experience of God's liberating presence in today's struggles to end patriarchal relationships of domination. Such divine Presence manifests itself when people acknowledge the oppressive and dehumanizing power of the patriarchal interstructuring of sexism, racism, economic exploitation, and militarist colonialism and when Christians name these destructive systems theologically as structural "sin" and "heresy." For this process of naming we will find many resources in the Bible but also in many other religious, cultural, and intellectual traditions.

Understanding the act of critical reading as a moment in the global praxis for liberation compels a critical feminist hermeneutics to decenter the authority of the androcentric text and to take control of its own readings. It deconstructs the politics of otherness inscribed in the text and our own readings in order to retrieve biblical visions of salvation and well-being in the interest of the present and the future.

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ELISABETH SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA

FERTILITY CULTS. As in many ancient cultures, so in the Near East the experience of the numinous was closely associated with natural phenomena. The elements of air, water, earth, and fire were universally recognized as possessing or manifesting divine qualities. As these early cultures developed, the numinous character passed from

the natural elements to the constructs of society (temples, priesthoods, kingships, the state [Jacobsen 1971: 163–69]). But in the earliest cultures it is clear that nature and its manifestations dominated.

We have come to use the term "fertile crescent" as a description of the band of arable land from the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates to the Upper Nile region. It is a region in which the struggle between the forces of nature and the human communities which settled there was constant and demanding. In story, legend, and myth the cultures of the crescent recalled and celebrated the growth of their culture and life as a result of or in spite of the primordial elements.

Since the success of agriculture and husbandry was the primary necessity upon which all else depended, it was natural that the earliest societies in the Near East associated the divine with the productivity of the land. In three main loci of Near Eastern culture, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Canaan/Phoenicia, we find the earliest divinities associated with the fertility of the land. The association of the divine with the natural is, by definition, magic. And so, the earliest religions and rituals exhibit the qualities of magic with a strong belief in the effectiveness of symbols, either acts or words, to make things happen. Spells, incantations, extispicy, and necromancy are hallmarks of this early phase of the religions of the fertile crescent.

In ancient Egypt the fertility of the land was most obviously associated with the sun and the flood of the Nile.

> Hail to Thee, O Nile, That Gushest forth
> from the earth
> And comest to nourish Egypt!
> (*ANET*, 372)

> Hail to Thee, Atum . . . thou carriest to him
> [Egypt] everything that is in thee.
> Thou carriest to him everything that will be
> in them.
> (Breasted 1959: 14)

The sun is deified in Re (Atum, Horus, Khepri) and the Nile in Osiris. Osiris is identified not just with the water of the Nile, but specifically he is seen "as a source of fertility, water as a life-giving agency" (Breasted 1959: 20–21). Osiris is the power of life in the earth, the water, the soil, and the products of the earth. The story of Osiris' journey from life to death to renewed life is celebrated in the cult and myths. There is no evidence that the cultic practices of these fertility rites embraced the idea of human sacrifice, nor do we find in Egyptian religion the kinds of orgiastic excess that could mark fertility cults. Breasted notes that in Egypt "the Osiris myth expressed those hopes and aspirations and ideals which were closest to the life and the affections of this great people" (1959: 37).

Another major locus of the culture of the ANE is Mesopotamia. In the muddy silt at the ancient confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers civilization has its origins. Almost all the older authorities on the Near East point to the great contrast between the cultures of Egypt and Mesopotamia. It may be romantic, but even the casual reader can discern the steady and optimistic character of Egyptian life and the much more enigmatic, troubled, and insecure character of life in Mesopotamia. Egypt's fertility did not depend on human initiative or creativity, only human cooperation and labor. But the fertility of Mesopotamia required the exertion of enormous human resources and ingenuity. The land between the rivers needed the constant and vigilant attention of its keepers to prevent its erosion, salinization, or denuding.

The principal focus for the religious experience of fertility in Mesopotamia is found in the god Tammuz (or Dumuzi) and his consort Inanna. The stories of the courtship of Inanna and Dumuzi, their subsequent marriage, his murder at the hands of evil agents of Hades, her lament over him, and his resurrection, comprise the oldest piece of Sumerian religious lore we have. Indeed, Jacobsen writes, "the earliest form of Mesopotamian religion was worship of powers of fertility and yield, of the powers in nature ensuring human survival" (Jacobsen 1976: 26).

The worship of Dumuzi and Inanna was centered on the ritual and cultic reenactment of the story of Dumuzi's death. Clear association is made between the rites and the continued fertility of the land. Just as in Egypt, there is little evidence that human sacrifice was a part of these rituals. But sacred prostitution was clearly a feature of the religion. The central symbol of the presence of the gods, the ziggurat, for example, had as one of its chief components a bridal chamber where the priestess went to "become the bride of the God, and by this mystic marriage to renew the fertility of the soil and the strength of the King's arms" (Smith 1952: 67). Tammuz is the power of fertility inherent in food and is, as such, the object of love but not himself an active lover. He receives love rather than gives it. As Jacobsen writes of Dumuzi/Tammuz:

> The cult of Tammuz is thus of a piece, simple and direct throughout. At its center lies numinous experience undergone in specific situations, in the renewal of life and the abundance of the Mesopotamian spring."
> (Jacobsen 1971: 101).

Israel's own religious ethos, at least what we know of it in the Bible, eschewed this kind of simple correlation between the divine and the natural: "When you raise your eyes to heaven, when you see the sun, the moon, the stars, and the array of heaven, do not be tempted to worship them and serve them" (Deut 4:19–20).

The most immediate religious expression available to the newly forming nation was the Canaanite cult. The high god of the Canaanite pantheon was El. Associated with him was his son Baal and the son's consort Anath. Asherah and Astarth, two other female gods, are also closely linked. The three ladies are seen in clearly sexual terms, and the stories of them closely associate their sexual prowess and delight with the productivity and wealth of the land.

Baal is the storm god, the bringer of rain and fertility. And even El, who is generally seen as an "inactive" god, is depicted in lusty and prodigious sexual activity. As a matter of fact, "fertility is the main concern of the Ugaritic myths" (Gordon 1962: 170). This is evident even to the most casual reader. The Ugaritic tales of Aqhat, Keret, and the Baal cycle all devote significant attention to this aspect of the religion.

It is alleged in numerous sources that the western

Phoenicians practiced human sacrifice, but there is no mention of it in the texts from Ugarit. The probable survival of human sacrifice at Carthage and in some other Punic cities leads one to suspect that the practice was probably found in the earlier stages of the culture as well (see CANAAN, RELIGION OF; PHOENICIAN RELIGION).

There was a clear revulsion against Canaanite religious practices in the Yahwistic religion of early Israel. It can be seen in numerous injunctions, prescriptions, and stories that either directly or indirectly impugn the practices of the "inhabitants of the land." That the religion of Canaan exercised a strong hold over many Israelites is also clear. It is really only in the prophetic movement and especially in the Elijah and Elisha stories that we get a close glimpse of the scope of the struggle. The Yahwistic religion of Israel came early on to define itself clearly as the opposite of the "way of Canaan."

The simple fact is that fertility cults are very much tied to the status quo. The fertility cult celebrates the cycles of life and death, and sees in them the very essence of the divine: pure, unchanging, timeless, and abstract from the historical. But Israel's religious experience of God as it is articulated in the Hebrew Bible was not based in the phenomena of nature, nor in a vision of an eternal cycle of life. Israel's faithfulness flowed from *events* and showed itself in events. The God Yahweh was the God of history, not because history was a cycle of eternally repeated acts, but just the opposite, because history happened and moved forward to an end. So the God of history is free to act where, when, and if God wills it. The status quo is always, therefore, vulnerable.

Israel denied the validity of any cult which bound its God to the present as if to the eternal. The Lord would be free and so the Lord always stood against the status quo, the predictable. Israel's religion more and more definitively removed the numinous from the natural to the historical, from the accidental to the conscious.

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JOSEPH P. HEALEY

FESTAL GARMENT/ROBE. See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

FESTIVALS, GRECO-ROMAN. The Greeks named the months of their calendars after important seasonal rituals celebrated for the gods of the city. Called *heortai,* these festivals were organized around communal sacrifices and banquets, and provided regular holidays from civil, business, and agricultural affairs. In Athens there were *heortai* of the city, *heortai* of the local demes, and *heortai* of various groups based on kinship (e.g., *gene*) or common identity (e.g., *orgeones*). In addition to *heortai,* there were many public sacrifices *(thysia)* performed for the gods of the city.

Some festivals, like the *Panathenaia,* included all of the city's residents (men, women, children, resident aliens, and slaves); others, like the *Thesmophoria* for women, were restricted by gender or social status. Some festivals were celebrated in the heart of the city, others, like the *Apatouria* for *Zeus Phratrios* and *Athena Phratria,* were celebrated by local groups (in this case, the *phratries,* male groups based on kinship) throughout Attica. Still others, including great public processions to outlying areas (e.g., the *Eleusinian Mysteries* to Eleusis, the *Brauronia* to Brauron) or to the city from outlying areas (e.g., the *Dionysia,* from *Eleutherai* on the Boeotian border), served to mark the territory controlled by the city and to acknowledge an originally local ceremony incorporated earlier into the city's calendar.

At Athens there were more than thirty-five *heortai* and public *thysia* celebrated during the year. Some were agricultural festivals. The *Stenia, Thesmophoria, Skira, Haloa,* and *Proerosia* were celebrated in honor of Demeter to guarantee successful grain crops. The *Oschophoria* and *Anthesteria* were festivals of the grapevine and wine, celebrated for Dionysos, the god of wine. Other festivals or public ceremonies, like the *Thargelia* for Apollo or the *Kallynteria* for Athena, were concerned with various forms of ritual purification.

As the city developed, simple festivals organized around public sacrifice became more complex. Processions became more elaborate, public contests were added, and festivals became an opportunity for displays of spectacle, personal achievement, and the political prestige of the city. Athletic and poetic contests were grafted onto the *Panathenaia,* ship races in the *Piraeus* were added to the *Mounichia* for Artemis, and dramatic contests became part of the *Lenaia* and *Dionysia* for Dionysos. During the years of the Athenian Empire in the mid-5th century B.C. the Athenians required their allies and subjects to bring contributions to the Athenian *Panathenaia* and *Dionysia,* and these festivals became public displays of Athenian political success for the representatives of subject cities and for the Athenian city body itself.

All Greek cities participated in the great Panhellenic festivals at the great sanctuaries of Olympia, Nemea, Isthmia, Delphi, and Delos. During the Hellenistic period cities like Samothrace and Magnesia ad Sipylum vied with each other in establishing new Panhellenic festivals in order to increase the wealth of their sanctuaries and to enhance their civic reputations.

Rome's agricultural origin is reflected in the agricultural context of many of the city's festivals (e.g., the *Fordicidia, Vinalia, Robigalia, Floralia,* etc.). While each Greek city had its own calendar of festivals, Roman conquest of Italy led to the standardization of the Roman calendar and conse-

quently of Roman state festivals, the celebration of which implied allegiance to and acceptance of the Roman state. Roman festivals were called *feriae*, "holidays," and were of two kinds: public festivals organized by the city and private festivals celebrated in the family. *Feriae* could include a variety of rituals, but the heart of the ceremony was always a sacrifice to a specific divinity. In addition to the public *feriae*, public games, *ludi*, were regular events recorded in the city's calendar (e.g., the *Ludi Romani* in September).

Some festivals celebrated in the countryside (e.g., the *Compitalia* in January, to mark boundaries between neighboring farms and to provide purification before the spring sowing) had their counterparts in the city (where the *Compitalia* were celebrated in local neighborhoods at points where streets intersected). Other festivals show traces of Rome's early administrative history. The *Fornacalia*, for instance, were celebrated in the meeting places of the Roman *curiae*, located throughout the city, long after the *curiae* ceased to be real instruments of political administration. Still other festivals were celebrated in the temples of the central area of the city and emphasized the unity and common identity of the Roman citizen body.

Some festivals were restricted to certain groups. On March 1 men sacrificed to the god of war, Mars (whose priests, the *Salii*, performed special dances), while their wives celebrated the *Matronalia* for Juno Lucina, a goddess of childbirth. Other festivals for women included the *Veneralia* in April, celebrated by married women, brides, and even prostitutes, for Venus and Fortuna, and the *Matralia* in June, for mothers.

Both Greek and Roman festival calendars could accommodate the addition of new festivals. During the Imperial period, for instance, local festivals in honor of the birthday of the emperor became a regular part of the religious life of the cities of the empire. In spite of the addition of new festivals for new divinities, however, the traditional festivals continued to be celebrated.

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SUSAN GUETTEL COLE

FESTUS, PORCIUS (PERSON) [Gk *Phestos*]. Procurator of Judea (ca. 59–62 C.E.) who heard Paul's case with dispatch and, after consulting with Agrippa II, granted Paul's request to be sent to Rome for trial (Acts 24:27–26:32). Festus is known to us only from Josephus and the Acts of the Apostles.

A. In Josephus

Josephus is fundamentally positive in his evaluation of Festus, whom he contrasts sharply with both his predecessor Felix and his successor Albinus (*Ant.* 20.8.9–11 §§182–96; *JW* 2.14.1 §§271–72). When Festus arrived as procurator, the province of Judea was full of bandits *(lestes, sicarii)*. In an attempt to restore order, Festus instituted a campaign against this "principal plague of the country." As a consequence, large numbers of bandits were captured, many killed. During his period in office, there was an uprising led by yet another savior figure who had gathered around himself a following; Festus sent troops against them and destroyed them. Josephus reports that after the Jews had constructed a wall in the Jerusalem Temple area to keep Agrippa from spying on Temple proceedings, Festus ordered its removal. At the Jews' entreaty, however, he agreed to allow them first to discuss the matter before Nero. This incident underscores the clearest impression one has of Josephus' portrayal of Festus—namely, his work against extremists and possible insurrection—while also demonstrating his desire to have good relations with the Jewish leadership.

B. In Luke-Acts

Porcius Festus inherited the responsibility of deciding Paul's case from Felix, and it is in the ensuing trial processes that the portrayal of Festus in Acts is developed.

Three days after his arrival in Judea, Festus travelled from his headquarters in Caesarea to Jerusalem, ostensibly to establish good relations with the Jewish leadership. During his visit, they raised again the question of Paul. He agreed to reopen the case, but refused to grant their request that Paul be transferred to Jerusalem for the hearing. According to the account in Acts, Festus was at this point nonprejudicial toward Paul, and even left open the possibility of Paul's exoneration. In the ensuing trial, however, Festus reverses himself. In an attempt to ingratiate himself with the Jewish officials, Festus proposes that the venue for the proceedings be shifted to Jerusalem. Festus' impartiality compromised, Paul appeals to Caesar.

In the subsequent narrative, Festus is portrayed as one interested in exonerating himself from any claim of his having mishandled Paul's case. After Paul appealed to Caesar, Festus arranged for Paul a further hearing before Agrippa II and Bernice. In his introduction to the proceedings, Festus presents himself as one who had acted fairly and responsibly in the face of difficult circumstances. His apology also serves to emphasize Paul's innocence: "I found he had done nothing deserving death," Festus asserted (Acts 25:25).

Paul, then, was able to present his defense again, during which Festus concluded Paul was mad. Nevertheless, even if Rome's representative was unable to understand the religious matters at issue between Paul and his Jewish opponents (Acts 25:19–20; 26:24; cf. Haenchen 1971: 672–73, 288), when measured against Roman law, Paul was found free from guilt (Acts 26:32). Because Paul had appealed to Caesar, however, he was sent on to Rome with other prisoners (Acts 27:1).

Sherwin-White has demonstrated the general historical veracity of the report of Paul's trial before Festus in Acts (1963: 48–70). At the same time, we should recognize that

theological concerns have been woven into the overall portrait of Festus in Acts by its author. Thus, in addition to the apologetic motifs already noted, we may also draw attention to the significant parallels that exist between the trial of Paul in Acts 25–26 and that of Jesus in Luke 23:1–25 (O'Toole 1984: 68–71).

C. The Problem of Chronology

Both Josephus and Acts report that Festus followed Felix as procurator of the province of Judea. When this succession occurred is unclear, however, with a range of dates, from 55 C.E. to 61 C.E., finding support. More certain is the year in which Festus' governance was terminated by his death in office, at which time he was replaced by Albinus. According to Josephus, Jesus, son of Ananias, prophesied against Jerusalem, creating such a stir that he was brought before the procurator, Albinus. Since this happened "four years before the war," we may date the death of Festus and the appointment of Albinus to office in 62 C.E. (Joseph. *JW* 6.5.3 §§300–9; cf. 2.14.1 §§272–76).

Many who support an early date for the appointment of Festus follow Jerome's Latin version of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius. According to this testimony, Festus succeeded Felix in the second year of Nero—that is, 56 C.E. (see the detailed discussion in Ogg 1968: 151–55). However, this datum is rendered improbable by the collusion of evidence gleaned from Josephus and Acts regarding a would-be Jewish savior figure from Egypt. The incident involving this fanatic occurred during the reign of Nero—i.e., sometime after October 54 C.E. (Joseph. *Ant.* 20.8.6 §§169–72; *JW* 2.8.5 §§261–63)—and prior to Paul's arrest in Jerusalem (Acts 21:27–39). Because Paul was arrested approximately at the time of Pentecost (Acts 20:16) at least two years before Felix was recalled (Acts 24:27), the earliest Festus could have taken office would have been 57 C.E. Accordingly, Jerome's version of the Eusebian chronology is undependable.

Others have hoped to fix the date of Festus' appointment with reference to the assistance Felix received upon his recall to Rome by his brother, Pallas. Josephus writes that Felix was saved from disciplinary action under Nero by the intervention of Pallas, who at that time enjoyed favor with Nero (*Ant.* 20.8.9. 182). Since Pallas was removed from his post as financial secretary in 55 C.E. (Tacitus *Ann.* 13.14.1–2), and apparently was never restored to office, some have concluded that Felix must have been succeeded by Festus no later than 55 C.E. Aside from the fact that this chronology compresses the careers of Felix and Paul overmuch, this logic depends on a faulty assumption—namely, that Pallas could not have had influence with Nero subsequent to his dismissal from office. His wealth alone, estimated as high as 400,000,000 sesterces (Dio Classius 62.14.3; cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 12.53), guaranteed his continued power. His extended public favor is evidenced by his receiving the *praetoria insignia* and by the placing of a public monument fixed with a senatorial decree honoring him (Tacitus *Ann.* 12.53; Pliny, *Ep.* 8.6). Moreover, no evidence suggests Pallas left office on bad terms with Nero; rather, the reasons appear political and strategic, not personal. In the end, Nero poisoned Pallas "because he kept his vast riches to himself by a too protracted old age" (Tacitus *Ann.* 14.65). Clearly, then, even after his departure from office, Pallas could have interceded successfully on his brother's behalf.

There is therefore no reason to choose an early date for Festus' appointment, and several factors suggest a later one. Of the approximately ten years (i.e. 52/53–62 C.E.) that must be divided between the periods when Felix and Festus held office, most of this time must have been taken by Felix. Felix had held office "for many years" before Paul was first brought to him for trial (Acts 24:10), and Josephus devotes lengthy sections to the events that happened under Felix (*Ant.* 20.8.5–8 §§160–81; *JW* 2.12.8–13.7 §§247–70). Festus, on the other hand, receives comparatively little notice in Josephus (*Ant.* 20.8.9–11 §§182–96; *JW* 2.14.1 §271). Moreover, the coin issue of the fifth year of Nero may indicate the appointment of Festus prior to October 59 C.E.; indeed, it is more likely that the minting of new coins was the work of an incoming procurator than that of an outgoing one who had already minted a large issue (Reifenberg 1963: 27–28; Smallwood 1976: 269). Finally, in the Armenian version of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, the sending of Festus to succeed Felix is placed in the tenth year of Agrippa II. If Caird is right (*IDB* 1: 599–607), and Eusebius wrongly reckoned Festus' accession from the year 45 C.E. rather than the year 50 C.E., when Agrippa II actually took office, then according to Eusebius' source Festus was appointed procurator in the summer of 59 C.E. We conclude, therefore, that Festus was procurator from 59–62 C.E.

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JOEL B. GREEN

FEVER. See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

FIBULA. See JEWELRY, ANCIENT ISRAELITE.

FIERY SERPENT. See SERPENT, BRONZE.

FIG TREE. See FLORA.

FILIGREE [Heb *šubbaṣîm*]. A decorative treatment involved in the fabrication of ceremonial clothing (Exod 28:20). The Hebrew word is based on the root *ṣbṣ*, which

apparently refers to making a fabric with a design or pattern in it, and is also translated "checker work" in the RSV (as Exod 28:4, 39).

As with many technical terms, the exact nature of this checker work cannot be established. Most of the references to it are in the context of the description of the ephod in the tabernacle texts of Exodus. See also EPHOD (OBJECT). Two symbolic onyx stones, each inscribed with the names of six Israelite tribes, were attached to the ephod. These stones, which were fastened to the ephod's shoulder piece, were secured in settings of gold filigree (Exod 28:11, 13, 20, 25; 39:6, 13, 16, 18). Since the Hebrew word for "settings" indicates something that surrounds or encloses, "filigree" designates golden frames or patches in which the onyx stones were set. Similarly, the stones that were part of the high priest's breastpiece were set in "gold filigree" (Exod 28:20). See also BREASTPIECE.

In addition to these references to the filigree frames or settings for the stones of Aaron's ephod and breastpiece, the coat or tunic *(ketōnet)* worn by the high priest was decorated with small patches or plates ("checker work," Exod 28:4). This detail was not present for the analogous robes worn by the other priests.

The filigree work is thus notable in its association with the garb of the high priest alone, in its role in attaching some of the most important symbolic elements (stones of the ephod and breastpiece) to that garb, and in its being made of gold. These features of the filigree work put it in the category of most holy items, according to the gradation of materials used in the tabernacle and in the fragments of the priesthood (Haran 1979: 158–74). The most elaborate and therefore holiest priestly apparel is for the high priest, who comes closest to Yahweh, the most holy of all. Aaron's clothing conceptually approximates the ritual garments used to clothe statues of the gods in Mesopotamian ritual.

One of the technological features of the richly decorated ceremonial vestments in ancient Mesopotamia was the use of a technique of attaching small metallic bracteates (round, square, or rosette-shaped metal plates) to the fabric (Oppenheim 1949). The various arrangements of these bracteates, particularly the square ones, relieved the monotony of plain fabric not only in terms of color and shape but also in terms of texture. This special and costly treatment of sacred garments may be related to the golden settings specified for the holiest of human apparel in Israel, the high priest's vestments. One human royal figure, a princess, also has sumptuous clothing with these special decorations (Ps 45:14 [—Eng 45:13]). The term rendered "filigree" or "checker work" would thus be more accurately translated "bracteates."

The metallic nature of the biblical bracteates is supported by a verse in 1 Kgs 7:17 describing part of the capitals of JACHIN AND BOAZ, which were made of metal, as being of "checker work."

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CAROL MEYERS

FILLET [Heb *ḥāsûq*]. Sometimes translated "band" or "ring" in other English versions, this word refers to a fitting of the pillars used in the tabernacle court (Exod 27:10–18; 38:10–19) and at its doorway (Exod 36:38). The former were made of silver, and the latter were golden, in keeping with the principle of the material gradation in the fabrication of the tabernacle, whereby objects closer to the inner sanctuary were of increasingly precious materials and more costly workmanship. See also TABERNACLE.

CAROL MEYERS

FINGER. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

FIR TREE. See FLORA.

FIRE, PILLAR OF. See PILLAR OF FIRE AND CLOUD.

FIREPAN [Heb *maḥtâ*]. A receptacle used to carry live coals to or from the altars of both the tabernacle and the Temple. Since it held burning coals, as did censers, it could be used as a censer when incense was sprinkled on the coals. The firepans that were part of the tabernacle's array of altar equipment were made of bronze (Exod 27:3 = 38:3; cf. Num 4:14). A similar listing of utensils for the Temple indicates golden firepans (1 Kgs 7:50; 2 Chr 4:22); but 2 Kgs 29:15 implies that they were bronze, and Jer 52:19 does not specify. The confusion with respect to these Temple vessels may lie in the fact that there were firepans of gold to service the golden incense altar that stood inside the *hêkāl*, the main room of the Temple, and also firepans of bronze to service the bronze courtyard altar, which is not listed in the description of Solomon's Temple but which almost certainly was a part of the courtyard furnishings.

CAROL MEYERS

FIRST AND LAST. See ALPHA AND OMEGA.

FIRST FRUITS [Heb *bikkûrîm, re'šît;* Gk *aparche*]. In the OT, "first fruits" most often is used to refer to a literal portion of the agricultural harvest. Two Hebrew words are rendered "first fruits." The first is *bikkûrîm*, which specifically refers to first-ripe grain and fruit, which was harvested and offered to the Lord according to sacerdotal prescriptions. This term always appears in the masculine plural and it may refer generally to the first produce of the soil (Exod 23:16, 19; 34:26; Num 28:16; Neh 10:35; 13:31) or specifically to wheat (Exod 34:22) or the products of grain (dough, Ezek 44:30, or loaves of bread, Lev 23:17; 23:20), to fruits in general (Num 18:13; Ezek 44:30), to figs (Nah 3:12), or to grapes (Num 13:20); sometimes it simply indicates "early ripe" (Lev 2:14; 2 Kgs 4:42). The second is *re'šît*, which is usually translated "first" or "beginning" of a series. In a special sense, it can mean "choicest"; the substantive based on this idea is translated

"first fruits," with specific reference to processed produce rather than produce in the raw state. This term specifically refers to dough (Num 15:20, 21; Ezek 44:30; Neh 10:38 [37]) or grain (Lev 23:10; Deut 18:4; 2 Chr 31:5), to new wine (Deut 18:4; 2 Chr 31:5), to oil (Deut 18:4; 2 Chr 31:5), to honey (2 Chr 31:5), to "all the produce of the land" (2 Chr 31:5), to "the fruit of every tree" (Neh 10:38), and even to wool (Deut 18:4). In addition to its literal meaning, the word is figuratively applied to Israel, the first fruits of Yahweh's harvest (Jer 2:3). Several times (Exod 23:19; 34:26; Ezek 44:30), the two terms are used together, meaning something like "the first of the first fruits."

Because Yahweh is sovereign and because of his possession of all things, the first issue of man, beast, and soil were considered holy unto the Lord. Provision was made for the redemption of the firstborn of people and animals (Exod 13:2–16; Num 3:12–16). The offerings of first fruits provided the redemption of the harvest. The postexilic Jewish community acknowledged that the priests had to "bring the first fruits of our ground and the first fruits of all the fruit of every tree to the house of the Lord annually, and bring to the house of our God the firstborn of our sons and of our cattle, and the firstborn of our herds and our flocks as it is written in the law" (Neh 10:36, 37—Eng 10:35, 36). These offerings were given to the Lord as a thanksgiving offering and for the support of the priesthood, for the priests received the entirety of the first fruits, except for the cereal offering of Lev 14:14–16.

As a part of the celebration of Passover, Lev 23:10–14 (and Exod 23:16, 19) prescribes the waving of a sheaf of first fruits before Yahweh to acknowledge the dedication of the grain harvest; this was a public ceremony performed on behalf of the nation. This initial sheaf was of barley, for barley ripens earlier than wheat (cf. the Gezer calendar: "His month is barley harvest. His month is wheat-harvest and festival ["festival" refers to Pentecost]"; see further *ANET* 321). Flavius Josephus (*Ant* 3.10.5) affirms that this was indeed a sheaf of barley. No additional harvest work could be accomplished before this ceremony was enacted. The second public occasion involving first fruits occurred seven weeks later, at Pentecost, when the first fruits of the wheat harvest were presented, as specified in Exod 34:22. At this time, "the bread of the first fruits," which was made from the initial wheat harvest, was offered; in Num 28:26, Pentecost is designated "the day of the first fruits."

In addition to these public events, there were individual offerings, offered by the head of each family. Fairly detailed liturgical instructions for these individual offerings of first fruits in the land are given in Deut 26:1–11. The worshiper placed the first fruits in a basket. He then proceeded to the place prescribed by Yahweh, reporting to the officiating priest, "I declare this day to the Lord my God that I have entered the land which the Lord swore to our fathers to give us." At that point, the priest accepted the basket and placed it before the altar. Then the worshiper would avow, "My father was a wandering Aramaean, and he went down to Egypt and sojourned there, few in number; but there he became a great, mighty and populous nation. And the Egyptians treated us harshly and afflicted us, and imposed hard labor on us. Then we cried to the Lord, the God of our fathers, and the Lord heard our voice and saw our affliction and our toil and our oppression; and the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm and with great terror and with signs and wonders; and He has brought us to this place and has given us this land, a land flowing with milk and honey." It would seem that the worshiper has at some point resumed possession of the basket, for he continues, "And now behold, I have brought the first of the produce of the ground which Thou, O Lord, hast given me." With these words, the worshiper himself presents the basket before the altar and worships with rejoicing.

Whereas OT occurrences of "first fruits" all refer to a literal offering or a portion of the harvest (except for the metaphorical usage in Jer 2:3), the NT usage of *aparche* ("beginning") is exclusively figurative. The figure is based on the agricultural or ritual fact. Just as literal first fruits are a harbinger and sample of the full harvest, the presence of the Holy Spirit with the believer is an indication of that which is to come (Rom 8:23), Christians are the first fruits of God's people (Jas 1:18 and probably 2 Thess 2:13), and those who follow the Lamb are the first fruits to God (Rev 14:4). Just as literal first fruits are first in sequence, Epaenetus is the first fruits of the Christians in Asia, and the household of Stephanus is the first fruits of the Christians in Achaia. Combining the ideas of the harbinger and first in sequence, Christ, in his resurrection, is the "first fruits of those that slept." Just as the ritual called for a heave offering of the "first fruits" of a batch of dough (Num 15:20) and the holiness of the first piece of dough assures the holiness of the entire lump, believing Jews are a sample pointing to a much greater yield (Rom 11:16).

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RICHARD O. RIGSBY

FIRSTBORN. See FAMILY.

FISH. See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

FISH GATE (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar haddāgîm*]. A gate of Jerusalem in the northern wall around the Temple Mount. It is first mentioned in connection with Manasseh's refortification program of Jerusalem that included the areas of the Fish Gate, the City of David, and the east side of the city. Subsequently, the Fish Gate and the surrounding area was spoken of by Zephaniah (1:10–11) and by Nehemiah in his account of the dedicatory procession where the Fish Gate is located in the northern wall to the west of the Tower of Hananel and the Tower of the Hundred (Neh 3:3; 12:38–39).

This gate opened to a ridge that led from Mount Moriah and the Temple enclosure to the Benjamin Plateau to the

north. It was via the Beth-horon road and the Benjamin Plateau that merchants from Tyre and the coast brought fish and other imports to Jerusalem. The fish markets that developed inside and outside the wall most likely gave the gate its name (Neh 13:16).

Until the extensive excavations of Jerusalem in the late 1960s, the majority view (Avi-Yonah being an exception, 1954: 242) placed the Fish Gate at the northern end (Simons 1952: 276) or on the northeast bank (Vincent and Steve 1954: 242–43) of the Central or Tyropoeon Valley near the present Damascus Gate. This assumed that this area was within the walled city during the First Temple period. However, Avigad's excavation of areas A (the Broad Wall), X-2 (the Gennath Gate?) and W (the Israelite Tower or the Middle Gate?) have shown that the northern wall of the Israelite city ran from the Corner Gate (near today's Jaffa Gate) east along the southern slopes of the Transversal Valley to the western wall of the Temple enclosure, and did not include the northern end of the Central or Tyropoeon Valley until after the Hasmonean period (possibly during the time of Herod). This archaeological evidence seems to affirm the view that the Fish Gate could not have been in the Tyropoeon Valley but above the valley on the northwest corner (the *Baris*) of the Temple Mount.

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DALE C. LIID

FISHER OWL. See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

FIVE SCROLLS, THE. See MEGILLOTH.

FLAX. See FLORA; DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

FLEA. See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

FLEET. See TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION (NT).

FLOCKS. See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

FLOGGING. See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

FLOOD. A catastrophic deluge recounted in Gen 6–9 and alluded to in other biblical passages. Traditions of a primordial flood existed among a number of ANE civilizations and are a feature of the ethnohistory of many other cultures. The Flood narrative of the Hebrew Bible was elaborated in later versions of the biblical text, and in Jewish and Christian literature and art.

A. Archaeological Disconfirmation
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I. Flood Motifs in Art and Iconography

A. Archaeological Disconfirmation

Scholars are agreed that archaeological evidence for a universal flood in the historical past is wanting. The silt layers noticed at Ur and Kish by Woolley and Langdon (and similar silting at Nineveh, Shuruppak, Uruk, and Lagash) are of differing dates, and lack convincing connection with the biblical narrative. Extremely old sites in Palestine, such as Jericho, have revealed no flood deposits. (Aquatic fossils found at mountainous elevations were once seized upon as evidence of a universal flood, but they may be more reasonably explained as resulting from geological upheavals than as evidence of a cataclysmic flood.) Claims that remains of the biblical ark have been found on the 17,000 foot Agri Dagh peak northwest of Lake Van in Turkey (traditional Mt. Ararat) are unconvincing; such claims ignore the text of the Bible, which does not mention a specific mountain but "mountains" (pl.), and are misguided in their certainty that Agri Dagh is the correct location. Carbon 14 dating of the wood allegedly found there dates the samples tested no earlier than A.D. 450, about the time Christian tradition began to center on this mountain. Claims formerly made of living persons who had seen remains of the ark, when examined, prove themselves incredible.

B. Mesopotamian Flood Stories

Sixty-eight different peoples are known to have flood legends. Philo of Alexandria and early Christian apologists knew of a Greek flood story in which Deucalion is the hero, and some identified Deucalion with biblical Noah. Berossus, a Babylonian priest of Marduk writing in Greek about 275 B.C., produced an account of a flood whose hero is Xisuthros. Though summarized by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* 9:11–12 [written A.D. 414–15]) from a work by Abydenus, no great attention was paid to the account until the identification by George Smith in 1872 of fragments of a Babylonian flood story touched off great interest because of its similarities to the biblical narrative.

Another, more-recently identified Mesopotamian flood legend is known by the name of its protagonist, Atrahasis. In this legend, the god Enlil decides to bring about a flood because the tumult of humanity is unbearable, disturbing the sleep of the gods. The hero Atrahasis is aided by the god Ea; by the latter's agency, the god Enki alerts Atrahasis to the impending flood and advises him to build a vessel

in which he can survive. The vessel is roofed over and made secure with pitch. Atrahasis entered the vessel and shut the door; the storm raged 7 days and nights. The surviving text has not preserved the account of the conclusion of the flood, but after the flood Atrahasis sacrifices and the gods dispute over the outcome.

Better preserved is a later variant of the flood story known from the 11th of 12 clay tablets that together constituted the Epic of Gilgamesh from Ashurbanipal's library (*ANET*, 93–95). The hero, Ut-napishtim, warned in a dream by Ea that the council of the gods—incited by Enlil—is about to destroy the city of Shuruppak with no exception, was instructed to tear down his house and build a vessel. The vessel was a cube 120 cubits in each dimension, of 7 stories with 63 compartments, of unspecified wood presumably made waterproof with pitch.

Rather than warn his neighbors of the danger, Ut-napishtim was instructed to deceive them about the purpose of his boat if they asked him. He was to load into it "the seed of life of all kinds," his family, relations, and skilled craft workers, as well as beasts. They rode out a 7-day storm in which all the gods "cowered like dogs" (XI 115). The vessel came to rest on Mt. Nisir, and 7 days later Ut-napishtim sent out a dove, a swallow, and a raven. The raven did not return. Coming out of his vessel, he offered a sacrifice around which the gods, "having smelled the sweet odor," gathered "like flies" (XI 161). Enlil was angry that any humans had survived but was pacified by the other gods. Eternal life was bestowed on Ut-napishtim and his wife.

The story is known in several versions (Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and derivative traditions) and the hero has many names (Ut-napishtim, Atrahasis [see *ANET*, 104–5], and Xisuthros). A Sumerian version found at Nippur dates before 2000 B.C., and its hero is Ziusudra (*ANET*, 42–44). A fragment of the epic (though not of the flood portion) was found in 1956 on the slopes of Megiddo, indicating that the story was known in Palestine.

Many attempts have been made to demonstrate a literary dependency of the biblical Flood narrative on Mesopotamian prototypes, but consensus on the matter has not been reached. Claims of direct dependence have been largely abandoned. Each form of the story has unique elements, and the differences from the biblical story are often more striking than the similarities. The ethical motivation and the monotheism of the biblical story are not elements of the Mesopotamian legends. In the biblical story, after the end of the flood Noah and his family replenish the earth; but Ut-napishtim and his wife are transformed into gods, making them immortal, and thus isolated from the general human condition. The Genesis story attests the mercy and the judgment of the Lord. Its religious interpretation of the cataclysm contrasts with the more obscure message of the Mesopotamian stories.

C. Biblical Flood Traditions

1. Genesis. The flood (Heb *mabbûl;* Gk *kataklysmos*) narrated in Gen 5:28–9:29 resulted from the Lord's decision to destroy all living creatures because of the great wickedness of man described in the phrases: "every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually" (6:5); "the earth was filled with violence (Heb *ḥamas*)" (6:11); and "all flesh had corrupted their way upon the earth" (6:12). A period of grace of 120 years (6:3) was set.

Noah, the protagonist of the Flood narrative, was a son of Lamech (Gen 5:29; on his name, see NOAH [PERSON]). At the age of 500, Noah became father of Shem, Ham, and Japheth. In the midst of wickedness Noah was a righteous man *(ṣaddiq)*, blameless *(tāmîm)* in his generation (6:9), who walked with God (6:9; cf. 5:22–24; note that later figures walk "before" God [Gen 17:1]). Noah's obedience is repeatedly stressed (6:22; 7:5, 9). The evil human heart (6:5) troubles God's heart (6:6).

The biblical narrative of the Flood proceeds as follows. At the Lord's instruction, Noah built an ark (Heb *tēbâ;* Gk *kibotos*) that was 300 × 50 × 30 cubits in size. (Allowing 18 inches for the cubit, the dimensions make a vessel 450 × 75 × 45 feet, with a displacement conjectured to be 43,300 tons.) The word *tēbâ* occurs elsewhere only for the craft in which the baby Moses was set adrift (Exod 2:3). Constructed of *goper* wood (Gen 6:14) and covered with pitch inside and out, the ark had rooms (Heb *qinnîm*, used in a rare sense), a roof (Heb *ṣohar*, used only here in MT, and in later tradition the subject of speculation), a door *(petaḥ)*, and was of 3 stories. Two of every sort of animal were taken into the ark together with necessary stores. Noah took 7 pairs (Gen 7:2) of all clean animals.

Noah was 600 years old when, on the 17th day of the 2d month, he took his wife, his 3 sons, their wives, and the animals into the ark. The Lord closed the ark. After 7 days the flood came, with water both from the fountains of the deep (Heb *tehôm*) and the "windows of heaven" (Gen 6:11; cf. 2 Kgs 7:2, 19). The rain fell for 40 days and nights, and the water rose over the mountains to a depth of 15 cubits. Every living thing which had the breath of life died except for those in the ark; but God remembered Noah (8:1), made a wind pass over the earth, and the water abated.

The water was on the earth 150 days, but at the end diminished so that on the 17th day of the 7th month the ark rested (MT uses the verb *nwḥ*, associated with Noah's name) on the "mountains of Ararat" (8:4; cf. 2 Kgs 19:37; Jer 51:27). On the 1st of the 10th month the tops of the mountains were seen. After 40 days, Noah opened the window and sent forth a raven, which went to and fro until the waters were dried up. He then sent a dove, which returned. Seven days later he again sent the dove, and it returned with an olive leaf. On its 3d mission 7 days later the dove did not return.

On the 1st day of the 1st month of Noah's 601st year, the earth was dry, and Noah removed the covering of the ark. On the 27th of the 2d month the Lord ordered Noah out of the ark with the living creatures. Noah built an altar and offered a burnt offering of every clean animal and bird. The Lord smelled the pleasing odor (8:21) and promised never again to destroy every living creature as he had done.

Noah was ordered to multiply and fill the earth. He was promised that animals, birds, and fish would fear him (9:2). Flesh might be eaten, but the blood was prohibited. A reckoning would be required of all blood shed.

God made a covenant with Noah and the animals not to repeat the flood. This covenant is unilateral, initiated by the superior party and not dependent on the inferior

party's acceptance or agreement. The sign of the covenant was the bow in the cloud. When God would see the bow in the clouds, he would remember the covenant (9:14–16). From Noah's sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, the whole world was peopled.

2. Other OT Texts. Outside Genesis, biblical texts advert to a primordial flood and to isolated details of the Genesis narrative. Noah is listed in the 10th generation in genealogies (1 Chr 1:4; cf. Luke 3:36) and is noticed by Ezekiel as an exemplary righteous man who saved his children (Ezek 14:14, 20). The word *mabbûl* occurs outside of Genesis only in Ps 29:10, but the flood motif may be reflected in later sections of the Isaianic prophetic corpus. In the "little apocalypse," the declaration that *Yhwh* will lay waste the earth because the "everlasting covenant" has been violated (Isa 24:1, 4, 5) probably resonates with allusion to a flood narrative; the same is probably true of reference in the same context to the "windows of heaven" being opened and the foundations of the earth trembling (Isa 24:18). Also noteworthy is the motif of a few being preserved by entering their chambers until the divine wrath is past (Isa 26:20–21; note the reference to shed blood in v 21). Flood imagery is also detectable in Isaiah: the deep waters that do not overwhelm (Isa 43:2), and the concept of overflowing wrath (Isa 54:8). In Isaiah is also found a single direct reference to the Noah story: the divine oath not to repeat the Flood becomes the ground of a new oath not to continue the wrath which led to Judah's exile (Isa 54:9). "Great waters" become a figure of the tribulation of the righteous from which only God can save them (Ps 18:16; 65:5–8; 69:1; 89:9; 93:3).

In the Apocrypha, Noah becomes one who married a kinswoman (Tob 4:12). In contrast to the evildoers,

> Noah was found perfect and righteous; in the time of wrath he was taken in exchange; therefore a remnant was left to the earth when the flood came. Everlasting covenants were made with him that all flesh should not be blotted out by a flood (Sir 44:17).

The Wisdom of Solomon declares:

> When the earth was flooded because of him, wisdom again saved it, steering the righteous man by a paltry piece of wood (Wis 10:4).

3. Greek Versions. The Greek version of Genesis in LXX incorporated in its translation of the Flood story a variety of hermeneutical and traditional interpretations that reshaped the narrative for its Hellenistic Jewish and Christian readers. LXX varies from MT in chronology; among other differences, Noah remains in the ark 12 full months. The play on Noah's name (Gen 5:29) employs Gk *dianapauein* "give rest," implying Heb *nwḥ* rather than *nḥm*, on which MT's pun depends. The anthropomorphism of God's "repenting" implicit in the MT of Gen 6:6a (Heb *nḥm*) is nuanced by LXX's *enthymeomai* ("take to heart; be angry about").

Rare and uncertain words are variously handled. MT's *qinnîm* is etymologically rendered *nossiai* ("nests"), and the *goper* wood is translated *xyla tetragōna* ("squared wood"). Heb *ṣohar* becomes Gk *episynagōn* ("a gathering together"). "Because of the water" becomes "through *(dia)* the water" (7:7), and the "windows of the heavens" become *katarraktai* "waterfalls" (cf. 4 Kgdms 7:19; Mal 3:10).

In Aquila's translation, Heb *ṣohar* is (erroneously) glossed with Gk *mesēmbrinos* ("noon day"), and *synthēkē* is used for Heb *berith* "covenant" (6:19 [18]; Symmachus also uses *synthēkē*). Symmachus chose *hilasterion* "mercy seat" to render *tēbâ* ("ark"). The *qinnîm* are *kaliai* ("sheds"; Gen 6:15 [14]), and the *ṣohar* is *diaphanēs* ("transparent").

4. Targumic Renderings. The Aramaic targums are paraphrastic in nature, avoiding anthropomorphisms and supplying interpretations from rabbinic tradition. The ark is of "cedar wood," the *qinnîm* are "compartments," the *ṣohar* is a "light," the "windows of heaven" (7:11; 8:2) remain windows, and the landing place of the ark is in Cordyene at Mt. Kardu. In *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* the *ṣohar* is a sparkling gem and the "windows of heaven" become "latticed windows" (8:2).

With characteristic desire to avoid anthropomorphism, the Targum Neofiti I explains Noah's name as a consolation for "our evil deeds and from the robbery of our hands, from the curse of the earth. . . ." Regret is before the Lord (6:6). The Targum adds "robbers" to the catalogue of antediluvian corruption (6:11, 13). The ark has a window.

The 7 days Noah spent in the ark prior to the flood were days of mourning for Methuselah (7:10). Instead of shutting Noah in, the Lord protects him in his good mercies (7:16), and at the end of the flood the Lord "in his good mercies" remembers Noah (8:1), and "a spirit of mercies" passes over the earth. The ark rests on the mountains of Kardun (8:4). Noah opens the door of the ark rather than the window (8:6). The raven makes repeated trips (8:7).

Noah's altar is to the name of the Word of the Lord (8:20). Man is created in "a likeness from before the Lord" (9:6). The covenant is between the Word of the Lord and every living creature (9:16).

D. Flood Traditions in the Pseudepigrapha

Whether there was ever a pseudepigraphical book of Noah remains uncertain. No list of pseudepigrapha includes one. The *Book of Jubilees* attributes certain arts and halakic matters to Noah (*Jub.* 10:13–14; 21:10), and the Gk fragment of *T. Levi* 56–57 speaks of "the writings of the Book of Noah concerning the blood." Some scholars have projected that *1 Enoch* 6–11; 60; 65:1–69:25; 106–7 and a few other sections may have come from a Book of Noah; but the case is uncertain. A. Jellinek in his *Bet ha-Midrasch* projected a Hebrew Book of Noah back of fragments he published; however, folklore may be a better explanation of their origin.

The *Genesis Apocryphon* devotes considerable space to Noah. Noah's wife is *bt ʾnwš*. Noah becomes a planter on Mt. Lubar.

Pseudepigraphical writers found a homiletic value in the flood. Noah becomes an example of one who practiced asceticism in early life *(The Book of Adam and Eve/The Cave of Treasures)*. The *Sibylline Oracles* furnish, in a sermon of Noah, a list of evil deeds of the guilty: fighting, murdering, and abandoning shame. Noah's contemporaries were tyrants, liars, unbelievers, adulterers, and slanderers (*Sib. Or.* 1:150–98). Numerous sources mention Noah's righteous-

ness (*T. Benj.* 10:6; *Jub.* 4:33; *Book of Adam and Eve* 3:1). The ark is an example of the devout reason beset by the passions (*4 Macc.* 15:30–32). *4 Ezra* (3:9–12) cites the pre-flood conditions as a stage of apostasy. Extended surveys of the flood are found in *1 Enoch* 37–71, *Jubilees* 4–5, *Sib. Or.* 1:151–375, and in the *Book of Adam and Eve.*

E. Hellenistic Jewish Literature

Philo of Alexandria dealt with the flood on 3 levels: as an event from the past in which Noah participated; as a source of moral lessons to be drawn from the episode; and as an allegory of spiritual realities. The treatments are to be found in *De Abrahamo, De Vita Mosis, Quod Deus immutabilis sit,* and in *Questions et Solutiones in Genesin.* Philo, equating Noah with the Greek hero Deucalion, reflects the concept of a relative righteousness on the part of Noah. He interprets the variation *kyrios* and *theos* in divine names in the Gk narrative as showing the judgment and mercy of God. Philo uses the Noahic material to expound virtues he has otherwise accepted. The allegorical Noah represents a preliminary state, higher than Seth but lower than Abraham, in the advance of any soul to the mystic vision. The flood becomes a flood of human passion bursting forth in wrongdoing; Noah ultimately escapes. The flood is elsewhere a cleansing of the soul. The ark is the body; and in coming out of the ark, Noah escapes from the body to higher things. He then falls back into a foolish deranged condition in his drunkenness. The details of the allegory are technical, repetitious, and inconsistent. Philo expounds the idea that most of the goals of human striving minister only to the body and are unworthy. However, the body must be used until the flood of passion has dried up and the individual comes forth like Noah (presumably to immortality, although Philo is not explicit on this point).

Pseudo-Philo in the *Biblical Antiquities,* written shortly after the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70, reveals little in common with the genuine Philo. He has his own distinctive ideas, such as the notion that "rest" in the name of Noah involves relieving the earth of its wicked inhabitants; the age given for Noah at the birth of his sons; and the eschatological element (with resurrection, final judgment, hell, and the new heaven and earth), which he introduces into the post-flood blessing.

Josephus, claiming that Berossus the Chaldaean, Hieronymus the Egyptian, and Nicolas of Damascus also mention the flood, gives a simple paraphrase of Gk Scripture embellished from pseudepigrapha and folklore (*Ant* 1.3–4). He does not, however, homilize the story. He offers a chronology and tends to give place names which his reader would know. He mentions only one journey for the dove, and he notes that Berossus reports that the ark was yet in Armenia near the mountains of the Cordyaeans and that people carried away bitumen from it. Nicolas called the mountain Baris.

F. New Testament

NT writers thought of the days prior to the flood as a time in which life went on in its careless way until the destruction came; it was therefore as a fitting comparison to expected conditions at the time of the second coming (Matt 24:37–39; Luke 17:26, 27). A fall of the angels is echoed in 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 6) but is not specifically connected with the flood narrative. Noah was a preacher of righteousness (2 Pet 2:5) who with 7 others had been saved. His fate and that of his contemporaries illustrate God's rescuing the righteous and his punishment of the wicked. Noah is a model of faith. By faith he built his ark, condemned the world, and became the heir of righteousness (Heb 11:7). God's patience waited in the days of Noah. The flood becomes a typological figure of baptism (1 Pet 3:20, 21). Beyond baptism is newness of life (cf. Rom 6:4).

G. Rabbinic Sources

References to Noah and his flood are scant in the Mishna and Tosefta, but are fuller in *t. Sanhedrin,* and in the Midrash *Genesis Rabbah.* The treatment is not a single unified picture, but is a record from diverse periods of various opinions supported by the haggadic method of interpretation (on the interpretative principles involved, see HAGGADAH).

Some sages believed passages like Psalm 1 spoke of the righteousness of Noah and his sons, while Job 21, 24, and 36 expounded the sins of the flood generation. Noah, born circumcised, should have been called *Naḥman* to fit the play on the name in Genesis 5:29. He had neglected the command to multiply until an advanced age because of the wickedness of his generation. Small interest is shown in Noah's wife, but the *Midrash Haggadol* applies the phrase "woman of valor" (Prov 31:10) to her. Much speculation is devoted to what the sins of the flood generation were. Covetousness, licentiousness, whoredom, bestiality, and incest are all alleged. Robbery was thought to have been prevalent; justice was not done and mercy not shown. Even the prayers of the generation were to no avail.

It was debated whether the antediluvians would have a share in the world to come. While some argued that they would not rise or be judged, other rabbis argued that they would stand in the congregation of the wicked at the judgment. For some, the 120 years was a limit on available time to repent; others saw it as a reduction of the life span in general.

Aware that the narrative uses both *Yhwh* and *ʾĕlōhîm* in referring to God, the rabbis homilized. The tetragrammaton signifies the attribute of mercy, and *ʾĕlōhîm* that of judgment. Sin had turned mercy to judgment; therefore *Yhwh* decreed the flood (Gen 6:7). But Noah's feeding the animals turns judgment to mercy; hence, *ʾĕlōhîm* remembers Noah (Gen 8:1).

The rabbis struggled with the fact that God grieved, that the decree of destruction also included the animals, and that Noah was found righteous. While some exalted Noah, there is a tendency toward seeing even in him only a limited righteousness. R. Judah insisted that it was only in comparison with the wicked of his generation that he was righteous, but compared with Moses and Samuel, he would not have been righteous. Noah's faith was considered weak, and R. Johanan asserted that had not the water reached his ankles, he would not have entered the ark. Moses was considered the greater in that he saved his generation, not just his family. However, Noah was the one herald in his generation, calling harshly for repentance.

The proportions of the ark were considered to be normative for actual boat building. There were differences of opinion about the compartments in the ark and the ar-

rangements for its occupants. "Gopher" wood was understood to be some sort of cedar. The *ṣohar* was considered a kind of skylight by some, but others thought of it as a gem which shone in the night. When completed the ark drew 11 cubits of water.

Some teachers argued that suitable foods were provided for each sort of animal; however, one insisted that all had only pressed figs to eat. Only the perfect young specimens of animals were accepted, and those which had been involved in sin were rejected. The *rĕ'îm*, an unusually large animal, was said by R. Nehemiah to have been tied to the outside of the ark.

God shut Noah in as a king might do for a friend he wished to protect when a general execution is decreed. At the onset of the flood the impenitent sought forcible entrance into the ark, but were killed by wild beasts.

Water not only had its ordinary destructive power, but the flood waters were boiling, fitting punishment for the inflamed sensuous behavior of sinners. R. Judah argued that the waters were not level but were 15 cubits anywhere measured. Some authorities argued that Palestine and the Garden of Eden were not covered. Fish were not included in the decree of destruction. Life in the ark was a trying experience; continence was demanded; but Ham, the raven, and the dog were transgressors, and each received a suitable punishment.

The details of the chronology of the flood were a point of debate. The ark landed on Ararat (which is in the mountain range of Cordyene). An argument between Noah and the raven is reported, when Noah was ready to send the raven out. Some were of the opinion that the dove got its olive branch from the land of Palestine; others, from the Garden of Eden. Little concern is shown for what later happened to the ark. One passage assumes that Sennacherib found a plank from it.

As Noah had been commanded to enter the ark, so he remained in it until ordered out. The idea that conjugal relations, suspended aboard the ark, were not immediately resumed by Noah, resulted from a comparison of Gen 8:16, where wives are mentioned apart from husbands, with 8:17, where wives are mentioned with Noah and his sons, and multiplication is alluded to. Instead of obeying, Noah planted a vineyard and suffered shame from his action.

From the number of clean animals, Noah deduced the need to build an altar. Though not as pleasing as the sacrifices later offered by Israel, Noah's sacrifice brought the blessing of God. The bow in the clouds was the response to Noah's lack of faith which demanded a further sign. Noah's covenant would be replaced by Abraham's.

Meat was permitted for food after the flood; but suicide was prohibited. Shedding blood impairs the image of God. Murder, slaughter of the embryo, and strangling were prohibited in keeping with the words of Scripture (*bā'ādām* "within man" Gen 9:6).

H. Christian Writers

Early Christian writers assumed the veracity of the flood story but were also influenced by earlier interpretations of the topos in the NT, Philo, and rabbinic traditions. There is little effort in the 2d century at systematic exegesis of the narrative. Righteous Noah serves the writers' moral purposes; he preached repentance and foretold the beginning of a new world (*1 Clem.* 7:6; 9:4). Theophilus of Antioch, Methodius, and Hippolytus all notice Noah's preaching. Justin (*Apol.* 2:5) lists the sins of the flood generation, and *1 Clem.* 9:4 has the animals to enter in concord into the ark.

Justin identifies Noah with the Greek hero Deucalion (*Apol.* 2.7.2), but Theophilus of Antioch, who rejected the value of Greek philosophy, rejected the identification (*Autol.* 2.30–31). Theophilus does indulge in a play on the Gk words *Deute* ("come hither") and *kalein* ("summon") which he alleges to have been used in Noah's preaching; the words permit a fanciful etymology of the name Deucalion.

Gnostics allegorized the 30 cubits of the ark's height to represent their Triacontad (Iren. *Adv. Haer.* 1.18.4) and the 8 persons in the ark to be their Ogdoad (ibid. 1.18.3). The Ophites had Ialdaboath to send the flood but Sophia to save Noah (ibid. 1.30.10). The Sethians had the mother (the power of all powers) to send the flood, but the angels saw to it that Ham and 7 others were saved so that the power of malice did not perish. Contributions to understanding Gnostic treatment of the flood have been made by the *Apocalypse of Adam,* the *Hypostasis of the Archons, Apocryphon of John,* and the *Concept of Our Great Power* from Nag Hammadi. The lower God destroys all flesh in the flood yet quiets his anger and saves Noah (who is called Deucalion; *Apoc. Adam* 79:2–17; 70:7–15). After the flood, Noah divides the earth among his 3 sons that they may serve the creator in slavery (*Apoc. Adam* 72:15–26). The coming Illuminator is to save the souls of those who have gnosis of the eternal God in their hearts and receive a spirit from one of the eternal angels (*Apoc. Adam* 76:8–27). In the *Hypostasis of the Archons* 92:5ff., the Archons decide to destroy man and beast, but the Archon instructs Noah to build a boat and take into it his children and birds and beasts. Norea (wife of Noah), refused admittance, burns the ark and Noah has to build it again.

According to Marcion's idiosyncratic interpretation of the OT, Noah and other OT heroes rejected Jesus' preaching when he came to Hades, and thereby were lost (Iren. *Adv. Haer.* 1.27.3). Apelles, a disciple of Marcion, questioned how many animals were in the ark, how it would hold them all, and how they were fed (Origen *Hom. in Gen.* 2.2).

Justin, arguing that the law was given to the Jews as an extra burden because of their hardheartedness, insisted that Noah was uncircumcised and did not observe the food laws (*Dial.* 19:4; 46). Christian treatment of the flood is christological, with Christ closing the ark and the *logos* being Noah's pilot. Typology becomes a principal mode of interpretation of the flood. Christ, the cross, baptism, and the faith of Christians are all signified in the narrative (*Dial.* 134, 138, 140), as well as the times of the end (Iren. *Adv. Haer.* 5.29.2). The flood becomes a type of the expected flood of fire (Justin *Apol.* 2.7.2); Noah's blessing on Japheth is interpreted as a promise of the preaching of the Gospel to the gentiles.

Theophilus of Antioch eschewed allegory and expounded the flood as a historical event, stressing its universality and that it would not be repeated (*Autol.* 2.10). The flood is also surveyed by Irenaeus, *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching.*

That Christians found multiple meanings in Scripture is reflected in the spiritual exegesis of the flood after the 2d century. Christological and typological exegesis was carried to absurd lengths. Chrysostom said, "The story of the deluge was a sacrament *(mysterion)* and its details a figure *(typos)* of things to come" (*PG* 48.1037). Noah was generally seen as a type of Christ, the end of one generation and the beginning of another. For most he was an exemplary righteous man, but Origen and Jerome reflect the midrashic doctrine that Noah was righteous only with respect to his own depraved generation. For Christians, the "rest" *(anapausis)* spoken of by Lamech (Gen 5:29) became a link with the rest promised by Jesus (Matt 11:28–29), making Noah a type of Christ. The ark may be a sepulchre, or its wood may typify the cross, a point which likely comes from the resemblance of the Gk letter *tau* (whose numerical value is 300) to a cross. The "mystery of the wood" becomes a commonplace. The Church is the ark of safety into which one must enter to be saved when the flood prevails. Each detail of the ark is allegorized; diverse animals represent the manifold character of the Church.

The raven is a type of the impure who are sent forth from the Church not to return. Under the influence of the gospel baptismal story, the dove becomes the type of the Holy Spirit, and the olive leaf a symbol of peace. Some find in the 3 trips of the dove a symbol of the Trinity, while others find an allegory of the Spirit abiding with the believer.

I. Flood Motifs in Art and Iconography

Noah and his ark became a favorite subject in both Jewish and Christian art. The exit from the ark is depicted in a 5th-century synagogue mosaic found at Jerash; and Jewish tombs in Palestine use representations of Noah. Coins from Apamea in Phrygia thought to show Jewish influence depict Noah and his wife with their heads emerging from the ark, pushing back the lid. The ark is a box floating in the water, and Noah in Gk spelling is written across the box. A dove sits on the lid while another with an olive leaf in its claw flies in.

There are 41 paintings in the catacombs and 33 representations on sarcophagi of Noah and his ark. These often show the ark as a box with a lid. The earliest is in the Domitilla catacomb and has the dove flying in the ark. The catacomb of Peter and Marcillinus shows Noah in a box with arms outspread to bring back the dove. The iconography reflects theological beliefs then current. It is not until the 4th century that an effort was made to show the ark from the side depicted as a boat.

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JACK P. LEWIS

FLORA. One hundred and twenty-eight different plants are mentioned in the Hebrew Bible and the NT. Certainly this does not constitute a complete inventory of every plant that grew in ancient Palestine. On the other hand, there are today 2,384 plant species in modern Israel, most of which have been introduced in recent centuries. For example, 2 of the more common floral types in modern Israel—the eucalyptus and the opuntia—obviously did not exist there in biblical times and were only recently introduced (from Australia and South America, respectively). This article, however, will discuss only species known or assumed to have existed in ancient Israel.

A. Plants of the ANE

It is impossible to obtain a clear picture of the flora of ancient Israel—much less to identify the plants mentioned in the Bible—without also considering the evidence from Israel's neighbors in Egypt and Mesopotamia. In this regard, it is worth noting that one of the earliest systematic studies of plants in the Near East was that of the Greek botanist Theophrastus (ca. 372–287 B.C.), a Peripatetic philosopher and student of Aristotle whose extant writings contain 2 works on the subject (*Caus. Pl.* and *Hist. Pl.*).

1. Egypt. Ancient Egypt, like modern Egypt, possessed a rich and diverse flora. The Red Sea desert, the Libyan desert, and the Nile valley each contained distinctive plant types, although cultivated plants were restricted to the Nile valley and delta. Some plant material has been found in tombs and can therefore be readily identified; however, the task of identifying plants that appear in inscriptions and on monuments has been more difficult. The texts name plants, but do not describe them; thus, these ancient names had to be connected with specific plants through linguistic and other studies. Because the hieroglyphic portrayal of plants became increasingly stylized through the centuries, efforts to identify plants on a visual basis must appeal to earlier-depicted forms.

The modern study of Egyptian flora began in 1775 with P. Forsskål, and during the Napoleonic expedition such studies by Delile (1813) connected modern with ancient Egyptian flora. The pioneering work on ancient Egyptian plants is that of Schweinfurth (1887–89), who spent 50 winters in Egypt and eventually identified 200 tomb plants while amassing a vast herbarium in Berlin-Dahlem (which was destroyed during the Second World War). These efforts have been continued by L. Keimer (1967), V. and G. Taeckholm (1973), and R. Germer (1985).

2. Mesopotamia. Even though this region is also vital for understanding biblical flora, a comparatively few of its

ancient plants have been identified. The study and documentation of modern flora in this area is associated with the works of Boissier (1867–88) and Post (1883–84, 2d ed. 1933). However, it has been especially difficult to work through the varied textual and monumental remains of the many ancient civilizations of this area. The earliest study was that of Bonvaria (1894), and R. C. Thompson (1949) has prepared a dictionary of Assyrian botany. There has also been a recent survey of plants depicted in Assyrian monuments (Bleibtreu 1980), and efforts toward identifying and describing ancient Mesopotamian plants continue in the *Bulletin of Sumerian Agriculture.*

B. Plants in the Bible

In addition to the incongruence between the flora of modern Israel and that of ancient Palestine, the identification of plants mentioned in the Bible is complicated by 2 other factors. First, at the popular level, plants native to many other parts of the world have often been given biblical names, sometimes giving the incorrect impression that these plants existed in ancient Israel (see section C below). In fact, many such plants could not survive in the climate and soil of Palestine.

Second, at a much more academic level, the paucity with which biblical plants are described impedes confident identification. Frequently, plants mentioned in the Bible are only given broad and generic descriptions from which it is difficult to draw accurate conclusions. For example, the Song of Songs (2:1–2) refers to certain spring flowers *(ḥăbaṣelet; šôšannâ)* that may have been akin to tulips, or anemones, or chamomile (tulips and other bulbous plants are known to have existed in the E Mediterranean in antiquity). Often, all we have is simply the name of the plant that exists in the original languages in the biblical texts, as well as in other languages which translate those texts. Obviously, both Jewish and Christian exegetes had to rely upon some more or less reliable oral tradition when identifying, for example, a Hebrew plant name with some Greek or Latin equivalent. The early rabbis particularly displayed an interest in biblical plants (see *m. Zer.* and *j. Talm. Zer.*). But later legends certainly could embellish such traditions, sometimes incorrectly (e.g., the identification of the "forbidden fruit" of Eden with the "apple").

The first book devoted exclusively to biblical botany was that of Levinus Lemmens in 1566, which was translated from the original Latin into English 21 years later by Thomas Newton, who added some supplemental material. The next century and a half saw the publication of a large number of studies, including the important *Hierobotanicon* by Celcius.

The modern systematic study of biblical plants, however, began with F. Hasselquist, a student of Linnaeus, the founder of modern botany. Hasselquist journeyed to Egypt and Palestine in 1747, and was the first naturalist to visit the land and acquire first-hand knowledge of its topography and plant life. P. Forsskål, whose botanical work in 1775 has been mentioned, undertook a similar exploration; he died when his guides abandoned him in the desert. These initial efforts were continued into the 19th century; best among these was the work of J. Smith (1878).

Immanuel Loew (1928) approached the subject differently, reviewing all known data pertaining to biblical plants, whether acquired from modern horticultural research or Jewish and Christian lore. His work not only discussed biblical plants, but also plants in later Jewish literature, particularly the Talmud. The British scholar G. E. Post provided a broad field study of modern plants in Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan. More recent major treatments of the subject include those of A. and H. Moldenke (1952), M. Zohary (1982), and N. Hareuveni (1984). Today, articles on specific biblical flora and specific plants listed in the Bible can be found in any number of encyclopedias.

A number of modern gardens have attempted to recreate biblical flora and to present them to a contemporary audience. In Israel, these include the Biblical Botanical Garden of the Hebrew University (Jerusalem) and the Neot Kedumim (near Tel Aviv). In America, the Denver Botanical Gardens (Colorado) has a Scriptural Garden, and biblical gardens have been created at Rodef Shalom Temple (Pittsburgh) and St. John the Divine Cathedral (New York).

The following presentation attempts to provide a synthesis of the work of a number of scholars, among whom there is frequently disagreement. In only a limited number of instances can we be certain about the identification of a plant named in the Bible. In many instances biblical terms are used so rarely that the plants cannot be identified at all. Also, in many instances the traditions established by the Greek, Aramaic, and Syriac translations are helpful, although sometimes they are misleading.

The following presentation subdivides plants into broad areas (e.g., trees of the forest, fruit and nut trees and shrubs, grains and legumes, vegetables and fruit, etc.). Alphabetically within each subdivision are the common English names of plants that existed in antiquity, followed by the Latin name and genus. Following this is a discussion of the relevant Heb/Gk words alluding to the plants in question, including pertinent data about their appearance and use. See also AGRICULTURE.

TREES AND SHRUBS OF THE FOREST

ACACIA *(Acacia raddiana)* or another variety of acacia is associated with the Heb *šittîm* (Exod 26:15; Num 25:1; Josh 2:1; Isa 41:19; Mic 6:5; see Loew 1928, II: 377; Moldenke 1952: 24). Some modern versions and the KJV do not translate but simply transliterate "shittim." The tree is native to the Mediterranean and the term is used either for the tree (Exod 25:5, 10, ff.) or to designate desert places, mainly along wadis (Num 33:49; Joel 3:18). Four varieties are found in the Sinai. All are topped trees with prickly branches and small compound leaves. Flowers are yellow globular, followed by brown, twisted pods. The portable Tent of Meeting in the desert, as well as the furniture in it, was constructed of its hard timber. Clamps on mummy coffins, fuel, hand tools, and posts were also made from its wood. The bark was used for tanning leather and its fiber for rope. The flowers, fruit provided fodder. One variety, *A. nilotica* produced gum arabic, widely used in Egyptian medicine for salve preparations.

ALOE: see also Eaglewood in this article.

ALOE *(Aloe vera, succotrina)* is the *aleo* of the NT (John 19:39); while the Eaglewood is the *ʾāhāl* of the Hebrew

Bible (Ps 45:8; Prov 7:17; Cant 4:14; see Post 1884: 783; Moldenke 1952: 35; Zohary 1982: 204). The plant is native to Yemen and its extract was imported to ancient Israel; eventually this succulent was grown in Israel. *Aloe vera* produces a bitter juice. It is a small plant with succulent leaves and teeth along the edge. It produces spikes with yellow flowers and grows well in dry areas. *Aloe succotrina* is a similar succulent, but it produces red flowers on a spike and an aromatic juice which is extracted from the leaves. That juice was used for embalming in ancient Egypt and also as incense, perfume, and scented powder. Medicinally it found use as a purgative.

BOX *(Buxus longifolia)* is mentioned 3 times in the Bible (Isa 41:19; 60:13; Ezek 27:6; see Post 1884: 725; Loew 1928, I: 316; Moldenke 1952: 62); the identification of the Heb *tĕʾāšûr* has been contested and the RSV translates "pine." The box grows in the Galilean hills as a hardy, long-living tree that reaches a height of 20 feet. The leaves of this evergreen are thick and leathery, green above and paler below. Yellow flowers are followed by a papery capsule fruit with small black seeds. The wood was used in ancient times for statuary, flutes, writing tables, combs, and spoons. It is exceptionally hard wood and is as durable as brass. When mixed with lye, the leaves were used for tanning. Other uses were as a hair dye, dried and in a powder to shine the coat of horses.

BRAMBLE or BLACKBERRY *(Rubus species)* is a thorny and prickly plant, identified with the Hebrew *ʾātād* (Gen 50:10, 11; Judg 9:14, 15; Ps 58:9; see Tristram 1884: 293; Loew 1928, III: 175; Moldenke 1952: 206; see also Crown of Thorns). This and other plants may also be identified as the Heb *bārqānim, sirpād, sir,* or *silôn.* This is a prickly climbing plant with a cluster of radiating canes; they are erect at first, then arch downwards. The leaves are finely hairy with 3 to 5 leaflets, and its flowers are white followed by the fruit of black druplets on older shoots. The fruit and young shoots were used as food and a juice was pressed from them. The tannin was used as astringent and tonic to treat dysentery and diarrhea. The leaf was chewed for bleeding gums and placed on burns. The flower and fruit were considered a remedy for venomous bites.

BROOM *(Retama raetam)* has been identified as the Heb *rôtem* (1 Kgs 19:4f; Job 30:3f; see Loew 1928, II: 469; Moldenke 1952: 201; Zohary 1982: 144) which grows principally in desert, hill, and rocky areas in Israel and the neighboring lands. There it is often the only source of shade. Usually it is a bush 4 to 12 feet high with a linear shape; the twigs bear small leaves and white, pea-like, fragrant flowers in spring. The roots are long and reach deep for water. The roots were used for charcoal.

CEDAR OF LEBANON *(Cedrus libani)* has always been identified with the Heb *ʾērez* (Num 24:6; Judg 9:15; 2 Sam 5:11; Isa 2:13; Ezek 17:3; Ps 29:5; Ezra 3:7). Solomon used it to build the temple in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 5:13ff). The large timbers were floated 200 miles down the coast to Jaffa and hauled another 25 miles across land to Jerusalem. With age (up to 3,000 years) the pyramidal form of this tree changes to widespread branches. The wood of this slow-growing tree is durable and fragrant; it takes a fine finish and is fungi resistant. The bluish-green needles are short. Male and female cones grow on separate branches. The wood was used for buildings and boats while the resin and oil were utilized for embalming and perfume.

CROWN OF THORNS *(Ziziphus spina-christi)* is one candidate for the bramble or thorn bushes (Judg 9:14f.; Matt 27:27; John 19:5; Moldenke 1952: 248; Zohary 1982: 154; see also Bramble), Heb *ʾātād.* It has traditionally been associated with the crown of thorns placed upon Jesus' head by the Roman soldiers and was named accordingly by Linneaus. It is common near the Dead Sea. This evergreen reaches up to 30 feet with an oval crown and leathery gray-green leaves. Its yellowish-green flowers bloom in summer. Mature fruit are edible and are marketed.

CYPRESS *(Cupressus sempervirens)* has been identified with *tĕʾāšûr, bĕrôš,* and *gofer* (Isa 41:19; Eccl 24:13; Sir 50:10; see Loew 1928, III: 26; Moldenke 1952: 89; Zohary 1982: 106; see also Pine and Box). The RSV usually translates *bĕrôš* as "cypress," but sometimes uses "fir." The cypress is native to Israel. It was one of the trees used by Solomon for building the temple (1 Kgs 5:22; 2 Chr 3:5) and may be the *gofer* of Noah's ark (Gen 6:14). The cypress has often been grown in cemeteries. The tree may have been named after the Island of Cyprus, where the tree was worshipped. This is an evergreen which grows to 80 feet. The small aromatic scale leaves are resinous. The fruit is a globe-shaped brown cone. The cypress has tiny nitrogenous nodules attached to its feeding roots and through them it improves the soil. The wood was used in the ANE for construction, shipbuilding, mummy cases, ancient idols, furniture, lances, musical instruments, doors. (The doors of St. Peter's Church in Rome, built of cypress wood 1,000 years ago, show no signs of decay.) The oil became a cosmetic and found medicinal uses.

FIR: see Cypress.

JUDAS TREE *(Cercis siliquastrum)* may be the tree on which Judas hanged himself (Matt 27:5; see Moldenke 1952: 73). The text mentioned no plant; legend has associated this plant, as well as the *Ficus carica, Populus euphratica,* or *Pistacia terebinthus,* with this story. This tree is native to Israel and the Mediterranean. The redbud is a N American variety of the same tree. The tree grows to 30 feet; it has small leaves and small red flowers whose flame-like colors may have led to the legend of its use by Judas (since they appear to "burn with shame").

JUNIPER, GREEK *(Juniperus phoenicea)* has been identified as the Heb *ʿarʿôr* (Jer 17:5f.; see Post 1884: 748; Loew 1928, III: 33; Zohary 1952: 117). The RSV translates the term as "shrub" while other translations use "heath," although most biblical scholars agree that this cannot refer to the true heath. *Juniperus phoenicea* berries were found in a 3d Dynasty Egyptian grave. The tree is a small pyramidical evergreen shrub with scale-like leathery leaves. Although a conifer, like all junipers, its fruit is not a true cone but a purplish-brown berry. The wood was used for construction. The berries provided flavoring and also a hair dye. Medicinally, the berries were used as a stimulant, expectorant, stomachic, poultice, and treatment for headaches. It was mentioned in more than 80 recipes in the *Ebers Papyrus.*

LAURESTINUS *(Viburnum tinus),* which has otherwise not been identified, may be the Heb *tidhār* (Isa 41:19; 60:13; see Zohary 1952: 112), which the RSV has trans-

lated as "plane" tree. Zohary provides this identification partially based on the Aramaic term *murneyon,* which is akin to the Arabic term for this plant. *Laurestinus* grows on Mt. Carmel. It is an evergreen which reaches a height of 10 feet. The flowers are white or pinkish followed by black fruit.

OAK *(Quercus ithaburensis, calliprinos)* is the Heb *ʾēlôn* or *ʾāllôn* (Gen 12:6; 18:1; Deut 11:30; Isa 6:13; Ezek 27:6); there is no agreement about the species, however (Post 1883: 737; Loew 1928, I: 621; Moldenke 1952: 193; Zohary 1982: 108). Some translations use "oak" and "terebinth" interchangeably. Individual specimens grow into mighty trees; oak forests existed in ancient Israel. This deciduous tree reaches a height of 60 feet and an age of 500 years, and it grows well below 1,500 feet. Deep roots enable it to survive fairly dry conditions, and it produces acorns abundantly. Its groves were considered sacred by the Canaanites. The dye produced from the *Coccus ilicis,* a small insect often found on this tree, was widely used; it was chiefly exported from Tyre and therefore called Tyrian crimson. The wood was used in construction and shipbuilding, and as tools. The acorns were used for tanning.

OLEANDER *(Nerium oleander)* is the rose, the Gk *rhododaphne* (Sir 24:14; 2 Esdr 9:26; Loew 1928: 206; Moldenke 1952: 151). It grows along stony riverbanks in Israel and as a shrub can reach a height of 12 feet. The leathery leaves are narrow and glossy. The clusters of white, pink, salmon, or red flowers appear at the top of the branches. All parts of the plant are poisonous. An extract from this plant was used against lice.

PINE, ALLEPO, JERUSALEM *(Pinus halepensis)* is one possible identification for the Heb *bĕrôš* (1 Kgs 5:22; Isa 41:19; Ezek 31:8; Ps 104:17; see Loew 1928, III: 40; Moldenke 1952: 173; Zohary 1982: 114), which has also been translated as "juniper" or "cypress" by RSV. This pine is native to the Mediterranean and large stands remain on Mount Carmel. This is a fast-growing, drought-resistant evergreen up to 80 feet in height, rich in resins. The spreading lower branches die back when overshadowed by the upper branches. It is two-needled, and the flowers are enclosed in short-stalked, woody cones with bean-winged seeds. The wood of this tree was used in Solomon's temple as floorings and for doors and ceilings. It was utilized for shipbuilding and musical instruments. The bark was used for tanning.

POPLAR *(Populus alba)* provides dense shade. It is the *libneh* which Jacob used to influence the offspring of his flock (Gen 30:37; Loew 1928, III: 338; Zohary 1982: 132). It is a fast-growing tree which thrives near water along with willows. The undersides of the leaves are white. The wood was used for tools, roofing, and timber.

STORAX *(Styrax officinalis)* as the source of stacte, a resin, is associated with the Heb *natap* and *lôt* (Exod 30:34; Sir 24:15; see Post 1883: 518; Loew 1928, III: 388; Moldenke 1952: 224). This is a many-branched, small tree with rounded, shiny leaves, silvery white on the underside. Small, white, bell-shaped flowers bloom in June, followed by globular fruits. The resin, which is produced by old trees, was an ingredient of the holy anointing oil. Medicinally it was used to treat coughs and as an ointment for swellings. It also became an ingredient of perfume.

TAMARISK *(Tamarix pentandra)* is identified with the Heb *ʾešel* (Tristram 1884: 250; Loew 1928, III: 398; Moldenke 1952: 227), which grows in sandy areas and may have been the source of the biblical manna. Scholars described manna as a sweet secretion of various insects such as *Trabulina mannifera.* The word *manna* may be derived from the Egyptian word *mennu,* "food," or *mâ hû,* Heb for "what is it?" The Arabs called it *mann al samma,* "heavenly bread." Some modern scholars identify the manna as derived from lichen or allied species of plants found in Arabia and Yemen. The tamarisk (Gen 21:33; 1 Sam 22:6; 31:13) is a deciduous tree up to 20 feet in height with small, feathery leaves that excrete salt through special glands. Tamarisks have a high water requirement and may cause desert water resources to dry up. The pink flowers are followed by minute seeds. The wood was used for construction and as charcoal. The bark was used for tanning and the leaves as fodder.

WILLOW *(Salix alba)* or the Euphrates poplar *(Populus euphratica)* is the Heb *ʿărābāh* (Lev 23:40; Job 40:22; Ps 137:2; Isa 15:7; see Post 1884: 741, 744; Loew 1928, III: 322; Moldenke 1952: 216). Both trees grow along streams. Willow boughs are among the 4 species for the Feast of Sukkoth. This deciduous tree has oblong leaves and flowers arranged in catkins, male and female on separate trees. The minute greenish flowers are followed by many-seeded fruits. The wood was used for simple objects like troughs, sieves, tool handles, and small boats. The bark was an ingredient in tanning while the twigs were woven into baskets and twine. The galls on the leaves contained a dye used on veils, while the seeds were fabricated into an inferior grade of lamp wick. All parts of the plant found medicinal uses as well.

FRUIT TREES, NUT TREES, AND SHRUBS

ALMOND *(Amygdalus communis)* is the Heb *šāqēd* or *lŭz* (Gen 43:11; Eccl 12:5; Jer 1:11; see Loew 1928, III: 142; Moldenke 1952: 35; Zohary 1982: 66); the tree is native to the Mediterranean. Almonds are among the first trees to flower in spring. The Heb word means "diligence," and the flowers symbolize the awakening of spring. The *šāqēd* is mentioned 6 times in the Bible, while *lŭz* is sometimes a place name (Gen 28:19). The tree has been found in the Negeb and throughout the land. Almonds grow to 20 feet. Oblong leaves appear after the white or pink flowers bloom. The flower of the almond or of the sage-plant may have been used for the design of the candelabrum of the desert tabernacle. Almonds produce fruit after 5 or 6 years. The nut has been used for food and oil for flavoring. Iron Age remains of this specimen have been found at Bethlehem and at Tell el-Ful (Borowski 1987: 132). The gum found medicinal uses as a skin emollient and a mild laxative. The extract almond-milk was used to lower temperatures. The burned almond shell may have been used for kohl soot, so popular as Egyptian eye paint.

APPLE: see Apricot and Quince.

APRICOT *(Prunus armeniaca)* or the quince *(Cydonia oblanga)* have been identified as the Heb *ṭapuāḥ* (Joel 1:12; Prov 25:11; Cant 2:3ff.; see Loew 1928, III: 155; Moldenke 1952: 184). It is sometimes associated with the "apple" tree, but while domesticated apple trees are now

found in Israel, wild specimens are not believed to have grown there in biblical times since it is a tree native to the N hemisphere. Apricots, however, grow in warmer climes and are native to China; they have long been abundant in Israel and most probably were introduced in biblical times. Apricots in Cyprus are still known as "golden apples." The tree grows to 30 feet with a reddish bark. Pink flowers appear before its heart-shaped leaves. The fruit were consumed as food, fresh or dried, and also produced a beverage. The seed, if chewed for extended periods, is poisonous.

DATE PALM *(Phoenix dactylifera)* is among the very oldest cultivated fruit trees of the ANE, and is associated with Heb *tāmār* (Exod 15:27; Num 33:9; Judg 1:16; Ps 92:13; Cant 7:8; see Post 1883: 813; Loew 1928, II: 306; Moldenke 1952: 169; Zohary 1982: 60). Jericho was known as the "city of palm trees" (2 Chr 28:15), and some women bore the name of this tree, Tamar (Gen 38:6; 2 Sam 13:1; 14:27). Palm leaves are among the 4 species for the Feast of Sukkōth (Lev 23:40). This tall, feather palm can grow to 100 feet, and has large leaves. The white, fragrant flowers are followed by the date fruit. Plants are unisexual. The fruit onset is done by artificial pollination—branches with male flowers are cut off and fixed among bunches of female flowers. Only 1 male tree need be planted for the pollination of 50–100 females. Palms begin to bear when 35 years old and average about 125 pounds of fruit per tree annually. Palms are symbolic of peace and plenty. Iron Age remains have been found at Beersheba and Arad (Borowski 1987: 128). Every part of this tree found a use. The trunk was used for construction, fences, rafts, and fuel. The leaf provided a motif for ornaments of King Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 6:32), and later became an emblem of victory on coins. The leaflets were woven into mats, baskets, untensils, sails, and roof thatch. The fiber was fabricated into rope. Fibers from the base of the leaves were used by the Egyptians for wigs, ropes, matting, baskets, bags, brushes, and brooms. When the fiber was mixed with camel hair it was woven into cloth for caravan tents. The leafless midrib sticks were manufactured into cages, chairs, doors, and palm-stick torches. The fruit was a basic food consumed both fresh or dried, made into honey (over 60 percent sugar content). Many scholars think that the honey mentioned 49 times in the Bible refers to date honey—not the honey derived from bees (which is mentioned only 4 times). Some Arab tribes have subsisted for months on dates and milk alone. The fermented fruit produces alcohol and vinegar. The unripe green date produces a dye, and is a good substance for tanning. The sap of the crown contains a syrup used for wine and as a sweetener. The kernel has long provided animal fodder (especially for toothless camels). Oil may be pressed from it, but the kernel has also been used ornamentally in necklaces.

CITRON *(Citrus medica)* is not native to Palestine, but is believed to be the first of its genus to grow there. By 200 B.C.E. it was used as the "goodly tree," the *'etrôg* (Lev 23:40; see Loew 1928, III: 278; Moldenke 1952: 290; Zohary 1982: 123). This is a small evergreen tree with short spines and leathery leaves. The flowers are white inside and purplish outside. The yellow, thick-skinned fruit is fragrant and has a bitter taste. The fruit is one of the 4 species at Feast of Sukkoth: for this purpose, it must have its pistil intact to be kosher. The oil, distilled from the peel, is used as snakebite antidote.

FIG *(Ficus carica)* is the first fruit tree mentioned in the Bible (Gen 3:7) and refers to Heb *tĕ'ēnāh* (Num 13:23; Judg 9:10; 2 Kgs 18:31; Prov 27:18; Matt 21:1; Mark 11:13; Rev 6:13; see Post 1884: 729; Loew 1928, I: 224; Moldenke 1952: 104; Zohary 1982: 58). Figs are among the 7 species of Israel (Deut 8:8). They have been found among tomb offerings in dynastic Egypt. In biblical imagery the fig tree symbolizes prosperity and peace (Mic 4:4). The palmately lobed leaves with wavy margins often appear after the fruit develops. The flowers are borne inside the fruit. Pollination is by the female fig wasp, which crawls through a small hole to reach the flowers. The purple, greenish-yellow fruit ripens in 80 to 100 days. Iron Age remains have been found at Beth-shemesh and appear in the Nineveh relief of the siege of Lachish (Borowski 1987: 116). The fruit, fresh or dried, could be made into cakes and wine, and the Assyrians used it as a sweetener. The leaves were woven into baskets, dishes, and umbrellas. Medicinally, the fruit proved an effective laxative and tonic, as well as a poultice. The fruit, pounded into a pulp, was used by King Hezekiah to cure a malignant swelling.

MULBERRY *(Morus nigra)* is a native of Persia and was later cultivated in Israel. The corresponding Gk term *sukaminos* is found only twice (1 Macc 6:34; Luke 17:6; see Moldenke 1952: 108; Zohary 1982: 71). It is of medium size with deciduous, heart-shaped leaves that are stiff and rough. Male catkins and female flower clusters appear before the leaves form. The fruit is black and contains sweet juice; its fruit was eaten fresh or dried and was used to make wine. The root and bark were used as a laxative. The fruit was used to provoke elephants to fight in 1 Maccabees; this may have been the unripe fruit, which can cause hallucinations, nervous stimulation, and upset stomach. The bark provided tannin.

MYRTLE *(Myrtus communis)* is the *hădas* (Isa 41:19; 55:13; Zech 1:8ff.; see Post 1884: 318; Loew 1928, II: 257; Moldenke 1952: 143; Zohary 1952: 119) which grows on hillsides in Israel. Myrtle is symbolic of peace and divine blessing. The Babylonian term for this plant was also used to designate brides. It has traditionally been used for the Jewish festival of Sukkōth (Neh 8:11). An evergreen bush, it grows to a height of 6 to 8 feet with shiny green leaves. The white flower is followed by a blue-black berry. The wood has been used for walking sticks, furniture, and tool handles. The leaf provided spice, perfume, and bridal wreaths for virgins. The berry was used as an aromatic food flavoring, a wine-like drink, and as a breath sweetener. The oil from its leaf was a carminative.

OLIVE *(Olea Europeae)* has been cultivated for more than 6,000 years. The Heb *zayiṯ* is mentioned more than 50 times in the Bible (Gen 8:11; Deut 28:40; Judg 15:5; 2 Sam 15:30; Ps 128:3; Job 15:33; Rom 11:17; Rev 11:4; see Post 1884: 519; Loew 1928, II: 287; Moldenke 1952: 157; Zohary 1982: 56). Olive oil is symbolic of goodness and purity, and the tree is a symbol of peace and happiness (Hos 14:6). Many references to gardens in Scripture (including Gethsemane) seem to refer to olive groves (Exod 23:11; Josh 24:13; 1 Sam 8:14; Neh 5:11). Trees can continue to bear even after the gnarled trunk is hollow.

This slow-growing tree can grow to an age of 1,000 years or more. It is difficult to kill because when the tree is cut down, new sprouts appear from the roots around the old trunk. The willow-like, grey-green leaves are followed by fragrant white flowers. The fruit is reddish-purple to black and has a bitter taste. Olives must be cultivated for 7 years before fruiting, and they reach maturity after 15 to 20 years. A full-sized tree produces ½ ton annually. Remains have been found in Israel from the Chalcolithic period onward (Borowski 1987: 117). The wood, which is richly grained, has been used in construction, for ornaments, and household utensils. The oil had sacred uses for anointing and sacrifices and was also utilized for cooking and lighting and as a leather softener. It could serve to ripen sycamore figs. The leaves were fabricated into wreaths and writing material. The bark found medicinal use as a vulnerary and the leaf as an astringent and febrifuge. The oil served as a laxative, and when combined with alcohol it functioned as a skin lubricant. It was also prescribed as an antidote for poison and a vermifuge.

PISTACHIO: see Terebinth.

POMEGRANATE *(Punica granatum)* has been cultivated in Egypt and Palestine from time immemorial. The corresponding Heb *rimôn* is mentioned frequently (Exod 28:33; 1 Sam 14:2; Joel 1:12; Hag 2:19; Cant 4:3; 2 Chron 3:16; see Post 1884: 319; Loew 1928, III: 80; Moldenke 1952: 189), and sometimes served as a proper name for places (Josh 15:32). The pomegranate was among the fruit brought back by spies sent out by Moses (Num 13:23). This is a deciduous shrub with glossy green leaves whose flowers are orange-red. The fruit is red, hard, thick-skinned, crowned with a persistent calyx. It contains many seeds. The flowers, bark, and rind produced a red dye particularly effective with leather. The calyx of the fruit later served as a pattern for the crowns of the Torah, called *rimônîm*. The fruit was used as a motif for the capitals of Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 7:18; Jer 52:22). The hems of the high priest's robes were embroidered with pomegranate designs (Exod 28:33). Iron Age remains have been found at Tell Qiri and Tell Halif (Borowski 1987: 117). The juice was often mingled with wine. The seeds were a symbol of fertility throughout the ANE. The seeds were prescribed medicinally against tapeworm; while the rind served as an astringent, for skin problems and diarrhea. Large doses of rind may, however, cause cramps and vomiting.

QUINCE *(Cydonia oblanga)* was first cultivated in N Persia but soon was found in Israel. It is a candidate for the Heb *tapuāḥ* (Joel 1:12; Prov 25:11; Cant 2:3ff.; see Loew 1928, III: 240; see also Apricot). The RSV prefers the translation "apple." The tree reaches a height of 20 feet; it produces rounded leaves, woolly underneath; its flowers are pink, orange, or white. The skin of the pear-shaped acid fruit is covered with fuzz. Its fragrance was highly regarded by the ancients; the fruit served as food and medicinally as an ingredient for skin lotions as well as a vermifuge.

RUSSIAN OLIVE *(Elaeagnus angustifolia)* is sometimes called "wild olive"; it has no botanical relationship to the true olive and is the Heb *ʿēṣ śemen* (1 Kgs 6:23; Isa 41:19; Mic 6:7; see Tristram 1884: 404; Loew 1928, I: 590; Moldenke 1952: 97). This little tree may reach 20 feet. It has small deciduous leaves, greyish-green above and silvery and scaly beneath; the greenish-yellow flowers appear in clusters in the leaf axils. The fruit is bitter, but was used for food and fodder. The wood, hard and fine-grained, was used for carved images. The oil is inferior.

SYCAMORE FIG *(Ficus sycomorus)* identified as the Heb *śiqmāh* (1 Chr 27:28; 2 Chr 9:27; Ps 78:47; Isa 9:10; see Post 1884: 730; Loew 1928, I: 274; Moldenke 1952: 106; Zohary 1982: 68) is similar to the fig tree (*Ficus carica;* see above), but reaches a greater height, up to 60 feet (Luke 19:4). The leaves are evergreen and the tree fruits several times annually; the fruit is inferior in taste and sweetness to the true fig. Amos knew the importance of pricking each fruit at the right stage in its development to make it edible (Amos 7:14). It is pollinated much like the true fig. The wood is light and porous, and was used by Solomon (1 Kgs 10:27; 2 Chr 1:15); it is also found in Egyptian sarcophaguses, mummy coffins, furniture, boxes, and doors. The fruit served as food for the poor. The leaf was used as a dressing for wounds; the fruit was a vermifuge and laxative.

TEREBINTH or PISTACHIO *(Pistacia lentiscus, atlantica)* are among several species of terebinth found in Israel (Post 1883: 206; Loew 1928, I: 190; Moldenke 1952: 177; see also Oak). The tree is not named in the Bible; it is the later Heb *ʾēlāh*. The nut is the Heb *bŏṭnim* (Gen 43:11). The pistachio nut tree originated in Central Asia and was introduced to the Holy Land later; it is a deciduous tree up to 30 feet in height. The leaves are compound and are composed of 3 to 5 lanceolate and elliptical leaflets; there are inconspicuous flowers. The small globular stone fruits have an acrid odor of turpentine. Remains of the nut have been found in Iron Age strata at Beersheba and Arad (Borowski 1987: 133). The nut was usually roasted; the galls were an ingredient in dyes and were used for tanning; the gum was prescribed as ointments.

WALNUT *(Juglans regia)* is native to W Asia and has spread to many countries. It is the Heb *ʾēgôz* (Cant 6:11; see Loew 1928, II: 29; Moldenke 1952: 119; Zohary 1982: 64), though the RSV does not identify it specifically. This is a wide-branched tree with brownish-grey bark. The leaves are coppery brown as they unfold, and are made up of 9 oval leaflets; the flowers appear before the leaves. The male flowers are catkins, the female flowers terminal spikes. The plum-shaped fruit is yellowish-green and contains the nut. The wood found use in construction, shipbuilding, and furniture; the leaves in tanning; the nuts as food. Remains have been found from the Chalcolithic period in Israel (Borowski 1987: 133). The oil was used as a wood polish and for lighting and cooking. The green husk contains a yellow dye; it was utilized cosmetically and medicinally as a laxative. The leaf was prescribed as an astringent.

GRAINS AND LEGUMES

BARLEY *(Hordeum vulgare)* has been grown in Egypt since 5000 B.C.E. The Heb *śaʿărāh* was important in Israel throughout the biblical period (Exod 9:31; Lev 27:16; Deut 8:8; Ruth 1:2; 2 Kgs 4:42; John 6:9; Rev 6:6; see Loew 1928, I: 707; Dalman 1932: 250; Moldenke 1952: 111; Zohary 1982: 76). The grain played a major economic

role and was included in the tribute exacted from the Ammonites (2 Chr 27:5). Samples have been found in an Iron I stratum at Afula and in Iron II stratum at Khirbet Abu Tabaq among other sites (Borowski 1987: 92). It is able to survive heat and drought better than any other cereal, and it ripens in a shorter season than wheat. Barley grows to a height of 2 to 3 feet; the whiskery ears nod as they mature. The shallow roots develop faster than wheat, and the leaves are wider than those of many other grains. It was used only once in the sacrificial rituals (Num 5:15). The grain was rarely used alone in bread, but was mixed with millet, spelt, or pea meal. Malt syrup for beer was derived from it; this was particularly important in ancient Egypt where beer was an important drink. The stalk was used as fodder. Necklaces made from barley seed have been found on mummies. The seed was also used medicinally; barley water was prescribed as a demulcent, cooked barley as a poultice. Among numerous other Egyptian medicinal uses was that of a pregnancy test.

BEAN *(Vicia faba)* was mentioned only twice, as Heb *pôl* (2 Sam 17:28; Ezek 4:9; see Loew 1928, II: 481; Dalman 1932, II: 265; Moldenke 1952: 101; Zohary 1982: 84). Carbonized seeds have been found in the Iron I stratum at Afula and from a later period at Lachish (Borowski 1987: 95). It is among the first vegetables harvested in spring. This erect annual grows to 5 feet. The hollow stem is branched mainly in the upper part. The ovalish leaves are divided into 2 to 6 pairs. The small, white, sweet pea-like flowers are marked with a purple spot, followed by large green pods. Beans were consumed fresh, boiled, dried, or roasted. They were mixed with wheat for flour and were also used as a meat extender. In Egypt they were made into cakes and used both as human food and as animal fodder (the stems were camel fodder).

CAROB *(Ceratonia siliqua)* is found in the coastal plains and the Galilee; it is common throughout the Mediterranean basin. It is often called "St. John's Bread" because in the wilderness John the Baptist ate the pods of this tree. It is the *keration* of the NT (Luke 15:16; see Loew 1928, II: 393; Moldenke 1952: 72; Zohary 1982: 63). Carob beans have been found at the Cave of the Pool in the Roman level (Borowski 1987: 131). The pods were primarily used as animal fodder, but in times of famine humans could also eat them; when ripe the pods are sweet. The seeds of the carob were used as a standard weight and are the source of the term "carat." The carob is an evergreen with rounded top which reaches 30 feet. The small flowers, either yellow or red, are found on the previous year's branches. Pods ripen in spring, and are 6 to 10 inches long and bear small pea-like seeds.

CHICK-PEA *(Cicer arietinum)*. The Heb *ḥōmiṣ* (Isa 30:24), which is similar to the Arabic *humus*, may refer to this plant (Loew 1928, II: 411; Dalman 1932, II: 271; Zohary 1982: 83). The RSV translates this simply as "provender." It has been found as early as Prepottery Neolithic B Jericho (Borowski 1987: 96). The plant is a 2-foot-high annual with small leaves and white or reddish flowers followed by a two-seed pod. The peas are consumed fresh, dried, boiled, and roasted or prepared as flour. The plant provides maximum nourishment for a minimum of expenditure with yields up to 1,000 pounds per acre. Humus, a popular dish in the modern Middle East, is made from the peas. The whole plant was used as fodder.

EMMER *(Triticum dicoccum)* is the Heb *kūsêmêt*, for which the RSV prefers "spelt" (Exod 9:32; Isa 28:25; Ezek 4:9; see Loew 1928, I: 767; Moldenke 1952: 231; Dalman 1932, II: 246). It originated in the Israel-Jordan region and has been found in the Chalcolithic site of Horvat Beter and later (Borowski 1987: 91). It was used as porridge and for fodder.

LENTIL *(Lens esculenta, culinaris)* is associated with Heb *ʿădāšāh*, Jacob's pottage (Gen 25:34). This plant grew in fields (2 Sam 17:28; 23:11; see Dalman 1932, II: 264; Moldenke 1952: 128; Zohary 1982: 82) and has been found in Neolithic Jericho (Borowski 1987: 95), in Sumer, and in 12th Dynasty tombs in Egypt. This is a multi-branched annual growing to 18 inches high. The leaves are pinnate; its small white flowers are succeeded by short, flattened pods, each containing 1 or 2 green, greenish-brown, or reddish seeds. Flour for bread and pottage, as well as animal fodder, came from this plant. Medicinally, the seed provided a remedy for constipation, and a hot poultice was prepared for ulcers.

MILLET *(Panicum miliaceum)* is the Heb *dōḥan* (see also Sorghum); it is mentioned only once (Ezek 4:9; see Loew 1928, I: 743; Dalman 1932: II: 260; Moldenke 1952: 166; Zohary 1982: 77) to symbolize the difficult times that were approaching. This inferior grain was used mainly for fodder. It is an annual grass which reaches a height of 2 feet; the leaves are flat and hairy. The flowers and seeds grow in a compound, are branched and have nodding panicles. The Latin name *miliaceum* was an allusion by Linnaeus to its "thousands of seeds," from which we have the word "millimeter." Porridge and bread, as well as an alcoholic beverage, was prepared from this plant.

SORGHUM, GREAT MILLET *(Sorghum bicolor)* is another possibility for the Heb *dōḥan* (Ezek 4:9; see Loew 1928, I: 740; Dalman 1932, II: 258; Zohary 1982: 77). The RSV prefers the translation "millet." It has been cultivated since 2000 B.C.E., though no samples have been found in ancient Israel. The plant grows to 9 feet. The leaves are flat and the panicles are many-branched, producing globular, whitish grain used as flour, syrup, and to prepare alcoholic beverages. Medicinally it was used as a diuretic and as a demulcent.

SPELT: see Emmer.

WHEAT *(Triticum durum)* was a major field crop in Israel throughout the biblical period, associated with Heb *ḥittāh* (Gen 12:10; Job 5:26; Ezek 27:17; Matt 18:6; Mark 2:23; 1 Cor 9:9; Rev 18:13; see Loew 1928, I: 776; Dalman 1932, II: 243; Moldenke 1952: 2312; Zohary 1982: 74). Remains of wheat have been found at Afula in Iron I and at Tell Qiri in Iron II, as well as many other sites (Borowski 1987: 90). Wheat is one of the 7 species of the Holy Land (Deut 8:8). It was used in the sacrificial ritual (1 Chr 21:23), in export trade (1 Kgs 5:11), and was consumed in many different ways (Exod 29:2; Lev 23:14; 2 Kgs 4:42; Ezek 4:9). The Gezer Calendar speaks of its harvest in the 6th agricultural season, which fell in May. The first harvest was a temple offering at Pentecost (Exod 34:22). This annual grass grows to a height of 4 feet. The lower leaves are hairy, usually with 2 ears. The numerous varieties are divided into (a) spring and winter wheat; (b) hard and soft

wheat; (c) red and white wheat; and (d) bearded and non-bearded varieties. In biblical times the parched grain was consumed or used as a meal offering; flour for bread as well as starch and beer were prepared from it. The stems were used as fodder, animal bedding, compost, mulch, and fertilizer. They were also woven into hats, baskets, chair seats, and bee-hives. The starch was used medicinally as an emollient.

VEGETABLES AND FRUITS

CUCUMBER: see Muskmelon.

ENDIVE *(Cichorium endivia)* is a candidate for Heb *mārôr* (Exod 12:8; Num 9:11; see Loew 1928, I: 415; Moldenke 1952: 74; Zohary 1982: 100; Dalman 1932, II: 312). This may be an annual or a perennial plant, which produces a dense rosette of leaves. Flower stems reach a height of 3 feet with blue flowers. The leaves were used in a culinary fashion.

GARLIC *(Allium sativum)* is the Heb *śûm* (Num 11:5, 6; see Loew 1928, II: 125; Dalman 1932, II: 276–77; Moldenke 1952: 32; Zohary 1982: 80); it has been grown in Egypt and the Near East since earliest times; remains have been found in the Cave of the Pool (Borowski 1987: 139). This is a hardy perennial with strap-like leaves to 2 feet with tiny sterile, pink flowers. The single bulb is composed of a number of bulblets, called cloves, which are wrapped together in a pinkish-white, papery skin. Garlic was consumed fresh, dried, or powdered, and was fed to the pyramid workers of ancient Egypt. The juice was prescribed to treat intestinal infections, respiratory ailments, snakebites, melancholy, and hypochondria.

GRAPES: see Vine below.

LEEKS *(Allium porrum)*, the Heb *ḥāṣîr* (Num 11:5, 6; see Loew 1928, II: 131; Dalman 1932, II: 277; Moldenke 1952: 34; Zohary 1982: 80) may be the true leek or fenugreek *(Trigonella foenum-graecum)*. Fenugreek seeds have been found at Tell Halaf in Egypt and an Iron Age sample was found at Lachish in Israel (Borowski 1987: 138). It was one of the foods the Israelites craved in the desert. The Heb *ḥāṣîr* literally means "herbs." It has always been the food of the poor in the Near East and was regarded as the food of humility. Leeks, unlike onions, do not have a bulbous base. The leaves are broad and flat. Leeks are biennial whose white flower appears in the second year in a ball-like cluster. The greens possess the same properties as garlic, but to a lesser degree. The leaf has been used medicinally as a disinfectant.

MUSKMELON *(Cucumis melo)* has been identified as the Heb *qiśû'îm* (Num 11:5; Isa 1:8; see Loew 1928, I: 535; Moldenke 1952: 80; Zohary 1982: 86); the wild species was introduced from E Africa (Zohary). It includes forms with long and narrow fruits, resembling the garden cucumber. The cucumber *(C. sativus)*, which is the translation of the RSV, is native to S Asia. Muskmelon is an annual with hairy, kidney-shaped leaves. The flowers are yellow. The yellow or green fruit varies in size and shape. Aside from the fruit, the leaves can be eaten raw or steamed. The seeds provide an edible oil. Medicinally it was prescribed as a demulcent, diuretic, and emetic.

ONION *(Allium cepa)* is called the Egyptian onion; it is the Heb *bāṣāl* (Num 11:5; see Loew 1928, II: 125; Dalman 1932, II: 276; Moldenke 1952: 32; Zohary 1982: 80). It is among the more than 500 species of onions, some edible and some ornamental. Onions are represented in many Egyptian tomb paintings, and were found in breasts of mummies, while onion peels were found on ears and eyes of mummies. Onions were considered a necessity for the workers building pyramids. Remains have been found in the caves of Nahal Mishmar in Israel (Borowski 1987: 138). This is a perennial herb whose large bulbs produce hollow leaves, terminating in umbels of pink or white flowers. Aside from its use as a food, the skin of the bulb produced a dye. It was prescribed medicinally as a laxative, vermicide, and antiseptic.

VINE *(Vitis vinifera)* was the first cultivated plant mentioned in the Bible (Gen 9:20). The Heb *gepen* or the large number of other terms connected with its cultivation and use appear hundreds of times (Gen 40:9; Num 13:23; Deut 8:8; Judg 9:12; Jer 2:21; Ezek 15:2; Cant 6:11; Ps 78:47; Matt 9:17; Luke 1:15; John 2:3; Rev 14:8; see Loew 1928, I: 48; Dalman 1932, IV: 291; Moldenke 1952: 239; Zohary 1982: 54). Remains from the 3d millennium have been found at Jericho and Arad (Borowski). The cultivation of vine was mentioned in the Gezer Calendar. It was used as a symbol for Israel (Jer 2:21; Ezek 15:6; Hos 10:1) and of peace and prosperity (1 Kgs 4:25; Mic 4:4). The vine is a fast-growing climbing shrub with long tendrils. The lobed leaves are deciduous. The minute, greenish, clustered flowers are followed by berries. The fruit, grapes, may be consumed fresh or dried into raisins and currants. Its juice may be produced into wine or vinegar. The leaves are edible and the remainder of the plant has been used for fodder and tannin. Wine was used as an anaesthetic and to reduce the anguish of capital punishment.

WATERMELONS *(Citrullus vulgaris)* were grown in Egypt and Israel. This is the Heb *'ābattîaḥ* (Num 11:5; see Loew 1928, I: 550; Zohary 1982: 85), which the Israelites longed for in the desert. The plant is 90 percent water, and so it is invaluable in the desert. The opened plant was also used for plant propagation. This tropical trailer plant with hairy, deeply lobed leaves produces a yellow flower about 1 inch across. The fruit is often ellipsoidal, 10 inches or more in diameter, with white, yellow, or red flesh. The fruit is eaten raw; the seeds are eaten either raw or roasted. Oil can be pressed from the seeds. Medicinally the fruit was used as an antiseptic, laxative, and vermicidal.

SPICES, INCENSE, DRUGS, AND CONDIMENTS

BALM *(Balanites aegyptiaca)* is the Heb *ṣôrî* (Gen 37:25; Jer 8:22; 46:11; 51:8; see Moldenke 1952: 55) which is native to Egypt. It grew on the hot plains near Jericho and the Dead Sea. The RSV sometimes translates *ṣôrî* as "spices" (1 Kgs 10:10; 2 Kgs 20:13; Isa 39:2) and at other times as "balm" (Ezek 27:17). The plant grows to a height of 12 feet with woolly leaves and thorny branches. The oil of the fruit was used medicinally. Moldenke also suggested identifying the *Pistacia lentiscus* with the *ṣôrî* (see Terebinth). The balm tree reaches a height of 3 to 10 feet with leathery leaves and a gummy sap. The fruit was fermented into an alcoholic beverage. It was used as a breath sweetener; medicinally it was prescribed as a stomachic and astringent.

BAY LAUREL *(Laurus nobilis)* or Sweet Bay is the Heb *'ezraḥ* (Ps 37:35; see Post 1883: 708; Loew 1928, II: 119; Moldenke 1952: 122; Zohary 1982: 120), which the RSV translates "cedar." This tree grows on rocky hillsides. The Romans named it from the word *laudare,* "to praise," for it was thought to be worthy of the highest honors. This is a slow-growing evergreen tree which reaches a height of 40 feet. The leaves are leathery, oblong with wavy edges. Male and female yellow flowers are borne on separate trees. It fruits in the fall and produces a red-blue berry which contains an oily seed. The wood was used for light carpentry. The leaves were used to form wreaths; when dried they became a spice. A perfume was extracted from the fruit. The berry served as a stomachic, astringent, and carminative.

BURNET, THORNY *(Sarcopoterium spinosum)* is the Heb *sîrîm* (Hos 2:6; Eccl 7:6; see Zohary 1982: 156), which the RSV translates as "thorns." This 1-foot-high shrub is densely branched and produces tiny flowers and a small fruit. The leaflets of the plant have been used as a potherb.

CAPER BUSH *(Capparis spinosa)* is the *'ăbiyônāh* (Eccl 12:5; see Post 1883: 106; Loew 1928, I: 322; Zohary 1982: 98), which the RSV translates as "desire." This is a spiny shrub with thick leaves which spreads over rocks much like ivy. The flowers are white or pinkish, open in the evening and wilted by morning. The many-seeded berry hangs on long stalks. The unopened flower bud is pickled as capers; the young fruit were considered an aphrodisiac.

CASSIA *(Cinnamonum cassia)* is the Heb *qiddāh* (Exod 30:24; Ezek 27:19; Ps 45:8; see Loew 1928, II: 113; Moldenke 1952: 75; Zohary 1982: 203) which was imported via the ancient caravan routes; it was considered inferior to true cinnamon. This is a medium-sized tropical tree with leathery leaves native to India and Sri Lanka. The inner bark is used for the spice; incisions are made in the bark, which is then dried. The bark serves as a spice and incense. Sometimes it is used to adulterate pure cinnamon.

CASTOR OIL *(Ricinus communis)* may be associated with the *qîqāyôn,* the plant which shaded Jonah (4:6ff.; see Post 1883: 727; Dalman 1932, II: 297; Moldenke 1952: 203; Zohary 1982: 193), often translated as "gourd." Seeds have been found in a 6,000-year-old Egyptian tomb. It grows wild in Israel. This tropical shrub may reach 15 feet or more. The hollow, green, red, or violet stems become woody with age. Palmate leaves have veins usually the color of the stem. The male yellow and female pink flowers are arranged in racemes and lack petals. The fruit is a 3-celled capsule covered with prickles. Each capsule contains 3 smooth, mottled, poisonous seeds. The seed capsules are poisonous; the oil is pressed from the seed. Small seeds are richer in oil than large seeds. The Egyptians used the oil for lighting; they also used it as poultices for headaches and blended it with some fat to stimulate luxurious hair growth and as a base for unguents. It was also utilized as a cream for opthalmic preparations, as an antifungal, and as a laxative.

CHICORY *(Cichorium intybus)* is a candidate for the Heb *mārôr* (Exod 12:8; Num 9:11; see Loew 1928, I: 415; Dalman 1932, II: 312; Moldenke 1952: 74; Zohary 1982: 100) of Passover. This is a perennial which reaches a height of 3 feet with tough stems and long, lobed, basal leaves. The bright blue flowers close at noon. After ripening, the heads close and conceal the fruit. Rain forces the heads to open and to disperse the seeds. The leaf is used as a potherb and for fodder; the root is an ingredient in seasoning. The leaves have also been used as a sedative and laxative, while the dried root has been used as a diuretic and tonic.

CINNAMON *(Cinnamonum zeylanicum)* is the Heb *kināmôn* (Exod 30:23; Prov 7:17; Cant 4:14; Rev 18:13; see Loew 1928, II: 116; Moldenke 1952: 76; Zohary 1982: 202). The plant was imported; it is native to Sri Lanka where the evergreen tree may reach 40 feet. Its aromatic green leaves are 5 to 7 inches long. The flowers are white and the fruit is a dark purple berry. Cinnamon is obtained from the inner bark in the shape of quills. The bark provides oil, incense, perfume, and food flavoring. The leaf is used for wreaths.

COLCHICUM *(Colchicum autumnale)* is the Heb *hăbaṣelet* (Isa 35:1; Cant 2:1; see Post 1883: 808; Loew 1928, II: 156) and is mentioned in the Ebers Papyrus of 1550 B.C. as a drug plant. The RSV translates this as "crocus." This poisonous cormus plant has dark-green leaves produced in the spring, followed by purple flowers in the fall. The fruit is a capsule with polished, whitish seeds. The cormus and seed were used as a sedative and cathartic.

CORIANDER *(Coriandrum sativum)* is the Heb *gād;* the seed was mentioned in the desert (Exod 16:31; Num 11:7; see Tristram 1884: 400; Loew 1928, III: 441; Moldenke 1952: 86; Zohary 1982: 92). The plant is an annual 1 to 3 feet in height with leaves deeply incised and umbels of pale mauve flowers. All parts of the plant have a strong odor. The seeds are used for flavoring food and beverages, and also as an ingredient in perfumes. Medicinally the seeds were prescribed as a stimulant and carminative. If eaten in excess, they had the harmful effect of a narcotic.

CUMIN *(Cuminum cyminum)* is the Heb *kamôn,* whose seeds (Isa 28:25, 27; Matt 23:23; see Loew 1928, III: 435; Moldenke 1952: 89; Zohary 1982: 88) have been found in an Egyptian grave of the 18th Dynasty, but not in archaeological excavations in Israel. This is a powerful aromatic, similar to caraway seed but larger, with a disagreeable taste. This annual herb reaches a height of 2 feet. The leaves are divided into a few thread-like segments. Small, white flowers are followed by the small oblong, aromatic fruit. The seeds are mixed with flour in bread; the oil was used medicinally as a disinfectant.

CUMIN, BLACK *(Nigella sativa)* is the Heb *keṣāh* (Isa 28:25, 27; see Moldenke 1952: 152; Zohary 1982: 91); in some versions it has been translated "fitches," and the RSV prefers "dill." Fragments have been found at Tell Goren in Stratum V from the end of the Israelite period (Borowski 1987: 97). This is an annual which grows to a height of 1 foot with fennel-like leaves and white or blue buttercup-like flowers. The fruit is a 5-celled pod with many black, pungent seeds. It is an ingredient for bread and cakes. Medicinally it was used as a vermifuge.

DANDELION *(Taraxacum officinale)* is a candidate for the Heb *marôr* of Passover (Exod 12:8; Num 9:11; see Loew 1928, I: 434; Moldenke 1952: 74). This common perennial has toothed oblong leaves. The yellow flowers open in the

sun. The leaves are used as food and fodder, and also medicinally.

DILL *(Anethum graveolons)* is the Gk *anethon* which has long been widely grown as a flavoring herb (Matt 23:23; see Loew 1928, III: 466; Dalman 1932, II: 290; Moldenke 1952: 46; Zohary 1982: 88; see also Cumin, Black). This hardy, low annual produces small yellow flowers and aromatic seed. The seed was used as food flavoring, an aromatic, and a breath sweetener; medicinally, it was prescribed as a carminative.

EAGLEWOOD *(Aquilaria agallocha)* is the Heb *ʾāhāl* (Ps 45:8; Prov 7:17; Cant 4:14; see Loew 1928, III: 411; Moldenke 1952: 47; Zohary 1982: 204; see also Aloe). The tree is native to N India and grows to a height of 120 feet with a trunk 10 feet in circumference. The tree secretes an aromatic resin when old. It was imported to Israel and was used for incense, perfume, embalming, and fumigation.

FRANKINCENSE *(Boswellia sacra)* is the Heb *lĕbônāh*, an important ingredient for incense (Exod 30:34; Lev 2:1; Num 5:15; 1 Chr 9:20; Cant 3:6; Matt 2:11; Rev 18:13; see Loew 1928, I: 312; Moldenke 1952: 56; Zohary 1982: 197). It was imported by caravan from Arabia and E Africa; it did not grow in Israel. Various species of this plant were used. This is a medium-sized shrub with small white or green flowers. The aromatic gum is obtained through incisions from the stem. The gum was used for incense, perfume, holy ointment, and as a fumigant.

GARDEN ROCKET *(Eruca sativa)* is the *ʾôrôt* which was collected as a pot-herb by bedouins and that is the context for *ʾōrōt* (2 Kgs 4:39f.; see Loew 1928, I: 491; Dalman 1932, II: 296; Zohary 1982: 101). It is found in Upper Galilee, the Jordan Valley, and the Dead Sea area. The RSV translates it "herbs." The plant was also called vesper flower, due to its fragrance at night. This is an annual with lower leaves divided into lobes. The flowers are creamy-yellow or white. The seeds were used as a substitute for pepper. The leaf is edible.

HYSSOP, SYRIAN *(Origanum syriacum, aegyptiacum)* is the most likely identification for *ʾēzôb* (Lev 14:6; Num 19:6; 1 Kgs 4:33; Heb 9:19; see Post 1883: 615; Loew 1928, II: 83; Moldenke 1952: 160; Zohary 1982: 96) which was tied into bunches and was used as a brush to sprinkle blood on the doorposts in Egypt (Exod 12:21–22). The Samaritans have continued to use the Syrian hyssop in their Passover ritual. The plant, also known as marjoram, is found in dry places, growing among rocks. Its hairy leaves can absorb liquids. It has no relationship to the *hyssop officinalis* of Europe. This is a strong, multi-stemmed shrub with ovate, hairy, gray leaves. The small white flowers are grouped in spikes. The fruit is a small nutlet. The leaves were used as a spice and medicinally as a tonic, carminative, and digestive aid. It was used for the purification of lepers.

LETTUCE *(Lactuca sativa* var. *longifolia)* is a candidate for the Heb *marôr* of Passover (Exod 12:8; Num 9:11; see Post 1883: 486; Loew 1928, I: 424; Dalman 1932, II: 284; Moldenke 1952: 74). It is a plant picked before it is fully grown. When allowed to mature, lettuce develops a tall stem with alternate leaves and pannicled heads of yellow flowers. The leaf was used as a food and the seed for oil. Lettuce was a symbol of fertility in ancient Egypt and was used for impotency.

MADDER *(Rubia tinctorum)* is only mentioned as the proper name, Puah (Judg 10:1; see Post 1883: 379; Loew 1928, III: 270; Moldenke 1952; Zohary 1982: 191). This is a perennial creeping herb which grows to a height of 4 feet. The leaves grow in whorls of 4 to 6; the flowers are greenish-yellow. Its red berries turn black. The root, about the thickness of a quill, is collected in the third year, freed from its outer covering, and dried. The root was used as a red dye and medicinally as an astringent; the leaves provided fodder.

MALLOW *(Malva sylvestris)* is the Heb *ḥalômut* (Job 6:6, 7; see Loew 1928, II: 227; Zohary 1982: 99), which the RSV translates "purslane." It is an annual herb which grows to a height of 3 feet with lobed leaves. The flowers are rose-purple with darker veins. The fruit, leaf, and seed were used as food. The leaves were prescribed as a demulcent and laxative.

MANDRAKES *(Mandragora officinarum)* are the *dudāʾ* (Gen 30:14ff.; Cant 7:13; see Post 1883: 559; Loew 1928, III: 363; Moldenke 1952: 137; Zohary 1982: 188) found in stony places. The root resembles a human figure, which led to its association with fertility rites. The mandrake is a stemless perennial related to the potato. The dark-green, oblong, wrinkled leaves form a rosette; from this rises a flower stalk bearing a bluish-violet, bell-shaped flower followed by a yellow plum-sized berry. The fruit was used as food; the root possesses narcotic properties for which it was esteemed. The plant is slightly poisonous.

MINT *(Mentha longifolia)* is the Gk *heduosmon* (Matt 23:23; Luke 11:42; see Post 1883: 614; Loew 1928, II: 75; Dalman 1932, II: 291; Moldenke 1952: 139; Zohary 1982: 88) which is fragrant due to its oils. This common plant has been widely used for flavoring. It is a rapidly spreading perennial herb with small, greenish-gray leaves and grows to a height of 2 feet in well-watered areas. The leaves, aside from flavoring, have been used as a carminative, stimulant, emollient, ingredient for enema, and general pain remedy.

MUSTARD SEED *(Brassica nigra)* is the Gk *sinapi* which grew along the Sea of Galilee and so is appropriate for the parable of Jesus (Matt 13:31; 17:20; Mark 4:31; Luke 13:19; 17:6; see Loew 1928, I: 519; Moldenke 1952: 59; Zohary 1982: 93). This is a plant long cultivated for its flavoring. This annual herb with varieties from 2 to 6 feet in height has leaves which grow at the base of the stem, and it produces a large number of small yellow flowers. The seeds were used for mustard oil, a flavoring.

MYRRH *(Cistus incanus, creticus)* is the Heb *lōt* (Gen 37:25; 43:11; see Post 1883: 115; Moldenke 1952: 77; Zohary 1982: 194). It is not the tropical myrrh, but a resinous substance obtained from these plants. A shrub with hairy green leaves and pink flowers followed by small capsuled fruits, it is widespread in Gilead. The soft, dark-brown or black, gummy exudation is collected by drawing a bunch of leathery thongs through the plant to which the gum sticks, or by combing out goats' beards (to which the gum adheres); it is sold in golden spiral pieces. The stem and leaves were used to prepare perfume and incense, a use which continues in Eastern churches today. Medici-

nally the extract served as a salve, stimulant, and expectorant.

PURSLANE: see Mallow.

REICHARDIA *(Reichardia tingitana)* is a candidate for the Heb *marôr* eaten at the Passover Seder (Exod 12:8; Num 9:11; see Loew 1928, I: 131; Zohary 1982: 100). The poppy-leaved *Reichardia* is a desert plant. The flowers are yellow with a dark purple base. The leaf was used for seasoning.

RUE *(Ruta chalepensis)* is the Gk *peganon* which has been widely used for flavoring and as an ornamental (Luke 11:42; see Post 1883: 197; Loew 1928, III: 317; Moldenke 1952: 208; Zohary 1982: 90). It is a tough herb which grows under difficult conditions and reaches a height of 2 feet with strong-smelling leaves and yellow flowers. The leaves were used as a condiment. Medicinally prescribed against insect and snakebites.

SORREL *(Rumex acetosella)* is a candidate for the Heb *marôr* of the Passover (Exod 12:8; Num 9:11; see Loew 1928, I: 358; Moldenke 1952: 74). The plant is common throughout the Near East. It is invasive; only a few inches high, it grows to a length of 1 foot in a spreading pattern.

SPIKENARD *(Nardostachys jatamansi)* is the Heb *nerd* (Cant 1:12; Mark 14:3; John 12:3; see Loew 1928, III: 482; Moldenke 1952: 148; Zohary 1982: 205) which was imported from the mountains of India. It is also translated as "nard." This small perennial herb grows at high altitudes. The entire plant may be used for its aromatic oils as cosmetics and perfume. Medicinally it was prescribed as a stimulant.

SUGAR CANE *(Saccharum officinarum)* is a candidate for the Heb *qāneh* (Isa 43:24; see Post 1883: 849; Loew 1928, I: 747; Moldenke 1952: 214; see also Reed, Common; Sweet Flag; Giant Grass; Lemon Grass). It no longer grows wild anywhere in the world, so we are uncertain of its origin. Sugar, a tall grain, requires a tropical climate. The solid-jointed stalks are filled with soft, long fibers. The arching leaves have rough edges. The plume-like tassels contain hundreds of tiny, soft, lavender-to-dark purple flowers. The canes produce a dark brown, slightly acid juice. This juice is extracted and boiled, after the leaves have been removed. Medicinally it was also used as a laxative.

SWEET FLAG *(Acorus calamus)* is another candidate for *qāneh* (Isa 43:24; see Loew 1928, I: 696; Moldenke 1952: 40; see also Sugar Cane; Giant Grass; Lemon Grass; Reed, Common); it has been identified with the sweet cane. This plant grows well near water and reaches a height of 5 feet. The root was used for perfume and medicinally as a stomachic.

WATERCRESS *(Nasturtium officinale)* is another candidate for the Heb *marôr* of Passover (Exod 12:8; Num 9:11; see Loew 1928, I: 510; Dalman 1932, II: 289; Moldenke 1952: 74). This small plant spreads rapidly, and its flowers are abundant.

WORMWOOD *(Artemesia herba-alba)* is the Heb *laʿănāh* (Deut 29:18; Prov 5:4; Jer 9:15; Amos 5:7; Matt 27:34; Rev 8:11; see Post 1883: 440; Loew 1928, I: 379; Moldenke 1952: 48; Zohary 1982: 184). This is a small shrub. Most species of wormwood have grey, fragrant foliage with insignificant fragrant flowers. The leaves are used in beverages and as fodder; medicinally it was prescribed as a tonic, antiseptic, and expectorant.

GRASSES

GIANT GRASS *(Arundo donax)* may be the Heb *qāneh* or *sup* (but see RED SEA) and the Gk *kalamos* (Gen 41:5; Isa 19:6; 35:7; Ezek 40:5; Matt 11:7; Mark 15:19; Luke 7:24; Rev 11:1; see Post 1883: 875; Loew 1928, I: 662; Moldenke 1952: 50; see also Reed, Common; Sugar Cane; Sweet Flag; Lemon Grass). It was also known as the "Persian reed" and is common throughout Israel, particularly near the Dead Sea and the Jordan Valley. It grows to a height of 18 feet with hollow, strong canes 2 to 3 inches in diameter at the base. The plume-like flowers are similar to pampas grass. The canes were used for roofing, arrows, fences, basketry, walking sticks, and flutes. Egyptian beehives were made from these reeds.

LEMON GRASS (Cymbopogon citratus) may have been referred to by the Heb *qāneh* (Exod 30:23; Jer 6:20; Ezek 27:19ff.; see Loew 1928, I: 692; Zohary 1982: 196; see also Sugar Cane; Sweet Flag; Reed, Common; Giant Grass). RSV translates this as "calamus." There are many species of aromatic grasses which were imported and were discovered in Egyptian tombs of the 20th and 21st Dynasties. This tropical perennial grass grows to 6 feet. The spike-like racemes grow in pairs at the ends of short branches. The leaf blade, sheath, and husk produced an oil used for flavoring, cosmetic, and perfume.

FLOWERS, DECORATIVE PLANTS

IVY *(Hedera helix)* is the Gk *kesos* (2 Macc 6:7; see Post 1883: 377; Loew 1928, I: 219; Moldenke 1952: 111; Zohary 1982: 121). Ivy was introduced by the Greeks and reflects their influence during the Maccabean period. It is an evergreen perennial that spreads rapidly with a dense matting of leaves. The plant is now found throughout the world, but is rare in its wild state in Israel.

The spring field flowers of ancient Israel cannot be identified with certainty. We have listed only some of the candidates below. See also Waterlily; Iris, Yellow Flag.

ANEMONE *(Anemone coronaria)* may be the Gk *krinon* (Matt 6:28; Loew 1928, III: 118; Moldenke 1952: 41). The plant develops from rhizomes with the flowers growing on 10-inch stalks. Flowers are usually scarlet though other colors are found.

CHAMOMILE *(Anthemis nobilis, tinctoria)* may be the Heb *śôśān* (Hos 14:5; Sir 39:14; see Post 1883: 430; Loew 1928, I: 375; Moldenke 1952: 41; Zohary 1982: 172). It is a spring flower of the field whose bright colors carpet the countryside. This flower is daisy-like with numerous species found in the area. A spreading perennial, it flowers profusely.

CROWN DAISY *(Chrysanthemum coronarium)* may be the Heb *niṣanîm* (Cant 2:12; James 1:10; see Post 1883: 438; Zohary 1982: 174). The plant blooms profusely in spring, but the flowers also fade swiftly.

CROWFOOT *(Ranunculus asiaticus)* is also a candidate for the Heb *śośān* (Hos 14:5; Sir 39:14; see Post 1883: 38; Loew 1928, III: 124; Zohary 1982: 174). It grows in many areas extending into the semi-desert areas.

LILY *(Lilium candidum)* is yet a third candidate for Heb *šôšān* (1 Kgs 7:26; Cant 2:1; Matt 6:28; Luke 12:27; see Loew 1928, II: 160; Moldenke 1952: 114; Zohary 1982: 176), though there is much scholarly debate. The water lily *(Nymphaea caerulea)* and lotus *(Nymphaea lotus)* are other candidates. As a symbol of fruitfulness, purity, and resurrection, it appears frequently in Christian art as the "Madonna lily." The plant grows from a bulb to a height of 3 feet with large white flowers. Either this variety or *Lilium chalcedonicum,* which produces a showy red flower, may be native to ancient Israel.

NARCISSUS *(Narcissus tazetta)* is yet another candidate for Heb *šôšān* (1 Kgs 7:26; Cant 2:1; Matt 6:28; Luke 12:27; see Loew 1928, II: 203; Moldenke 1952: 147; Zohary 1982: 178). This plant grows throughout the land into the Negeb and blooms profusely in spring. This bulb produces clusters of white flowers with a yellow trumpet.

POPPY *(Papaver rhoeas)* is another candidate for the Heb *nišānîm* (Cant 2:12; James 1:10; see Post 1883: 50; Loew 1928, II: 363; Zohary 1982: 172). This annual produces beautiful red flowers which close each evening. The opium poppy is somewhat taller with greyish leaves.

SEA DAFFODIL *(Pancratium maritimum)* may also be the Heb *šôšān* (1 Kgs 7:26; Cant 2:2; Matt 6:28; Luke 12:27; see Post 1883: 776; Loew 1928, II: 205; Zohary 1982: 178). This white-flowered bulb grows along the seashore. The fragrant white flowers are followed by linear leaves; the flowers live one night. The fruit capsules contain many black seeds.

STERNBERGIA *(Sternbergia lutea, clusiana)* may also be the Heb *šôšān* (1 Kgs 7:26; Cant 2:2; Matt 6:28; Luke 12:27; see Post 1883: 775; Moldenke 1952: 117). This bulb produces one-foot leaves and a yellow autumn flower.

TULIP *(Tulipa montana)* may also be the Heb *nišanîm* (Cant 2:12; James 1:10; see Post 1883: 805; Moldenke 1952: 235; Zohary 1982: 180). The date of the ancient introduction of this plant to the Near East is not known. The bulbs produce single flowers on a stem up to 4–10 inches in height.

WATER PLANTS

CATTAIL *(Typha sp.)* may be the Heb *sup* (Exod 2:3; Isa 19:6; Matt 27:29; Mark 15:19; see Post 1883: 814; Moldenke 1952: 235; Zohary 1982: 136), which the RSV translates as "bullrushes." While it grows in many places, huge colonies grow along the Nile and along fresh and brackish waters, where it reduces soil salinity. This 6-foot perennial has stout stalks crowned by ridged, cylindrical, flowering spikes to 8 feet. Each spike contains hundreds of minute flowers—male flowers above, female flowers below—in the form of bristles without petal or sepal. The fruit is a small, hairy grain. The stalk was woven into articles, chair seats, caulk, sandals, and thatching. The seeds were used as cattle feed; their floss was used as tinder. Cattail was also used for dressing burns.

IRIS, YELLOW FLAG *(Iris pseudacorus)* may be the Heb *šôšānāh* (Hos 14:5; Sir 39:14; 50:8; see Post 1883: 766; Moldenke 1952: 117; see also Flowers and Decorative Plants above); it is translated "lily" by the RSV. This plant grows along waterways and marshes. The beardless water iris is a perennial with large, stout, fibrous roots. The sword-shaped leaves grow to 5 feet; flower stalks rise to 7 feet with yellow flowers.

LOTUS: see WATERLILY.

PAPYRUS *(Cyperus papyrus)* is the Heb *gōme'* (Exod 2:3f.; Isa 18:2; 35:7; Job 8:11; see Post 1883: 830; Loew 1928, I: 559; Moldenke 1952: 92; Zohary 1982: 137). RSV sometimes translates this "papyrus," other times as "bullrushes." Our word "paper" has its origin from the word *papyrus.* In ancient Egypt, the papyrus represented the symbol of Lower Egypt, while the lotus represented Upper Egypt—knotted together the 2 formed the sign of the union under one sceptre. Because the merchants of the Phoenician port of Byblos supplied the Greeks with Egyptian papyrus, which was used as paper, the word "Bible" was derived from that port city. The plant grew in Lake Huleh and in Egyptian swamps. While almost extinct in Egypt, it still grows in the Sudan and Uganda. Papyrus is a perennial with each stem to 10 feet, and umbels of thread-like leaves. The stalks were used to fashion paper, boats, sandals, ropes, wrapping paper, bridges, mats, lamp wicks, sieves, chairs, pillows, boat caulking, baskets, boxes, sails, cloth, and paintbrushes (from frayed stalk ends). The root served as fuel and for carved utensils; the rootstock was chewed for the sweet juice resembling licorice, or it was boiled or baked. The umbels were woven into garlands, and umbel impressions were used on handles of mirrors and other household furnishings. The *Ebers Medical Papyrus* prescribed papyrus in 8 or 9 recipes.

REED, COMMON *(Phragmites communis)* may be the Heb *qāneh* or *'agmôn* (1 Kgs 14:15; Isa 9:14; 58:5; Matt 27:29; see Post 1883: 875; Moldenke 1952: 285; Zohary 1982: 134; see also Sugar Cane; Sweet Flag; Lemon Grass; Giant Grass). It is a bamboo-like, creeping cane growing up to 10 inches high; the woody-jointed stems are hollow. The brownish tassels develop in late summer. The canes served such varied uses as Egyptian sarcophagi, containers for lipsticks and eye shadows (mascara), pens, measuring rods, mats, flutes, walking canes, sandals, thatch, and fuel. The seed was ground into flour. The plant may have provided the motif for Egyptian columns.

RUSH *(Juncus effusus)* is a candidate for the Heb *'oḥu* (Gen 41:2; Job 8:11; see Post 1883: 810; Loew 1928, I: 572; Moldenke 1952: 120; see also Flowering Rush below). The RSV prefers the translation "reed." This is a tufted perennial up to 4 feet in height, bearing soft, pithy, rounded, yellowish-green stems and sheathed with grass-like leaves. The small flowers are greenish or brownish. The stalks were used for fodder, mats, and chair bottoms. Marsh tribes still erect villages on artificial islands built up on reeds and mud, which are the oldest architectural styles in history. The pith was used as wicks for oil lamps.

RUSH, FLOWERING *(Butomus umbellatus)* is a candidate for the Heb *'oḥu* which grows in the Nile as well as in Israel (Gen 41:2; Job 8:11; see Post 1883: 821; Loew 1928, I: 572; Moldenke 1952: 62; see also Rush above); it sometimes grows together with papyrus. RSV prefers the translation "reed." The Heb term comes from an Egyptian word. This is a tall, showy reed plant with rose-colored flowers on terminal umbels. It spreads rapidly along streams and in bogs. The entire plant was used as fodder.

WATERLILY *(Nymphaea caerulea)* and LOTUS *(Nymphaea lotus)* may have been the Heb *šôšān* (1 Kgs 7:19ff.; 2 Chr

4:5; see Post 1883: 48; Loew 1928, II: 280; Moldenke 1952: 154; see also Flowers and Decorative Plants above, also Iris, Yellow Flag). They were depicted on the capitals and decorations in Solomon's temple, and were also known in ancient Egypt. The *N. caerulea* is an aquatic plant that grows well in semi-still water and produces spectacular blue flowers. Medicinally the flowers were used as a headache remedy, while the rhizomes and leaves were prescribed as an enema and liver treatment.

FIBERS

COTTON *(Gossypium herbaceum)* is the Heb *karpas* (Esth 1:5, 6; Loew 1928, II: 235; Dalman 1932, II: 299; Moldenke 1952: 109; Zohary 1982: 79). It was cultivated very early in the Indus valley and Mesopotamia. Cotton is an annual growing up to 8 feet with deeply lobed leaves and yellow or pink flowers. Its fruit is a capsule surrounded by 3 or 4 heart-shaped bracts; these contain several seeds densely covered with long, white, fluffy hairs. The seed produced fiber for thread, cloth, mummy wrappings, lamp wicks, stuffing, and carpets. The seeds were also pressed for cooking oil and fodder, the stalks were used as a fuel and the hulls for fodder; the flower petals were a source of yellow and brown dye. Medicinally, it was used as a surgical dressing.

FLAX (LINEN) *(Linum usitatissimum)* is the Heb *pištān* (Gen 41:41; Exod 25:4; Lev 6:10; Deut 22:11; 1 Sam 2:18; Isa 42:3; Matt 27:59; Mark 15:46; John 19:40; Rev 18:12; see Post 1883: 181; Loew 1928, II: 208; Dalman 1932, II: 298; Moldenke 1952: 129; Zohary 1982: 78); it is one of the world's oldest textiles, grown extensively in Egypt. It was mentioned in the Gezer Calendar. Seeds have been found at Tell el-Areini in the EB Stratum IV (Borowski 1987: 98). The plant grows to a height of 3 feet, has small narrow leaves and blue flowers with five petals. The fruit is a capsule containing several oleiferous seeds. When flax is grown for fiber, the seeds are sown close together so that stems grow straight, with as few branches as possible. Linen fibers are prepared by retting and scrutching the stems; the stems are soaked in water to separate the tough fibers and soft tissue. After combing, the fibers are spun. The stalks were used for fiber, sails, cloth (Israelite priests wore linen garments), curtains, wicks for lamps, mummy wrappings, cartonnage (linen and papyrus) used for mummy masks, and thread. The seed produced linseed oil, an edible oil when cold-pressed. Medicinally, the seed were prescribed as a demulcent, emollient, and laxative; it was also used as a remedy for burns.

DYE

HENNA *(Lawsonia inermis)* is the Heb *kōper* (Cant 1:14; 4:13; see Post 1883: 320; Loew 1928, II: 218; Dalman 1932, II: 301; Moldenke 1952: 124). It has been discovered in Tutenkhamen's tomb. Henna dye is considered to have religious, utilitarian, mystical, and seductive powers. This shrub reaches a height of 25 feet. The leaves are elliptical, greyish-green. The flowers are white and fragrant, and the fruit is a capsule. The leaves and twigs produce a bright yellow, orange, or red dye used on hair, palms of hands, soles of feet, nails, mummy wrappings, horse tails, and fabrics. The flowers provided an astringent and stimulant.

SAFFLOWER *(Carthamus tinctorius)*, also known as "Bastard Saffron" or "False Saffron," is one possibility for the Heb *karkôm* (Cant 4:14; see Post 1883: 320; Loew 1928, I: 394; Dalman 1932: 300; Moldenke 1952: 87; see also Saffron). It has been used since 2000 B.C.E. in Egypt for dyeing grave-clothes of mummies red and yellow; its flowers also have been found as garlands on mummies. This is an annual plant which reaches a height of 4 feet, its branched, smooth stems becoming woody during the ripening period. The leaves are mostly oblong-lanceolate. The orange-yellow flowers with leafy bracts are followed by oblong fruits. Aside from the dye, the young shoots were used as food; the seed produced a cooking oil; and the stem was used by the Egyptians for spindles.

SAFFRON *(Crocus sativus)* is a candidate for the Heb *karkôm* (Cant 4:14; see Post 1883: 770; Loew 1928, II: 7; Dalman 1932: 301; Moldenke 1952: 87; Zohary 1982: 206; see also Safflower). A yellow dye is obtained from the stigmas of this crocus. An Egyptian papyrus dated as early as 2000 B.C.E. mentions this plant. It is the world's most expensive spice because it requires the stigmas of 4,300 flowers for 1 ounce of saffron. It is a bulbous plant which blooms in fall; the grassy leaves appear at the same time as the stemless lilac or purple flower. The stigma produced a dye, flavoring, and incense. Many Jews in the Middle Ages were spice merchants; they were called "saffron merchants," and over the ages the yellow color of the spice has been used to mock Jews (cf. the yellow "Star of David" that the Nazis required Jews to wear). Medicinally, the plant was used to prepare tinctures, gastric and intestinal remedies, and a carminative.

WEEDS, BRIER, THORNS, BRAMBLES, NOXIOUS PLANTS

ACANTHUS, SYRIAN *(Acanthus syriacus)* is used in a description of the table on which the Showbreads were displayed (*Letter of Aristeas* 70; see Post 1883: 606; Loew 1928, I: 45; Moldenke 1952: 26; Zohary 1982: 165). This thorny plant produces long spikes and large flowers with spines.

BRAMBLE *(Rubus sanguineus)* is the Heb *ṣinim* (Num 33:55; Prov 22:5; Luke 6:44; see Post 1883: 304; Loew 1928, III: 175; Zohary 1982: 157). RSV translates this simply as "thorns." This evergreen which grows to a height of 25 feet has dense prickly branches. It produces a small flower and edible black berries.

DOVE'S DUNG, STAR OF BETHLEHEM *(Ornithogalum umbellatum)* is the Heb *ḥiryôn* (2 Kgs 6:25; see Post 1883: 801; Loew 1928, I: 601; Moldenke 1952: 162). This plant grows profusely on the hills of Samaria, and the white flowers look like bird droppings. It is a small, bulbous plant with umbels of flowers. The bulbs are poisonous, unless roasted or boiled; then they may be ground into meal.

NETTLE *(Urtica dioica)* grows in abandoned places; it is probably the Heb *ḥarul*, which some botanists consider to refer to any shrub growing in the desert wastelands (Loew 1928, III: 478; Moldenke 1952: 237; Zohary 1982: 162). Because of its sting, the plant was used widely in metaphors (Isa 55:13; Job 30:7; Zeph 2:9). This is a perennial which grows to a height of 2 to 6 feet with dull-green leaves, armed with prickles; the flowers are also green. The

leaves of young plants were cooked as a vegetable. A beer and a green dye were also derived from this plant. The dried leaves were used as fodder.

NIGHTSHADE, GRAY *(Solanum incanum)* is the Heb *ḥedêq* (Mic 7:4, 5; Prov 15:19; see Post 1883: 566; Loew 1928, III: 376; Moldenke 1952: 221; Zohary 1982: 164). The RSV prefers the translation "briar" or "thorn." The Hebrew term is akin to the Arabic word for this plant. This multibranched bush is limited to the lower Jordan and Dead Sea areas. It is spiny and gray, its flowers are lilac, and its berries are yellow.

POISON HEMLOCK *(Conium maculatum)* or "wormwood" may be the Heb *rôš* (Deut 32:32; Lam 3:19, 20; Matt 27:33, 34; see Post 1883: 335; Loew 1928, III: 440; Zohary 1982: 186), which is given various translations in the RSV. The Gk name *conium* means "stimulating dizziness". This is an annual or perennial herb found in waste places. The hollow stems are marked with reddish spots. The leaves are pinnately decompound, the leaflets are feathery, and the white flowers grow in umbels. When bruised, the fresh plant has a disagreeable, mousy odor. The leaves and seeds were used as a painkiller. In classical times, a drink prepared from this plant was a standard method for the execution of criminals; Socrates was among those required to drink it.

TARES, DARNEL *(Lolium temulentum)* is the Gk *zizania* (cf. Matt 13:24, 25; see Post 1883: 896; Loew 1928, I: 723; Moldenke 1952: 133; Zohary 1982: 161). It is a troublesome weed since it is very similar to wheat and can only be easily identified when ripe; if harvested and ground together the flour is spoiled. The plant also is host to a poisonous fungus. This annual grass-like weed, which grows to a height of 4 feet, is still widespread in the Near East.

THISTLE *(Scolymus hispanicus, maculatus)* is the Heb *ḥôâḥ* (Isa 34:13; Cant 2:1, 2; Job 31:39, 40; see Post 1883: 474; Moldenke 1952: 153; Zohary 1982: 160). It is a noxious weed which crowds out other plants. This tall annual with its spiny branches produces a bright yellow flower.

THISTLE, GLOBE THYSTLE *(Echinops viscosus)*, SYRIAN THISTLE *(Notobasis syriaca)*, HOLY THISTLE *(Silybum marianum)*, SPANISH THISTLE *(Centaurea iberica)* are all candidates for the Heb *barkānîm* (Judg 8:7f.) and *dārdar* (Gen 3:17, 18; Hosea 10:8; Matt 7:15, 16; see Post 1883: 445, 448, 456, 458; Loew 1928, I: 405, 406, 412; Moldenke 1952: 153, 171; Zohary 1982: 158, 159). These plants grow among shrubs and are common in Samaria and parts of Israel. They are perennials with stout, spiny stems and globular, spiny flowers of various colors.

ZILLA, SPINY *(Zilla spinosa)* may be the Heb *silôn* (Ezek 28:24; see Zohary 1982: 166), which the RSV translates as "briar." This is a spiny desert perennial which grows to a height of 3 feet. It produces a large pink flower. The mature plants tumble through the desert.

A number of plants not mentioned in the Bible and in addition to those listed above have been discovered at archaeological sites. This number will grow as more careful studies are undertaken. Among the plants are bitter vetch *(Vicia ervilia)* and fenugreek *(Trigonela graecum)*, as well as the following weeds: *Galium tricorne, Cephalaria syriaca,* and *Echium judaeum* (Borowski 1987: 95, 97, 162).

C. Plants with Biblical Names

The practice of naming plants after biblical subjects began early as a pious way of remembering Scripture in daily life. It is manifested in the writings of some Church Fathers, in the Talmud, and in the art of Church and Synagogue from the 3d century onward. This may be seen in the Dura Europos synagogue and others, as well as in the mosaics of the great churchs in Ravenna which depict NT settings with Italian plants. Most medieval and later Christian art used either local (mostly European) flora known to the artist or composite flora (drawn largely from one's imaginative speculation about biblical flora).

Many medieval monasteries had small gardens, where medicinal plants were often grown. However, some attempts to replicate biblical plants were made. Because the monks possessed no first-hand knowledge of biblical flora, they identified local plants which seemed appropriate or resembled some biblical person, object, or motif, and linked it explicitly with the Bible by name. Such identifications have often remained and become part of plant lore. The love of Scripture shared by subsequent generations led to similar identifications by laymen. Usually the source of these links is difficult or impossible to trace with any degree of accuracy. In modern times some hybridizers have continued to provide such designations for plants, continuing this old tradition. A partial list is provided here so that this love for Scripture will not be confused with actual biblical flora.

Aaron's beard	*Hypericum calycinum*	*Hyperiacaceae*
Adam and Eve	*Arum Maculatum*	*Araceae*
Adam's needle	*Yucca gloriosa*	*Agavacea*
Burning bush	*Euonymous compacta*	*Celastraceae*
Gilead, balm of	*Populus candicans*	*Salicaceae*
Jacob's rod	*Asphodeline lutea*	*Liliaceae*
Jericho, rose of	*Anastatica-hierochumtica*	*Crucifera*
Jericho, rose of	*Selaginella lepidophylla*	*Selaginellaceae*
Jerusalem thorn	*Parkinsonia aculeata*	*Leguminosae Maloide*
Joseph's coat	*Amaranthus tricolor*	*Amaranthaceae*
Joseph's coat	*Opuntia vulgaris*	*Cactaceae variegata*
Joshua tree	*Yucca brevifolia*	*Agavaceae*
Moses in the bulrushes	*Tradescantia*	*Commelinaceae*
Nile, lily of	*Agapanthus umbellatus*	*Liliaceae*
Sharon, rose of	*Hibiscus syriacus*	*Malvaceae*
Sodom, apple of	*Solanum carolinense*	*Solanaceae*

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IRENE JACOB
WALTER JACOB

FLORILEGIUM (4QFlor). This set of 27 fragments from Qumran Cave 4 was discovered in 1952 and purchased for the Palestine Archaeology (Rockefeller) Museum. Preliminary editions of the fragments were published by J. M. Allegro (1956: 176–77; 1958: 350–54) before they were fully presented by him labeled as 4Q*174* in DJD 5 (1968: 53–57, pls. xix–xx); that edition of the fragments was thoroughly reviewed by J. Strugnell (1970: 220–25), and by G. J. Brooke (1985: 80–278), and is being researched by A. Steudel of Göttingen University.

The fragments of 4QFlor belong to the 1st century C.E. 4QFlor contained at least 5 columns of 19 lines each. Because the fragments include extracts from various biblical books, notably 2 Samuel, Psalms, and Deuteronomy, Allegro entitled them *Florilegium* (anthology). More properly, the whole document or part of it may be generically categorized as Qumran midrash: the quotation and interpretation of the Psalms together are labeled *midrāš* (1:14), and each section of the interpretation of the Psalms is introduced with technical formulae including the word *pēšer;* this enables 4QFlor to be distinguished categorically from the later rabbinic midrashim.

The whole work is constructed in a very organized manner. In the interpretation of the base texts (2 Sam 7:10–14; Pss 1:1; 2:1; and Deut 33:8–11, 12[?], 19–21) supplementary texts are included with formulaic introductions (Exod 15:17 and Amos 9:11 for 2 Samuel 7; Isa 8:11 and Ezek 37:23 for Psalm 1; Dan 12:10 for Psalm 2). These supplementary texts are linked through catchword *(gĕzērâ šāwâ)* to the base text and sometimes to each other. The text-type of these quotations differs slightly from the MT and from all known versions. The citation of Amos 9:11 almost certainly corresponds to the *Vorläge* of the same text as quoted in Acts 15:16; some minor variants in 4QFlor, such as the ambiguous spelling of *swkt* (Amos 9:11 in 1:12) and the abbreviation of 2 Sam 7:11–14 (1:10–11), may have been introduced for exegetical purposes. There are also allusions to other biblical texts.

Among the Qumran scrolls 4QFlor has some affinity with 4QCatena^a, which contains interpretation of Psalms, especially on the basis of their opening verses, and with 11QMelch, which includes the exegetical use of Isa 8:11 (11QMelch 25). 4QFlor also shares much with CD: both speak of "the Interpreter of the Law" (CD 6:7; 7:18); both use Amos 9:11 (cf. CD 7:16) and Isa 8:11 (cf. CD 8:16 = 19:29); both speak of "the sons of Zadok" and identify them with the chosen ones of Israel; together with some of the pesharim both use the phrase "the latter days." Like 4QFlor frags. 6–7, 4QTest 14–20 cites Deut 33:8–11. The subject of the nature of the Temple means that comparison with 11QTemple especially 29:7–10, is significant.

The interpretation of 2 Samuel 7 underlines the difference between the historical Temple(s) of Israel and that of the future. The exclusive purity of the eschatological Temple (alluding to Deut 23:3–4) is stressed. In addition to the physical Temple, either of the Solomonic or postexilic period (or both), 4QFlor speaks of a sanctuary promised by God, a *miqdāš ʾādām.* Some scholars argue that this refers to a "man-made sanctuary," probably that of Solomon (Schwartz 1979: 88), but most understand it as "a sanctuary of men," and argue that it is a substitute for the eschatological building. But nowhere does 4QFlor deny the hope for the final physical Temple building which God himself will provide, so the "sanctuary of men" is better understood as its anticipation (Brooke 1985: 178–93): a present temporary substitute for the priesthood of the Temple in Jerusalem or some aspect of their practice (Dimant 1986: 184–89).

In this respect, 4QFlor differs from the complete spiritualization of the eschatological Temple mentioned in the NT (e.g., 1 Pet 2:4–8). Yet 4QFlor has similarities with other NT passages. The combination of 2 Samuel 7 and Psalm 2 occurs in Heb 1:5 and may lie behind Acts 13:33–37; in both places the texts are used christologically. 2 Samuel 7, Ezekiel 37, and the figure of Belial occur in both 4QFlor and 2 Cor 6:14–7:1.

Two eschatological figures are mentioned in 4QFlor: the shoot of David and the Interpreter of the Law. The former is universally recognized as the Davidic messiah (cf. 4QpIsa^a frags. 8–10, line 17; 4QPBless), the latter is widely held to be the priestly messiah of Aaron, though the identification is not confirmed directly in any other place. With its use of 2 Samuel 7, Exodus 15, and Psalm 2, and its explicit Davidic messianism, 4QFlor asserts forcefully that God is king, will rule through his messiah, and receive obeisance through his own divinely ordained cult in which the community responsible for the text no doubt hoped to have a part as priests (Dan 12:10; 4QFlor 2:1–5).

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GEORGE J. BROOKE

FLUTE. See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

FLY/FLIES. See ZOOLOGY.

FOLKLORE IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST.

This article will examine how the concept of "folklore" has been applied to the literature of the ANE.

A. Terminology
B. Comparative Method
1. Comparison with Ancient Cultures
2. Comparison with Postbiblical Literatures
3. Comparison with Islamic Cultures in the Near East
4. Cross-cultural Comparison
5. Comparison of Forms
6. Morphological Studies
7. Poetic Comparison
C. Ethnographic Method
1. Themes and Figures
2. Genres
3. Transmission of Tradition
D. Folklore and the Biblical Text

A. Terminology

Coined in 1846 by William John Thoms (1803–85) who proposed "folklore" as a substitute for "Popular Antiquities or Popular Literature" (Thoms 1846: 862). In spite of his claim for originality (Duncan 1946: 372), folklore is a translation of the German term *Volkskunde* that Josef Mader (1754–1815) used already in 1787. As in other German compounds—such as *Volkslied* that Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) employed in 1778, and *Volksmärchen* that Johan Karl August Musaus (1735–87) introduced in 1782—at the core of *Volkskunde* is the concept *das Volk*, "the people," that derives from Herder's thought and writings (Simpson 1921; Schütze 1921: 115–30). *Volkskunde* connotes the traditions that peasants and lower classes represent in language, narratives, songs, and sayings. So does folklore. For Thoms folklore refers to "the manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs, of the olden times." In subsequent use the term has expanded its field of reference to include a broader range of verbal, visual, and musical forms, such as tales and legends; myths and riddles; artifacts, whether plain or decorated, religious or secular; and vocal and instrumental music. Similarly, festivals and rituals, the belief system that sanctions them, and the symbols that people use in their celebrations are elements of folklore.

In most current definitions of folklore 2 main features stand out: orality and traditionality (Bauman 1989; cf. Ben-Amos 1971). Consequently, oral tradition is the quintessence of folklore. As such, folklore thrives in nonliterate societies, whereas in literate cultures it functions through interdependence with and interreference to the literacy of the educated groups. While in nonliterate cultures, folklore is traditional ipso facto, the literate classes attribute to it the value of traditionality.

Whenever and by whomever edited, the OT text was prepared to fulfill the role of the central canon in the Israelite society. It embodies the religious and ethical values, beliefs and facts, tales and poems that validated the Israelite leadership. Some of the OT texts could have circulated orally prior to their commitment to writing. Yet that oral tradition contained some additional themes and narratives which conflicted with the canonic religious, political, and ethical doctrines and were therefore excluded from the OT.

Consequently the folklore of the era was relegated to a position of an extracanonic tradition. It was deliberately left out of the text in the transition from oral to literary tradition. Hence while not all folklore was in conflict with the OT text, all that conflicted with it remained only folklore. Occasionally, however, the oral ideas and images were an integral part of the Israelite culture and continued to resonate in the OT in metaphors, allusions, and fragmentary narratives.

The earliest scholarly association between folklore and the Bible occurred in print in 1884 in the title of the book *Bible Folk-Lore: A Study in Comparative Mythology* by James Edwin Thorold Rogers (1823–90). The book applies to the OT a kind of philological analysis that interprets figures and objects as representations of bodies in the solar system, and events as their motions, following the principles proposed by Max Müller (1823–1900). The book was inconsequential in either folklore or biblical studies, though similar interpretations that had been proposed earlier by Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921) were very influential in biblical studies at the end of the 19th century (Rogerson 1974: 33–44).

By and large, 4 conceptions of the relations between folklore and the OT have prevailed in scholarship.

First is the notion that folklore is the historical antecedent of the OT. Early suggestions of such an idea appeared already in theological writings during the 16th and the 17th centuries (Knight 1975: 39–54). However they reached their clearest formulation during and after the Romantic era, in particular at the later part of the 19th century. Paradoxically, Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918), who most systematically formulated the documentary hypothesis, also stated unambiguously that oral folklore existed before the writing of each of the 4 documents. For him oral folklore preceded literature and history, though it was historically unreliable, formulaic rather than precise, and artistically incohesive. Cognizant of these attributed limitations, indeed because of them, he rejected any possibility of their having any historical and aesthetic value, and appraised the documents in terms of their distance from this oral period. (*WPHI*, 296, 334–35, 336–37, 341).

Second, there is an assumption of evolutionary relations between the oral tradition and the written text. Accordingly, folklore does not simply antedate the biblical text, but also evolves into scripture. This process of literary evolution has distinct principles. Following the propositions made by Robert Lowth (1710–87) and further developed by Herder, the assumption was that poetic forms were primary and oral; in their evolution into a written text they transformed into prose narration and com-

manded historical credibility. In their oral stage, biblical narratives were episodic, brief, and primitive. Their evolution into biblical literature involved the integration of the tales into complex and cohesive narrative cycles, cast in a refined language. Nevertheless, some of the biblical texts still bear the earmarks of their oral literary origin. Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932) offered the basic formulation of this proposition that was later explored from diverse perspectives (Gunkel 1964, 1987; Knight 1975: 71–176; Rogerson 1978: 69–72; Warner 1979).

The attribution of primitivity to the OT plays a major role in the third view, reducing the OT to folklore, in practice if not in theory. The very comparison of OT themes, motifs, actions, and even laws, to similar narratives and practices found among our "contemporary savages," positions the OT society on the evolutionary stage of early man. Since the same evolutionary approach would regard the monotheism that the OT advocates as a mark of high cultural attainments, the magical practices and savage laws that are in the OT could be but survivals of earlier evolutionary stages. In this scheme it is not literature but mankind that evolves, yet he cannot completely shed beliefs and practices from earlier stages. These prevail and are found throughout the text. The most prominent expositor of this view is J. G. Frazer (1854–1941) who in his *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* (1918) equates folklore with cultural survivals, and interprets the OT itself as being folklore.

Fourth is the view that the OT, as a text that has been formulated in a society of restricted literacy (Haran 1988), contains numerous allusions to, and representations of, ideas and performances of folklore forms in social life. Accordingly, the OT has a documentary value for the reconstruction of the dynamics of folklore of land, the people, and the period. The OT in itself is not folklore, neither as a survival nor as a literary representation of oral forms. Rather it is a written text that has been subject to all the strictures and normative values applicable to writing, yet at the same time reflects the oral society and culture in which it has been formulated. Such a view maintains clear boundaries between orality and literacy, recognizing the qualities and the potentialities of each mode of communication. Yet the very permanence of written text enables it to document oral forms, and refer to their performances. On the basis of these references it is then possible to partially reconstruct the use of folklore in OT life and society. There is no single scholar who has advocated this view; however, it underlies numerous attempts to reconstruct life in the ANE, which respectively and in combinations effected the formulations of different theories and interpretations employed in either the comparative or the ethnographic methods.

B. Comparative Method

By analogy and through inference, comparison serves as a method for the reconstruction of folklore in the OT era (Talmon 1978). In each particular case the basic assumptions may vary, depending upon the compared language, literature, culture, or genre and their historic or geographic relations to the OT.

1. Comparison with Ancient Cultures. The archaeological discoveries in Nippur, Ras Shamra (Ugarit), and other cities have brought to light literary traditions that parallel themes, figures, and forms of the OT. Though obviously in one script or another, this literature in the languages of the ANE drew upon oral traditions that were widespread in the region. In part they shared them; in part they knew but did not accept them as their own. These parallel traditions are reflected in the OT to a variable degree, in different ways, and in distinct biblical books and literary forms.

Accounts of the creation of man (Gen 1:26–27) and the flood narrative (Gen 6:9–8:14), for example, occur in Akkadian and Old Babylonian epics and hymns (*ANET,* 68a, 99b–101a; Lambert and Millard 1969; see also Dundes 1988). The deities that have central roles in the pantheon and the epics of Ugarit, such as Baal and El (Pope 1955; Oldenburg 1969), have been known to the Israelites. While references to the former occur throughout the OT, the latter is rarely used as a proper name for a deity (*CMHE,* 13–75). Other Canaanite deities and supernatural forces such as Rahab, Yam, Tanin, Leviathan, and the mythical Serpent, all associated with the sea, are mentioned by Isaiah, Job, and in Psalms as forces that God subdued (Rahab: Isa 51:9; 89:11; Job 9:13; 26:12; Yam: Isa 51:10; Ps 74:13; 89:10; Job 7:12; Tanin(im): Gen 1:21; Isa 27:1; 51:9; Ps 74:13; 148:7; Job 7:12; Leviathan: Isa 27:1; Ps 74:14; 104:26; Job 3:8; 40:25; Serpent: Isa 27:1; Job 26:13). The comparative study of these references in Ugaritic epics and the OT text has prompted the suggestion that, by analogy, there could have also existed a Hebrew epic as part of the prebiblical oral tradition (Cassuto 1975: 2.69–109; *CMHE;* Jason 1979). However, so far there is no clear evidence for a text of a Hebrew oral epic, only indications that Canaanite epics and their themes and heroes were known in Israelite society (Conroy 1980; Talmon 1981).

The OT, however, shares other verbal forms with neighboring traditions. Narratives in prose about human beings occur in Egyptian literature (*ANET,* 18–31; Simpson 1972). One of them in particular, "The Tale of Two Brothers," shares central narrative episodes with the OT Joseph story (Redford 1970), and at the same time enjoys worldwide distribution in oral tradition (Aarne and Thompson 1961: type 318 "The Faithless Wife").

Proverbs and fables occur in Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Canaanite literatures (Alster 1974, 1975; Falkowitz 1980; Gordon 1959; Lambert 1960; Lipiński 1983; *ANET,* 405–30; Simpson 1972: 159–79). Since these forms serve as rhetorical devices of persuasion, as they do in the OT (Fontaine 1982; Thompson 1974), whether they appear in catalogue format or in a narrative context, they have been part of the oral tradition of the ANE.

2. Comparison with Postbiblical Literatures. The OT includes, in a succinct style, only a fraction of the tales told orally in ancient Israelite society. Many stories have been lost, while others were passed along to successive generations throughout oral transmission. These historic survivals of ancient traditions recurred in the apocrypha and the pseudepigrapha (*OTP*), in the writings of Josephus (Feldman 1984, 1986), and in the interpretations that accompanied the ritualistic reading of the scriptural text in the synagogues (Gerhardsson 1961; Mann 1940). Later rabbis compiled these biblical exegeses into books of midrash. Midrashic literature relates primarily to postbiblical

Jewish society. Most of its narratives, metaphors, proverbs, and fables—whether concerning biblical themes and figures (Ginzberg 1909–38) or not—have their particular literary history and thematic transformation, and are grounded in postbiblical religion, literature, languages, and society (Bloch 1954; *DBSup* 5: 1263–81; Heinemann 1974). Since by that time the religious and political conditions of the OT period no longer prevailed, postbiblical narrators were able to verbalize oral traditions that had been deliberately excluded from, or subdued in, the OT. A comparison between the midrashic literature and the OT narratives could uncover some of those traditions, and expose the dynamic folklore concerning (a) the formation of Israelite tradition, (b) the mythology of the ANE, (c) the historic-political narratives, and (d) sub-ethical themes in terms of OT standards.

The formation of the OT tradition has been a selective process, the goal of which has been the establishment of a literary covenant between God and the people of Israel. Consequently, internal conflicts, apparent inconsistencies, and evidence of syncretism have been subdued in the OT, although some have reappeared in the midrash. For example, the biblical narrative of the sacrifice of Isaac (Genesis 22) concludes with the substitution of a ram for the first-born child. In religious law (Exod 13:1,13,15; 34:20; Num 18:15) a similar substitution prevails, sanctified by the Passover narrative. However in midrashic tradition references to "the blood of Isaac's sacrifice" (*Mek. R. Ish.* 7.12) suggest the existence of an alternative tradition where no substitution occurred (Spiegel 1981: 51–59).

During the biblical period the Canaanites threatened the monotheistic belief that the writers of the OT espoused. Therefore any mention of mythological creatures or deities in the OT has been tendentiously negated or limited to vague metaphors or, at most, casual allusions. However, in the postbiblical period, when the Canaanite religion posed no threat to Judaism, narrators were freer to articulate earlier religious conceptions. For example the references to Leviathan occurs in the prophecy and poetry of the OT (Isa 27:1; Ps 74:14; 104:26; Job 40:25). It is a creature God defeats. In Canaanite myths, Leviathan serves the same role, being overcome by Baal and Anat (*UT* I:1–3; III:35–39; Oldenberg 1969: 33–34). However, the postbiblical literature includes descriptions of the full extent of his monstrosity, might, and wonder (Ginzberg 1909–38: 1.27–28;5.41–43), as it could have been known in the folklore of the OT period.

The historic-political narrative in the OT anachronistically supports the centrality of the Davidistic dynasty, describing its rise and fall. Yet within a society consisting of several tribes vying for a dominant position, there are likely to be rival traditions concerning ruling families. In spite of editorial attempts, some narrative incongruity has survived in the text. For example, Samuel's nativity legend is replete with nouns and verbs that could have generated Saul's rather than Samuel's name (I Sam 1:17, 20, 27, 28). The word play on Saul's name is indicative that originally the birth story related to the king rather than the prophet. However, only in a late midrash, the confusion comes full circle, when Samuel is described in terms commonly reserved for Saul. The written text thus ensures the supremacy of Samuel, but oral tales—clues to its existence appear in both the biblical text and the midrash—suggest a tradition upholding Saul as the judge-king (Seeligmann 1952: 199–200; cf. Zakovitch 1980).

The ethical standards of the OT writers guided them to exclude bawdy tales. The narration of sexual matters, whenever it occurs, concerns more with political history than with sex. For example, the account of the rape of Tamar (2 Samuel 13) traces the rift between David and Absalom back to its very beginning. However, midrashic literature has been more lax in its ethical standards and more freely records popular narratives, even those that were likely told in the OT period. For example the story of Jael and Sisera appears twice: first as an historical account in prose (Judg 4:14–23), and second in a poetic rendition that alludes to the former version (Judg 5:24–30). However, the poetry hints at more than the prose version narrates, emphasizing by repetition that Sisera fell and laid between Jael's legs (Judg 5:27). Midrashic literature expounds in full the popular sexual imagination to which the OT only suggests but censors (Ginzberg 1909–38: 4.37–38; 6.198; Zakovitch 1981b).

3. Comparison with Islamic Cultures in the Near East. Comparisons between the OT and the Islamic societies in the Near East and their folklores have taken 3 directions: (a) The use of oral tradition in nomadic society as a model for its use in OT times. (b) The conception of current Islamic culture and folklore as a survival from antiquity that reflects OT customs, rites, and beliefs. (c) The search for historical survivals of OT folklore in current Islamic culture.

The documentary hypothesis that has dominated biblical research for so many years, introduced into scholarship not only workable paradigms but also complicating paradoxes. According to this hypothesis the formation of the OT took place in postexilic times on the basis of written sources that were prepared in the preexilic period. But such documentation assumed extensive literacy which was not part of the ancient Israelite society. In an attempt to resolve such a paradox Sigmund Mowinckel, and more emphatically Henrik Nyberg proposed that the OT was transmitted orally rather than through literate means; the OT itself is thus regarded as part of the oral tradition of Israelite society and therefore part of its folklore. They based their oral tradition hypothesis on the orality of pre-Islamic and nomadic societies in the Near East. They focused in particular on the prophets, whose texts were created orally while in ecstasy and passed along to successive generations by means of oral transmission.

The debate that ensued (Knight 1975: 215–399) was concerned, among other things, with the validity of the model, rather than its application. That is to say, the exclusiveness of oral transmission in Islamic and pre-Islamic societies is brought into question and, by implication, the oral nature of OT society (van der Ploeg 1947; Widengren 1948, 1959). These are issues with no clear resolution. First, the documentary and the oral traditional hypotheses have respectively drawn their evidence from different sources: the Pentateuch, the poetry of the Psalms, and the prophets. Second, in the broad cultural range of the Near East and East Africa, it is possible to find models for either propositions. In Somali, for example, poets compose orally, and their admirers commit their

verses to memory for future recitation (Andrzejewski 1964: 44–46), a model that would support the hypothesis of oral tradition. On the other hand, the existence of literacy in a society, restricted as it might be, effects tradition, literature, and education dramatically (Street 1984).

The use of Islamic cultures in the Near East and Arabia as a model for ancient Israelite society began systematically in the 18th century, with an expedition planned by Johann David Michaelis (Rogerson 1974: 3–5; Hansen 1965). While verbal folklore was not the focus of this research, the expedition set to explore, in addition to the fauna and flora of the region, the customs, rituals, and religious practices of the inhabitants. Theoretically Michaelis' approach set the foundation for the reconstruction and interpretation of the culture and folklore of the ancient Israelites on the basis of the assumed conservatism of desert societies, a trend that expanded in subsequent years (Smith 1889; *AncIsr*).

While Islamic society of recent centuries, with all its assumed conservatism, does not necessarily reflect ancient Israelite culture, the Arabs of Palestine have preserved in their folklore elements that have survived transmission through oral tradition during the long history since antiquity. In particular, the geographical features of the land, be they mountains, springs or hills, have served as stable pegs upon which place names and local legends have been attached and preserved (Canaan 1927).

4. Cross-cultural Comparison. The rationalism of the enlightenment is the basis of the cross-cultural comparison of the OT. Such a method abrogates the OT from its position as the singular manifestation of monotheistic religious belief, turning it into a text comparable with narratives that are found in the stories of polytheistic religions the world over. Studies such as those of Bauer (1802) involved theological, philosophical, and historical considerations, comparing OT narratives to Greek and Roman, and even Indian and Persian myths (see Hartlich and Sachs 1952: 79–87; Rogerson 1974: 8–9). In later works there was a shift from philological to cultural evolutionary frameworks, and from comparisons with classical, Indian, Islamic, and ancient Semitic mythologies to comparisons with the religions of peoples scholars deemed primitive. In the transition, comparisons based on names and language shifted into comparisons of thoughts and action. Employing the method of comparative mythology as formulated by Max Müller, Goldziher (1877), and Rogers (1884) derived from the names of biblical figures solar, stellar, and climatic meanings, for which they found corroboratory comparisons (Rogerson 1974: 33–44; Yassif 1987: 4–5). The philological cross-cultural comparisons offer an allegorical interpretation of heroes and events, the significance of which resides in cognate words and names in related or unrelated languages. Allegedly, the method exposes meanings that were lost in time through linguistic change, diffusion, and misinterpretation.

The purpose of the cultural evolutionary comparison, on the other hand, is the identification of savage survivals in the OT. In *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* (1918), J. G. Frazer, the champion of this method, compares biblical themes such as the creation of man (Gen 1:26–28; 2:7), the mark of Cain (Gen 4:15), and the flood (Gen 6–8) with similar stories found not only in the Near East and the Classical world, but more significantly among "primitive" tribes in South and North America, Africa, and Asia (see also Gaster 1969). For him, the existence of parallel narratives is a demonstration that the OT teemed with survivals from an earlier stage of the intellectual evolution of man. Frazer conceived of this evolution in 3 stages: magic, religion, and science. As the creation of an individual great mind, the OT represents the religious state of man, but the occurrence of numerous customs, tales, and superstitions that are characteristic of magical thought, as represented by tribal folklore, demonstrates that in large measure the OT itself is a survival of thoughts conceived by the savage mind (see Ackerman 1987: 180–96, 271–77; Rogerson 1978: 46–85; Yassif 1987: 10–11).

5. Comparison of Forms. The comparative study of narrative forms, known as form-criticism, is a method designed to infer from the OT text its antecedent oral tradition, and to examine the place of its respective forms in the communal life of ancient Israelite society. Since the OT offers neither complete oral narrative texts, nor sufficiently detailed descriptions of their oral use, any necessary conclusions must be reached by analogy to themes and forms that are available in other oral cultures. The method hence rests, first, upon the assumption of the universality of oral literary forms and their use, and second, the universality of the principles that govern the transition from oral to written literatures. The major proponent of this method was Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932). He sought to identify the oral forms that preceded the OT through analogy with the narrative genres of European, particularly German, folklore such as myth, legend (*Sage* and *legende*), and folktale *(Märchen)*. Myth is a story about deities; the legend is assumed to have historical validity; and the folklore, in contrast, is fictive (Bascom 1965). Gunkel's conception of the narrative context was similarly influenced by the available image of storytelling among European peasants: "In the leisure of a winter evening the family sits about the hearth; the grown people, but more especially the children, listen intently to the beautiful old stories of the dawn of the world, which they have heard so often yet never tire of hearing repeated" (Gunkel 1964: 41). Later Gunkel proposed to conceive of these genres as forms of primitive literature, detectable in the OT with the aid of the epic laws formulated by Axel Olrik (1909).

Accordingly, among the features that distinguish oral narratives are opening and closing formulas, triple repetition of episodes, and the occurrence of only 2 characters in a scene. These as well as the length of the narrative served for Gunkel as a measure for recovering the oral strata in the OT text (Knight 1975: 71–83; Rogerson 1974: 57–65; 1978: 69–72; Warner 1979; Wilcoxen 1974). The inference through comparison of forms, problematic as it is, has been a potent method in the exploration of folklore in the OT, mostly revolving around the traditions of the Pentateuch and the Hexateuch (Hayes 1974). Following Alt (1929), von Rad (1938, 1957) and Noth (1948) consider these traditions to evolve not around family entertainment, but within differentiable cultic circles, either as narratives or ritual recitations. A basic problem, yet unresolved, is the logical possibility of projecting, a posteriori, literary formal concepts that evolved in Europe after the Enlightenment, such as myth (Detienne 1986; Feldman and Rich-

ardson 1972; Hartlich and Sachs 1952), legend [*Sage*](Gerndt 1988), and folktale [*Märchen*](Fink 1966; Anthony 1981) into the world of the ANE (cf. Ben-Amos 1976).

6. Morphological Studies. The morphological method shares a goal with form criticism, namely, the discovery of the types of oral literature that preceded the OT text. However, it differs from it in one fundamental assumption. While form criticism accepts the narrative types as given, the morphological method regards their formal description as a primary analytical goal, the attainment of which is essential before the inception of any other study, either historical or cultural. The morphological study of the folktale emerged within the theoretical paradigm of Russian formalism (Erlich 1965; Steiner 1984). Following some preliminary exploratory essays (Nikiforov 1975), V. Propp (1895–1971) formulated the methodological concepts and procedure for the morphological description of the folktale. Initially his aim was to discover the historical roots of the folktale, but upon embarking upon his project he became aware of the absence of an adequate morphological definition of the folktale. He proposed to describe the folktale as a whole, and thus he considered it as "any [narrative] development proceeding from villainy or a lack, through intermediary functions to marriage" (1968: 92). For descriptive purposes, Propp discerned in the tale distinct analytical units—he termed them "functions"—which are actions predicated upon a specific narrative role that follow each other in a specific sequential order. Repeatable functions that are logically or narratively connected constitute a move. Among the tale's dramatis personae Propp distinguished 7 roles: hero, false hero, villain, dispatcher, donor, helper, and princess.

Propp analyzed morphologically only Russian tales. The application of his method and model to biblical tradition is significant because of 2 reasons. First it demonstrates the occurrence of the folktale morphology already in antiquity; second, the comparative dimension of this approach evidences that other cultures have the same form in their oral traditions. In the OT only David's early biography could be reconstructed to fit the morphological model to the folktale. If David is the hero, Jesse is the dispatcher (1 Sam 17:17–19), Samuel is the donor (1 Sam 17:11–13), Goliath is the villain (1 Sam 17:23), and Michal is the princess whom the hero marries (1 Sam 18:17–23). The sequence of functions approximates Propp's morphology, spanning the entire range of the model up to the hero's difficult task and its resolution before the marriage (1 Sam 18:25–27) (Jason 1979: 42–43). Other tales fit only a specific sequence of functions such as Jacob's struggle with the angel (Gen 32:23–33) (Barthes 1974; Couffignal 1975; Durand 1977; Greenwood 1985: 41–61; Milne 1988: 125–41); Jacob's biography in Gen 25:19–50:14 (Blenkinsopp 1981), Ruth (Sasson 1979: 200–15); Daniel 1–6 (Milne 1988: 199–262), and the book of Tobit (Blenkinsopp 1981).

Propp's *Morphology* offers not only a formal model for the folktale but also a methodology. Applying the latter and not the former, it has been possible to discern in the OT narrative themes that bear similarity in their formal exposition such as stories of deception (Gen 12:10–20; 20:1–18; 26:1–17), deceptive murders (Judg 3:12–31; 4:17–24); romantic encounters at the well (Gen 24:10–14; 29:1–14; Exod 2:15–21) and tales of miraculous curing (i.e., 1 Kings 17–24; 2 Kgs 4:18–37). The patterned exposition of such themes, which is the earmark of oral narratives, strongly suggests that these narratives circulated orally in ancient Israelite society before they were committed to writing (Culley 1974; 1976: 33–115; Niditch 1987: 23–125; Rofé 1988).

7. Poetic Comparison. As a method, comparative poetics could reveal, by analogy, the features of oral literature that the OT text retained. The occurrence in the OT of poetic features that commonly appear in texts that have been recorded from oral singers and narrators is indicative of these texts being rooted in oral performance, or at least its impact upon their literary rendition. In other comparisons with Near Eastern cultures (i.e., van der Ploeg 1947; Widengren 1959; see also Ong 1982; Goody 1986, 1987), oral tradition is conceived as an ideal and abstract concept. Comparative poetics, on the other hand, draws an analogy between the OT and oral poetry on the basis of recording and analysis of performance-generated texts. In such a comparison 2 features that have become distinctive of oral poetry stand out: (a) formula and (b) parallelism. These 2 poetic features are a function of oral performance and therefore their occurrence in the OT is indicative of the residue in, or the impact on, the OT of poetry that was performed orally in ancient Israelite society in a variety of religious and political contexts.

Originally defined as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express essential ideas" (Parry 1930: 80) the formula has been regarded to be instrumental in the oral composition of poetry. M. Parry (1930) and A. Lord (1960) isolated such formulas in the texts of oral singers in the Balkan, and since they identified similar verbal patterns in the Homeric epics they inferred that Homer was an oral poet. This conclusion stimulated worldwide research (Foley 1985, 1988), confirming the use of formulas by oral poets, and more controversially, reconstructing the oral base of ancient and medieval epics. In a somewhat modified and expanded definition, R. Culley (1967) has applied the concept to the OT, identifying such phrases as "incline your ear to me" (Ps 31:3; 71:2; 102:3) or "hide me in the shadow of your wings" (Ps 17:8; cf. Ps 36:8; 57:2; 63:8) and many others as formulas (Culley 1967: 32–101), and inferring therefore the origins of the Psalms, and other OT parts in which formulas occur, in oral composition (Watters 1976: 2–19).

Word pairs such as "ground/dust" and "ever/all generations" and many others have been recognized as particular formulaic parallelism that the OT shares with Canaanite myths (Avishur 1984; Cassuto 1975: 60–69; Watters 1976: 20–38). The recognition of parallelism as a characteristic of OT poetry is one of the points that marked the inception of modern research in the 18th century (Lowth 1753; Watters 1976: 92–95), and has continued to exert its influence on scholarship (Dahood *Psalms 3* AB, 101–50; Kugel 1981). Modern field research among partial or nonliterate societies increasingly demonstrates that parallelism is a characteristic of oral poetry (Fox 1977, 1988).

Neither formula nor parallelism are the exclusive features of oral poetry; they do occur in written poetry as

well (Finnegan 1977; Jakobson 1966; Watters 1976). However their position in oral poetry and ancient recitations of myths that antedate writing indicates that even when they appear in written texts they resonate the oral voice in poetry.

C. Ethnographic Method

The ethnographic method is descriptive. Its purpose is a reconstruction of the process of folklore communication in OT society. Toward this goal, folklore is conceived not as an aggregate of verbal forms but as an artistic process of communication that is performed in oral culture, in face-to-face situations, in a society that shares language, themes, symbols, and cultural meanings (Bauman 1977; Bauman and Sherzer 1974; Ben-Amos 1971; Briggs 1988). In order to achieve a descriptive adequacy the ethnographic meaning refrains from comparative analysis with other cultures; while comparisons have illuminated various aspects of folklore, at the same time they introduce into the description either a different cultural system that is not necessarily congruent with the OT society, or a theoretical model that could constrain the description. So far the ethnographic method of folklore cannot claim to be part of a single school in OT research; Gandz (1935) and Eissfeldt (1965: 9–127) have made important contributions in this area, yet both were still historically associated with comparative methodology. At the same time the entire spectrum of OT research provides a foundation for this method. Other directions in OT research purport to reconstruct either the social life and structure or the social and political history of OT society, or to explore the history of Israelite language, literature and religion; by contrast, the method of historical ethnography in folklore aims at reconstructing the themes and forms of folklore, their social conception and function, their uses and users as they manifest themselves in the OT. The OT is admittedly a limited and tendentious text, documenting folklore only partially and doing that from the perspectives of its writers and editors who focused on the central institutions of authority, royalty, priesthood, and law. This limitation is an inherent part of the documentary value of the OT and has to be accounted for in any attempt at historical reconstruction. Furthermore, as a text that has been formulated over a long historical period, some of the ethnographic information that pertains to folklore is relevant to one era and not the other. The possibility of historical changes in folklore during the OT period is significant, yet at the moment cannot be discussed systematically.

Though written, the OT contains traditions on an oral culture. In the accounts of the Patriarchal period, even commercial and legal transactions resorted to eye witnessing or monumental testimony (Gen 21:30–33; 23:10–17; 31:44–52). The first reference to writing is associated with Moses (Exod 17:14; 24:4; 34:27; Deut 31:9–19). However, even in the stories of a later period, monumental testimony was used for historical commemoration (Josh 4:6–7), or in conjunction with writing for legal purposes (Josh 24:25–27).

1. Themes and Figures. The hallmarks of folklore in society are thematic repetition and variation, patterned accounts, and recurring allusions to distinct events and figures. When these features characterize a corpus of written literature, there is a greater likelihood that these literary sources draw upon oral sources that were historically available. This approach is applicable to the OT. It is true that the OT text attributes events and characteristics to historically grounded, distinct personalities; yet the recurrence of themes, their patterned presentation, and the allusions that subsequent generations made to them in poetry and prophecy, evidence their circulation in oral tradition and the familiarity of the community with them.

The OT accounts the history of the Israelites as a clan and a people through unfolding stories concerning family matters and magical acts that touch upon basic human needs of nourishment, health, and individual and collective freedom. These themes occur repeatedly. For example, female barrenness, a threat to the family future, has been attributed to Sarah (Gen 16:1), Rachel (29:31), Samson's mother (Judg 13:2–3), and Hannah (1 Sam 1:5). The acts of magical infliction of disease, even death (Exod 7:19–12:30; 2 Kgs 2:24; 5:27), and their opposites, stories about magical nourishment, cure, and revival (1 Kgs 17:17–24; 2 Kgs 4:8–37) have been an integral part of the prophetic narratives. The magical acts that the OT attributed to Moses affected the entire nation, whereas those attributed to Elijah and Elisha affected individuals.

The variability of specific stories, either mythological or historical, is also indicative of their basis in folklore. The creation of Eve, from earth like Adam (Gen 1:27) or from Adam's rib (Gen 2:21–23), represents a basic variation in the mythology of the OT. Among the historical tales, the introduction of the young David to King Saul is subject to two incompatible OT versions. According to the first (1 Sam 16:14–23), David is brought to play the harp before the depressed king, while according to the second he is the hero of the battle against the Philistines (1 Samuel 17). The killing of Goliath itself is attributed to another hero, Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim, a variation that can reflect either suppressed oral tradition or a scribal error (2 Sam 21:19; 1 Chr 20:5).

Variations in details do not preclude similarity in plot patterns. Some of the morphological studies (see above) have demonstrated that different OT stories of magic and family matters share similar discernible patterns thereby suggesting their basis in oral tradition.

But the themes of oral traditions are not limited to family affairs and concerns with food and health. Rather, throughout the poetry and prophecy of the OT resonates the central historical theme of the Israelites: the exodus and the wandering in the desert. The recurrent references to this subject suggest that this tradition was familiar to all Israelites, particularly since the knowledge of these traditions has been reinforced in the ritual celebration of the Passover ritual.

2. Genres. In personal interaction and artistic performances, oral communication is clearly dominant. Verbal communication is a framed activity, conveyed within verbal forms that the members of a culture name, or at least recognize, in terms of their textual features and the social contexts of their performance (Ben-Amos 1976: 215–42). The following are the genres that function in folklore communication.

a. Poetic Genres. *Šîr* is the term for the general category of poetry as contrasted with prose. It encompasses

songs, either a cappella or with instrumental accompaniment (Amos 6:5), recitation (Judg 5:12), and popular songs or cultic songs (Ps 137:4). In Psalms the term occurs with the generic modifier *mizmôr* (i.e., Ps 30:1; 48:1) which also occurs independently (i.e., Ps 100:1; 110:1). The 2 terms *šîr* and *zmr* partially overlap, and partially relate to each other as the general to the particular: *mizmôr* and *zmr* appear to represent the more melodious subcategory, while *šîr* marks the basic distinction between prose and poetry. *Šîr* is also a category of verbal expression of joy that contrasts with *qînâ*, lamentation (Amos 8:10), though *qînâ* could be a subcategory of *šîr* as well (2 Chr 35:25). Within court and cult organization there were professional singers. In the preexilic period, the OT refers to singers of both genders: *šārîm* and *šārôt*, who were part of the royal personnel (2 Sam 19:36; cf. Eccl 2:8). Postexilic references mention mainly cultic male singers *měšōrĕrîm* associated with Temple worship (i.e., Ezra 2:41; Neh 12:28). Singing, together with music making and dancing was an integral part of joyous occasions, ranging from the celebration of war victories (1 Sam 18:6–7) to romantic love as represented in Canticles.

A subcategory of *šîr* is *šîrâ*. This form is a commemorative song that commits to verse events of historical significance, in particular the deliverance from a powerful enemy. Thus the "Song of the Sea" (Exod 15:1–19) and David's song (2 Samuel 22; Psalms 18) are both designated in the title as *šîrâ*. The song of Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam (Judges 5) lacks a generic designation; nevertheless the OT employs the verb *šîr* to describe their performance. In all 3 cases the OT attributes the song and the singing to the leader, even though, in the case of the "Song of the Sea," Miriam is said to have repeated the song in a dance (Exod 15:20–21).

The introduction to the "Song of Moses" (Deut 32:1–43) illuminates a literary rather than oral perception of the genre of *šîrâ*. Before reading the song aloud *(dbr)*—the same verb that preceded David's song—Moses instructed the people to write down his song so that it would serve as a historical monument, a testimony for the covenant between God and the Children of Israel (Deut 31:19–23). From a literary perspective, the *šîrâ* serves the same function as the monument Joshua erected (Josh 24:25–27).

The interchangeability of the verbs *šîr*, sing, and *dbr*, speak, in describing the *šîrâ* mode of performance may be indicative of historical change; the possibilities available for singers simultaneously; or a rhythmic delivery that can be perceived as either singing or speaking (cf. Judg 5:12). In all cases except one, the *šîrâ* is performed by an individual, with possible choral response (Exod 15:1). The exception is the "Song of the Well" (Num 21:17–18). The writer introduces the song with the same formula employed in the opening of the "Song of the Sea" (Exod 15:1), albeit the singer is a collective entity: Israel. Isaiah employs the term, in the construct state, *šîrat*, indicating a further possible extension of its meaning. He refers to a known genre, albeit in a mocking fashion, reversing its meaning from a song of victory to a song of defeat. This occurs in the song to the vineyard that brought forth wild grapes (Isa 5:1–2) and the song of the harlot (Isa 23:15). Isaiah admonishes Tyre, which is compared to a harlot, "Take a harp, go about the city, though harlot long forgotten; make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayest be remembered" (23:16). Possibly by his time the term *šîrâ* referred also to individual recitations accompanied by musical instruments performed by female singers who were wandering around urban areas (cf. Ezek 33:31–32).

The Heb term, *qînâ* (pl. *qînôt*), lament or funeral dirge, is an oral poetic genre that contrasts socially and thematically with *šîr* and *šîrâ:* it conveys a message of defeat and loss (Amos 8:10). While *kinot* could be recited at any funeral, the OT reports them mostly after death in combat (2 Sam 1:17–25; 3:33–34). The information about the oral *qînâ* is meager and appears to be contradictory. The two complete *qînôt* texts are either literary quotations (2 Sam 1:18) or obvious literary compositions as the acrostic form of Lamentation clearly indicates. Both share a structure in the opening formula and the *leitmotif* phrase that begins with question marker "how?" (Lam 1:1; 2 Sam 1:19, 25, 27). In spite of the literary nature of both *qînôt* they may replicate the oral *qînâ*, inasmuch as David's fragmentary lament for Abner (2 Sam 3:33–34) similarly opens with a question that is the verbal equivalent to "how."

The information about the *qînâ* performance is similarly ambivalent. While Jeremiah refers to women as *qînâ* singers (Jer 9:16), and another text suggests a mixed choral group (2 Chr 35:25), the available texts are attributed to individual males—a king and a prophet. The discrepancy may reflect either historical development or different phases of the funeral ritual: choral singing and individual oration. Only the latter offers significant texts quoted by the OT.

The most prominent of the poetic genres in the OT is "the word of Yahweh" *(dĕbar YHWH)*, a term designating prophecy in the preexilic and postexilic periods (i.e., Jer 1:4; Ezek 1:3; Hos 1:1; Joel 1:1; Mic 1:1; Zeph 1:1; Hag 1:1; Zech 1:1), alternating with such terms as *ḥāzôn*, vision (Isa 1:1; Obad 1:1) or *maśśā'* (Nah 1:1; Hab 1:1). The term *nĕbû'â*, prophecy, is postexilic, occurring in the OT only 3 times (Neh 6:12; 2 Chr 9:29, 15:8). The OT narrators, speakers in the biblical tales, attribute to the speakers of the word of Yahweh the role of a prophet, *nābî'*, a term which the prophets themselves rarely proclaim (Jer 1:5) and in fact occasionally deny (Amos 7:14) or even denounce (Zech 13:2–5). The word of Yahweh is a divinely inspired speech, uttered in OT poetic forms, in various degrees of ecstasy, in public places, mostly places of worship. The prophets often engaged in verbal duels and open debates with each other and other religious personnel (Amos 7:10–17; Jeremiah 28). The OT describes prophetic speaking as a common occurrence in urban public life, though it has retained, and thereby canonized, only the texts of Yahweh-inspired prophets from the 8th century B.C.E. onward. Although occasionally the prophet committed their words of Yahweh to writing (Jer 25:13; 30:2; 36; Nah 1:1), their speeches were an integral part of the public oral poetic discourse revolving around ethical, religious, and political subjects.

b. Prose Genres. The paucity of generic terms for prose narratives in the OT may be surprising in light of the rich scholarship of the form criticism school. The debates over definitions and categorization of one OT narrative or another—whether it is a myth, saga, legend, folktale, or novella—rarely incorporate the perception and conception

of these tales by the OT narrators and writers. Rather, from their perspectives, as manifested in their textual accounts, the entire narrative of OT history from creation to exile of the king of Judah, is a trustworthy account, the veracity of which cannot be doubted, and which has the same validity as far as their faith is concerned. The story of creation (Gen 1–3), the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen 22), the story of Joseph (Gen 37, 39–50), the accounts of the beginning of the Davidic dynasty (1 Sam 16:2–18:13), and the destruction of the Temple (2 Kgs 25:8–21; 2 Chr 36:15–21), had the same historical-religious validity in ancient Israelite society, regardless of their scholarly classification as either myth, legend, folktale, or saga. In that respect the absence of generic terms is as significant as their abundance in other societies. Furthermore, except for rare cases the OT narrators do not offer a literary, generic metacommentary. There is hardly any report of narrating which would give room for the use of the names by which storytellers refer to the oral literary forms they distinguish.

One exceptional case is the account of the confrontation between the anonymous man of God and King Jeroboam (1 Kgs 13:1–10). The tale has all the earmarks of a miracle tale and a story of an encounter between secular and religious authorities (cf. Rofé 1988). The OT text relates the retelling of these events by the son of an old prophet to his father, employing the term *maʿăśēh*. In postbiblical and medieval Hebrew this lexeme had become a term for a genre that includes tales of this kind. In the present use, *maʿăśēh* could refer either to the acts or to their narration. In other uses *maʿăśēh* refers to human or divine craftsmanship, work, or action (Exod 26:36; 28:6,11; 37:19; Josh 29:31; Isa 60:21).

As in the present example, nouns that are predicated upon the verb *spr*, to tell, are likely to be names of oral literary forms. Prominent among these is the term *niplāʾôt*, wonders, which always occurs in plural form. The term designates both actions and their narration; the former are predicated upon the verb *ʿāśāh*, to do (Ps 78:18; 86:10; 98:1), whereas the latter, the generic term, upon the verb *spr*, to tell (Ps 9:2; 26:7; 71:17; 75:2; 105:2; 119:27; 145:5). Most of these usages of *niplāʾôt* appear in Psalms where poetry offers a possibility for commentary upon the narrative tradition and requires terms for references. Occasionally, the same term occurs in the same function elsewhere (Judg 6:13). The term refers to stories about historic, cosmic, and ethical actions of Yahweh, as he reveals himself to his people. The generic terms themselves are indicative of the theological and religious views of ancient Israelite society.

c. Conversational Genres. Conversational genres are those forms of oral literature that require the active participation of 2 speakers or those that are interspersed within a conversation or speech making. Among those the *māšāl* appears in the OT to be the most enigmatic. On the one hand it is part of a paradigm consisting of an insult, a taunt, and a curse (Jer 24:9; cf. Deut 28:37; 1 Kgs 9:7; 2 Chr 7:20). On the other hand the form is the epitome of wisdom, as represented in the book of Proverbs. Furthermore, it appears to parallel the riddle (Ezek 17:2; Ps 78:2), but its literary form is either a parable or an epigram. However, this apparent diversity of forms share a unity of use that provides them with a single generic categorization. The *māšāl* is a self-contained proposition that cannot be contradicted by its own terms; hence it represents wisdom. In its appropriate application there is a correspondence between the proposition and the situation to which the *māšāl* is applied, further reaffirming the notion of wisdom. Inappropriate application conveys stupidity (Prov 26:7, 9). The relevance of the proposition to a particular situation can be enigmatic, hence the riddling quality of the *māšāl*. Finally, since the principle of correspondence is the main feature of the *māšāl*, it is possible to establish it between a real situation and either terms in a proposition, or figures in a narrative, that then becomes allegorical.

The *māšāl* speakers are known as *mōšlîm* (Num 21:27) or *mĕmaššēl mĕšālîm* (Ezek 21:5). Referring to his allegory, Ezekiel uses the term in a derogatory sense, but the attribution of 3,000 proverbs to King Solomon is a clear mark of his wisdom (1 Kgs 5:12). While the ability to speak in proverbs and parables could distinguish an individual, in the OT there are several narrative episodes in which figures, known for their other qualities, quote proverbs to resolve situations of conflict. David cites an ancient proverb to diffuse the tension between him and King Saul (1 Sam 24:14), and without offering generic designation Gideon (Judg 8:2), the Midianite chiefs (Judg 8:21), and Ahab (1 Kgs 20:11) employ proverbs during conflicts. A proverb is also used in the story of the anointment of David (1 Sam 16:7), replicating oral discourse. In speech making, orators and prophets use the *māšāl* as either strings of epigrams (Num 23:7–10, 18–24; 24:3–9, 15–24), or as parables (Ezek 17:2–10). As in other societies (Briggs 1988; Fontaine 1982) proverbs serve as quoted speech. Jeremiah (31:29) and Ezekiel (18:2) quote the same proverb, "The fathers ate sour grapes; But it's the children's teeth that rasp," and both choose to dispute the value it conveys. This proverb, as others, has been quoted from a set of culturally available propositions that speakers could apply to various situations. They bear the authority of tradition as the abstract voice of the community, encapsulating cultural values, ideas, and even legal principles for the guidance of social conduct.

In contrast to proverbs that appear in the OT relatively in abundance, the reports about riddles (*ḥîdâ*, pl. *ḥîdôt*) and riddling situations are rather scarce. The Psalmist ascribes to them, along with proverbs, the attribution of antiquity (78:2); but in riddles, novelty is required for the form to have any rhetorical effect. In Proverbs they are conceived as belonging to the same paradigm with proverbs, metaphors, and the words of the wise (Prov 1:6; cf. Hab 2:6). Indeed in use they serve as tests of wit and wisdom (Judg 14:12–18; 2 Kgs 10:1; 2 Chr 9:1). In these cases the riddle context is an exchange between the genders or, as in the case of Samson's wife, her representatives.

Least of all, the OT offers information about humorous texts and behavior. The OT, particularly the book of Proverbs, conveys a negative attitude toward humor and jovial behavior. However, the righteous condemnation of conviviality is a strong testimony of its central position in social life. Merrymaking was a social affair (Prov 1:22), part of urban life (Prov 29:8) often associated with drink-

ing (Prov 20:1). Individually (Jer 20:7) and collectively (2 Chr 30:10) those who advocated righteous behavior conceived of the reaction toward them as ridicule. They were subject to the people's humorous songs (Lam 3:14), the texts of which have not been preserved.

3. Transmission of Tradition. The Israelite oral tradition and literature in OT times were heterogeneous, multigeneric, and multipurpose. They served the needs and goals of several tribes and of different segments of the society. However, the writers and editors of the OT preserved and documented mainly those oral traditions that they perceived to be central to their conception of Israelite religion and history. Similarly in their references to the modes of transmission they continuously referred to the central institution of oral transmission. Stories of defeat and victory were told on the city streets (1 Sam 1:20), at the city gates and on the road (Judg 5:10–11), but the main institution of oral transmission to which there are repeated references is the passing on of cultural heritage from father to son (Exod 12:26; 13:8, 14–15; Deut 6:20–23; Judg 6:13; Ps 44:2; 78:3). Probably there were several informal occasions to pass on traditional knowledge, but the formal situation has been *lêl šĕmûrîm*, night of watching, a term that likely refers to an all-night storytelling. The midrash in the Passover Haggadah about the rabbis telling Exodus stories all night, could be a record of a cultural historical survival which they try to explain through exegesis of the OT text. For the Israelite society the exodus and the Sinai experience, including its narrative and laws, have been the core of the national tradition, and it was transmitted within the family.

D. Folklore and the Biblical Text

The comparative and the ethnographic methods complement each other in reconstructing the folklore of the OT; neither can be exclusive. Rich as it is, the OT offers only a glimpse into the oral traditions of biblical society. Only a few of the tales, songs, proverbs, and riddles that were an integral part of the ancient Israelite society have survived the sieves of history and literacy. What has remained rarely reflects the changes in folklore within the different historical periods that constitute the OT era. Many themes and characters have been forgotten, leaving their traces in metaphors and allusions. The comparative method, particularly the examination of other cultures in the area, their literatures, languages and religions, supplement and illuminate the narratives, metaphors, and beliefs of the OT and the historic and heroic figures around which the biblical stories revolve.

The relation of an oral theme or form to the OT, whether it is included, omitted, or allusively mentioned, is a function of the very process of canonization through literacy. In their act of committing a text to script, the writers and editors of the OT were motivated by a desire to sanction and commemorate a specific version of a story—to render permanent those texts that serve the writer's ideas, beliefs, and conception of history and nation. Literacy is not value free; hence any examination of the folklore in the OT must also account for the nature of the OT itself as a literary and religious canon.

Stylistically, literacy imposes its own constraints upon oral tradition. The length of a text and its rhetorical features can attest neither to its authenticity nor its antiquity. Short fragments are not necessarily oral and older; longer texts are not essentially literate and younger. Oral tradition has many of the capabilities literature possesses, and literature can imitate many of the qualities of oral performance. The texts that are available to us in the OT do not duplicate precisely the whole range of features of oral tradition for the simple reason that they are in a book. They can only echo the voices of a distant past.

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DAN BEN-AMOS

FOLLY. See VIRTUE/VICE LISTS.

FOOD. See ZOOLOGY; MEAL CUSTOMS; EATING AND DRINKING.

FOOTWASHING. The washing of the feet of guests before a meal seems to have been a sign of welcome in the ANE, as reflected in the Yahwist's account of Abraham and the heavenly visitors in Gen 18:4. But in Exod 30:19 the washing of the feet is required of those who are to come before the presence of God at the Sanctuary. Philo's comments on these passages (*Quaes Gen* IV.5, 60, 88; *Quaes Ex* I.2; *Vit Mos* II.138; *Spec Leg* I.206–7) show that, within the Hellenistic synagogue, footwashing may have been the object of some discussion in connection with its ritual performance. Apparently it was thought that it provided sanctification by the divine spirit, and/or the opening up of the soul to manifestations of the divine. Discussion of the validity of this ceremonial practice seems to have continued for some time in some Christian communities, as reflected in Pap. Oxyrh. 840. This 4th century Christian document tells of a Pharisaic chief priest who challenged Jesus' right to walk on the sacred pavement of the temple "without having bathed yourself and your disciples not having washed their feet." The text goes on to contrast exterior vs. interior washing. For our purpose it is important to note the association made between disciples with washed feet and their right to stand on the pavement of the sacred precinct.

Within the early Christian communities there was an oral tradition about the washing of the disciples' feet on the part of Jesus. Apparently different Christian communities adopted the practice, but gave to its performance different meanings. Within the more ecclesiastically organized communities of the Pastoral Epistles the ritual became something that established the position of "widows" as servants of the community (1 Tim 5:10). The exact circumstances under which widows were supposed to wash the feet of disciples, or the meaning attached to this ritual performance escapes us now due to the lack of further contemporary evidence.

In the more egalitarian Johannine community the ritual seems to have gone through different stages of signification prior to the final redaction of the gospel of John. A form critical analysis of the passage (John 13:4–20) reveals that within the Johannine community the original account consisted of 13:4, 5, and possibly 12–15. These texts set the basic scene of Jesus washing the disciples' feet. The scene itself, however, seems to have been influenced by synoptic sayings of Jesus recorded in Mark 10:42–44 and par. This observation causes some scholars to suggest that the scene may represent a traditional elaboration of the synoptic sayings in narrative form. Verses 12–15, it is to be noticed, do not actually illumine the meaning of the action described in 4, 5. They only establish the *mandatum* that the disciples must follow the example of the Master, and that the one who did the washing was none other than their Master and Lord. That this command is recorded here would indicate that the ritual was part of the liturgical celebrations of the Johannine community. In this connec-

tion it must also be noticed that the washing of the disciples' feet in the context of a communal meal, where Judas the traitor is identified, replaces the institution of the eucharistic elements in the Johannine narrative. This fact argues most strongly for the unusual importance attached to the footwashing in the Johannine community, and is another indication of the community's sectarian characteristics.

Verses 6–11 and 16–20 represent two separate elaborations on the scene done within the Johannine community, since they have the obvious marks of Johannine composition. Verses 6–11 give meaning to the scene by the well-known Johannine technique of a dialogue in which the interlocutor misunderstands. Verses 16–20, on the other hand, are a Johannine compilation of sayings of Jesus with synoptic parallels which begins and ends with "amen, amen" statements. No consensus has been reached among scholars as to which of the two interpretative elaborations on the story was introduced first into the gospel. It is generally agreed, however, that these two interpretative elaborations represent different compositional stages of the gospel, and reflect different circumstances in the life of the community. The structural similarities between the Jesus-Peter dialogue in 13:6–11 with the Jesus-Peter dialogue in 21:15–19 suggests that vv 16–20 may have been the earlier explication of the footwashing ritual, and that vv 6–11 were introduced into the story at the same time when chap. 21 was added to the gospel. If this is the case, vv 6–11 serve to intensify the meaning assigned to the footwashing in 16–20. In their synoptic setting the sayings found in vv 16–20 set forth the cost of discipleship within the context of persecutions. Moreover John 13:16 is repeated in 15:20 with the addition "if they persecuted me, they will persecute you." It would seem, then, that the disciples' identification with their Lord and Master, actualized by the footwashing ceremony had within the Johannine community a persecution context, since the humility with which the disciples identify themselves is humility unto death. In their synoptic settings these sayings also require of the disciples willingness to face up to death.

Verses 6–11 represent an elaboration of 13:17: "If you know these things, blessed are you if you do them." The Jesus-Peter dialogue contrasts the one who has knowledge of what he is doing with the one who doesn't. It also establishes that being "clean" is the condition for receiving a portion of the inheritance. As 15:3 makes clear cleansing is not achieved by ceremonial purifications (John carries on a polemic against ritual cleansings), but by the abiding words of Jesus. Those who are clean and bear much fruit are those who in total identification with their Master and Lord bear testimony when "their hour" comes.

It may be that to a large degree the exact meaning of the footwashing in the Johannine community is hidden within the inner resonance of the language of the Fourth Gospel. Still enough of the meaning of this highly metaphorical literary piece is open to us to allow us some indication of the significance the community gave to its footwashing ritual.

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HEROLD WEISS

FOREIGNER. The OT employs a number of largely synonymous terms to designate the "foreigner," i.e., the person who, in the perspective of the writer or the audience, is irreducibly "other," the non-belonger in some respect: *zār, ben nēkār, nokrî*. In most instances, the connotations attached to these terms are negative, although occasional neutral or even positive usages occur. (The OT's treatment of the "sojourner," the *gēr*, i.e., the non-Israelite who in virtue of his status as a semi-permanent resident in Israel enjoys many protections as well as inclusion in the community's religious life, is quite different.) The OT's references to foreigners may be classified according to the particular sort of otherness/non-belongingness attaching to the persons so designated.

1. Particularly in the prophets, the terms cited above designate in generalizing and indeterminate fashion the other nations with whom Israel comes in contact. Frequently, these are cited as the actual or potential devastators or exploiters of Israel (Isa 1:7; 62:8; Jer 5:19; Lam 5:2; Hos 7:9; 8:7; Obad 11) who as such, however, function as Yahweh's punishing agents (Ezek 7:21; 11:9). Israel's involving itself with other nations is reprehensible (Isa 2:6; Jer 2:25; 3:13; Ezek 16:3; 44:7), above all because of the danger of apostasy to "foreign gods." Rather, Israel should separate itself from the nations to the extent possible (Neh 9:2). In the future it is hoped that foreigners' subjugation of Israel will be eliminated (Isa 25:2, 5; Jer 30:18; Joel 4:17), and that Israel itself will attain to domination over foreigners (Isa 60:10; 61:5). In the same line are the legal prescriptions denying to those who are ethnically foreigners various Israelite prerogatives, whether political (Deut 17:15), economic (Deut 15:3; 23:21), or cultic (Exod 12:43; Lev 22:25; Ezek 44:9). On the other hand, a few texts do allow for some degree of participation in Israel's worship by individual well-disposed foreigners (1 Kgs 8:41, 43; Isa 56:3, 6; cf. 66:18–21). Finally, in the prophetic oracles against the nations, "foreigners" are peoples other than—and hostile to—the particular non-Israelite nation (Babel, Tyre, Egypt) against whom a given oracle is addressed (Jer 51:2; Ezek 28:7, 10; 30:12, 31:12).

2. In other contexts, the persons designated by the relevant terminology are not necessarily non-Israelites in the ethnic sense. Their "foreignness," for example, consists rather in their not belonging to one's own extended family or household (Deut 25:5; 1 Kgs 3:18; Job 15:19; 19:15; Ps 69:8; 109:11; Qoh 6:2). The non-family member likewise seems to be the person the book of Proverbs has primarily—if not exclusively—in mind when it warns against entanglements with "foreign women," i.e., the wives of other Israelites (Prov 2:16; 5:3, 17, 20; 6:24; 7:5; 22:14; 23:27) or giving surety for "foreigners" (Prov 6:1; 11:15; 20:16; 27:13). Throughout this body of material,

the depiction of the persons concerned is largely negative. They represent threats to a family's prosperity, good name, and survival over time. It is best then not to become intimately involved with such "foreigners," above all not with "foreign women" whom Proverbs characterizes as morally deviant (6:23; 23:27) in their advances to men other than their husbands.

In a further intensification of this usage, foreigner-terminology is used to designate the nameless (presumably Israelite) persecutors tormenting the psalmist (Ps 54:3; 144:7, 11). Also to this category pertain the prescriptions of the Priestly tradition prohibiting the arrogation of Levitical and/or Aaronide prerogatives by "foreigners," i.e., Israelites not belonging to the two clerical divisions (Exod 29:33; 30:33; Lev 22:10, 13; Num 1:51; 3:10, 38; 17:5; 18:4, 7—here the term used is always *zār*). These passages attest to a sharp dichotomy within the people of Israel itself as to degrees of holiness and cultic competencies. Finally, in a few instances "foreigner" is simply a circumlocution for the non-self (Job 19:27; Prov 27:2).

3. Like the OT, the NT employs a variety of equivalent terms for the "foreigner": *allogenēs, allophulos, xenos, allotrios*. It does not, however, give the same prominence to such terminology as does the OT—primarily because through the work of Christ ethnic-religious divisions within humanity have been, in principle, overcome (see esp. Eph 2:11–21). Reminiscent of the OT, "ethnic" usages are passages where "foreigner" designates those who are not by birth members of the people of Israel (Luke 17:18; Acts 10:28; Eph 2:19; Heb 11:34) or of some other people (Acts 17:21). The faithful of OT times lived on the earth as "foreigners" in exile from their heavenly homeland (Heb 11:9, 13). The duty of hospitality to fellow Christians who are "foreign" in the sense of not being personally known to one is strongly inculcated (Matt 25:35ff.; 3 John 5).

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CHRISTOPHER T. BEGG

FORERUNNER [Gk *prodromos*]. In Greek literature *prodromos* ("forerunner"), used as a noun (the adjective means "running before"), designates someone or something which goes in advance and normally implies that others are to follow. The term is applied to messengers, to the front-runner in a race, to advance military parties (especially scouts or guides), and to a kind of picket ship which leads others into port. The military usage seemingly predominates. Northerly winds, preceding the annual summer Mediterranean winds, are called *prodromoi* by Aristotle and Theophrastus. *Prodromos* is used metaphorically of first fruits, specifically, of early figs in Theophrastus (*Hist. Pl.* 5.1.5) and Pliny (*HN* 16.113).

A. Septuagint

In the LXX, *prodromos* occurs in Num 13:21; Wis 12:8; and Isa 28:4. It is used twice in the metaphorical sense and translates the Heb *bĕkûrâ*. In Num 13:21, springtime is poetically described as a time of first grapes (lit. "the forerunners of grapes"), while in Isa 28:4 the first-ripened figs (lit. "the forerunner of the fig,"), considered to be delicacies and therefore quickly picked, are used to symbolize the impending attack against Samaria (cf. Nah 3:12, where a similar image is used [with *bĕkûrâ* in the Hebrew, but without the corresponding *prodromos* in the LXX], of the destruction of Nineveh).

The military sense of *prodromos* is exploited in Wis 12:8 where wasps or hornets function as an advance party for God's army. For the sage, this first attack upon the Canaanites (cf. Exod 23:28; Josh 24:12) is seen as a first skirmish and a warning. Thus, time is allowed for repentance before the definitive battle.

B. Christian Literature

"Forerunner" is frequently used in Christian literature of John the Baptist, whose image is developed in the synoptic tradition by means of biblical motifs (Isa 40:3–11; Mal 3:1) in such a way that John is considered to be one who prepared the way for Jesus.

However, the NT does not explicitly use the term *prodromos* in reference to the Baptist. The sole occurrence of "forerunner" in the NT is in Heb 6:20. There, used in reference to Jesus, its presence is sometimes deemed to be part of an anti-Baptist polemic.

This unique description of Jesus as a forerunner (Heb 6:20) is one of a series of particular christological epithets found only in Hebrews (e.g., "apostle," Heb 3:1; "perfecter of faith," Heb 12:1). It belongs to a complex of terms (e.g., "pioneer," Heb 2:10; 12:2; "cause of salvation," Heb 5:9) which describe the human Jesus who has completed his journey and who has the capacity to secure a similar status for those who follow him. As such, the forerunner image is part of Hebrews' unique and variegated portrayal of Jesus.

The forerunner notion embodies elements of continuity and of discontinuity. Specifically, the notion of Jesus-forerunner belongs to the author's theopoetic vision of Jesus, the high priest, and serves to differentiate the priesthood of Jesus from the Aaronic priesthood. Only the latter entered into the Holy of Holies, but Jesus enters so that others might follow him into the presence of God. Jesus enters into the inner sanctuary "on our behalf" (Heb 6:20b): the prepositional phrase (*hyper hēmōn*) qualifies the entrance as such; only rarely does the manuscript tradition speak of Jesus as "our forerunner" (*prodromos hēmōn;* e.g., minuscule 489). The idea that Jesus has entered into the sanctuary on our behalf is further developed in Heb 7:18–10:18, where the author expounds upon Jesus functioning as priest on our behalf within the inner sanctuary. Ultimately, the motif of Jesus-forerunner functions as an expression of Christian hope. For further discussion see *TDNT* 8: 235 and *ISBE* 2: 337–38.

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RAYMOND F. COLLINS

FOREST OF EPHRAIM.

See EPHRAIM, FOREST OF.

FOREST OF LEBANON, HOUSE OF THE

(PLACE) [Heb *bêt yaʿar hallĕbānôn*]. Part of Solomon's palace complex (1 Kgs 7:2–5). It was probably a separate building (Heb *bêt*) not attached to the building whose compartments were the Hall of Pillars, the Hall of the Throne (or Hall of Judgment), and the private living quarters of the royal family (vv 6–8). See also JUDGMENT, HALL OF. The House of the Forest of Lebanon was approximately the size of the temple. Not only is the name of this building quite unusual, but its description is very problematic, containing some Hebrew words (*šĕqupîm; meḥĕzâ*) that cannot be translated with confidence. Its most prominent feature, however, is reasonably clear: the 3 (following LXX; MT reads "four") rows each containing 15 cedar pillars. The 45 pillars aligned in a building 150 feet long by 75 feet wide would mean the 15 pillars in each row had to be spaced no more than 10 feet apart: the net effect was probably of a densely packed forest. Although no similar building has yet been discovered archaeologically, Ussishkin (1973: 92–94) notes a resemblance to the column-building at Altintepe in E Anatolia, a building of the 8th–7th centuries B.C.

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GARY A. HERION

FORGIVENESS.

Forgiveness is the wiping out of an offense from memory; it can be affected only by the one affronted. Once eradicated, the offense no longer conditions the relationship between the offender and the one affronted, and harmony is restored between the two. The Bible stresses both human forgiveness and divine forgiveness: The latter is the divine act by which the removal of sin and its consequences is effected. This entry consists of 3 articles surveying the concept of forgiveness as it is presented in the OT, in early Judaism, and in the NT.

OLD TESTAMENT

The basic term for forgiveness in the OT is *slḥ*, occurring some 50 times: the verb *sālaḥ* occurs 46 times in the active *Qal* (33) and passive *Nipʿal* (13). The remaining 4 uses of the root comprise the noun *sĕlîḥâ* (3 times) and the adjective *sallaḥ* (once). The agent effecting forgiveness is the deity: This usage is consistent both for the *Qal*, where the subject of the verb is always God, and for the *Nipʿal*, which functions as a divine passive (e.g., *wnslḥ lw* = "and it shall be forgiven him [by the deity]"). The verb in the *Qal* takes as object both the person to be forgiven and the sin, expressed by the nouns *ʿāwôn* ("iniquity, guilt") *ḥăṭāʾâ* ("sin"), and *pešaʿ* ("rebellion, transgression").

An appeal to God for forgiveness is a regular feature of intercessory prayer. The first Pentateuchal usage of the verb *slḥ* (Exod 34:9) is in a context of intercessory prayer by Moses, for the sinful behavior of his people. Moses bases his appeal for forgiveness on the creedal statement in Exod 34:6–7 in which the character of God is described and in which his mercy and his willingness to forgive are confessed. (Forgiveness in this text is identified with God's continuing presence with and guidance of the people.) In Num 14:19–20, Moses' appeal ("Forgive the iniquity of this people") is based on the repetition in Num 14:18 of the creedal statement of Exod 34:6–7.

Another appeal to the deity for forgiveness is that of Solomon, in whose Temple prayer the verb *slḥ* occurs 5 times (1 Kgs 8:30, 34, 36, 50 = 2 Chr 6:21, 25, 27, 30, 39). Human repentance ("turning to God" in 1 Kgs 8:33 and "turning from sin" in 8:35) and divine mercy (v 50) are associated with forgiveness in Solomon's prayer; the same linkage of repentance and forgiveness appears in the divine promise to Solomon in 2 Chr 7:14.

In Amos 7:2 the verb *slḥ* is employed in a prophetic intercession for forgiveness. And the noun (*sĕlîḥôt*) is employed in Ezra's penitential prayer in which he appeals for forgiveness in the words of the confessional formula in Exod 34:6–7 and Num 14:18. In Daniel's intercessory prayer for forgiveness of the people, the noun (*sĕlîḥôt*) appears in Dan 9:9, linked with mercy; relying on God's abundant mercy (9:18), Daniel prays, "O Lord, hear! O Lord, forgive!" (9:19).

In addition to these prayers for forgiveness of the people, the *Qal* (active) form of the verb *slḥ* appears 6 times in Jeremiah (5:1, 7; 31:34; 33:8; 36:3, 50:20). In the 2 instances in chap. 5 the possibility of forgiveness is questioned or denied because of the worship of foreign gods (Deut 29:19, 2 Kgs 24:4). In 36:3 forgiveness is a possibility if the people repent ("turn": cf. 1 Kgs 8:33–36). The remaining occurrences in Jeremiah contain the positive divine promise of forgiveness. Similarly Isa 55:7 confesses God as merciful and rich in forgiveness.

There are 4 instances of the root *slḥ* in the Psalter: The verb occurs in Pss 25:11 and 103:3, the adjective *sallāḥ* in Ps 86:5, in a context that echoes Exod 34:6–7 (cf. Ps 86:15), and the noun in Ps 130:4 (note the similarity of Ps 130:3–4 to Amos 7:2). The assurance of forgiveness in the lament of Psalm 130 is countered by a lament which denies the possibility of forgiveness (Lam 3:42).

The remaining instances of active *slḥ* are Num 30:6, 9, 13, which deal with the divine release from sin, and the 2 occurrences in 2 Kgs 5:18 in which Naaman asks for forgiveness for future participation in non-Yahwistic rites. The 13 instances of the passive of *slḥ* (10 in Leviticus and 3 in Numbers) are all part of the priestly legislation regulating the cult. The *Nipʿal* (passive) of *slḥ* (*nislaḥ*) is linked with the verb *kippēr* in the stereotyped expression "The priest shall make atonement/expiation on his behalf and it shall be forgiven him." As mentioned above, *nislaḥ* is a divine passive, and so the agent effecting forgiveness is God, through the intercession of the priest; the passive verb makes the point that forgiveness does not inhere in the priestly rites, but in the action of God. The sins

forgiven in these texts are in most cases identified as inadvertent (Lev 4:20, 26, 31, 35; 5:16, 18; Num 15:25, 26, 28). Lev 5:10, 13 (and Lev 5:6, where the passive *nislaḥ* is not used, but the formula abbreviated to "and the priest shall make atonement on his behalf because of his sin") concern sins of omission which are "hidden" (*nᶜlm* in Lev 5:2, 3, 4) from the sinner, i.e., which the sinner has forgotten. Only in Lev 5:26 and 19:22 are atonement rites performed and divine forgiveness granted to deliberate sinners.

Synonyms of *slḥ:* In this section will be considered synonyms of *slḥ,* usually metaphorical expressions for the removal of sin that appear either in parallelism with or in contiguity to *slḥ;* the survey will be completed by mentioning usages of these expressions for forgiveness without connection to *slḥ.*

1. *nśᵓ:* With the nouns *ᶜwn* ("iniquity, guilt"), *ḥṭᵓh* ("sin"), and/or *pšᶜ* ("transgression") as objects, *nśᵓ* can mean "to bear (iniquity, sin, transgression)," i.e., to bear away, to remove sin and its effects (including punishment) by taking it away, and thus to forgive or pardon. While the commonest of these expressions *(nśᵓ* [*b*] *ᶜwn)* occurs 35 times in the OT, the concern here will be with 7 occurrences (Exod 34:7; Num 14:18; Pss 32:5, 85:3; Isa 33:24; Hos 14:3; Mic 7:18) where God is the subject of the verb and forgives the sinner by taking away human sin. Several scholars have argued that the nuance of *nśᵓ ᶜwn* in at least some of these 7 texts (e.g., Exod 34:7, Num 14:18) is not so much "to take away iniquity" but "to bear (i.e., tolerate) iniquity": God forbears to punish, postponing or deferring the consequences of sin. This temporary forbearance or deferment of punishment or retribution is provoked by repentance (2 Kgs 20:16–19; 22:19–20). Noting this possibility, we will accept the more common understanding of this idiom as meaning "forgive iniquity/guilt."

The verb *nśᵓ* occurs in connection with *slḥ* in three cases. In Exod 34:7 God's self-description (*nśᵓ ᶜwn wpšᶜ wḥṭᵓh:* "taking away iniquity, transgression, and sin") is followed in 34:9 by Moses' plea (*wslḥt lᶜwnnw wlḥṭᵓtnw:* "forgive our iniquity and sins"). In Num 14:18 a shorter version of the phrase in Exod 34:7 (without *ḥṭᵓh,* "sin") is followed in 14:19 by Moses' plea, "forgive the iniquity (*slḥ nᵓ ᶜwn*) of the people in accord with your great kindness, as you have pardoned (*nśᵓth,* "taken [sin] away") this people from Egypt until now." More distantly, Ps 25:11 (*wslḥt lᶜwny,* "forgive my iniquity") is matched by v 18 (*wśᵓ lkl ḥṭᵓ wty,* "take away all my sins").

The texts where *nśᵓ* occurs without connection to *slḥ* are Exod 32:32, where Moses intercedes for the removal of the people's sin of constructing the golden calf (and note v 30, where Moses describes his prayer as "making atonement" [*ᵓkprh*]). In Ps 99:8, the intercession of Moses, Aaron, and Samuel is directed to a "forgiving God" (*ᵓl nśᵓ*). Two other instances of intercession for forgiveness are Exod 10:16–17, where Pharaoh confesses his sin and appeals to Moses for forgiveness (*w ᶜth śᵓ nᵓ ḥṭᵓty,* "and now take away my sin"), and 1 Sam 15:24–25, where Saul uses the same words in his plea to Samuel for forgiveness. While these last 2 instances might at first sight seem to deal with human forgiveness, Moses and Samuel are acting here not as themselves the bestowers of forgiveness but as intercessors for divine forgiveness (cf. Jer 15:1). In Josh 24:19 the successor of Moses warns the people that God "will not take away their transgressions and sins" (*lᵓ yśᵓ lpšᶜkm wlḥṭᵓ wtykm*) if they abandon him for the service of other gods.

Two instances of *nśᵓ* occur in Ps 32: in v 1 the psalmist uses the passive of *nśᵓ* in describing the happiness of the one "whose transgression is taken away" (*nśwy pšᶜ*), and in v 5 confession of transgression is followed by the assertion "you have taken away the guilt of my sin" (*wᵓth nśᵓth ᶜwn ḥṭᵓty*). Psalm 85:3 employs the same phrase as in Ps 32:5 (*nśᵓt ᶜwn ᶜmk,* "you have taken away the guilt of your people") and parallels it with "you have covered all their sin" (*kyst kl ḥṭᵓ tm*), just as "whose transgression is taken away" in Ps 32:1 is paralleled by *ksuy ḥṭᵓth* ("whose sin is covered").

There are 3 prophetic texts employing *nśᵓ* for the removal of sin. Isa 33:24 promises to the inhabitants of Zion that "their iniquity will be taken away" (*nśᵓ ᶜwn*). Hos 14:3 is an appeal for repentance in which the prophet urges Israel to return to Yahweh with the prayer "remove all sin" (*kl tśᵓ ᶜwn*). Mic 7:18 confesses God as "taking away iniquity" (*nśᵓ ᶜwn*) in a passage reminiscent of Exod 34:6–7. (The three other expressions for forgiveness in the Micah text will be treated below.)

Finally, mention should be made of Lev 16:22, where the scapegoat bears away the iniquity of the people, and Isa 53:12, where the same role is assigned to the servant of Yahweh.

2. *rpᵓ:* There is one instance of *rpᵓ* ("heal") in parallelism with *slḥ* ("forgive"), a usage that reflects the common biblical view of the connection of sin and sickness (Ps 38:4; John 9:3): Ps 103:3 (*hslḥ lkl ᶜwnky hrpᵓ tḥlᵓyky,* "he forgives all your iniquities; he heals all your diseases"). Perhaps 2 Chr 7:14 can be mentioned here as well; in that text God promises Solomon that, if the people repent, "I will forgive their sin and heal their land" (*wᵓslḥ lḥṭ tm wᵓrpᵓ ᵓt ᵓrṣm*).

Other passages where *rpᵓ* occurs without connection to *slḥ* but still probably describes God's removal of sin include Ps 41:5 ("Yahweh, be gracious to me: heal me [*rpᵓh npšy*] for I have sinned against you"). See also Jer 3:22, Isa 57:17–18 (and perhaps Isa 53:5), and more distantly Pss 107:20 and 147:3.

3. *lᵓ zkr:* God's not remembering sin is once found in parallelism with *slḥ,* in Jer 31:34: "I will forgive their iniquities and their sins I will no longer remember" (*ky ᵓslḥ lᶜwnm wlḥṭᵓtm lᵓ ᵓzkr ᶜwd*). Other texts containing *lᵓ zkr* without connection to *slḥ* include Ps 25:7, where "the sins of my youth and my transgressions do not remember" is preceded in v 6 by the positive counterpart "remember your mercy, O Yahweh." The same connection between God's not remembering iniquities and his mercy appears in Ps 79:8. In Isa 43:25 the divine assurance "your sins I will not remember" is balanced by another metaphorical expression for removal of sin ("your transgressions I will erase"), to be treated below. In Isa 64:8 the penitential prayer that God be not angry is completed with "do not forever remember iniquity." Finally, a similar expression may be mentioned here; instead of God's not remembering sin, Ps 32:2 prays, "happy the one to whom Yahweh does not impute iniquity" (*ᵓšry ᵓdm lᵓ yḥšb yhwh lw ᶜwn*), an expression in parallelism with "not remember" in 1 Sam 19:20.

4. *rḥm:* The connection of divine mercy with forgiveness

has been pointed out several times already. In 2 texts it is linked with *slḥ:* 1 Kgs 8:50, where "forgive" (*slḥt*) is followed by "give them mercy" (*wnttm rḥmym*), and Isa 55:7 where "[Yahweh] will show him mercy" (*wyrḥmḥw*) is in parallelism with "he is rich in forgiveness" (*ky yrbh lslwḥ*). In Ps 103:12–13 God in his mercy forgives transgressions by putting them far away. In Mic 7:19 divine mercy is connected with 2 unique metaphors for divine forgiveness: God's treading iniquities under foot and God's casting sins into the depths of the sea. These instances of the connection between divine mercy and forgiveness call to mind the similar connection between God's forgiveness and his *ḥesed* (steadfast love), which has the sense of deliverance or forgiveness in the creedal confession in Exod 34:6–7 and the texts dependent upon it (Num 14:18–19; Pss 86:15, 103:8, 145:8; Joel 2:13; Jon 2:4; Neh 9:17).

5. *ṭhr:* There is one instance of the parallelism of "forgive" (*slḥ*) and "purify, cleanse" (*ṭhr* [piel]) in Jer 33:8 ("I will purify them of all their iniquities . . . and I will forgive all their sins"). In Lev 16:30, the Priestly legislation for the Day of Atonement, atonement (*ykpr*) involves purification from all sin. God's purifying his people from iniquity and sin is mentioned in Ezek 36:25, 33; 37:23; the divine refusal to do so is found in Ezek 24:13.

In the great prayer for forgiveness in Psalm 51, *ṭhr* occurs twice, in vv 4 and 9, where God's act of purification is paralleled by *ṭhṭ'ny* ("decontaminate me, remove sin from me"), a usage that has its origins in the cult (e.g., Num 19:19), and by another cleansing metaphor (*kbs,* "wash"), also employed in Jer 2:22 and 4:14. On the basis of *kbs* as a metaphor for cleansing of sin, some commentators have suggested emending *ykbš* ("tread under foot") in Mic 7:19 to *ykbs* ("wash"); see below.

6. *mḥh:* Nowhere connected with *slḥ* but close to the notion of "purify, wash, cleanse" is *mḥh* ("erase, wipe away" [transgression]"), an expression found in Ps 51:3; it occurs as well in Isa 43:25, in parallelism with not remembering sin. The negative counterpart of this expression (i.e., the request that God remember iniquity and not wipe away sin) is found in Ps 109:14. Cf. Isa 44:22, Jer 18:23 (where "wipe away, erase" is in parallelism with *kpr* ["atone, expiate"]) and Neh 3:37 (where it is in parallelism with *ksh* ["cover"]).

7. *kpr:* Several passages speak of the removal of sin as "expiation, atonement," a concept drawn originally from the cult. The verb *kippēr* ("expiate, atone") occurs in Jer 18:23 (*kpr ʿl ʿwn,* "expiate, forgive iniquity"), in Ps 79:9 (*kpr ʿl ḥṭ'h,* "forgive sin"); also worthy of note are *kpr pšʿ* ("forgive transgression") in Ps 65:4, and *kpr ʿwn* ("forgive iniquity") in Ps 78:38. Note finally Ezek 16:63, and Isa 27:9 (where the expiation of iniquity [*ykpr ʿwn*] is paralleled by the removal [*hsr*] of sin; cf. Isa 6:7).

8. *hʿbyr:* The verb *heʿĕbîr* ("make pass by") is found in several passages (2 Sam 12:13, 24:10; Zech 3:4; Job 7:21; and a related expression in Mic 7:18). With such objects as sin, iniquity, or the like, the verb has been understood as a figurative expression for the divine removal of sin; forgiveness is effected when God "makes (the sin) pass by," i.e., when the sin is put away, at a distance. However, it has also been suggested that the idiom does not merely express metaphorically the removal or the forgiveness of sin; rather, it means that God has transferred one's sin (understood both as act and consequence) to another, i.e., God has made (the consequences of) the sin pass (to another). In this understanding, Nathan in 2 Sam 12:13 does not give to David assurance of divine forgiveness; he declares God's intention to expiate David's sin of adultery by the death of his child. Similarly in 2 Sam 24:10–17 David's sin (the census) is expiated by its transfer to the people, 70,000 of whom die by pestilence. This understanding of the expression is similar to the suggestion recorded above that *nś'* (*ʿwn*) means the deferral or postponement of the consequences of a sin; God does not acquit the guilty but rather "carries on" the sin from one generation to another, until expiated.

9. Infrequent or unique expressions: We can conclude our discussion of forgiveness by noting a number of infrequently occurring expressions. In Ps 103:12 forgiveness is expresssed as "putting (sin) far away, at a distance" (*hrḥyq*). Cf. also Prov 4:24 (where it is paralleled by *hsr,* "remove"), Job 11:14 and 22:23. Another figurative expression is God's "covering" (*ksh*) of sin, in Pss 32:1, 85:3, and Neh 3:37 (in parallelism with *mḥh,* "wipe away"); the expression "do not cover (*wʾl tks*) their iniquity" in Neh 3:37 appears in a variant form in Jer 18:23, as "do not expiate (*tkpr*) their iniquity." Twice forgiveness is expressed by God's throwing away (*šlk*); in Isa 38:17 God "casts" sins behind his back, and in Mic 7:19 he "casts" them into the depths of the sea. The image of God treading sin underfoot (*kbš*) occurs only once in the OT (Mic 7:19). While some have suggested emending this unique expression to *kbs* ("wash"), Akkadian parallels adduced by Gordon counsel against this emendation. And finally, equally unique is God's "hiding (*hstyr*) his face" so as not to see sin, as an expression of forgiveness in Ps 51:11.

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JOHN S. KSELMAN

EARLY JUDAISM

The study of forgiveness in pre-70 Palestinian Judaism is an unfortunately neglected area of research. Some im-

portant insights, however, are subsumed under discussions of redemption (Urbach), salvation (Neusner), and atonement (*ROTT* 1: 262–71; *AncIsr;* Elbogen, Gaster, Safrai).

Jewish scholars, until recently, have tended to read rabbinic ideas back into pre-rabbinic times, and have been insensitive to the vast differences between pre-70 Judaism (or Judaisms) and post-70 Rabbinic Judaism. After 70, when the Temple was burned by the Roman soldiers, the type of Judaism that survived was reshaped so that it could succeed without Temple and cult, and without possession of the land promised as an inheritance. Also, terms and concepts like "forgiveness," "redemption," "faith," "salvation," and "Savior" were defined in western culture as if their only use was the one developed over the centuries in Christianity; hence, their presence and use in pre-70 Judaism was often unperceived.

Christian scholars, under the influence of the NT authors, especially Paul, have frequently disparaged or been blind to the concept of forgiveness in Early Judaism (ca. 250 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.). Historians attempting to understand the rise and success of Christianity, even while trying to correct the excesses of polemics, tended to stress the uniqueness of Jesus and the creative qualities of Paul. The doctrine of the atonement, and the claim that forgiveness was won for all sinners by the passion of Jesus Christ, caused a failure to ask objectively how "forgiveness" was perceived in Early Judaism and what methods were devised to obtain it. All too often pre-70 Judaism was portrayed as legalistic. E. Schürer, the author of the voluminous and major reference work on Judaism "in the time of Jesus" at the end of the 19th century, in a marred attempt to describe accurately the historical climate in pre-70 Palestinian Judaism, claimed the following:

> Such external formalism is, as all can see, very far removed from true piety. The latter certainly might even under such a burden still continue to maintain a bare existence; but when besides this even *prayer* itself, that centre of the religious life, was bound in the fetters of a rigid mechanism, vital piety could scarcely be any longer spoken of (*HJP*[1] 2/2: 115).

The discovery of manuscripts written and used by pre-70 Palestinian Jews, the new perspectives found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and especially a refined interconfessional methodology now cumulatively help us to see more clearly into the vibrant culture of Early Judaism.

An examination of forgiveness in Early Judaism may be organized in numerous ways; here the discussion will be brief, moving from the perception and expression of *need* to the cultic, personal, and national means employed by early Jews to obtain forgiveness from a "Forgiving Father," not a vengeful demanding judge (all translations are by the author).

Need. The early Jews were not sinners, unperceptive of the need for God's forgiveness. The Temple was not destroyed because of a sinning people, as the Jewish author of *2 Baruch* claimed. The generation of Jews who lived just before the destruction of 70 C.E., as Neusner states, "was *not* a sinning generation, but one deeply faithful to the covenant and to the Scripture that set forth its terms, perhaps more so than many who have since condemned it" (Neusner 1975: 25).

Despite the distorted descriptions of Early Judaism caused by the claims that Jews were self-righteously proud of their obedience to God's Law (due to the denigration of "Pharisaism" in the gospels and the misinterpretations of the parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (Luke 18:9–14). The early Jews themselves stressed a perception of unworthiness and sinfulness (see e.g., Philo, *Vit Mos* 2.147), and frequently claimed that God alone can forgive humans, and render them righteous. Note, for examples, the following:

> And I, if I totter,
> God's mercies (are) my salvation for ever; . . .
> He has justified me by his true justice
> and by his great goodness he will forgive (*kpr*) all my iniquities. (1QS 11.11–14)

> And I, I know that righteousness (is) not of humankind, and perfection of the way (is) not of an individual. (1QH 4.30)

The early Jews did not claim to be sinless; sinlessness was sometimes attributed to the great biblical heroes of old (Sir 44), especially to Abraham (*Apoc. Ab., T. Ab.*) and Joseph (*T. 12 P.*). The study of forgiveness in Early Judaism must not be centered on the Heb (*sĕlîḥâ*) and Gk (*aphesis*) nouns for "forgiveness" and verbs "to forgive" (Heb: viz. *kāpar, nāsā, sālaḥ;* Gk: viz. *apoluō, charixomai, aphiēmi*); it must derive from the full, perceptive, and sensitive readings of all pertinent documents. Aseneth, for example, is described as an Egyptian (and former pagan) who knows that the Lord will "forgive me every sin" (*Jos. Asen.* 11:18, cf. 13:11–13; also cf. *4 Ezra* 7:105 and *2 Bar.* 84:10).

Religious Jews throughout Palestine before 70 C.E. memorized and recited daily the *Amidah* or *Tefilah* (18 Benedictions). They probably knew the 6th benediction in a form similar to the one preserved in the early Palestinian (Cairo Geniza) version:

> Forgive us, our Father, for we have sinned against you.
> Erase and blot out our transgressions from before your eyes,
> For you are abundantly compassionate.
> Blessed are you, O Lord, Redeemer of Israel.

Cultic. The Jews who lived just before the destruction of 70 C.E. inherited cultic traditions, rituals, liturgies, and customs that were approximately 1,000 years old (*ROTT,* 1: 262–71; *AncIsr*). The means for offering gifts, burning incense, bringing agricultural produce, and sacrificing animals (from pigeons to bulls) was elaborate. One of the reasons for offering these up to God is the need to obtain forgiveness; and that entails perception of sin, confession of sin, and the understanding that God desires to and will forgive the sinner seeking forgiveness. Cultic means for forgiveness was centered in the Temple; but it flowed also over into the daily prayers, weekly Sabbath services in synagogues, and the periodic festivals.

Personal. Devout Jews in face of the absolute demands of the Torah and especially the Decalogue experienced the

need for forgiveness. To seek to be obedient to God, as revealed in the Written and Oral Torah, meant to confess the need for God's help in being obedient to him. Within a century before the destruction of 70 a Palestinian Jew, who was devout and introspective, wrote under the name of Manasseh the following:

> And now I bend the knee of my heart,
> beseeching you for your kindness.
> I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned,
> and I know my transgressions.
> I earnestly beseech you,
> forgive me, O Lord, forgive me.
> (*Pr. Man.* 11–13)

National. At the beginning of each new year Jews, together as the nation of Israel, and through the priesthood, especially the High Priest, focused at Yom Kippur (The Day of Atonement; see Lev 16:30) on the need for purgation and forgiveness. It is enlightening, and an essential perspective for an understanding of the perception of and need for forgiveness in Early Judaism to comprehend that the nation, the priesthood, *and* the High Priest were acknowledged to be sinful and in need of God's forgiveness. The central purpose of forgiveness was for the benefit of the nation and humankind (see Philo, *Spec Leg* 1.190). The Mishnah does reflect the needs and social setting of 2d century Rabbinic Judaism, generally reliable, in its intent but not wording, is the confession attributed to the High Priest on the Day of Atonement:

> O God, I have committed iniquity, transgressed, and sinned before you, I and my house. O God, forgive (*kpr*) the iniquities and transgressions and sins which I have committed and transgressed and sinned before you, I and my house. . . . (*m. Yoma* 3.8)

See also PRAYER IN EARLY JUDAISM.

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JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH

NEW TESTAMENT

The existence of forgiveness takes for granted the fact of human sin as an offense against God's holy law or against another human being; forgiveness is the wiping out of the offense from memory by the one affronted, along with the restoration of harmony. Forgiveness is not simply "the remission of penalties; what is remitted is sin" (Taylor 1948: 3).

A. Terminology
B. Forgiveness by God
C. Forgiveness by the Son of Man
D. Forgiveness in the Cross
E. Forgive Others as God Forgives You
F. Remission of Sins by the Apostles
G. The "Unpardonable Sin"

A. Terminology

The NT and Apostolic Fathers used the word *aphiēmi* ("to forgive") and *aphesis* ("forgiveness," "release"). These terms frequently have the sense of remission of financial debt; they were also used of forgiveness prior to the NT (e.g., Lev 16:26 LXX). But while it is thus hardly likely that the NT authors chose the words to give an economic flavor to God's pardon, Jesus did evoke the picture of release from debt as a metaphor of forgiveness. Another frequent synonym is *charizomai,* which usually takes the meaning "to give (freely)" (always with that meaning in the LXX, but "to show oneself gracious" in *Ep. Arist.* 38: 229; see Conzelmann and Zimmerli *TDNT* 9: 389). A number of times in Pauline literature it means "to forgive" (e.g., 2 Cor 2:7, 10; Col 3:13; cf. Luke 7:42–43). Since this the NT application is without precedent, it may have been coined by Paul to denote God's free pardon (Martin 1981: 30; Barth *Ephesians 4–6* AB, 523–24). At any rate, it does not appear in later literature with that meaning except perhaps in Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.45 and Joseph. *Ant* 6, 144. Luke seems to use *apoluō* ("to loose from, dismiss, pardon") in Luke 6:37 as a synonym for *aphiēmi:* "forgive, and you will be forgiven." Matt 18:27 contains the same word used with its financial force: "the lord . . . forgave him that debt." Apart from this stock of vocabulary, the concept of forgiveness is implicitly present in other passages (e.g., Luke 15:20–24).

B. Forgiveness by God

The calamity of sin is perhaps the major concern of the NT. Offense against God is defined so broadly that mortals cannot by themselves avoid God's condemnation. So Matt 5:20: "Unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven." Whether they will admit it or not, all find themselves needing to pray "God, be merciful to me a sinner" (Luke 18:13; cf. Rom 2:3–4).

Divine forgiveness is dependent on the loving nature of God. But while offered to all, pardon is not given to all. Impediments to forgiveness include stubborn unrepentance (Mark 4:12), unbelief (implicit in Acts 2:37–38, 40), denial of wrongdoing (1 John 1:8, 10), and refusal to forgive other people (Matt 6:14–15). There is scarce NT support for the universal remission of sins. Rather, for-

giveness is the exception to God's wrath which will fall upon all but the pardoned (Kümmel 1973: 41–46).

The parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15:11–32) is a paradigm of the forgiveness of the sinner. One of its main features is the Father's eagerness to restore the one who humbly returns to him. Those whom Jesus receives and forgives are like the prodigal: Whether crushed by illness (Mark 2:3–4) or guilt and social ostracism (Mark 2:15; John 8:11), those who have felt the yoke of shame can find freedom in God's forgiveness.

"Forgiveness of sins" becomes a synonym of salvation in Lukan literature. The disciples are to preach it (Luke 24:47), and in Acts it is announced to those in need of it (Acts 2:38, 5:31, 10:43, 13:38, 26:18). This forgiveness is offered in the context of initial repentance and conversion to Christ; it is the cleansing which issues from the suffering, death, and resurrection of Christ in accordance with the OT prophets. Forgiveness as a metaphor of conversion is also found in Rom 4:7–8, Eph 1:7, Col 1:14, 2:13, and probably Col 3:13.

In other NT texts, forgiveness is offered to those who are already believers: Jesus taught his disciples daily to pray "forgive us our debts" (Luke—"forgive us our sins"; Marshall *Luke* NICNT, 460–61). So in 1 John 1:7–10, rather than deny their sins, the disciples must confess them to God and be cleansed anew. God is "faithful and just," and forgiveness is part of his nature; but it is based on Christ's atoning sacrifice.

One of the ongoing debates within the Christian Church has been the relation between baptism and forgiveness. The Lukan accounts of the preaching of John the Baptist (Luke 3:3) and Peter (Acts 2:38) contain the urging of baptism "for the forgiveness of sins" (see also Acts 22:16, Rom 6:1–11, 1 Cor 6:11, Col 2:11–12, 1 Pet 3:21). With the overarching importance of baptism in the emerging Catholic Church of the next century, remission of sins and the removal of the taint of original sin came more and more to be associated with the sacrament (Kelley gives an index to the theology of baptism held by the Church Fathers). The spectrum of views on the meaning of baptism and the validity of infant baptism reflect differing approaches to its efficacy in removing sins (Beasley-Murray 1962: 263–305). The Fathers are deeply interested in the issue of postbaptismal sin, and prescribe often rigorous systems of repentance and reconciliation (Redlich 1937: 217–61; Telfer 1959: 46–48); it is also known that some delayed baptism until late in life, so that it would absolve them from all of life's sins.

C. Forgiveness by the Son of Man

One of the innovations in the Gospels is Jesus' claim that the Son of Man can forgive sins. The pericope of the healing of the paralytic is the fullest example of this (Matt 9:1–8 = Mark 2:1–12 = Luke 5:17–26): Jesus offers the man divine pardon and heals him "that you may know that the Son of Man has the authority on earth to forgive sins." Marshall has observed that Jesus' ministry was centered on his teaching which called men to repent and believe in the Gospel and to accept its spiritual blessings; he did not wish to perform physical healings which could become incomplete ends in themselves, and thus fail to be seen as symbolic parts of a greater whole (*Luke* NICNT). To be sure, Higgins theorizes that the Church created the saying that "the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins" in order to justify its own practice of forgiving sins. But this skirts the evidence of the NT, which does not confirm that the Church aspired to invest its leaders with the authority to remit sins. Jesus was accused of blasphemy, because he forgave sins committed against God, and not against himself personally.

The point in the Son of Man sayings as presently written is that Jesus himself is the Son of Man on earth, and as such will be the eschatological judge (Matt 25:31–46, Mark 8:38, John 5:22). Thus he is able in advance to pronounce acquittal and to pronounce judgment (Matt 11:20–24 = Luke 10:13–15, among others).

In other passages, Jesus affirms God's forgiveness without directly claiming personal power to forgive: in Luke 7:47, "her sins, which are many, are forgiven"; in Luke 19:9–10, "today salvation has come to this house . . . For the Son of Man came to seek and to save the lost"; and in John 8:11, "Neither do I condemn you; go and do not sin again."

The Gospels claim for Jesus not a common human ability to forgive others, but the right to speak for God in matters of judgment and forgiveness; if he possesses this delegated authority, then Jesus is neither usurping the divine prerogative nor blaspheming.

While Jesus does not speak often of the atoning sacrifices of the temple, the repentant publican probably refers to his propitiatory sacrifice in Luke 18:13. Otherwise, in some heavily contested sayings he refers to his own death as a ransom (Matt 20:28 = Mark 10:45; Matt 26:28).

D. Forgiveness in the Cross

The ancient hope of the OT was for a New Covenant; the prophets were burdened down with Israel's perennial disobedience to the Law of Moses, which led inevitably to God's punishment. The solution would be a covenant in which God forgives and changes his people from within: "For I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more" (Jer 31:34); "I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols I will cleanse you" (Ezek 36:25; cf. Heb 9:12–14).

The ministry of Jesus brings unprecedented forgiveness of sins. He pardons sins as a part of the inbreaking of the kingdom of God; other kingdom blessings include exorcism, healing, and salvation (see Luke 4:16–21). All of the versions of the Last Supper mention the establishment of the (New) covenant. Matt 26:28 goes so far as to say: "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness (*aphesis*) of sins." That is why the preaching of the Church according to Acts typically contained the promise of God's forgiveness in Christ.

Far from denying the OT demand for blood sacrifice for forgiveness, the NT authors consistently point to Christ as the ultimate sacrifice, and the fulfillment of the Mosaic system (Heb 9:22—"without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness of sins"). According to Heb 10:12–18, "Christ had offered for all time a single sacrifice for sins" and "by a single offering he has perfected for all time those who are sanctified." Thus, there is no longer any need for the temple cult.

Paul speaks of divine pardon always in terms of God's work in Christ. Even in Ps 32:1–2, Paul finds that sin is forgiven through faith (Rom 4:7–8), and in this age, through faith in the God who raised Jesus from the dead. Justification is God's declaration that the sinner is righteous; the linchpin of this transaction, and that which keeps God's declaration of innocence from being unwarranted, is the atoning death of Jesus: "They are justified by his grace as a gift, through the redemption which is Christ Jesus, whom God put forward as an expiation by his blood, to be received by faith" (Rom 3:24–25).

The consistent witness of the NT authors is that God offers forgiveness, not just because he is merciful, but because of the atonement in the cross. "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them" (2 Cor 5:19). So, appeal must now be made not simply to God's mercy, but to God's mercy in Christ.

E. Forgive Others as God Forgives You

Forgiveness is not merely the end of human anger against an offender; it also effects the renewal of fellowship (Goppelt 1981: 134). The NT consistently teaches that the imperative to forgive one's fellows is based squarely on God's gracious forgiveness: The parable of the unmerciful servant in Matt 18:23–35 is a vivid reproof against those who draw on God's mercy and offer none of their own; indeed, the parable threatens a rekindling of God's anger: "So also my heavenly Father will do to every one of you, if you do not forgive your brother from your heart." Other texts include Matt 5:7, 6:12, 14–15, Matt 18:15–17, 21–22, Luke 6:37, 11:4, 17:3–4, Eph 4:32, Col 3:13, all of Philemon.

When the Christian prays "and forgive us our debts" he or she must also be able to say "as we also have forgiven our debtors" (Matt 6:12). This kind of gracious response to offense undergirds Paul's advice to strong Christians in Gal 6:1–2, who are to offer loving and humble help to those who fall into sin. An unforgiving spirit is the evidence of stubborn pride, which is not the attitude with which to approach to God for mercy. "Forgive and you will be forgiven" (Luke 6:37; also Mark 11:25, Sir 28:2). Jesus is also credited with the instruction that one should not ask for forgiveness if another is angry at him for some cause (Matt 5:23–24). The command to seek reconciliation is given to the offended and to the offender both.

While the NT emphasizes human forgiveness more than the OT, there is a clear line of development from Judaism. The Psalms with their stern imprecations were concerned with those who have sinned against God and the author but have shown no remorse. In that case, the psalmists put forward the choice of siding with evil or siding with God; the righteous choice was to condemn those whom God condemns.

Likewise, in many NT texts, forgiveness is commanded to be given those who regret their offense. This is not far off from contemporary Judaism: "Love one another from the heart, therefore, and if anyone sins against you, speak to him in peace . . . If anyone confesses and repents, forgive him" (*T. Gad* 6:3–4). Unlike the NT, it goes on to say that if someone denies his guilt, one should not press the matter; he will come to realize his wrong, and will not do it again. The Lukan version of Jesus' teaching gives this condition: "if your brother sins, rebuke him, and if he repents, forgive him; and if he sins against you 7 times in the day, and turns to you 7 times, and says, 'I repent,' you must forgive him." The Matthean parable of the unmerciful debtor makes the two debtors humbly ask for release from debt. Matt 18:15–17 includes the exhortation to approach the sinning brother to "tell him his fault"; reconciliation comes "if he listens to you."

On the other hand, Jesus' teaching was rich with exhortations to love one's enemies; taking vengeance is forbidden, as is harboring resentment (Matt 5:39, Luke 6:35; see Rom 12:14–21). The disciple must be forgiving in spirit even if the offender is hardhearted. Again, this ideal is not absent from Judaism; again, *T. Gad* 6:7 provides a parallel: If the offender does not repent at all "forgive him from the heart and leave vengeance with God." But whatever the parallels, the concept springs into life in Luke 23:34—"Father forgive them; for they know not what they do." Jesus forgiving of his own executioners is mirrored by Stephen (Acts 7:60), and by a number of later victims of Roman persecution.

F. Remission of Sins by the Apostles

According to John 20:23, Jesus appeared to 10 of the apostles and promised, "If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained." The Catholic Church has taken this as Scriptural warrant for Auricular Confession and the absolution of sins by a priest (Beasley-Murray *John* WBC, 382–84). Protestant interpreters generally understand the authority to be that of the preaching of the gospel (as in Luke 24:47), or the right to give or withhold baptism. It seems that from earliest times the whole congregation was involved in disciplining and forgiving (Matt 18:17, 1 Cor 5:1–13, 2 Cor 2:5–11, James 5:16, 1 John 5:16), although an authoritative figure may have been involved in giving an official declaration of guilt or pardon (Matt 16:19, 18:18, Acts 5:3–4, 9; 8:20–24; 1 Cor 5:3–4).

G. The "Unpardonable Sin"

Later generations of Christians would take Mark 3:28–29 (= Matt 12:31–32 = Luke 12:10) and interpret "speaking against the Son of Man" as sins of ignorance committed by non-Christians, while "blasphemy against the Spirit" was deliberate sin by the baptized (Higgins 1964: 130–31; Marshall *Luke* NICNT, 516–19). Tertullian, following Montanism, taught that the 7 "mortal sins" are unforgivable if committed by Christians (Telfer 1959: 71). Biblically, the sin which will not be forgiven (*aphiēmi*) is "blasphemy against the Spirit" (Matt 12:32 adds: "speaks against the Holy Spirit"). In the accounts of Matthew and Mark, the saying is given when Jesus' opponents credit his exorcism to Beelzebul. In that context, the unpardonable sin is an obstinate rejection of the Spirit's work in God's kingdom, and thus a rejection of God himself. Redlich (1937: 167) interprets the warning and the reference to the possibility of eternal punishment to mean that the unpardonable sin is a life of rejecting the Spirit, and not necessarily a specific act. Similar language is used to speak of a complete rebellion against Christian light in Heb 6:4–8, 10:26–29 (cf. the "mortal sin" in 1 John 5:16).

There is a close parallel to the "unpardonable sin" in *Jub.* 15:34. There is no forgiveness for those who commit the eternal error of not circumcising their sons. The sin is called a "blasphemy" against God in the face of his Law. This passage was current in Jesus' day, and it probably provides the foundation for his counterproposal: It is not the failure to circumcise, but the rejection of the Spirit which constitutes the unpardonable sin. If it is analogous to the traditional sin, thus blasphemy of the Spirit is indeed a perpetual state rather than a single act.

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GARY S. SHOGREN

FORM CRITICISM. This entry discusses an important method of biblical study that arose early in the 20th century and that has continued to have a major impact on biblical criticism. The entry consists of 2 articles, one covering how this method has been employed in OT studies, and the other covering how it has been utilized by NT scholars.

OLD TESTAMENT

In the OT, form criticism is a method of study that identifies and classifies the smaller compositional units of biblical texts, and seeks to discover the social setting within which units of these types or literary genres were originally used.

A. History and Development
B. Stages of Form Critical Analysis
   1. Form
   2. *Gattung*
   3. *Sitz im Leben*
   4. Form and Function

A. History and Development

OT form criticism is usually held to have begun with the work of Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932), who wrote major studies of the stories in Genesis (Gunkel 1964) and of the Psalms (Gunkel 1967). Earlier work on the oral literature of other nations formed the basis of Gunkel's work. He was the first to suggest that it was possible to penetrate behind even the earliest-written source material in the Pentateuch to a preliterary stage at which the individual stories were transmitted by word of mouth. Many of them, he suggested, owed their origins to the need to explain particular local customs, institutions, or natural phenomena, and so were *aetiological legends.* For example, the story of Jacob's dream at Bethel (Gen 28:10–17) was originally a legend explaining the existence of a sanctuary there ("Bethel" = "house of El") taken over by the Israelites from the Canaanites. In his study of the Psalms, Gunkel proposed that the present Psalms derived from earlier prototypes which were not (as he believed the present Psalms to be) personal lyric poems, but liturgical texts actually used in the cultic life of Israel. Gunkel's classification of the Psalms into 5 basic types (hymns, communal laments, royal psalms, individual laments, and individual songs of thanksgiving) is the basis of all modern study of the Psalter.

Sigmund Mowinckel developed Gunkel's theories about the Psalms further and simplified them by proposing that many of the Psalms in the present Psalter were themselves cultic texts (Mowinckel 1962). With the aid of comparative material from other Near Eastern cultures he then sought to reconstruct the worship of the preexilic Temple by suggesting occasions on which the Psalms might have been used, adding rubrics to the Psalms to account for the changes of form within a single Psalm (see below) and hypothesizing an annual "Festival of Yahweh's Enthronement" as the setting for many Psalms. Subsequent scholarship has been skeptical of the more speculative parts of Mowinckel's work (see Kraus 1966). For example, it is not clear that all the Psalms can be fitted into a single festival; while many of Mowinckel's suggestions rest more on comparisons with other cultures of the ancient Near East than on form criticism, in any case. But OT scholars have continued to accept the general working hypothesis that form criticism can establish a *Sitz im Leben* (see below) for many Psalms in the worship of preexilic Israel.

Gunkel's work on the Pentateuch led directly into the traditio-historical researches of Martin Noth (1972), and Gerhard von Rad (1966), who accepted the basic premise that the preliterary forms of the stories of the Israelite ancestors could be reconstructed. They tried to show that many of the cycles into which these stories had coalesced, even before being fixed in writing, had their *Sitz im Leben* in the cultic life of the Israelite covenant-league before the monarchy. The demise of Noth's theory of an Israelite "Amphictyony" has to some extent weakened this position. But most OT scholars still accept the view that the stories in the Pentateuch rest on oral prototypes, and that these prototypes can to some extent be reconstructed, though in some quarters there has been a return to Wellhausen's view that the Pentateuch was a literary document from the beginning. This has been argued particularly by Van Seters (1975) and Schmid (1976).

Form criticism has been particularly fruitful in the study of legal and wisdom material. Albrecht Alt's pioneering work on Israelite law (Alt 1966) established the essential distinction between apodeictic law (commands) and casuistic law (case law), which continues to be widely used, though his assertion that apodeictic or categorical law (of the unconditional kind represented best by the Ten Commandments) was peculiar to Israel has had to be abandoned. Form-critical study of the wisdom literature has made comparison with the wisdom books of other Near

Eastern cultures more precise, and perhaps represents the least controversial area of form critical work (see Crenshaw 1981).

In the case of the prophets, form critics were for a long time impressed with the number of primarily cultic forms to be found in prophetic texts, and a number of scholars, notably A. R. Johnson in Britain and H. Graf Reventlow in Germany, argued the case for seeing the great classical prophets as cultic functionaries, at least partly on the strength of these similarities (see Johnson 1962; Reventlow 1962). G. Fohrer, however, warned against jumping too readily to this conclusion. He argued (see Fohrer 1961) that prophets could use cultic forms (or forms from any other sphere of Israelite life) because of their high degree of literary skill: it did not follow from this that they were themselves cultic officials. We shall return to this argument (see below under **Form and Function**). This has been widely accepted, and though it does not of course demonstrate that the prophets were *not* cultic functionaries, it does reduce the grounds for believing that they were.

Form criticism is no longer in the center of interest in OT studies, as REDACTION CRITICISM and literary approaches (STRUCTURALISM, semiotics, READER-RESPONSE THEORY) have focused attention on the finished form of the text, rather than on preliterary stages of the text's growth. Nevertheless, form criticism remains an indispensable tool for the historical study of the OT (see Tucker 1971; Koch 1969; Barton 1984).

B. Stages of Form Critical Analysis

Whereas "Source Criticism" analyzes books which are the work of several *authors* into their component parts, form criticism is concerned with texts that contain material belonging to different *genres*, whether or not they are by a single author. For example, prophetic books often contain passages belonging to different genres within a single chapter. Thus Isaiah 5 begins (vv 1–7) with a poem which is generically a love song, but then continues with several oracles beginning "Woe to . . . ," which are probably modelled on funeral dirges. In vv 24–5 the text shifts to a proclamation of divine judgment, and in vv 26–30 it concludes with a poetic description of the Assyrian army. To understand this chapter, it is obviously essential first to break it up into its separate parts and then to identify the genre of each.

The word "genre" perhaps suggests to a modern reader the categories of *written* literature (novels, lyric poems, etc.); but many of the genres we can identify in the OT, though now fixed in writing, probably go back to a time of *oral* composition, as Gunkel was among the first to recognize (see above). In any culture where literature is transmitted by word of mouth, different genres have different social contexts: Indeed, this is still true even in our own society of such genres as the sermon, the political speech, and the popular song. In societies such as ancient Israel, many types of utterance were strictly tied to particular settings, and followed highly stereotyped patterns. Consequently it is sometimes possible to learn about the social and religious life of ancient Israel by paying attention to the various oral and literary forms of speech encountered in OT texts. It is a feature of the OT, however, that one genre is often embedded in another. In the example from Isaiah, a poem in the form of a love song is set within the larger context of a collection of oracles, and this collection in turn forms part of a prophetic book. Detailed critical work may be needed before the various genres to be studied can be disentangled. Furthermore, even the term "genre" is too imprecise. Form critics distinguish 2 categories, known by the German terms *Form* and *Gattung*. Analysis of a text begins by identifying each *Form* within it, grouping them together to identify the *Gattung*, and then asking about the text's *Sitz im Leben* and its function.

1. Form. Confusingly, the English word "form" is used to render 2 of these technical terms of German form criticism, *Form* and *Gattung*. The first, the "form" properly so called, is the structure or shape of an individual passage or unit, as in this may be described without regard to the content of the passage. For example, in studying the Psalms we can begin by describing each Psalm in terms of its meter, the number of stanzas or strophes it contains, whether the speaker is singular or plural, whether it is addressed to God or (as in Psalm 37) to the reader, and so on. Formal description at this level is an important method of breaking a text up into its component parts, and is essential in studying the OT because as it now stands the text lacks the kind of section divisions we are familiar with in modern books.

In a prophetic book such as Hosea, for example, a reader who tries to read the text as a coherent and continuous whole is soon frustrated by the lack of overall shape, and begins to feel that the book needs to be broken up into shorter sections. Modern translations indicate such divisions by leaving blank lines, and sometimes by introducing subheadings. The criteria for these divisions are often connected with *formal* features of the text: for example, a change of speaker (e.g., between Hosea 5:15 and 6:1); a new start with a different audience addressed (5:1); a shift from a prediction of judgment (13:16) to an exhortation to repentance, introduced with an imperative (14:1).

In the same way the Psalms sometimes "change gear" in a disconcerting way, but the change can be precisely described in formal terms. Thus in Psalm 118, vv 1–18 are a hymn of praise, but v 19 is a request ("open to me the gates of righteousness"); v 25 a prayer for deliverance ("Save us, we beseech thee, O Lord"); v 26 a blessing ("We bless you from the house of the Lord"); and v 27b perhaps a rubric ("Bind the festal procession with branches up to the horns of the altar") in imperative form. Formal description at this level does not tell us much that is new about the text, but it does help us to analyze it and, in some cases, to understand at a more theoretical level why it is intuitively puzzling.

2. *Gattung*. Once a number of passages have been analyzed from a formal point of view, it may be possible to see them as belonging to a general class or genre, and it is for this that the German term *Gattung* is used. Thus there is a large number of Psalms that begin with a call to worship God and go on to extol God's mighty acts (e.g., Psalms 29, 33, 47, 66, 96, 98, 100); there are many laws in the Pentateuch that begin "If a man . . ." (e.g., Exod 22:1, 5, 7, 10, 14 [Heb 21:37; 22:4, 6, 9, 14]); there are many prophetic oracles that run "Because . . . therefore thus says the LORD . . ." (e.g., Isa 7:5–8; 29:13–14; Amos 1:3–5). Having discerned the presence of such repeated struc-

tures and phrases, we are justified in concluding that Israel's literature (written or oral) included such stereotyped forms as standard types of which the particular cases we encounter in the OT are examples.

Once scholars are convinced that a passage they have analyzed formally belongs to a more general class, they usually devise a shorthand title for the *Gattung*, and this results in many technical terms. In Psalm-study, common *Gattungen* are the hymn, the lament, and the thanksgiving, all of which may be further subdivided (individual laments, thanksgiving for victory in battle, etc.); legal sections of the Pentateuch yield "apodeictic" and "casuistic" laws (see above); wisdom literature contains proverbs, riddles, fables, and rhetorical questions; and prophetic books are made up of such forms as the oracle of judgment (*Drohwort*), the accusation (*Scheltwort*), the "woe," and the taunt.

There is obviously a danger in inferring the existence of a *Gattung* from very few examples, since it is always possible that a single text is anomalous. If the book of Psalms contained only one "lament," it would be hazardous to say very much about laments in general. Nevertheless, a culture which values tradition more highly than creativity is likely to be very conservative in the way it uses its traditional forms, and so even a few examples of a *Gattung* may give us quite a clear impression of the conventions governing its composition. For instance, the OT records only a few cases of legal procedures, but they are enough to give us some idea of the conventional formulas used in the practice of law—for example, acquittal was probably accomplished by the stereotyped formula "He/she is righteous (*ṣaddiq*)" (see Gen 38:26; Psalm 51:5; Isa 41:26).

Already in moving from *Form* to *Gattung* considerations of content begin to arise. Though form critics have sometimes maintained that form criticism should appeal only to strictly formal features (grammatical, syntactical, and metrical features of the text), most, in practice, regard the subject matter as relevant in establishing the *Gattung* to which a text belongs. In some cases, for example the category "royal psalms," subject matter is expressly the criterion used; more often, however, subject matter is one among a number of factors. Oracles of judgment in the prophets can be identified *both* by formal features (e.g., first person address by God, often with "Thus says the LORD" or "oracle of the LORD" attached) *and* by their distinctive content, concerning the future of Israel or of other nations. This mixture of form and content as criteria for assigning a text to a particular *Gattung* is no different in principle from what happens in classifying modern literature, where to call a work a tragedy, for example, is to say both that it has the formal features of a play—with acts, scenes, dialogue, and so on—and that it has a certain kind of theme and plot.

3. *Sitz im Leben.* In saying that a text belongs to a particular *Gattung* we are already saying something about the context in the life of Israel in which the text originated. If a text is a hymn, then people must have sung hymns, and there must have been occasions on which hymns could be sung; if there are laws in the OT, then Israel must have had a legal system of some kind in which these laws were used. The occasion or social setting for a given form is known as its *Sitz im Leben* (German, "setting-in-life"), a term for which no adequate English equivalent exists.

The *Sitz im Leben* must be carefully distinguished from the *historical* occasion that may have led to the production of any particular text. Thus, it is possible that certain Psalms can be dated to a particular period in Israel's history, perhaps even to a space of a few years—Psalm 74, for instance, seems to reflect the situation of Israel in the early years of the Babylonian Exile (6th century B.C.). The *Sitz im Leben* of the Psalm, however, is not the *period*, but whatever context (presumably a liturgical context) it was composed to be used in. In the nature of the case, a *Sitz im Leben* is a general, and in principle repeatable occasion, not a single historical event. In the study of the Psalms, form criticism has been particularly useful, since the Psalms are the clearest case in the OT of texts intended for public use on many repeated occasions. Psalm 74 is rather an exception in being dateable to one particular period. Most of the other lament Psalms are so general in their description of the plight of the worshippers that they could come from almost any period. Indeed, the essential form-critical insight is that the question of their date is in many ways less interesting and important than the question of their intended use as conventional liturgical texts on any and every occasion of public lamentation. (See above for an outline of form-critical work on the Psalms by Gunkel and Mowinckel.)

Although liturgy is one of the clearest examples of the kind of *Sitz im Leben* the form critic can reconstruct, other spheres of Israelite life also had their distinctive forms, and by paying attention to them we can understand many OT texts better, and in turn derive from the texts more information about the spheres concerned. An example already mentioned is the law court. The OT provides only one clear account of proceedings in court, in 1 Kgs 21 (the trial of Naboth), though there are frequent passing allusions to the institution. Form criticism, however, can throw considerably more light on the subject. For example, the prophets frequently use a form in which God (or his prophet) is portrayed as pleading a case in court (e.g., Isa 1:2; Mic 6:1–5)—the so-called *rib* or controversy form—and they also describe visions of courtroom scenes in the heavenly world which are probably modelled on earthly legal processes (e.g., Zech 3:1–5). From these it is possible to form a fair idea of procedures in the courts: for example, to infer that Israelite courts knew of counsel for the plaintiff and for the defendant, and that cases were heard by a panel of judges. These conclusions in turn help us to understand such passages more clearly—to see that God is cast variously in the role of judge (Zech 3), plaintiff (Isa 1), and defendant (Micah 6), thereby gaining a sharper focus on these important texts.

Other spheres of life which form criticism can illuminate have proved to be education, commercial practice, and the life of the royal court. Interest in recent years in the sociology of ancient Israel will both contribute to and benefit from form-critical studies of OT texts.

4. Form and Function. Form criticism of the prophetic books raises some particularly interesting issues. As we have just seen, some of our information about certain spheres of life in Israel—for example, the procedures in law courts—derives from the use of legal forms by the

prophets; but this use is at one remove from the primary or original use of legal forms, since the prophets are deliberately adopting forms from a sphere of activity other than their own in order to communicate their message more vividly. Whereas descriptions in the first person of a vision (as in 1 Kgs 22:19–23 or Amos 9:1–4) may be regarded as characteristically prophetic forms, with their *Sitz im Leben* in public prophesying, forms from the law court, the world of the popular singer (Isa 5:1–7), or the priestly call to worship (Amos 4:4) represent a deliberate use (or rather *mis*use) by the prophets of forms from other spheres of life. Amos, in effect, *pretends* to be a priest in order to utter sentiments that no priest would have accepted: that God no longer requires the worship of the sanctuaries. A form-critical study, by showing us the original and proper function of the forms used by the prophets, helps us to see more sharply the originality with which they contradicted the people's expectations.

This does not in any way diminish the historical value of form criticism in elucidating Israelite institutions; for the prophets' words can only have been effective if the forms they used did indeed have a proper sphere of life in which they were completely familiar to people at large. But it does urge us to be cautious in thinking that form criticism can tell us exactly how a given text was actually used in ancient Israel; for clearly it would be illegitimate to argue from Amos 4:4 that the prophet was a priest, or from Isa 5:1–7 that Isaiah was a popular singer, simply because they use forms properly belonging to these spheres. The form of the popular song could not have existed to be exploited by Isaiah if no one in Israel sang songs; but it does not follow from this that any given text which we can classify as belonging to the *Gattung* of the popular song really was used as one, and Isa 5:1–7 provides a clear example of one such text that is transparently *not* a real song.

This has implications also for the form criticism of the Psalms. Once certain genres of text exist, it is always possible for them to be imitated in a purely literary way, or even parodied—and parody is perhaps the best description of the use made of a variety of forms by the great prophets. The fact that a form has a proper or normal function in a particular society must not be allowed to lead us to the hasty conclusion that any given example of the form represents a primary case: It may be a secondary imitation or use of the form for some other purpose.

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JOHN BARTON

NEW TESTAMENT

In NT studies, form criticism may be defined as "a systematic, scientific, historical, and theological methodology for analyzing the forms, and to some extent the content, of the primitive Christian literature, with special reference to the history of the early Christian movement in its reflective and creative theological activities" (Doty 1972: 62). The method developed as a means of analyzing and interpreting the Synoptic Gospels, but its application broadened during the 1970s and 1980s through the influence of aesthetic and rhetorical criticism.

A. Traditional Form Criticism
B. Aesthetic Form Criticism
C. Rhetorical Form Criticism
D. Conclusion

A. Traditional Form Criticism

Hermann Gunkel's *Genesis* (1901) [*The Legends of Genesis*] suggested that biblical literature was a product of combined traditions that had circulated orally before they were written down by various writers. Julius Wellhausen's *Das Evangelium Marci* (1903), *Das Evangelium Matthaei* (1904), *Das Evangelium Lucae* (1904), and *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (1905)—building on David Friedrich Strauss's observation in *Das Leben Jesu* (1835–1836) [*The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*] that the Gospels must be compared unit by unit—used Gunkel's insight to break with the traditional explanation of the Gospels as products of written sources and to discuss the Synoptic Gospels as literature written by authors who used oral traditions. Karl Ludwig Schmidt, in *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu* (1919), distinguished the editorial framework, which established a chronological and geographical scheme, from the units ("forms") that had been transmitted orally. He also described a stage between oral transmission and gospel writing in which similar kinds of forms existed in collections.

Martin Dibelius' *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (1919) [*From Tradition to Gospel*] launched form criticism in the NT by differentiating 6 kinds of materials: sermons, paradigms, tales, legends, passion story, and myth. The sermon created the sociological setting (*Sitz im Leben*) for the tradition as a whole and represented for Dibelius the "constructive" base for discussing Synoptic Gospel forms. Paradigms functioned as examples for early Christian preaching and were edifying and religious, not "worldly." Tales (*Novellen*) present "secular" events, motivated by a need for propaganda and a model for Christian miracles. They abound in details and conceal the epiphany of god's messenger. Legends cast a religious hero into a stereotyped mold as a man of piety. They exhibit manifold

interests and portray secondary things and persons without clear focus. The passion narrative represents the story of Jesus' death, burial, and resurrection known by all Christians. Myth relates the cosmic significance of a cult hero and leaves few traces outside the baptism, temptation, and transfiguration of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels. The writers of the Gospels worked as compilers or redactors rather than as authors—their contributions were limited to grouping and reworking traditional materials.

Rudolf Bultmann's *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (1921) [*The History of the Synoptic Tradition*] used an "analytical" approach that started with the synoptic texts rather than the Christian sermon. He expanded the aims of form criticism by seeking to determine the original form, secondary additions and forms, and the results for the history of the tradition. As a correlate, Bultmann's concern was to determine the sociological setting at any particular time for each passage under discussion. Bultmann divided the synoptic tradition into "sayings" and "narratives." Under sayings were 2 categories: (a) apophthegms (sayings in a situation), divided into controversy and school dialogues, and into biographical apophthegms; (b) dominical sayings (1 or 2 sentences long), divided into logia, prophetic and apocalyptic words, legal sayings and church rules, "I"-sayings, and similitudes and similar forms. Under narratives were 2 categories: (a) miracle stories (demonstrating Jesus' messianic authority or divine power), divided into miracles of healing (including demon healings) and nature miracles; (b) historical stories and legends (religious and edifying stories arising out of messianic hopes and institutions), divided chronologically: from baptism to triumphal entry, passion narrative, Easter narratives, and infancy narratives.

Vincent Taylor, in *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition* (1933) gave life to form criticism within British scholarship by interweaving it with source criticism. In 2 instances he modified conventional terminology: (a) by using "pronouncement story" for Bultmann's apophthegms and Dibelius' paradigms, which Eric Fascher, in *Die Formgeschichtliche Methode* (1924), had called *Anekdoten* (anecdotes) and Martin Albertz, in *Die synoptischen Streitgespräche* (1921), had called *Streitgespräche* (conflict dialogues); and (b) by using "stories about Jesus" for narratives previously called legends or myths. In addition, he discussed passion narratives, sayings, parables, and miracle stories.

After the phase in which comprehensive terminology was established for forms in the synoptic tradition, contributions focused on individual forms. C. H. Dodd, in *The Parables of the Kingdom* (1935), and Joachim Jeremias, in *Die Gleichnisse Jesu* (1947) [*The Parables of Jesus*], gave special attention to the parables of Jesus, distinguishing parable from allegory, differentiating eschatology from apocalyptic, and establishing a history of the parables from their authentic form on the lips of Jesus to their theological and christological functions in the Gospels. Ernst Käsemann, in "Sätze heiligen Rechtes im NT" (1954–55) isolated "sentences of holy law," among which Richard A. Edwards identified "eschatological correlatives"—a form which D. Schmidt subsequently called "prophetic correlatives."

H. C. Kee (1977), incorporating work on collections prior to the written Gospels and importing some new terminology, presented a list of gospel forms within Bultmann's earlier two-division scheme. The first division is constituted by the sayings tradition, with 3 subtypes: (a) aphorisms; (b) parables; (c) sayings clusters with topical and formal groupings. The second division is constituted by narrative tradition, with 5 subtypes: (a) anecdotes; (b) aphoristic narratives; (c) wonder stories; (d) legends, consisting of biographical and cultic legends; (e) passion narrative. The use of the terms aphorism and aphoristic narrative reveal the influence of aesthetic criticism on forms in the Gospels (see Crossan 1983).

Since traditional form criticism emerged during a phase when historical issues dominated the discussion of biblical literature, a major issue for debate concerned the historicity of various NT forms. Dibelius and Taylor considered Bultmann's approach too skeptical concerning possible historical reminiscences within many of the forms. Intensifying this concern, Harald Riesenfeld, in *The Gospel Tradition and its Beginnings* (1957), attempted to show that the gospel tradition derived from Jesus himself and that the tradition was passed down carefully as was the rabbinic tradition. Birger Gerhardsson, in *Memory and Manuscript* (1961), tried to support Riesenfeld's thesis through detailed analysis based on rabbinic tradition as a model. Research both by Morton Smith and Jacob Neusner has systematically challenged the use of rabbinic tradition by Riesenfeld and Gerhardsson to argue that historical reminiscence dominates, since rabbinic tradition is even less interested in historical information than the gospel tradition. These concerns, however, have been perpetuated by Heinz Schürmann, who posits a collection of sayings used by disciples of Jesus during Jesus' lifetime, and E. Earle Ellis, who argues that gospel traditions were probably transmitted in written form during Jesus' earthly ministry.

One of the major weaknesses of traditional form criticism has been its reconstruction of underlying oral forms with a scribal method developed for text and source criticism. In other words, form critics have not used data that specialists in oral literature have systematically gathered and analyzed to understand the production and transmission of oral literature. Instead, form critics have attempted to reconstruct oral forms with the same procedures critics use to reconstruct early manuscript readings and early written sources. Thus, at this point in time it is not clear that interpreters ever will be able to get an accurate picture of oral activity in early Christianity. Yet it may be possible, as discussed below, to shed much more light on the symbiotic relation between oral and written composition in early Christianity.

Another weakness has been the absence of detailed work in contemporary literature written in Greek, the language of the NT, to display the dynamic relationships between written and oral composition in Mediterranean society. This has led to an unwillingness to entertain the possibility that early Christians could have used oral speech in conventional situations in which other people spoke in the Mediterranean world. Thus the major situations envisioned have been baptism, eucharist, catechism, and preaching rather than challenge-riposte, argument, performance of witty caricatures, and storytelling. Also, it has led to a one-sided discussion of writing, in which interpreters with a negative view of form criticism have used a model of writing that existed in later rabbinic Judaism, but

in which form critics have not used models from Hellenistic education and writing that spread throughout the Mediterranean world in the 3d and 2d centuries B.C.E.

Yet another weakness in form criticism has resulted from the presupposition that the passion stories existed as a uniform narrative within a few years after Jesus' death. This presupposition prevented serious form-critical analysis of units recounting Jesus' arrest, trial, death, and burial. Recently the units in the passion narratives have become a subject of lively analysis and debate, aided substantially by inclusion of the *Gospel of Peter* in the discussion (see Kelber 1976; Mack 1988; Crossan 1988).

Historical debate about traditional form criticism often has detracted from its major contributions to NT research and interpretation. The strengths of form criticism include: (a) acceptance of significant limitations within historical research; (b) an unwillingness to import extrinsic data about authors into the intrinsic data in a NT document; (c) an intrinsic interest in forms of speech and narrative; (d) a search for a dynamic model to analyze transmission and adaptation of linguistic formulations; (e) an interest in social aspects of literature. These strengths give form criticism a vitality and importance that has perpetuated it beyond its original literary-historical frame of reference into aesthetic and rhetorical forms of analysis and interpretation.

B. Aesthetic Form Criticism

A circle of interpreters in the United States have broadened and reformulated traditional form criticism with aesthetic criticism. To a great extent, these modifications have built on the strengths of form criticism mentioned above. Aesthetic criticism is especially concerned with dynamics of language, imagery, and modes of perception. Amos N. Wilder, in *The Language of the Gospel* (1964), gave birth to aesthetic form criticism in NT studies with analysis of dialogue, story, parable, and poem. He observed that all the written forms in the NT lie outside the formal categories within the culture of the time. A major reason, he posited, is that the forms in the NT began in oral speech and still lie close to living speech. This means that one must appreciate and illumine special modes of language, newly created expressions and phrases, image, symbol, and myth in these forms. Robert W. Funk (1966, 1982) carried the work forward by interpreting parables as metaphors; by joining form criticism with style criticism to analyze letters; and by inaugurating research groups on parable, pronouncement story, miracle story, letter, and apocalypse in the Society of Biblical Literature. Dan O. Via, Jr. (1967) used an aesthetic-literary approach to analyze 8 narrative parables according to their tragic or comic plot structure and existential mode. William A. Beardslee (1970) joined the ranks with analysis of proverb, gospel, history, and apocalypse. Robert C. Tannehill continued the approach by identifying "the focal instance" and highlighting "the antithetical aphorism" in the Gospels (1975). Then he continued his work with the pronouncement story, which he divided into 6 types: (1) corrections; (2) commendations; (3) objections; (4) quests; (5) inquiries; and (6) descriptions.

John Dominic Crossan has used aesthetic criticism in tandem with traditional form criticism, reconstructing an earlier form with traditional source-, form-, and redaction-critical techniques before applying aesthetic criticism to the reconstructed form. His work has focused on parable, aphorism, and passion narrative.

Aesthetic criticism began with an emphasis on the relation of existing texts to the living voice. Yet attention naturally moved to the written form of the text present to the reader. Thus, most aesthetic form critics are interested in the form on the written page. A notable exception has been Crossan, who reconstructs an earlier text to which he applies aesthetic interpretation.

C. Rhetorical Form Criticism

Rhetorical criticism is concerned especially with dynamics among speaker, speech, and audience. When applied to written literature, it focuses on implied authors; narrators and audiences enunciated in literature; and readers. Rhetorical form criticism in NT studies is characterized by interaction with 3 other kinds of analysis and interpretation: (a) aesthetic criticism; (b) traditional form criticism; and (c) social analysis of NT literature. For this reason, rhetorical form criticism in NT studies may function in any one, or a combination, of 3 modes.

One kind of rhetorical form criticism has aesthetic criticism as its frame of reference. Wilder's aesthetic study of forms carried the subtitle *Early Christian Rhetoric*, and Tannehill's work on sayings and pronouncement stories in the Gospels is a type of rhetorical analysis. Likewise, Beardslee's studies of the proverb focused on their rhetorical function. Thus, some aesthetic form criticism incorporates a type of rhetorical criticism.

Another kind of rhetorical form criticism uses Hellenistic rhetorical treatises, theories, and categories in an environment of traditional form criticism. Hans Dieter Betz gave birth to this kind of criticism by using categories from Hellenistic rhetoric to analyze Pauline letters in a manner akin to traditional form criticism. Subsequently, he moved to the Sermon on the Mount as an epitome of Jesus' teaching. Betz has maintained traditional historical interests in the mode of Bultmann's reconstruction of the history of the tradition, and he has carried traditional form-critical interests into rhetorical analysis that is focused primarily on genre (*Gattung*) and arrangement (*taxis*) in NT literature.

A third kind of rhetorical form criticism uses insights from investigation of Hellenistic rhetorical treatises, theories, and categories with interests that move toward social analysis. Klaus Berger has contributed most comprehensively to form criticism with social interests by his virtually exhaustive analysis of NT forms (1984a; 1984b). He begins with collections of forms that include parables, allegories, maxims, chreiai, and apophthegmata, as well as types of argumentation (e.g., diatribe) and ways of rewriting scripture (e.g., midrash). Then he proceeds to symbouletic (advisory) forms: 27 forms, including various types of parenesis, vice and virtue catalogs, woes, domestic codes, and community rules. Next he discusses epideictic forms (praise or censure): 40 forms, such as acclamations, doxologies, hymns, reports of visions and auditions, travel reports, encomia, and narratives of the suffering and rescue of the righteous. Last he presents dikanic (judicial) forms: 6 forms including apologetic texts and speeches of

indictment and accusation. With this classification system, Berger moved away from traditional and aesthetic form criticism—which favors forms that appear to be close to the living voice or to symbolic communication—to rhetorical forms as they function in different social locations for different social purposes. To traditional form critics, therefore, many of Berger's forms appear to be almost formless. The reason is that speech and writing receive their rhetorical form on the basis of their function within a social setting rather than on the basis of a historically or aesthetically conceived situation of creative speech or writing. What may not appear as a striking literary or aesthetic form may, however, be a sufficient and successful form within its conventional social setting.

Contemporaneous with Berger's revisioning of form criticism, various studies of individual forms have produced a circle of NT interpreters engaged in rhetorical form analysis with an interest in social environments. Stanley K. Stowers' analysis of diatribe as a teaching activity and of letter as communication in particular social locations has played an informative role for this kind of rhetorical form criticism. Analysis of household codes also has played a role, since directions for household management are so obviously social in import (see Stowers 1986; Aune 1988; Malherbe 1988). Rhetorical analysis of Paul's defense speeches in Acts has contributed to this kind of analysis, since the envisioned social location is a court trial, one of the 3 major social environments for speeches discussed by ancient rhetoricians (see Veltman 1978; Long 1983). Studies of the rhetorical chreia are also part of this movement, since they explore the environment of Hellenistic education and argumentation as an aspect of the social location of the Gospels within various early Christian groups (Aune 1988; Mack 1988, 1989; Mack and Robbins 1989; Robbins 1989).

D. Conclusion

Form criticism remains a central discipline in NT studies. A major reason is the existence of discrete segments of text with perceptible form in the Synoptic Gospels. Another reason may be that almost every document in the NT displays notable formal features or discrete forms are embedded in it: speeches in Acts; diatribes and household codes in letters; letters themselves; apocalyptic forms of various kinds. Form criticism in NT studies appears to persist beyond the literary-historical framework in which it began. For this reason, it has a significant place in aesthetic criticism in its various forms and in rhetorical criticism in its various forms.

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VERNON K. ROBBINS

FORNICATION. See SEX AND SEXUALITY.

FORTIFICATIONS (LEVANT). Fortifications are the most important component of an ancient urban settlement, aimed at preventing hostile elements from entering the settlement, as well as serving to demarcate the limits of the city. The impact of new weapons on the shape of a city's fortifications was much less decisive than has been assumed by some scholars. Yadin's attempts to associate the use of a battering ram directly with the appearance of earthen ramparts in the Middle Bronze Age II and with a solid type of city wall in Iron Age II (Yadin 1963) is not supported by the factual evidence (see below). As part of the urban matrix, fortifications share both military and civic functions and their structure usually reflects a com-

promise between these conflicting roles. For example, the optimal defensive requirements such as maximal width and height of a city wall or depth of its foundations were limited by socioeconomic considerations. Similarly the number of gates in a city could be determined only as a compromise between the contrasting demands of security (a single narrow entrance) and everyday convenience (several wide openings). The history of alterations in shape, structure, and building materials of fortification systems demonstrates the shifts in priorities made by the community within the scope of a military-civic continuum.

A. Neolithic and Chalcolithic Periods
B. Early Bronze Age
C. Middle Bronze Age
D. Late Bronze Age
E. Iron Age
1. Tenth Century
2. Ninth Century
3. Eighth and Seventh Centuries
4. Fortresses
5. Functional Interpretation

A. Neolithic and Chalcolithic Periods

The surprising appearance in Pre-Pottery Neolithic Jericho of a city wall, built of brick and including a huge round tower predating any other similar example by thousands of years puzzled scholars ever since its discovery. A satisfying solution is finally offered by Bar-Yosef (1986) who interprets the elements not as fortifications but as a retaining wall against floods and a tower for ceremonial purposes.

Only toward the end of the 4th millennium did actual fortifications first appear in the Levant. The concept, if locally developed, could have originated from the enclosure walls of the temenoi of the Ghassulian culture such as those in Tulleilat Ghassul and En-gedi.

B. Early Bronze Age

The earliest fortifications so far uncovered in Israel belong to EB I (Kempinski 1987). At Tel 'Erani, in the S coastal plain, a city wall 3.00 m wide, an outer glacis, and 2 towers were exposed in a limited area, contemporary with a public building inside the settlement. From about the same time (late 4th millennium) an elaborate fortification system is found at Habuba Kabira in Syria. It consisted of a city wall 3.40 m wide constructed on the W side of the city in a straight line of about 600 m. Rectangular towers were spaced at regular intervals of 14.00 m and in front of them a thin (0.70 m) outer wall was added. There were 2 city gates of identical plan in the main wall, each with 2 towers and 2 doorways, and an additional outer gate through the outer wall (Strommenger 1979).

Toward the end of EB I more sites were evidently fortified: Jericho with a 1.1-m-wide city wall and semicircular towers, Tel Shalem protected by 2 parallel walls (inner wall 4.5-m-wide and outer wall 2.80 m), and Aphek with a 2.90-m-wide city wall. The first phase of the fortification systems at Tell el-Farʿah (north) and ʿAi is attributed by some scholars to the late EB I and by others to EB II. At Tell el-Farʿah a 2.20 m city wall is joined to a remarkable city gate. It consists of two huge towers projecting 7 m outward from the wall, each about 8.00 m wide. The towers commanded the 4-m-wide approach-way which narrowed to a 2.00-m entrance. The gate was closed by double doors, as evident from the 2 door sockets found *in situ*. At ʿAi the first city wall (C), 5.00–5.50 m thick, was built of large stones and strengthened by semicircular towers. Two narrow (only 1.00 m wide) passages were uncovered but no main gate has been found so far.

In EB II, fortified cities became common all over the Levant (Richard 1987). In addition to the above-mentioned sites, fortified cities were found at Beth-yerah, Megiddo, Taanach, Kh. Makhruk, Dothan, Tel 'Erani, Tel Yarmut, Arad, and Bab edh-Dhra'. A typical feature of most of these sites is the attempt to increase the strength of the city walls by making them very thick and by erecting additional parallel walls with fills in between. These cumulative fortification systems of walls and fills reached unusual width (and apparently considerable height): up to 15.00 m at Tell el-Farʿah, and over 10.00 m at ʿAi (walls C and B). However, the wall at Arad is only 2.00–2.50-m thick. In some cases, i.e., Megiddo and Jericho, the city wall was constructed in sections about 20.00 m long with narrow gaps of about 0.2 m between them, presumably to prevent the total collapse of the wall during an earthquake.

The cities of EB II are also characterized by the existence of more than one gate (Herzog 1986: 12–23). Each city had at least one large gate (more than 2.00 m wide), like the main gates at Tell el-Farʿah and Arad, through which fully laden beasts of burden could pass. In addition many cities had several narrow passages, only 0.80 to 1.00 m wide, often called postern gates. This duality reflects the attempts to counterbalance the conflicting military and civilian requirements of very large cities inhabited mostly by agriculturalists. Multiple passages saved the farmers from having to travel a distance of several kilometers in order to reach their fields. Their vulnerability was minimized by making the secondary gates as narrow as possible, so that they could be quickly blocked in an emergency or effectively defended from the top of the ramparts.

Additional efficiency of the system was provided by towers projecting outward from the wall, thus allowing flanking fire. Most common are semicircular towers attached to the wall incorporating a narrow doorway, like those in Arad, built at intervals of 25.00 to 40.00 m. In some cases the towers were rectangular, such as the ones depicted on Narmer's pallette. An interesting innovation is a massive bastion, attached to the city wall at Tel Yarmut, measuring about 25.00 m in length and 13.00 m in width. A similar structure (18.00 by 8.00 m) at Arad dominated the water reservoir inside the city.

At several sites, such as Tell el-Farʿah (north), Kh. Makhruk, and Jericho, the slopes around the city walls were reinforced by a composition consisting of alternate layers of different kinds of soils, called a glacis. The glacis served to prevent erosion, to force the attacking enemy to climb a slippery ascent, and to make any attempt to undermine the city wall more difficult. The bastion at Tel Yarmut is surrounded by an imposing stone glacis at least 6.00 m wide.

The EB III people exploited the fortifications of the previous period with few alterations. Basically the technique was to increase the width of the former city walls;

addition of wall A at ʿAi created a complex of fortifications 17.00 m wide, and wall 4045A at Megiddo doubled the width to 8.50 m. At Tel Yarmut the fortifications in EB III reached a total width of 36.00 m. Rectangular towers in this phase were a typical feature. The bastions incorporated into the circumference of the city wall became more popular at this time. They were constructed of heavy walls with inner rooms, some of which were narrow stairwells, leading to upper stories. Such bastions are found at Jericho (16.00 by 7.00 m), Tell Hesi (18.00 by 9.00 m) and Ta'anach (10.00 by 10.00 m). In the absence of fortified palaces or acropolises, these bastions also served as power bases for the military elite of the city.

The city gate in stratum XV at Megiddo had a ceremonial rather than a military function. Two wide, straight parallel gateways with stairs led up to the temple area, between 3 rectangular units. Stairs also led down into the city of Beth-yerah between 2 solid towers.

During the EB IV period urban settlements did not exist in Israel, the population being rural or nomadic. However, in Transjordan there were fortifications attributable to this period, specifically at Khirbet Iskander. Here a 2.50-m-wide perimeter wall with reinforced corners and a 2-chambered gate was uncovered (Richard 1987).

C. Middle Bronze Age

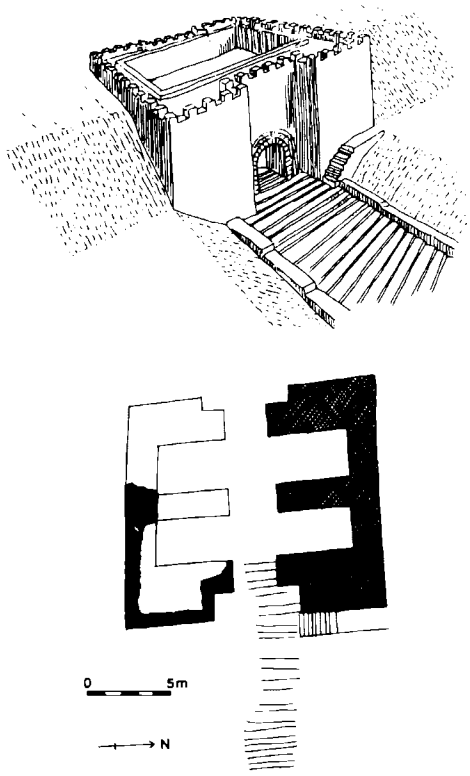
Fortified cities reappeared in the Middle Bronze Age I, at first along the coastal plain and the internal valleys (Kochavi, Beck and Gophna 1979). Fortification systems included city walls, city gates, towers, glacis, and earthen ramparts. The walls were made of sun-dried bricks above stone foundations with a moderate width of about 2.00 m. In some cases, such as Megiddo and Aphek, the wall was reinforced by pilasters on the outer side. The common use of bricks as the main constructional material stimulated the wide introduction of the glacis, which protected the bottom of the city wall on its outer side and the slope immediately below it. The elaborate MB I glacis at Tel Gerisa is composed of several courses of bricks (up to 13 in one spot) laid on the slope of the mound and covered by a layer of crushed sandstone. This is a clear improvement over the earthen glacis of the EB Age.

In addition to fortified cities built on hills or tells, large settlements surrounded by earthen ramparts were erected outside the tells in the lowlands. These ramparts were built by different techniques: with or without a stone core, with internal box-like brick constructions, or most commonly, with sloping layers of alternating soil types. In not a single case was a city wall found incorporated within the rampart. The absence of a defensive wall means that these earthen ramparts cannot be interpreted as fortifications against military attack. They were not designed to prevent the access of chariots nor could they provide an answer to the battering ram, allegedly introduced at that time. It is more likely that the earthen ramparts were an easy and quickly constructed means of demarcating the city limits of unusually large communities during peaceful times (Herzog 1986a). These communities could erect an earthen rampart within a few months with their own hands, and without the need to invest in professional builders and expensive materials. Such enclosures are known at the huge sites of Qatna and Tell Mardikh in Syria and at Hazor, Yavneh-Yam, Qabri, Tel Dan, and Akko in Israel. They were erected over areas of 20–100 hectares during the MB Age I-II. Incorporation of city gates within the earthen ramparts does not contradict the demarcation function but rather supports it. The gates were not attached to any city wall; they were merely anchored to the rampart by short walls (as for their function see below).

City gates in the MB I period present several different styles (Herzog 1986; Kempinski 1987a). A gate with an approach-way erected at right angles to the gateway was found at Megiddo Stratum XIII, forming a bent entrance, which was easier to defend than a straight entrance. The stepped approach-way to the gate indicates that only pedestrians or pack animals could enter the city.

A second gate type is found at Tel Akko. It consisted of a gate chamber (8.25 by 7.00 m) with a 10.00-m-long corridor, almost on the same axis. The narrow (1.75 m) entrance and 2 steps in front of the corridor also prevented the use of wagons or chariots.

The long, stepped approach-way leading to the gate at Tel Dan points to similar constraints, but the plan of the gatehouse is different: it is a roughly square building (15.45 by 13.50 m) divided into 4 large rooms, 2 on each side of the gateway. The gate, including the front arches



FOR.01. Plan and isometric reconstruction of MB city gate at Dan. See also Fig. DAN.01. *(Redrawn from Kempinski 1987: 113)*

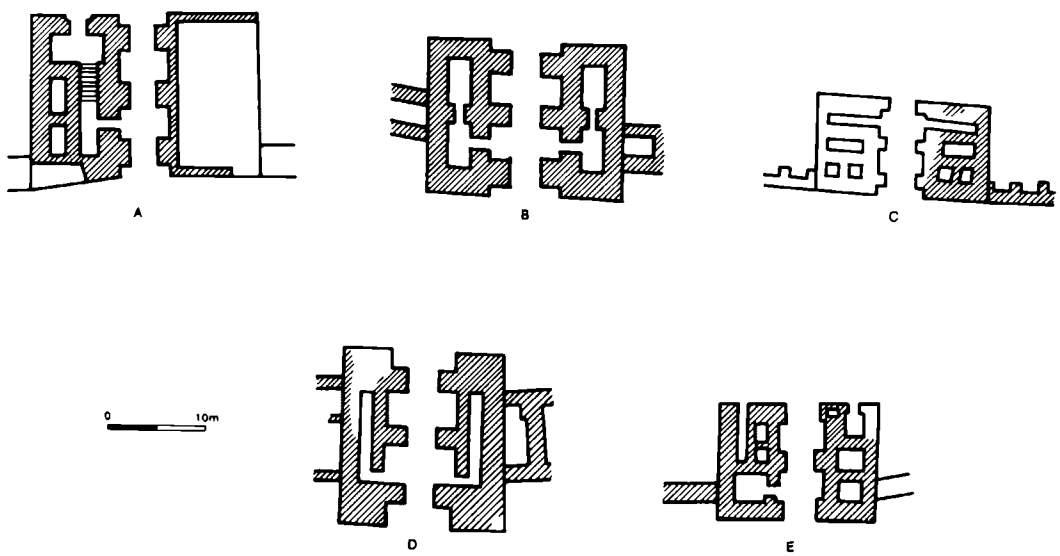
and half-barrel roof (all made of mudbricks), is exceptionally well preserved, due to the fact that it was intentionally and totally buried by the builders of the slightly later earthen rampart. The MB I gate at Dan has a striking resemblance to the 4-room gate type of Iron Age II. See Fig. FOR.01, and Fig. DAN.01.

The 4th type of gate, which developed in Syria (Tell Mardikh) and was introduced into Israel (Yavneh-Yam) in the MB I period, is the 6-pier gate, a type that became dominant in the MB II period. See Fig. FOR.02. City gates in this group are composed of formidable pairs of towers flanking straight gateways, which are narrowed by 3 piers on each side. The thick walls (2.00 m or more) of the towers point to their considerable height, with rooms on several floors. Some of these rooms served as stairwells, others were probably used as barracks for the city guards and storage areas for their equipment and food. The gates of this type had wide, straight entrances (between 2.80 to 4.00 m) and no stairs in the approach-way or gateway. This clearly indicates the usage of wheeled transportation.

Functional interpretation of the 6-pier type of gate is based on the location of the door sockets at both the front and rear ends of the gatehouse (Herzog 1986: 62–66). This proves that the gate passage was closed off by 2 sets

Site	Front width	Depth	Gateway width	Projection of piers	Width of towers	Fig. No.
Alalakh	23.00	17.00	2.80	1.20	9.00	A
Hazor 3	20.60	16.20	3.00	2.20	6.60	B
Megiddo XI	18.00	10.00	?	?	6.80	C
Shechem	17.00	19.00	2.80	2.20	5.20	D
Beth-shemesh	16.50	12.40	3.00	1.00	7.00	E
Carchemish	25.00	18.00	3.50	2.20	9.00	—
Yavneh-Yam	25.00	18.00	3.00	1.10	10.20	—
Tell el-Farʿah (south)	21.60	18.00	3.60	1.50	7.50	—
Tell Mardikh	14.70	22.00	3.00	1.40	4.50	—
Qatna (east)	36.00	29.00	3.60	2.00	13.00	—
Hazor 4	21.40	9.00	?	?	9.20	—
Gezer	22.00	14.00	2.90	0.80	8.70	—
Qatna (west)	14.80	16.00	4.00	2.40	—	—
Megiddo X-VIII	11.00	17.40	2.80	1.80	—	—

FOR.02. Six-pier (or four-chamber) gates—MB I–II. Dimensions in meters. *(Adapted and redrawn from Herzog 1986: 65)*



of doors, one set towards the exterior of the passage and the other on the city side. The dual-closure system converted the gate into an independent defensive unit, a kind of fort, that was vital in cities enclosed by earthen ramparts without proper city walls. This fort controlled the wheeled transportation in and out of the city and could serve as the only defensible structure for the local elite. In fortified cities, the gate with the dual-closure system may indicate internal social tension and the attempt of the ruling class to protect itself against attack from within the city as well as from without.

City gates of the 6-pier type are known in Syria, in addition to that at Tell Mardikh (14.70 by 22.00 m), at Qatna (36.00 by 29.00 m), Carchemish (25.00 by 18.00 m), and Alalakh (23.00 by 17.00 m), all of which are cities enclosed by earthen ramparts. In Israel such gates are found attached to the earthen enclosures at Yavneh-Yam (25.00 by 18.00 m) and Hazor (20.60 by 16.20 m). They were also adapted for use in walled cities: at Megiddo (18.00 by 10.00 m), Shechem (17.00 by 19.00 m), Gezer (22.00 by 14.00 m), Beth-shemesh (16.50 by 12.40 m), and Tell el-Farʿah (south; 21.60 by 18.00 m). Bastions incorporated into the city wall, which like the glacis seem to revive a tradition from MB III, are another typical component of MB II fortifications. Bastions of moderate size (10.00 by 5.00 m) are found at Tel Zeror, Tel Poleg, and Megiddo, while large bastions were uncovered at Gezer (26.00 by 16.00 m) and Tell Mardikh (65.00 by 30.00 m).

D. Late Bronze Age

The people of the LB Age for the most part reused the fortification systems of the previous period and seldom erected new elements. One of the exceptions is in the newly built city at Tell Abu Hawam with a 2.00-m-wide city wall. Usually, when the former walls were destroyed, cities—Megiddo, for example—were surrounded solely by a belt of houses around the perimeter and not by an independent city wall. It seems that the Egyptian accounts and reliefs referring to captured cities in Canaan relate in many cases to the king's palace rather than to a fortified city (Herzog 1976: 80; 1986: 73).

In the S coastal plain of Israel a series of forts or "governors' palaces" evidently served the Egyptian administration in Canaan (Oren 1984). These solid square structures, measuring about 20.00 by 20.00 m, are found from Tel Mor to Deir el-Balah, in addition to the one at the Egyptian center at Beth-shean. These forts or palaces are usually isolated structures and are not incorporated into any fortification system. This indicates that not only the Canaanites but also their Egyptian overlords refrained from constructing fortified cities, perhaps to prevent their potential use as bases for revolt against Egypt.

E. Iron Age

Real fortification systems are absent in Iron Age I. The new settlements of the 12th–11th centuries adapted the principle of a peripheral belt of houses, creating either an enclosed settlement (with an empty central courtyard) like 'Izbet Sartah Stratum II and Beer-sheba Stratum VII or as a settlement village (with dwellings filling the inner space) like ʿAi and Beth-shemesh.

The earliest city wall seems to be at Ashdod Stratum X belonging to a Philistine city of the late 11th century. The city has a 4.50-m-wide brick wall adjoining a 4-room gate, which is protected by 2 solid towers. At Megiddo Stratum VIA, a simple 2-room gate was incorporated in the belt of dwellings that encircled the city at the time.

Regarding the Iron Age II fortifications, Yadin developed a theory of chronological-typological attribution. He assumed that only casemate walls and 6-room gates were used in the 10th century during the reign of Solomon and that they were without exception replaced by solid walls and 4-room gates in the 9th century during the reign of Ahab (Yadin 1963: 322–24). However, the wide variety of fortification systems observed in every century of Iron Age II disproves Yadin's schematic approach (Herzog 1987).

1. Tenth Century. A peripheral belt of houses was still used at Megiddo stratum VA, Gezer Stratum VI and Lachish level V. A casemate city wall unconnected to the dwellings was found at Hazor Stratum X and apparently at En-gev Stratum IV. Casemates integrated with dwellings were attributed to this phase at Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum B3. Simple solid walls encircled the cities at Ashdod Stratum IX, Beer-sheba Stratum V, and eventually at Tel Dan. An offset-inset city wall was built at Megiddo Stratum IVB, while a solid wall with towers protected Lachish Level IV and Gezer. All 3 types of city gates were used in the 10th century. Six-room gates were used at Ashdod Stratum IX, Hazor Stratum X, Gezer Stratum VI, Megiddo Stratum IVB, and Lachish Level IV. See Fig. FOR.03. Four-room gates were used at Beer-sheba Stratum V, Megiddo Stratum IVA, and eventually at Dan. See Fig. FOR.04. Two-room gates were found at Megiddo Stratum VA and at Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum B3. See Fig. FOR.05. Four-room gates were popular also in N Syria dated from the 10th century and onwards and exposed at sites such as Carchemish and Tell Halaf.

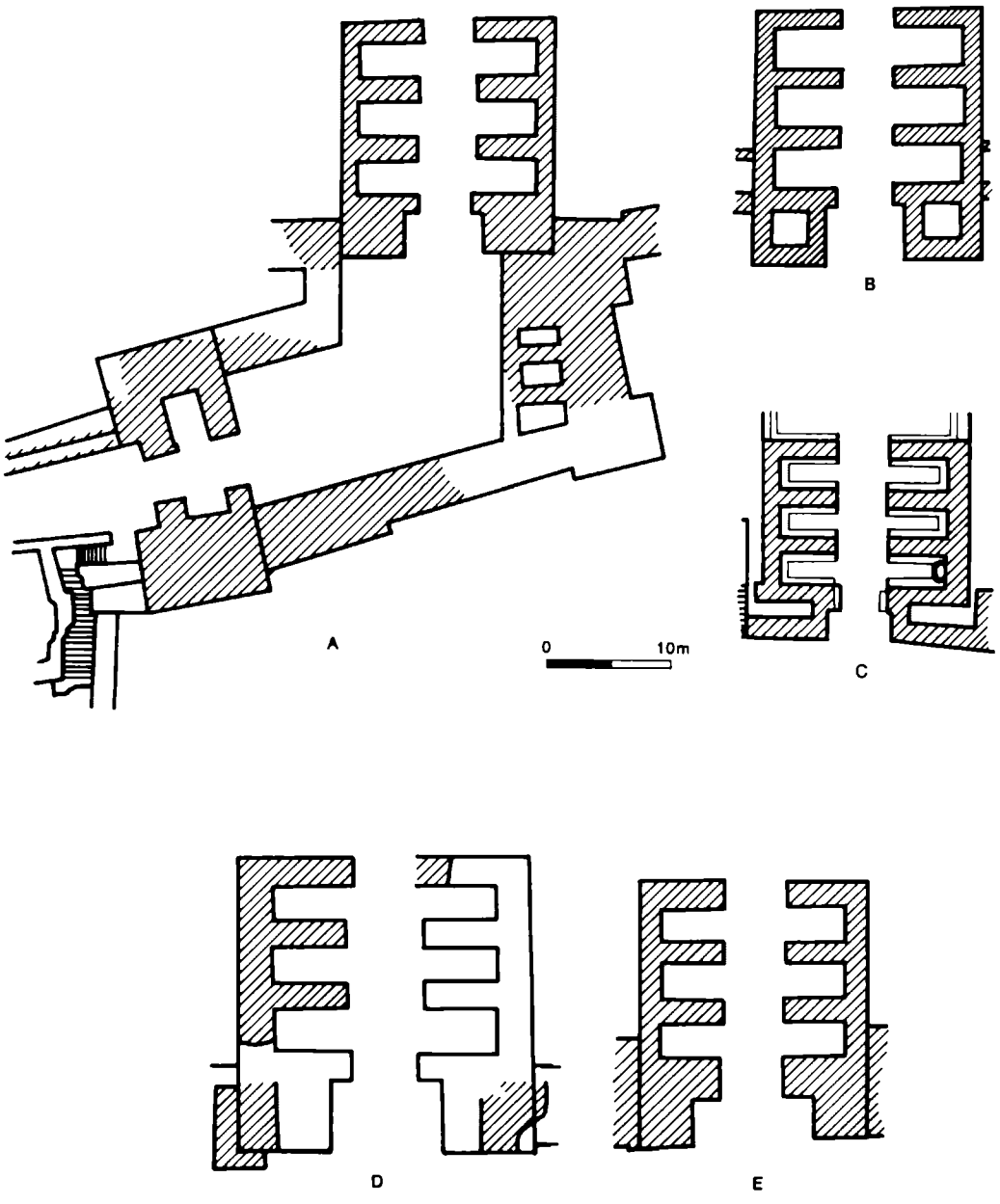
2. Ninth Century. A casemate city wall integrated with dwellings was built at Beer-sheba Stratum III and casemates filled with earth at Samaria Stratum II and Hazor Stratum VII. A solid wall with towers is found at Tell en-Nasbeh attached to a 4-room city gate at an early stage, and to a 2-room gate in the final stage. A 4-room gate was erected also at Beer-sheba Stratum III.

3. Eighth and Seventh Centuries. During this period only solid city walls were constructed. Simple solid walls are found at Jerusalem. Tel Batash Stratum III and Lachish Level II, while a solid wall with towers was built at Hazor Stratum VA. The 6-room city gate reappeared in the 8th century at Tel ʿIra, a 2-room gate was erected at Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum A2 and in the Assyrian city of Megiddo Stratum III. A gate complex in the form of an elaborate fort is represented at Lachish II.

4. Fortresses. Military units in Iron Age II were mainly fortresses erected along border or trade lines. While the architects in Judah preferred rectilinear forms at the S end of their kingdom, the round type of fort seems to have been chosen at the E front of the Kingdom of Israel. A sequence of 6 square forts (ca. 50.00 by 50.00 m) dating from the 10th through the 6th centuries B.C.E. was uncovered at Arad. Periods of shorter use (8th to 6th centuries B.C.E.) are ascribed to the rectangular fortresses at Kadesh-barnea (60.00 by 40.00 m) and Horvat 'Uza (51.00 by 42.00 m). All these units had elaborate fortified walls with

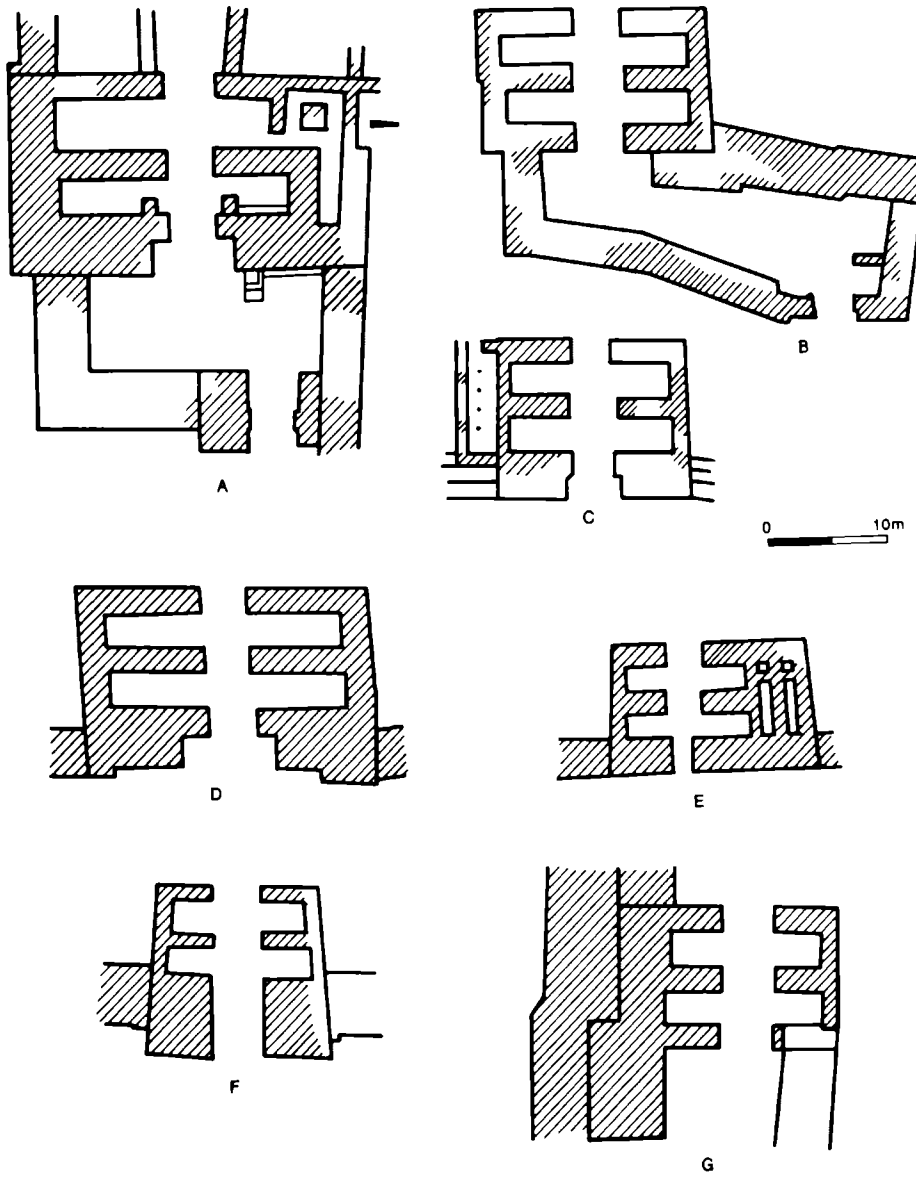
Site	Front width	Depth	Gateway width	Room width	Room length	Fig. No.
Megiddo	17.50	19.75	4.25	2.80	4.80	A
Hazor	18.20	20.50	4.20	3.00	5.00	B
Gezer	17.00	17.00	4.10	2.20	4.50	C
Lachish	24.50	25.00	5.20	2.80	6.00	D
Ashdod 9	18.40	20.90	4.90	3.30	5.00	E
Tel ʿIra	?	18.00	?	2.50	?	—

FOR.03. Eight-pier (or six-chamber) gates—Iron Age. Dimensions in meters. *(Adapted and redrawn from Herzog 1986: 127)*



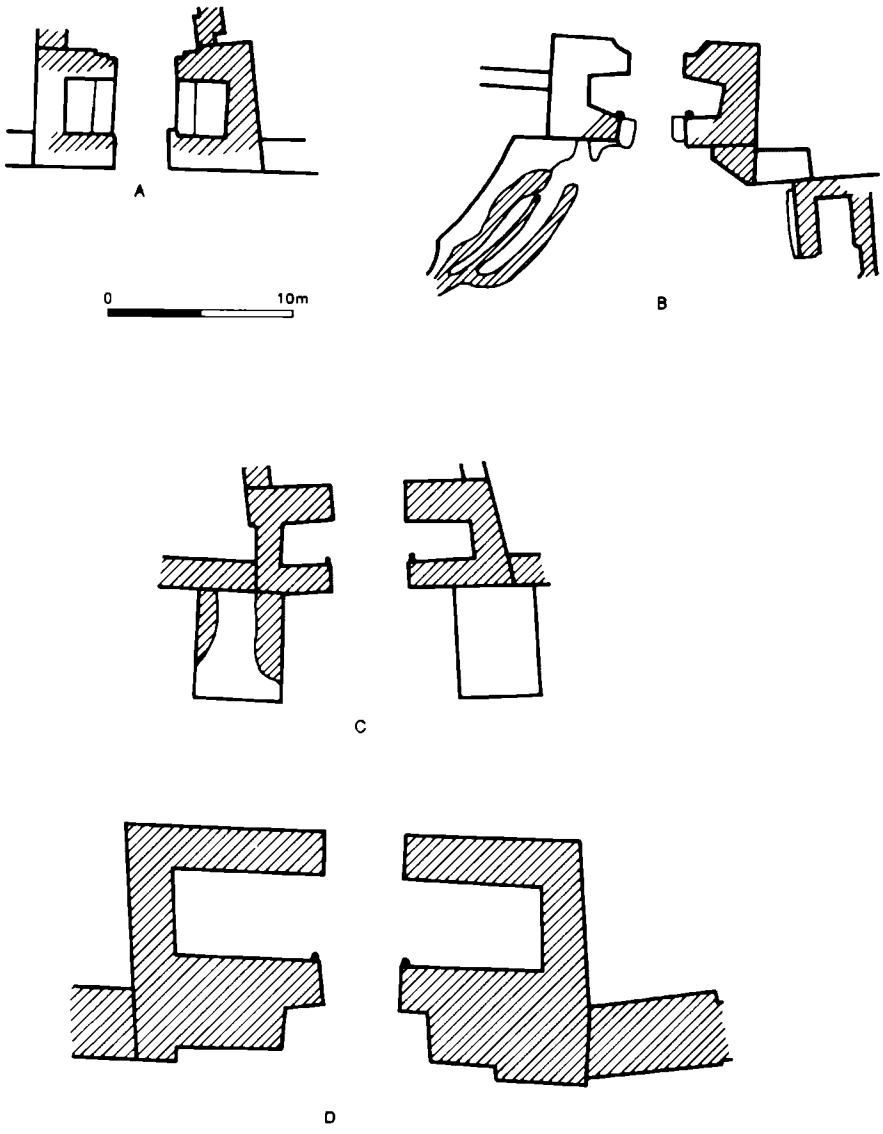
Site	Front width	Depth	Gateway width	Room width	Room length	Fig. No.
Dan	29.50	17.30	3.70	4.50	9.00	A
Beer-sheba V	20.80	12.60	4.20	3.00	6.00	B
Beer-sheba III	16.60	13.60	3.60	3.00	5.00	C
Megiddo IVA	25.00	15.50	4.20	3.00	8.20	D
Tell el-Kheleifeh	17.00	10.00	1.60	2.00	4.00	E
Ashdod 10	16.50	13.75	4.20	2.40	3.80	F
Tell en-Nasbeh (early)	15.00	12.00	4.00	1.80	4.40	G

FOR.04. Six-pier (or four-chamber) gates—Iron Age. Dimension in meters. *(Adapted and redrawn from Herzog 1986: 129)*



Site	Front width	Depth	Gateway width	Room width	Room length	Fig. No.
Megiddo VIA	13.00	7.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	A
Megiddo VA	11.50	6.00	3.00	2.50	2.50	B
Tell Beit Mirsim B3	13.50	6.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	C
Tell Beit Mirsim A2	13.50	6.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	—
Megiddo III	24.50	12.50	4.20	4.60	8.00	D

FOR.05. Four-pier (or two-chamber) gates—Iron Age. Dimensions in meters. *(Adapted and redrawn from Herzog 1986: 131)*



towers and gates, systems for water supply and storage, and at Arad even a royal temple. Unlike their S counterparts, the circular forts of the N Kingdom—like the one at Khirbet Makhruk—were much smaller, only 19.50 m in diameter (about 300 square m). The small space was filled by 3 concentric walls, leaving room only for a few soldiers and their equipment. They date to the late 10th or 9th centuries B.C.E.

5. Functional Interpretation. The diversity of the types of fortifications in Iron Age II as described above proves that no single factor was responsible for all of them. Rather, it seems plausible that the decision as to which type of defensive system was suitable for a certain city was dictated by the general economic conditions of the state, by the role of the city within the hierarchy of the royal administration, and by the location of the city as related to the overall defense lines of the state. These considerations affected the choice between the economical enclosure by a belt of houses, or the casemate wall with its savings in space and construction costs, or the more costly—but much stronger—type of solid city wall. Similarly they influenced the decision between 2-, 4-, or 6-room gates and the use of cheap mudbricks, fieldstones, or ashlar masonry as materials of construction.

Complexity of roles is very clear in city gates which had to serve daily as civilian entrances into the city. Along with the variety of forms, Iron Age II city gates show also uniformity in a basic feature: deep rooms open to their full width onto the passageway. This characteristic is particularly striking in comparison to MB II gates, the rooms of which were closed inside the towers and where only short piers projected into the passageway. Another important difference in the Iron Age is the presence of a single pair of doors closing off the entrance into the city from the outside only, and allowing free access into the gatehouse from the city side. These characteristics indicate that, in contrast to MB II gates, Iron Age gates had civilian functions above and beyond their purely military-defensive role. This conclusion is further supported by several installations in or next to the gates. Large plazas adjoining the gate inside the city that could accommodate large audiences or serve as a market place were found at every site. Water reservoirs outside the gate (such as at Megiddo and Beer-sheba) served mainly caravans and travelers. Ceremonial installations (Megiddo and Dan) testify to cult activities conducted near the gate, and benches built into some of the side rooms (Dan, Gezer, and Beer-sheba) outfitted them for the use of merchants, judges, and prophets.

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ZEʾEV HERZOG

FORTUNATUS (PERSON) [Gk *Phortounatos*]. A Corinthian Christian who was part of a delegation, along with Stephanas and Achaicus, which traveled from Corinth to see Paul in Ephesus (1 Cor 16:17). The name Fortunatus (Latin meaning "blessed" or "lucky") was common among freedmen and slaves at this time. The reference to the household of Stephanas immediately before the names Fortunatus and Achaicus has been interpreted by some as implying that the latter two were members of that household, and thus were numbered among Paul's first converts in Achaia (16:15). (Such an interpretation is supported by some manuscripts from the Western tradition which read "and Fortunatus and Achaicus" in 16:15; this reading, however, is undoubtedly an assimilation to v 17). Although Fortunatus and Achaicus may belong to Stephanas' household this is not certain because (1) household members are normally not singled out by name apart from the global reference and (2) the Corinthians would probably send to Paul delegates from more than one household to provide a broader representation of the community.

Upon arriving in Ephesus the three Corinthian members made up, as Paul puts it, for the "lack of you" (*humeteron husterēma*) which he keenly felt (16:17). Was this "lack" the physical absence of the community experienced by Paul (cf. most commentators) or an obligation felt by the Corinthians to labor along with Paul in the mission field (Ollrog 1979: 97–98)? The text does not specify the matter. Paul also remarks that their presence refreshed his spirit (16:18), evidently because they personally renewed the bond between the Apostle and his community and perhaps because they alleviated some of his worries about the local church in Corinth. However, if Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus brought with them the letter with disturbing reports (see 7:1), then Paul still had reason to be concerned about certain incidents in the community.

Finally, Paul exhorts the Corinthians to "recognize these people" (16:18), meaning Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus. This concluding appeal suggests that they were

among "Paul's people" at Corinth (cf. 1:12). It may further indicate that they brought 1 Corinthians back with them to the community. See CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE.

According to *1 Clement* 65:1 a certain Fortunatus from the Roman church was a messenger to the Corinthians. This person, however, is probably not to be identified with the one mentioned in 1 Cor 16:17 because there is a difference of 5 to 6 decades between the 2 letters and because the Fortunatus of *1 Clement* was from Rome where this name was common. See STEPHANAS; ACHAICUS.

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JOHN GILLMAN

FORUM. See CITIES (GRECO-ROMAN).

FORUM OF APPIUS (PLACE) [Gk *Appiou Phoron*]. Market town in Latium located along the Appian Way 43 Roman miles (39.5 U.S. miles) S of Rome (*CIL* 10.6824–25). Christians from Rome met Paul here soon after he landed in Italy at the harbor city of Puteoli (Acts 28:15). It was a 1-day journey from Rome for ambitious travelers, although Horace preferred a "lazy" 2-day trip (Hor. *Sat.* 1.5). The town may have been founded at the time of the construction of the road from Rome to Capua in 312 B.C. by Appius Claudius Caecus. The Forum of Appius was located at a strategic point where a canal was located parallel to the highway (PW 2: 242). Many would travel down the canal by night on a boat pulled by a mule while they slept (Str. 5.3.6). Horace vividly describes the irritations he experienced during his trip. He mentions that the Forum of Appius was "crammed with boatmen and stingy tavern-keepers." The poor drinking water of the town made Horace ill and this coupled with the gnats, frogs, and a lazy boatman made Horace's canal journey quite unpleasant (Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.3–6).

JOHN D. WINELAND

FOUNDATION GATE (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar hayĕsôd*]. An inner gate of Jerusalem in the N or NW quadrant of an enclosure that surrounded the Temple precincts and the royal residences. Jehoiada the priest stationed troops at this gate as a part of the security arrangements for the coronation of Josiah against his grandmother Athaliah (2 Kgs 11:6; 2 Chr 23:5). These troop deployments were in close proximity to the Temple and the royal residence; this suggests that the Foundation Gate was a gate of an inner perimeter (Avi-Yonah 1954: 240, fig. 1), similar to the Mifqad or Muster Gate on the E side of the Temple (Neh 3:31).

The name "Foundation Gate" is only one of several names that are used to refer to this gate. The earliest account of Josiah's coronation (2 Kgs 11:6) refers to this gate as the Sur Gate (Heb *šaʿar sûr*, the gate of "turning aside" or "departing") and is translated in the LXX as the "Gate of the Ways." These descriptive names most likely came from the busy intersections near the Fish Gate in the NW corner of the outer defensive perimeter of the city. This exit from the city led to several ridge routes that continued to the coast, to Ephraim in the N and to Judah and Egypt in the S. The later parallel account in 2 Chr 23:5 refers to the "Foundation Gate" but is called the "Middle Gate" in the LXX. The name "Middle Gate" may allude to the gate being between an inner and outer perimeter. This is consistent with Jeremiah's reference to the princes of Babylon who, after having breached the N outer defenses of Jerusalem, met together at the Middle Gate (suggested by some to be between the Corner Gate and the Temple mount; see Simons 1952: 276 and Avigad 1980: 59) before their penetration of the inner defenses of the city.

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DALE C. LIID

FOUNTAIN GATE (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar hāʿayin*]. A gate of Jerusalem about 85 m (275 feet) SE of the present-day "Pool of Siloam" at the S end of the City of David. The Fountain Gate figures in Nehemiah's nocturnal inspection (2:14), reconstruction (3:15), and dedication (12:37) of the walls of Jerusalem.

"The "Fountain Gate," the "stairs that go down" from the City of David (Neh 3:15; 12:37) and several water canals were excavated by Weill in 1923–24 (1947: 57–96). It was then discovered that the overflow from the Pool of Siloam at the end of Hezekiah's tunnel was channeled outside the E wall of the City of David (Weill 1947: 57–73) with canal IV exiting under the Fountain Gate and apparently giving the gate its name (rather than its association with En-rogel). This canal has been dated to the period of Hezekiah and presumably terminated in a pool (possibly the predecessor of the pool excavated in 1977 by David Adan 1979: 100) outside the Fountain Gate (Ussishkin 1976: 91). The seeming difficulty (according to some scholars) in the order of Nehemiah's account (locating the King's Pool to the N the Fountain Gate) may have been reconciled by the discovery of Adan's pool outside the city wall and to the N of the Fountain Gate just as it is recorded by Nehemiah.

Although the Fountain Gate exited into something of a corridor at the joining of 2 sections of the city wall (at the N end of the wall excavated in 1894–97 by Bliss and Dickie), the Fountain Gate should not be equated with the "Gate between the Two Walls" (2 Kgs 25:4; Jer 39:4; 52:7) which is to be found still further S at the end of the Central or Tyropoeon Valley.

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DALE C. LIID

FOWL. See ZOOLOGY.

FOX. See ZOOLOGY.

FRAGMENT, MURATORIAN. See MURATORIAN FRAGMENT.

FRANKINCENSE [Heb *lĕbōnâ*]. Designates the resin of trees of the genus *Boswellia* of the family *Burseraceae.* At present 2 species of frankincense trees are recognized in S Arabia and N Somalia: *Boswellia sacra Flückiger* in eastern S Yemen (Ḥaḍramaut and Mahra-Land), in the Dhofār-Province of ʿOmān, and in N Somalia; and *Boswellia frereana Birdwood* in N Somalia. According to recent botanical investigations, all Arabian frankincense trees belong to one single species: *Boswellia sacra Flückiger,* also known as *Boswellia Carterii Birdwood.* Only in the middle part of the coastal region of S Arabia, on the island of Socotra, and in N Somalia are rainfall, temperature, and condition of the soil in a harmony which enables the growth of the frankincense tree. The resin which is gathered from the 2 species of the genus *Boswellia* growing in S Arabia and in Somalia is the most highly valued frankincense and almost the only sort which is put on the market.

Due to its pleasant odor as well as other qualities, frankincense belonged in antiquity together with myrrh in almost all countries of the Near East and the Levant among the most-demanded and most-expensive of spices. Frankincense was not only indispensable for sacrifice in divine worship, but was also burnt at funerals, profane festivities, and in honor of living persons; it was used also to a great extent as *materia medica.* See also INCENSE.

The Hebrew word for frankincense, *lĕbōnâ,* as well as similar words in other ancient Semitic languages have most probably their origin in an Old South Arabic form **libān.* This is not only proved by the Gk loan-words *libanos* and *libanōtos,* but also by the surviving form *libān,* attested in the Arabic dialect of the frankincense region Dhofār and also recorded for other parts of S Arabia, and by various words in different languages of Ethiopia, which likewise can be derived from a S Arabic *libān.* The word *libān* belongs to the Semitic root *lbn* in the meaning "white, to be white" and designates originally "milk-like (resin)," since bright frankincense was most highly esteemed and was considered to be the best.

In Jer 6:20, Sheba is mentioned as the country from which frankincense comes, and in Isa 60:6 we learn that Sabeans imported the valuable resin by camel caravans to Palestine. Behind the description of a procession in Cant 3:6, which is compared to something coming up from the wilderness like a column of smoke perfumed with myrrh, frankincense, and all the fragrant powders of the merchant, lies perhaps the picture of a rich and joyfully expected caravan loaded with spices.

Pure and unmixed frankincense was the essential ingredient of the incense which was used in the worship of the Lord in the Temple (Exod 30:34). The use of frankincense and the holy incense compound for cultic purposes other than those specified in the priestly legislation was forbidden, and any profanation of it was considered a capital crime deserving death (Exod 30:38). When Antiochos IV Epiphanes desecrated the Jewish worship it was felt to be a sacrilege that frankincense was burnt before the doors of the houses and in the streets (1 Macc 1:55). The difficult passage in Isa 66:3 where a memorial offering of frankincense is in parallel to the blessing of an idol might give a hint at the usage of frankincense in the cult of pagan deities.

Frankincense and oil were added to the cereal offering, *minḥâ* (Lev 2:1–2); the priest used to take the fine flour, put on it the oil and frankincense, and then burned it on the altar (Lev 2:15–16). Pure frankincense as fragrant offering was also placed by the priest with each row of the loaves of the bread of the presence before the Holy of Holies (Lev 24:7). Explicitly forbidden, however, was the addition of frankincense to an offering for sin (Lev 5:11) and to an offering of jealousy (Num 5:15). Each kind of *qĕṭōret,* the incense compound, seems to have consisted to a great extent of frankincense. In the Temple of Jerusalem chambers are mentioned in which frankincense was stored (Neh 13:5.9), over which Levites were appointed (1 Chr 9:29). From these passages it can be concluded that the frankincense necessary for the sacrifice could be acquired in the Temple in case the ingredients for the offerings, including frankincense, were not brought by the pilgrims to the Temple, as it is described in Jer 17:26 and 41:5. It is reported (Bar 1:10) that the Jews in Babylon collected money and sent it to Jerusalem to buy sacrifices and frankincense in order to offer it on the altar of the Lord.

The mountain of myrrh and the hill of frankincense which occur together in Cant 4:6 are probably a picture of the two breasts of the beloved one, and in Cant 4:14 frankincense wood is mentioned among the precious and valuable spices enumerated as metaphors of her beauty. In Sir 24:15 the personified wisdom which appears in the cult is compared to various aromata and finally to the vapor of frankincense in the holy tabernacle.

The Wise Men from the east offered to the infant Jesus in Bethlehem gold, frankincense, and myrrh as gifts (Matt 2:11). In Rev 18:13, where the merchants of the earth weep and mourn since the fallen Babylon does not buy their cargo any more, frankincense is also mentioned.

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W. W. MÜLLER

FREEDMEN, SYNAGOGUE OF THE [Gk *synagōgē ton Libertinōn*]. A synagogue in Jerusalem whose members argued with Stephen and then initiated the proceedings which led to his execution (Acts 6:9). The synagogue was named for Jews who had been liberated from slavery. Because the synagogue bore the Latin name *Libertinos* (transliterated into Greek), instead of the Gk *apeleutheros* it seems likely that its members descended from the Jews who had been captured and enslaved by the Roman general Pompey in 63 B.C.E. (Philo *Gaium* 155). The precise ethnic composition of the Synagogue of the Freedmen remains hotly debated because of Luke's vague phrasing of Acts 6:9. Four other groups are mentioned in addition to the freedmen: Cyrenians, Alexandrians, Cilicians, and Asians. Did all of these national groups attend the Synagogue of the Freedmen or did one or more of them have their own separate synagogues in Jerusalem? Any number of synagogues, from 1 to 5, is possible. The syntax of the verse favors two synagogues, one composed of Freedmen, Cyrenians, and Alexandrians and the other composed of Jews from Cilicia and Asia (Robertson 1934: 788). Yet there is no convincing explanation why only Cyrenians and Alexandrians would have attended a synagogue named for freedmen (Lake and Cadbury 1933: 66). Goodspeed (1945: 127–30) solves the difficulty by suggesting that *Libertinōn* is a textual corruption from an original reference to Libyans, *libystinōn*. Because the Armenian version provides the only manuscript support for this reading, his suggestion has not won wide support. Among those who accept "Synagogue of the Freedmen" as the original reading, Bruce (*Acts* NICNT, 133), Haenchen (*Acts* MeyerK, 271), and Conzelmann (*Acts* Hermeneia, 47) all favor the hypothesis that Luke was referring to one synagogue which was attended by Jews from each of the 4 areas mentioned.

Two Jerusalem synagogues described in ancient sources might possibly be identified with the Synagogue of the Freedmen. One was the Synagogue of the Alexandrians, which was purchased by Rabbi Eleazer ben Zadok ca. 100 C.E. (*t. Meq.* 3.6 [224]). The other was a synagogue rebuilt by Theodotus which included a guest house specifically intended for Jews traveling from abroad (*IDB* 4: 480). Without more evidence, however, neither can be positively equated with the Synagogue of the Freedmen.

Luke's theological purpose in the narrative is to show that the members of the Synagogue of the Freedmen could not defeat Stephen in honest debate so they set up false witnesses to testify against him before the Sanhedrin (Acts 6:9–15). Thus, Stephen's arrest and martyrdom paralleled that of Jesus. Furthermore, Luke shows how an initial opposition by Jews from Cyrene, Alexandria, Cilicia, and Asia is overwhelmed by a gospel message carried by Christians from each of these same areas (11:20; 18:24; 9:11; 19:10) (*ISBE* 2: 361). See also SYNAGOGUE.

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MARK J. OLSON

FREEDOM [Heb *ḥupšâ;* Gk *eleutheria*]. In both the OT and the NT freedom is liberty as opposed to slavery. More importantly, in the NT freedom is achieved through Jesus Christ.

A. The Old Testament
B. Greek World and Hellenism
C. Ancient Judaism
D. The New Testament
1. Paul
2. The Rest of the NT

A. The Old Testament

The OT knows of freedom almost exclusively only as a social state: The free stands in opposition to the slave. Thus the Hebrew terms for "free" and "freedom" (*ḥōr, ḥupšâ, ḥopšî, dĕrôr,* and the verb *ḥāpaš*), which are not witnessed very frequently, often occur in discussions of slavery and manumission (Exod 21:2, 5, 26–27; Lev 19:20; Deut 15:12–18; Jer 34:8–17; Ezek 46:17; Job 3:19). In these texts, mainly *ḥopšî* is used to designate someone merely freed from slavery. The word *ḥōr,* in contrast, is an independent term for the noble (1 Kgs 21:8, 11; Isa 34:12; Jer 27:20; 39:6; Eccl 10:17; Neh 2:16, 4:8, 13, 5:7, 6:17, 7:5, 13:17). Though the redemption of Israel from slavery in Egypt is cited in support for the manumission of Hebrew slaves in the 7th year (Deut 15:15), the OT does not develop a theology of freedom on the basis of the Exodus. Rather, Israel was ransomed in order to be God's servants (Lev 25:42; cf. Deut 6:20–25), and the language used to describe this event is primarily that of "redemption," not of "freedom." On the other hand, the tradition of a year of "freedom" (Lev 25:10) was subject to some theological development (Isa 61:1).

Difficult passages (e.g., Ps 88:6—Eng 88:5; 1 Sam 17:5) and problems of the background and evolution of OT usage are discussed, with reference to the literature, by Lohfink (*TDOT* 5: 114–18).

B. Greek World and Hellenism

The further development of "freedom" in Judaism and early Christianity may be understood only when due attention is given to the cardinal role that this concept played in the Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman world. *Eleutheria* (Gk "freedom") first became a central value in connection with Greek resistance to the Persians. Particularly Herodotus's history promoted the understanding of the Persian War as a defense of freedom and law against despotism. Euripides then illustrated through his dramas the personal sacrifice demanded to defend such liberty. The subsequent history of this concept cannot be traced here even in its broadest outlines. Indeed, such summary presentations, especially those by theologians (Schlier *TDNT* 2: 487–96, Niederwimmer 1966: 1–68), run the risk of being too sweeping to allow for the details necessary to illustrate exactly how Greek and Roman ideas influenced Judaism and Christianity, and thus they often fall prey to the standard theologi-

cal bias that portrays Hellenistic thought only as a foil against which the Jewish and Christian tradition gains its contours. It is best here simply to refer to several eloquent and arresting expositions of Greek and Roman freedom (Pohlenz 1966, Nestle 1967, Stylow 1972, and Wirszubski 1950) and to mention only select major points; details pertaining to the influence of Greek ideas on the Jewish and Christian tradition will be included in the following sections.

Though the precise content and implications of *eleutheria* and *libertas* (Latin "freedom") were always subject to discussion in the Greek and Roman world, there was one clear, standard definition of "freedom" at the latest since the time of Aristotle. According to this definition, freedom is equivalent to "doing whatever one wants" (*to ho ti an boulētai tis poiein*, Arist. *Pol.* 5.9.1310a; [*libertas,*] *cuius proprium est sic vivere, ut velis*, "[liberty,] the distinctive characteristic of which is to live precisely as you wish," Cic. *Off.* 1.70; Epict. *Diss.* 4.1.1; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 14.13, 17). That such a definition might lead to conflicts with the law was not overlooked. Rather, this seeming contrariety of freedom and law was discussed ever anew by philosophers, historians, and legal experts (the classic treatments are Hdt. 7.103–4 and Thuc. 2.35–46). Stoic dialectics resolved the debate in a spirit concordant with the rest of the Hellenistic and Roman world when they asserted that since the law (of nature) is good and since no one desires to do what is bad, the only person who is truly free and does what he wants is the one who does what is good and thus follows the law (see, for example, Cic. *Parad.* 34 and Epict. *Diss.* 4.1.1–5, 158). Of course, this clarification did not put an end to the discussions but rather only focused attention even more on the question of what the true law is and how it relates to existing laws. The theory that the true law can be recognized only by the rugged individual in a struggle against vulgar opinions (including laws established merely by humans) was advanced especially by the Cynics. This theory coincided with the rise of the ecumene, in place of the city, as the framework for human life, and a notion of an internal, individualized freedom, dissociated from any particular political system or social standing, became prevalent in the Hellenistic age. The relationship of state structures and freedom did not, however, fail to attract its own discussion, and "freedom" was frequently employed as the central slogan in political propaganda.

The connection of freedom and God also has a long tradition in the Greek and Roman world and extends back at least to the Persian War, when *eleutherios* (Gk "liberating") became a particularly popular epithet of the gods. This tradition was later adopted by the Romans in their cult of Iuppiter Libertas (see Stylow 1972: 5–8). The notion that piety toward God brings freedom was further developed in Stoicism, where God was closely associated with the true law (Sen. *Vit. Beat.* 15.7; Epict. *Diss.* 1.19.9, 4.1.131, 4.7.17; Max. Tyr. 36.5a), and in more personal religious cults (Apul. *Met.* 11.15).

C. Ancient Judaism

In the light of the central position "freedom" assumed in Greek and Roman thought, it is no wonder that Judaism gradually picked up elements of this tradition and molded its own heritage to fit or complement this vibrant stream of thought (compare Heiligenthal's presentation [*TRE* 11: 498–502] with the following).

Philo is perhaps the most eloquent example of this tendency. His *Quod omnis probus liber sit* ("That Every Good Man Is Free") is nothing other than a Stoic tractate on freedom in which the problem of the identity of the true law is resolved by its equation with the Jewish law. Philo elsewhere uses the glorious terms of freedom to describe the Exodus (e.g., *Vita Mos* I.71, 86), something not yet done in the LXX. The connection of freedom and God generally receives great emphasis. The type of freedom that Philo usually intends is the internal freedom of the mind, which God alone can enable (e.g., *Sacr* 127, *Quod Omn* 42, *Conf* 93, *Heres* 124).

Though in the translation of the Hebrew writings the LXX shows little initiative in introducing the concept of freedom (Prov 25:10 LXX) and *aphesis* ("forgiveness") is used in the translation of passages referring to the year of freedom (also in Isa 61:1 LXX), the struggles of the Maccabees are depicted in terms of freedom (1 Macc 14:26; 2 Macc 2:22). Josephus similarly describes the Maccabees as fighters for freedom and projects the contest for liberty not only into the Exodus but also into several other stages of Israel's history. In his portrayal of the first war against Rome, "freedom" is a leitmotiv, and it is not least in this point that Josephus is indebted to Greek and Roman historiography. That the war was actually fought under the slogan of freedom is, however, confirmed by coins from the revolt's second and third years that bear the inscription "freedom of Zion." *JW* 2.13.4 §259 reveals that certain Jews had employed the motto of freedom to connect religious motifs with political insurgence. Similar eschatological and apocalyptic hopes of freedom seem to be reflected in *4 Ezra* 7:96–98, 101, 13:25–26, 29, and the eschatological hope is clearly present in the 10th request of the Eighteen Prayers and in the targum to Lam 2:22. Much closer to the Stoic understanding of (internal) freedom, in contrast, are *4 Macc.* 14:2 and *m.* *ʾAbot* 6:2. As regards the social freedom of Jews, a Hellenistic tradition that ascribed a servile nature to the Jewish people evidently gave rise to an emphasis both on Jewish love of freedom (e.g., Josephus *Ant* 2.13.2 §281) and on the freedom of the Jewish patriarchs (*T. Napht.* 1:10; *B. Qam.* 8:6).

D. The New Testament

The NT statements on freedom must be ordered into some relationship to the background sketched above. Research is split between a camp that broadly affirms the Hellenistic origin of the NT remarks and a party that expends itself in denying the so-called "Stoic derivation" of the NT concept of freedom. Each side has its peculiar shortcomings. The Hellenistic explanation has generally failed to trace out the precise lines of Hellenistic influence, and this has fostered its being attacked under the misnomer "Stoic derivation." Those who deny Stoic influence have themselves been unable to produce a coherent, convincing alternative. (A survey of research is offered in the first chapter of Jones's study [1987], the bibliography of which lists a considerable portion of the sizeable literature.)

1. Paul. Paul's letters contain the first certain witness to an understanding of Christian faith as freedom. Paul's

thought on the subject is habitually discussed in the categories freedom from the law, freedom from sin, and freedom from death (*TDNT* 2: 496–502 and *BTNT* 1: 330–52 are largely responsible for this tendency). However, this trifold schema is based less on an examination of the passages on freedom than on the assumption that since law, sin, and death are the main enslaving entities in Paul's thought, freedom must consist of the inverse of these elements. The texts disclose a different picture. These passages are worth considering in detail, for Paul is by far the most vocal advocate of freedom in the entire Bible. The following will discuss the texts in their most probable chronological order.

The freedom of the Christian is first mentioned in 1 Cor 7:22, a wordplay in which Paul describes the Christian slave as a freedman of the Lord and the Christian freeman as a slave of Christ. The dialectic employed here to comfort the Christian slave (for the order of the assertion could be inversed) is strongly reminiscent of a broad spectrum of Hellenistic statements and discussions that dismissed external social status as decisive for true (internal) freedom (already clearly present in Euripides, e.g., *Fr.* 831 and a standard starting point for Cynic and Stoic discussions of freedom, e.g., Bion in Stob. *Flor.* 3.2.38; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 14, 15; Epict. *Diss.* 4.1; that external freedom was not decisive for salvation was general early Christian tradition; cf. in the NT Gal 3:28; Col 3:11; Eph 6:8; Rev 6:15; 13:16; 19:18). 1 Cor 7:22 imagines (in juristically correct terminology) Christ as the liberator of Christians from slavery to a third party and thus as the slave's patron. The identity of the third party is not explicitly indicated, but in view of the warning not to become slaves of humans in v 23 and in the light of the Cynic and Stoic parallels to the discussion, it is most likely that the third party should be understood as human opinion *(doxa)*, which places great value on external social status. It was precisely for this sort of freedom that the Cynic Diogenes had fought (e.g., *Ep.* 7.1), and there can be no doubt that when Paul speaks of *internal* freedom, he clearly stands under the influence of the great Hellenistic traditions concerning freedom. Parallel to Paul's statement that Christ is the liberator of Christians are similar assertions by Cynics with regard to Diogenes (e.g., Crates Theb. *Ep.* 8; Lucian *Vit. Auct.* 8) and by Epicureans with regard to Epicurus (e.g., Cic. *Tusc.* 1.48; Lucian *Alex.* 47, 61).

The discussion of sanctified meats in 1 Cor 8:1–11:1 presents two distinctive conceptions of freedom. In the excursus, chap. 9, Paul argues that he is free from everyone because he does not accept money for his proclamation. Instead, by preaching free of charge and enslaving himself to all he preserves his integrity and authority in the gospel and can thus win more converts (1 Cor 9:19). Though scholarship has only recently recognized the type of freedom that Paul here has in mind, there are numerous parallels to precisely such a conception of *eleutheria* in the Hellenistic tradition.

Socrates was the most famous example of a teacher who refused to accept payment, and it is noteworthy that Xenophon uses the same words as Paul when describing Socrates' attitude: *eleutheria* ("freedom") and *misthos* ("reward," "payment"); see Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.5–7, *Ap.* 16. Muson. *Fr.* 11 (Hense 59.9–11) witnesses to the survival of this tradition at the time of Paul, and an entire treatise by Lucian, *De mercede conductis potentium familiaribus* (Eng title: "On Salaried Posts in Great Houses"), is devoted precisely to the subject of loss of *eleutheria* through acceptance of a *misthos*. What is particularly striking in 1 Corinthians 9 is the secular nature of Paul's freedom; Here it is not a gift of Christ or God but rather something Paul himself acquires by waiving financial support, even though he knows that Christ had commanded the opposite (1 Cor 9:14).

Paul's attempt to heighten and glorify his freedom by reference to his self-denial is reminiscent of another Hellenistic tradition that stretches back to the plays of Euripides. Euripides had emphasized the need of individual self-sacrifice for preservation of the freedom of the community. Euripides' presentation of this motif had a strong influence on writers of the Hellenistic and Roman eras, and it is doubtless of influence on Paul here, though the precise channels through which these ideas reached Paul still deserve further investigation.

1 Cor 10:29, in contrast, reflects an understanding of freedom that is specifically Christian. Certain Corinthians maintain that they are free to eat sanctified meat (1 Cor 10:29) because Christian faith had convinced them that the gods do not exist (1 Cor 8:4). They thus consider themselves free in contrast not to Jews (i.e., this is not "freedom from the Jewish law") but rather to gentiles who had not yet accommodated this new monotheistic knowledge (1 Cor 8:7). The background for this view of freedom is best found among Cynics, some of whom maintained a monotheistic faith and harshly criticized other religious beliefs as superstition. Cynics were notorious for their indiscriminate eating habits, and at least sometimes they founded this practice in their monotheistic views (Diog. Laert. 6.73) and connected it with their slogan "freedom" (Porph. *Abst.* 1.42). In other words, it seems that Cynic views influenced certain Corinthians in their understanding of Christian faith and led to an assertive notion of Christian liberty. Since Paul tries to correct this understanding of freedom by introducing a completely different conception of the term (1 Corinthians 9) and since Paul's concept, in contrast to that of certain Corinthians, does not have a clear basis in Christian faith, it is most likely that these Corinthians first introduced the concept of Christian freedom into the discussion with Paul. Paul does not reject this new understanding of Christian faith but rather draws on other Hellenistic concepts of freedom known to him in order to promote an internalized view of freedom (1 Cor 7:22, 9:19, 10:29). Later in the discussion Paul again speaks positively of Christian freedom (2 Cor 3:17) and notably introduces yet another Hellenistic tradition on the topic. Here *eleutheria* is equivalent to *parrhēsia* or freedom to speak forthrightly (see v 12); in Hellenistic writings the two words are frequently synonymous (e.g., Lucian *Demon.* 3, *Peregr.* 18; Philo *Quod Omn* 95).

The observation that none of these views of freedom has anything to do with the conventional schema "freedom from law, sin, and death" sheds new light on Paul's use of the concept of freedom in Galatians. It can no longer be simply presupposed that Paul had preached "freedom from the law" in his initial proclamation to the Galatians (or to any of his other congregations), for such an understanding of *eleutheria* is nowhere reflected in the Corin-

thian correspondence. Instead, Paul is probably first introducing the term "freedom" into the discussion with the Galatians as he writes the letter. Furthermore, it should be noted that the phrase "freedom from the law" is not witnessed even in this letter. Indeed, when Paul speaks of the upper Jerusalem as free in Gal 4:26, "free" rather means free from corruption (cf. Rom 8:21), and in Gal 5:1 the freedom of the Christian includes at least also freedom from service to the elements. The rhetorical effect that Paul was trying to create by employing "freedom" is most apparent in the political imagery evoked in Gal 2:4. Paul claims "freedom" for his version of the gospel and brands his opponents as spies and enemies of freedom. Since the opponents' goal is to subject the free Christians *to themselves* (Gal 2:4–5), it is clear that Paul is not operating here with a well-defined concept of "freedom from the law." "Freedom" is more probably being employed in accord with the standard Hellenistic definition as "freedom to do what one likes." This meaning fits Gal 5:13, for in this passage the condition of slavery is described as not being able to do what one wishes (Gal 5:17), the inverse of the standard definition of freedom. That freedom carries anti-legalistic overtones in Galatians may be readily admitted, for this aspect had long been associated with the word in Greek and Roman tradition. Nevertheless, Galatians contains no evidence for a sharply defined concept of freedom as "freedom from the (Jewish) law."

In Romans, Paul is much more reserved in his employment of the notion of "freedom." Thus in Rom 6:18–22 words of freedom are strikingly used in an absolutely neutral way to describe both Christian and non-Christian existence; vv 18 and 22 ("having been freed from sin") are counterbalanced by v 20 ("you were free with respect to righteousness"). Rom 7:2–3 finally presents the phrase "free from the law," but the context strongly emphasizes the new bond of the Christian. A comparison of these verses with the marriage regulation of 1 Cor 7:39–40 discloses the actual evolution of the phrase "free from the law" in Paul's writings and thus again provides concrete evidence that this term was not a central concept in Paul's earlier thought. Rom 8:2–4 states that the free Christian will fulfill the law and is thus thoroughly parallel to certain Stoic statements about the relationship of true freedom and the law. The context again witnesses to the standard Hellenistic definition of freedom or its inverse (7:15, 16, 19, 20). Finally, Rom 8:21 transfers freedom totally into the future by reliance on an apocalyptic tradition (freedom from corruption; cf. Gal 4:26 and see the parallels in Jewish apocalyptic mentioned above). Paul's restraint and qualifications in his use of "freedom" in Romans is doubtless owing to his suspicion that the Romans had heard blasphemies of his teaching as libertine (Rom 3:8, 6:1, 15).

2. The Rest of the NT. The rest of the NT contains only scattered references to freedom, and thus the adoption of the concept by other NT authors cannot be traced in as much detail as is possible in the case of Paul. Though some scholars have thought that the appearance of the notion of freedom in the other NT writings must be attributed to Pauline influence (so, e.g., Pohlenz 1966: 170), it is much more likely that the widespread Hellenistic concept of freedom entered the NT not only via Paul's usage but also through several independent channels (cf. the case of some Corinthians, above). It should be noted that precisely the passages that mention freedom have often played a decisive role in the question of the literary influence of Paul on the various NT writings.

1 Pet 2:16 is just such an instance. While this passage might seem to recall Gal 5:13 and 2 Cor 3:15–18, Paul never advances to the paradox that one is free while being a slave of God, whereas this idea is found in other writings (Sen. *Vit. Beat.* 15.7; Apul. *Met.* 11.15; Philo *Quod Omn* 20; Sext. *Sent.* 264b; *Hom. Clem.* 17.12.1). Since 2 Peter knows 1 Peter (see 2 Pet 3:1), the mention of corrupt preachers of freedom in 2 Pet 2:19 has perhaps been influenced by 1 Pet 2:16 (cf. also Rom 8:21). Still, the reality of such corrupt Christians and their promise of freedom seems to have been the major factor leading to the formulation of the verse. The proclamation of these Christians with respect to freedom may well have been affected by certain Pauline passages concerning freedom (see 2 Pet 3:16).

When the Letter of James speaks of the "perfect law of liberty" (Jas 1:25, cf. 2:12), there can be no doubt that Hellenistic ideas about the true law that leads to freedom and that is kept by the truly free human have been of decisive influence, though the author probably received these ideas via other Hellenistic Jewish thinkers. In any event, the notion cannot be adequately explained on the basis of some supposedly pure OT and Jewish background (contra Fabris 1977).

John 8:31–36 reflects at least two different conceptions of freedom. The Jews who have believed in Jesus refer to Abraham as evidence of their freedom (see above under "Ancient Judaism"), while the Johannine Jesus is speaking rather of true freedom (v 36), which consists of not sinning. This last notion of freedom could possibly be a development of Rom 6:18–22 (so, e.g., Weiss 1902: 34 and Pohlenz 1966: 170), but it could also have been independently developed from the Stoic tradition, where the truly free human always does what he wants and thus never "sins" (e.g., Epict. *Diss.* 2.1.23). It is hardly plausible that this passage on freedom ultimately derives from Jesus himself (contra Lindars 1984). Indeed, the contrast of social freedom with another sort of true freedom is strongly reminiscent of the standard progression of Stoic discourses on freedom (e.g., Dio Chrys. *Or.* 15; Philo *Quod Omn* 17–19; Cic. *Parad.* 35; Epict. *Diss.* 4.1).

The pericope on the temple-tax, Matt 17:24–27, apparently arose before the year 70 C.E., but it is unlikely that any part of it goes back to Jesus himself. The reappearance here of the connection of "sons" and "freedom" (cf. John 8:31–39; Gal 4:21; Rom 8:21) is particularly noteworthy. In this case, "free" has the specific meaning of "free from taxation," and the use of the word is to be explained on the basis of Hellenistic and Roman practice in taxation (see, for example, Josephus *Ant* 13.2.3 §15; cf. *HJP*^{2} 2: 93 and the literature mentioned there; cf. also 1 Sam 17:25).

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F. STANLEY JONES

FRINGE. See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

FRIT. See JEWELRY.

FROG. See ZOOLOGY.

FRONTLETS. See JEWELRY.

FRUITS, FIRST. See FIRST FRUITS.

FULLER. See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

FULLER'S FIELD (PLACE) [Heb *śĕdēh kôbēs*]. An open area approximately 0.5 km (ca. ¼ mile) S of Jerusalem near the juncture of the Hinnom and the Kidron Valleys adjoining the former spring, En-rogel (M.R. 172130; Josh 15:7; 18:16; 2 Sam 17:17). Because of the occasional surplus of water from the Spring of Gihon (via the Pool of Siloam) and the available water at En-rogel (presently Bir Ayyub), fullers cleaned and processed shorn wool, hence the name "Fuller's Field."

It is first mentioned (Isa 7:3) in connection with a roadway and a water conduit that passed N to S along the E side of Jerusalem in the Kidron Valley and continued S to the Fuller's Field. It was on this roadway near the water conduit that Isaiah and his son met with Hezekiah (Isa 7:2–4) and where the emissaries of Sennacherib stood as they attempted to intimidate the rulers and people of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 18:17; Isa 36:2). It is this roadway and En-rogel that helps most in establishing the location of the Fuller's Field.

En-rogel, being an important water source for Jerusalem (fullers included), was no doubt the terminus of a well-traveled roadway between it and the city. In addition, En-rogel would have been the preferred and adequate source of water outside of Jerusalem for Sennacherib's troops and emissaries, and at the same time it would have given them access to the rulers and general population of Jerusalem from outside the walls.

Since the 1st century C.E. (Smolar 1983: xvi–xvii), En-rogel has been associated with the Fuller's Field as suggested by the Targums' rendering of En-rogel as the "fountain of the fuller" (*Tg. Ps.–J.*, Josh 15:7; 18:16; see Smolar 1983: 112–13), with Rashi and Kimchi (Josh 15:7) attributing *rōgēl* to the Heb *regel* (meaning foot) "because he (the fuller) treads woolen clothing with his feet."

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DALE C. LIID

FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS. See PALESTINIAN FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS.

G

GAAL (PERSON) [Heb *gaʿal*]. The son of the Canaanite Ebed and apparently a native of the city of Shechem during the time of Abimelech, the half-Israelite, half-Shechemite son of Gideon (Judg 9:26–42). Abimelech had appealed to the Shechemites for rulership on the basis of his "superior" relationship over the 70 sons of Jerubbaal (Judg 8:31; 9:1; cf. *EHI* 801 for the view that Jerubaal and Gideon are different persons). There is no biblical record of Shechem's conquest by Joshua nor any archaeological evidence of destruction for that period (*EHI* 800), though it was designated as one of the cities of refuge (Josh 20:7). Thus, while the city was substantially Canaanite, Israelites lived in the surrounding area, with perhaps some in the city as well (*EHI* 638–39). Abimelech appointed Zebul as his personal representative to rule over the city while he lived in nearby Arumah. Into this complex and unstable political situation came Gaal, whose name means "beetle" or "dung-beetle" (*IPN* 230; *HALAT* 192). Josephus' use of *gualēs* suggests a Heb *gōʿal*. He is sometimes seen as simply a leader of a mercenary band of ruffians (Reviv 1966: 255), and he identifies himself with the Shechemites (Judg 9:28; cf. *Judges* AB, 177; *Judges* OTL 185). During an agricultural thanksgiving festival for the city's god, Baal-berith ("Baal or Lord of the covenant"), Gaal makes a drunken claim for the city's loyalty based upon his "purer" blood—the exact same ethnically based argument as Abimelech had made earlier!

The nature of the polity of Abimelech's rule and Gaal's challenge of it is a matter of some debate. Judg 9:28 seems to indicate Shechem is a protectorate with Abimelech as an overlord, and Shechem did have a tradition of having no king, like the Gibeonite cities (*EHI* 639, 800). Others take Judg 9:6 to imply the establishment of a monarchy which provoked resentment in Shechem (*Judges* OTL 169). At the most it can be said that Abimelech claimed kingship over Shechem and its environs only (*Judges* AB, 183). Word of Gaal's boast of supremacy over Abimelech reaches Zebul who advises his master to take immediate action. During the confrontation the next morning, Gaal led the Shechemites in battle against Abimelech and was defeated. Zebul subsequently denied Shechem to Gaal as a base to continue his seditious activities.

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KIRK E. LOWERY

GAASH (PLACE) [Heb *gaʿaš*]. Mountain in the hill country of Ephraim, somewhat S of Timnath–serah (Josh 24:30; otherwise known as Timnath-heres, Judg 2:9). The exact location of the mountain is uncertain but, given its approximate relationship to Timnath-serah, is probably some 20 miles (30 km) SW of Shechem. One of David's 30 bodyguards (Hiddai, 2 Sam 23:30; var. Hurai, 1 Chr 11:32) is said to have come from the "brooks" of the mountain, a region of ravines which would become watercourses in the rainy season. LXXB of Josh 24:30 reads "Gilead" in place of "Gaash," though this variant is clearly in error since Gilead is a district to the E of the Jordan while Ephraim is to the W.

ELMER H. DYCK

GABAEL (PERSON) [Gk *Gabaēl*]. **1.** Ancestor of Tobit, described as a member of the tribe of Naphtali and mentioned in the opening genealogy of the book by the same name (Tob 1:1). Appealing to the Hebrew text of Tobit published by Fagius (HF), Simpson (*APOT* 1:202) suggests that Gabael (Heb *gĕbāhʾēl*) might be read Gabriel (Heb *gabrīʾel*). The HF, however, is a free rendering of the story and of late origin (16th century), whereas by contrast the vast majority of the primary and secondary texts support the usual reading (Zimmerman 1958: 35, 44–45). A number of the names attributed to the relatives of Tobit are word plays, anticipating the deliverance from suffering which awaits him (Nickelsburg 1981: 40 n. 37). It may be, therefore, that the choice of the name Gabael, which means "El is lofty," is likewise intentional and symbolic (McKenzie 1965: 291). Inasmuch as Tobit repeatedly admonishes his son Tobias to honor God, whatever the circumstances, the choice of the name Gabael may be a deliberate attempt to reinforce yet another of the narrative's themes. As more than one writer has noted, the author emphasizes the "transcendent majesty of God" (Pfeiffer 1949: 282–83; Metzger 1957: 37–38; Nickelsburg 1981: 34).

2. A man of Rages, a city in Media, in whose care Tobit left 10 talents of silver (Tob 1:14) and to whom he sent his son Tobias for its recovery (4:1, 20). Described as the brother of Gabrias, Gabael returned the money in sealed bags to the angel Raphael and then attended the wedding feast held for Tobias and Sarah (9:2–5). At the wedding, Gabael is said to have "blessed" the couple (9:6) and, although some Greek manuscripts read "And Tobias blessed his wife," most scholars believe it was Gabael who

gave the blessing in the original version of the story (Bückers 1953: 228 and Zimmerman *APOT* 1: 99).

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

GABATHA (PERSON) [Gk *Gabatha*]. Var. BIGTHAN. One of the eunuchs who conspired against King Ahasuerus, according to the Greek Additions to Esther (Add A; 12:1). The name Gabatha appears in the LXX in passages where the MT has BIGTHAN (Esth 2:21; 6:2). The variants Gabbathan and Bagathan (appearing respectively in the Cambridge LXX and the Vulgate) are apparently due to metathesis. The JB considers the identification of Gabatha with Bigthan so normal that the name of Gabatha has been replaced.

JOHN MCKENNA

GABBAI (PERSON) [Heb *gabbay*]. Benjaminite and a postexilic resident of Jerusalem, cited along with Sallai in Neh 11:8. The use of the phrase "after him," the absence of a conjunction between the names, and the lack of parallels has suggested to some scholars that the text is corrupt. Those who accept this view argue the text should be amended in order to read "his kinsmen, men of valor" (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 189–90; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 343). Others argue that the reference to Sallai in 12:20 indicates that the text should read as it stands (Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 184).

FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

GABBATHA (PLACE) [Gk *Gabbatha*]. The place where Jesus stood before Pilate in Jerusalem (John 19:13). The derivation of the original Aramaic term *Gabbatha,* of which this is a transliteration, is uncertain but it probably means "elevated," and is used only here in the NT. John reveals that the place was well known by both the Aramaic term and a Greek term *(lithostroton)* meaning "stone pavement," each conveying a different perspective of the site. According to John, the judgment seat or tribunal (Gk *bema*), on which the Roman official sat to speak to the people was located here. Matthew says that Pilate "*sat* on the judgment seat" (*bema;* 27:19) when Jesus appeared before him.

It must have been on this same tribunal in Jerusalem that Pilate sat when Jews "surrounded him" and protested his spending sacred money on the construction of an aqueduct (*JW* 2.175). Pilate also stood on a tribunal set up in the stadium in Caesarea and addressed protesting Jews during a demonstration in that city, according to Josephus (*Ant* 18.57; *JW* 2.172;). Paul appeared before the proconsul Gallio at such a tribunal in Corinth (Acts 18:12–17).

The tribunal, called a *rostrum* in Latin, was usually set up in the forum (marketplace) of a Roman city. Examples have been found, among other places, in the forums in Rome, Philippi, Pompeii, Athens, and Corinth. The location of the one in Jerusalem has been disputed. However, it was most likely situated in the upper forum, adjacent to the E side of the palace of Herod (just S of the modern Jaffa Gate).

Herodian foundations of a large stone podium have been recently found in the Armenian quarter, indicating that the palace of Herod stretched from the Citadel (Jaffa Gate) on the N, along the W modern Turkish wall to its S extremity, which turns E. Thus the podium, on which a stone pavement once stood, was built almost 12 feet higher than the previous Hasmonean building foundations. It was approximately 1,100 feet long N–S, and 200 feet wide E–W. Nothing of the superstructure has been found by M. Broshi who excavated the area.

Philo, a contemporary of Jesus, wrote that Pilate was living in Herod's palace during one of the Jewish feasts (*Gaium* 38). He describes it as "the residence of the prefects." Gessius Florus lived here just before the destruction of the Temple by Titus, beginning in A.D. 66. Florus became prefect in A.D. 64. Mark states that the soldiers "led him (Jesus) outside the palace, which is the praetorium" (15:16). The PRAETORIUM, i.e. residence of the Roman authority, must have been in the Herodian palace, and the large podium Broshi found must have been that on which Jesus stood before Pilate.

The stone pavement beneath the modern Sisters of Zion Convent could not have been the Gabbatha, because the pavement, now determined by archaeologists to have been contemporary with the ceiling vaults of the Struthion pools beneath, was not yet built when the Romans moved their siege machines "through the pools" in A.D. 70 (*JW* 5.467).

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JOHN MCRAY

GABRIAS (PERSON) [Gk *Gabrias*]. Described as the brother of Gabael in Tob 1:14, but as his father in 4:20. Gabrias is referred to as Gabri in the Sinaiticus text of the Book of Tobit. Comparing the relationship between Huri (1 Chr 5:14) and Ben Hur (1 Kgs 4:8), Zimmerman conjectures that Gabri may have the same relationship to Geber (1 Kgs 4:13). Although possible, however, Zimmerman provides no evidence to suggest that there is anything more than a formal similarity between the 2 names.

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

GABRIEL (ANGEL) [Heb *gabrî'ēl*]. Gabriel (whose name means "God is my warrior") is one of two angels named in the Hebrew Bible (Dan 8:16; 9:21), the other being Michael (Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1). Along with Michael, Gabriel regularly figures as one of the 4 archangels (see *1 En.* 9:1; 40:9; 54:6; 71:8; *Apoc. Mos.* 40:2; 1QM 9:14–16; *Num. Rab.* 2:10; etc.). In the book of Daniel, Gabriel is preeminently an angel of eschatological revelation. He is sent to Daniel to explain a vision of "the time appointed for the end" (8:15–26) and again to reveal the hidden meaning of the words of Jeremiah that Daniel is reading (9:20–27). Gabriel is implicitly the angel who appears to Daniel in Daniel 10–12.

Gabriel's functions are more varied in *1 Enoch.* In the Book of the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1–36) he is listed as "the one of the holy angels who is in charge of paradise and the dragons and the cherubim" (20:2). He is commissioned to destroy the offspring of the rebellious angels and human women (10:9–10). The fruitless petition addressed to Gabriel by the rebels in 10:10 complements the reference (40:6, 9) to Gabriel's association with petition and prayer in the Similitudes (*1 Enoch* 37–71).

In the War Scroll from Qumran (1QM) the names of the 4 archangels, Michael, Gabriel, Sariel, and Raphael, are written on the shields of the 4 towers of the army. The positioning of the 4 archangels around the throne of God or other sacred space has a long subsequent history in both Jewish and Christian tradition (see Milik 1976: 173; Yadin 1962: 239–40).

The gospel according to Luke identifies Gabriel with "the angel of the Lord" (Luke 1:11, 19, 26; cf. Luke 2:9; Acts 5:19; 8:26; 12:7). Gabriel's announcements to Zechariah and to Mary of the births of John and Jesus draws on an ancient tradition (cf. the announcement of the birth of Samson in Judges 13). In the Hebrew Bible, however, the angel of the Lord (Heb *mal'ak YHWH*) is never named and in general is not conceived of as a distinct, personal being, but is rather the manifestation of God's presence. See ANGELS.

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CAROL A. NEWSOM

GAD (DEITY) [Heb *gad*]. A deity (or spirit) of fortune mentioned in Isa 65:11 as being worshipped, along with Meni (a god of fate or destiny), by apostate Jews, probably in postexilic Judah. The RSV translates Heb *gad* as "Fortune" and *mĕnî* as "Destiny": "you . . . who set a table for Fortune and fill cups of mixed wine for Destiny." Most likely the setting of a table took place to venerate both deities, as also the filling of cups.

According to the evidence of Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic, *gad* should be understood as "fortune," "good luck." It is used with this appellative meaning in the OT (Gen 30:11 [*kĕtîb*], though some commentators would see here the name of the deity) and in other ANE literature. When *gad* is used as an element in compound names, it is often difficult to determine whether it should be taken in the appellative sense or as the name of the god. The place name Baal-gad (Josh 11:17) could be interpreted as "Lord Gad" or as involving an epithet *(gad)* joined to the divine name Baal. Likewise "Migdal-gad" (Josh 15:37) could be "Tower of Gad" or "Tower of fortune." However, such names as Gaddi (Num 13:11), Gadi (2 Kgs 15:14, 17) and Gaddiel (Num 13:10) are best understood as using *gad* as an appellative (see *RE* 5: 329, 332–33; *TDOT* 2: 383, also for the name Gad [Gen 49:19, 1 Sam 22:5] as possibly representing the appellative meaning).

Certain witness in the OT for a deity Gad comes from Isa 65:11, and from the name Azgad, Heb *ʿazgād* (Ezra 2:12 = Neh 7:17; Ezra 8:12; Neh 10:16—Eng 10:15), according to analogy with the Phoenician names *ʿzbʿl*, "Baal is mighty," and *ʿzmlk*, "Malk is mighty." Clear attestation for the divinity Gad also comes from Aramaic, Palmyrenian, and Arabic evidence. There is, however, no corresponding divine name in the pantheons of Assyria or Babylonia. It has been suggested, with some credibility, that the deity Gad, "Fortune," evolved relatively late (perhaps in the 1st millennium B.C.) as a personification of the appellative (and abstract) *gad*, "fortune." Support for this suggestion may come from the pointing in the Hebrew text, which provides *gad* in Isa 65:11 with the definite article (lit. "for *the* Gad"), perhaps indicating that the Masoretes retained an awareness of the "original" appellative meaning of *gad* (i.e., "for the [god of] good fortune"?).

Jewish tradition identified Gad with the planet Jupiter, regarded in Arabic astrology as the star of greater fortune. Yet there is insufficient evidence to establish that the apostates described in Isa 65:11 had such an understanding of Gad. Gad has also been identified with the deity Tyche (Gk *tychē*), "Fortune," mentioned in Gk inscriptions, many of which come from the Hauran. This identification is probably correct: An Aram-Gk bilingual inscription from Palmyra apparently equates Gad and Tyche (however, see *RE* 5: 334). A minority of scholars would connect Tyche with another divinity (e.g., Atargatis: *RE* 5: 335), and the best-attested reading for the LXX at Isa 65:11 renders "Gad" with *daimoni* (or *daimoniō*), "demon," and "Meni" with *tychē* (for one possible explanation for this reading, see Delitzsch 1969: 484; *SDB* 2: 322). However, in some manuscripts "Gad" is rendered with *tychē*, "Meni" with *daimoni;* the LXX at Gen 30:11 has for the Heb *gad* (used in the appellative sense) *tychē;* and for Isa 65:11 the Vg reads *Qui ponitis Fortunae mensam*, "(You) who place a table for Fortune."

Gad is mentioned frequently in Syriac and later Jewish literature. A Syriac writer of the 5th century mentions that tables were still being set for Gad in his time. This practice of spreading a table laden with food before a deity or deities (usually equated with the Roman *lectisternium*) was common throughout the ancient world (in the OT, cf. Jer 7:18; in the NT, 1 Cor 10:21). There may be a partial parallel in the worship of Yahweh, the God of Israel, with the provision of the "shewbread" (Lev 24:5–9) set on a

special table (Exod 25:23–30; 1 Kgs 7:48). The apostates of Isa 65:11 were looking to Gad, not Yahweh, as the source of well-being and prosperity.

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WALTER A. MAIER III

GAD (PERSON) [Heb *gād*]. GADITE. Two persons bear this name in the Hebrew Bible.

1. The son of Jacob, and therefore eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Gad. His mother was Bilhah, Leah's handmaiden (Gen 30:11). The etymology of the name "Gad" is not clear. Although some suggest a derivation from the root *gdd,* "to cut off," most scholars follow the pun of Genesis 30: "Gad" = "(good) fortune." The name Gad is known as a theophoric element in a number of W Semitic personal names. It is not the real name but an adjective, an appelative, "the Fortune," and could be used for a number of gods.

There is not one system of 12 tribes in the OT, but two. The first is mainly a list of patronyms. It is mostly known as "system A" and includes Levi and the tribe of Joseph. The second system, called "B," does not include Levi and has Ephraim and Manasseh in the place of Joseph. This second system is geographical, and it lists tribal areas. This system "B" is older than system "A." (The main texts for system "A" are: Gen 29:31–30:24; 35:23–26; 46:8–25; 49:3–27; Exod 1:2–4; Deut 27:12–14; Ezek 48:31–35; 1 Chr 2:2. For system "B": Num 1:5–15; 2:3–31; 7:12–83; 13:4–15; 26:5–51; Josh 13–19; 21:4–7, 9–39.) In the first system, Gad is usually the 7th son, in the second the 9th tribe. (The different order in Numbers 26 has to do with the placing of the standards in Numbers 2. In this way it was easy to prevent the tribe of Judah coming under the standard of Reuben.)

In trying to locate the exact tribal regions or even their boundaries one encounters several problems. The first is the uncertainty about the identifications of biblical placenames, especially in Transjordan. The second is that those who produce biblical maps tend to harmonize different texts. The third problem is a methodological one. The biblical data on the geographical and historical situations in Transjordan show a wide variation. To what extent can these differences be explained historically? That is to say, do the different texts record different situations in successive periods? Or to what extent do we have to reckon with purely literary procedures, without any basis in a historical reality?

There is a rather broad consensus that the oldest reliable source on the Transjordanian tribes of Gad and Reuben is the core of the city-list in Num 32:33–38. According to Wüst (1975) this core consists of the following 4 cities for Gad: Dibon, Ataroth, Aroer, and Atroth-shophan. The city-names Jaazer, Beth-nimrah, and Beth-haran are later additions that were taken from Joshua 13. The addition of Jogbehah is a harmonization with Judg 8:12. This means that according to the oldest biblical tradition there is a tribe Gad centered around Dibon (cf. the name-form Dibon-gad in Num 33:45). This is a territory N of the river Arnon, its heartland being a fertile plateau with excellent grazing, called "the Mishor" (Josh 13:9, 16; Deut 3:10; 4:43). The oldest text locates Gad therefore to the S of the tribe of Reuben that was centered in the N parts of the Mishor around Heshbon. As will be shown below, the tribe of Gad was forced out of this S position and resettled in towns more to the N.

Many have noticed that of the Transjordanian tribes only Reuben is mentioned in the very old Song of Deborah (Judges 5). Instead of Gad we find "Gilead." It is too simplistic to assume that "Gilead" was just another name for the territory of Gad. To the author of the Song there were obviously two nuclei of Israelite settlement E of the Jordan: Gilead, N and S of the river Jabbok; and the Mishor, called by him after Reuben, S of Gilead but N of the Arnon. In Num 32:29, 30 "the land of Gilead" is used as the general name for the Israelite territories E of the Jordan. It is equivalent to "the land of Canaan." In v 1 the tribal territory of Reuben is called "the land of Jaazer." The absence of Gad can best be explained by assuming that Gad was only later considered as a separate tribe. In the early monarchy, Israelite Transjordan was known as "the land of Gad and Gilead" (1 Sam 13:7; cf. also 2 Sam 24:5).

Gad is mentioned in 2 other old texts: in the "Blessing of Jacob" and in the "Blessing of Moses" (Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33, respectively). Zobel has shown that the blessing of Gad belongs to a younger type. A comparison with an animal, for instance, is lacking. On the other hand the condition of the tribe differs in both blessings: In the older one (Genesis 49) the tribe is depicted as threatened; but in Deuteronomy 33 only praise is expressed for Gad—here the tribe is obviously in its prime. The rise of Gad was largely at the cost of the tribe of Reuben. This development becomes visible already in Num 32:34–38. The analysis of this text by Wüst (1975) has shown that the additions to the original document are all situated to the N of the territory of Reuben. These additions are: Jazer, Beth-nimrah, Beth-haran, and Jogbehah.

In the case of the tribe of Gad we have the rare opportunity to supplement biblical tradition with extrabiblical data. The famous stela of king Mesha of Moab (a modern English translation is given in *HAIJ,* 283) gives us valuable information on the historical situation in S Transjordan in the mid-9th century B.C.E. King Mesha introduces himself in line 1 as "the Dibonite," which seems to imply that he was born there. Dibon therefore was already Moabite at the beginning of the 9th century. The homeland of the Moabites lay S of the river Arnon, and Dibon is situated just N of it. Then, in lines 7–8, Mesha informs us that "the men of Gad lived always in the region of Ataroth." "Always" should be understood as "of old," "in living memory," i.e., at least during the last 3 generations. This brings us into the time of Saul and David, in excellent agreement with 1 Samuel 13. Next, king Mesha informs us that the town of Medeba was given back to Moab by its god Chemosh. This former Reubenite town was clearly lost by Israel at an earlier time. After that it was reconquered by king Omri of Israel. But after Omri's death, Mesha had been able to conquer it again. From this we may conclude that the Moabite expansion probably went N along the King's Highway and left the areas W of it—Ataroth—at

first untouched. The following cities are counted by Mesha as having been conquered from Israel: Beth-baal-meon, Kiriathaim, Nebo, and Jahaz. All of these are well-known from the Bible. Mesha was the first king of Moab to make Dibon the royal residence. It was also here that the stela was erected. From this stela we see clearly how the border with Israel was pushed northwards.

Pressure came not only from the S, but also from the E. The already famous scroll 4QSam^a, found near the Dead Sea, has kept a few verses of 1 Samuel 11 that apparently were lost in the MT. This additional text is to be placed before 1 Sam 11:1 (translation F. M. Cross 1980):

> [And Na]hash, king of the Ammonites, sorely oppressed the children of Gad and the children of Reuben, and he gouged out a[ll] their right eyes and struck ter[ror and dread] in Israel. There was not left one among the children of Israel bey[ond] [Jordan who]se right eye was no[t go]uged out by Naha[sh king] of the children of [A]mmon; except seven thousand men [fled from] the children of Ammon and entered [J]abesh-Gilead. About a month later, Nahash the Ammonite went up and besieged Jabesh-[Gilead] and all the men of Jabesh said to Nahash [the Ammonite, "Make] with [us a covenant and we shall become your subjects."] Nahash [the Amonite said t]o [th]em, ["After this fashion will] I make [a covenant with you] . . .

From the course of history we must conclude that the victories of Saul and David over the Ammonites were decisive: It was not until more than 2 centuries later that Ammon once again became a threat to Israel. David made himself king over Ammon and in 2 Sam 23:26 a hero from Gad and one from Ammon are mentioned side by side.

The list of the Solomonic districts—1 Kgs 4:7–19—describes the land of Israel at the end of the United Monarchy. At the end of the list the 12th district includes "the land of Gilead, the land of Sihon." The use of "Gilead" is suspect because of the geographical order and because Gilead was already treated as the 6th district. (To read only "the land of Gad" with LXX^B is probably too simple.) Sihon was the Amorite king of Heshbon (Num 21:21–30). In any case the list does testify to the existence of an Israelite district in S Transjordan at this time.

Deuteronomy, however, locates the tribe of Gad much farther to the N than do the older texts (Deut 3:12, 16; 4:43; 29:7). A number of younger texts associate with the tribe of Gad an itinerary through the Jordan valley southwards. It passes through Zaphon, Succoth, Beth-nimrah, Beth-haran, and Beth-jeshimoth. This route entered former Reubenite territory at Kiriathaim and joined the King's Highway at Dibon. Again according to Wüst (1975), this itinerary was also known to the redactor of Joshua 13. This document originally listed Israelite cities in Transjordan; a subdivision over tribes was added later. In Joshua 13 the border is drawn between Gad (N) and Reuben (S) at the wadi el-Wâlah. From the Mesha stela we concluded the same borderline. Heshbon remained an Israelite city, probably until 722 B.C.E. Jer 49:1–3 also considers the wadi el-Wâlah as the border with Moab. Jeremiah still connects Heshbon with the tribe of Gad.

Remarkable, however, is Isa 15:2–4; 16:9. It does not seem to disturb the prophet Isaiah that almost all the Moabite towns he enumerates had been Israelite until a few decades before him.

In later, postexilic texts, the location of the tribe of Gad continues to be in the N. We find Gadite cities even mentioned near the river Yarmuk. A Gadite city is also mentioned in the list of Cities of Refuge (Joshua 20). The list of Levitical cities from Joshua 21 ascribes a number of N cities to Gad too, but at the same time also Heshbon, the former Reubenite center. Maybe this can be explained by assuming that Gadite clans withdrew to the N and to the Jordan valley after their original territory was lost.

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C. H. J. DE GEUS

2. An Israelite seer (1 Chr 29:29) and prophet (1 Sam 22:5). He was a contemporary of King David, and was significant primarily for his influence in David's life and decisions. Having become the object of Saul's anger, David fled and lodged in the cave of Adullam where his family and many socially distressed persons joined him. After some time Gad counseled David to leave the cave and settle in Judah; David acceded to his counsel (1 Sam 22:5). Later, after David took a census of his increasingly numerous people, Gad offered David a selection of 1 from among 3 punishments for the prideful act; David selected a pestilence in the land as the preferred punishment. While the pestilence raged, Gad instructed David to sacrifice on an altar to be erected on a chosen plot. David again followed the seer's instruction: He purchased the plot, erected the altar, and sacrificed; the pestilence ceased (2 Samuel 24 = 1 Chr 21:1–27). He was later influential, indirectly and posthumously, in a decision by King Hezekiah: When the king cleansed the polluted temple and consecrated it, he ordered the Levitical musicians to serve strictly according to Gad's commandment issued during David's reign and applicable to the situation (2 Chr 29:25). A document entitled *Chronicles*, devoted to the memory of David's rule,

might, grandeur, and success, is attributed to him either as its author or editor (1 Chr 29:29–30).

GERALD J. PETTER

GAD, VALLEY TOWARD (PLACE) [Heb *gād*]. A place where David's census officers camped after crossing into Transjordan. The KJV, based on the MT of 2 Sam 24:5 *(hannaḥal haggād)*, translates this phrase as the "river of Gad." However, the fact that both words in this expression have the definite article suggests that this is an incorrect translation. The RSV and NEB, following Lucian, emend the two Hebrew words in this expression to read *naḥal ʾel-haggadi* and respectively translate the phrase "valley, toward Gad" and "gorge, proceeding toward Gad." Since this river valley is the one in which Aroer is located, it is probably to be identified with the Arnon. This valley apparently formed the S limit of Israelite expansion in Transjordan.

RANDALL W. YOUNKER

GADARENES [Gk *Gadarēnos*]. The name of the territory where Jesus cast demons out of 2 men and into a herd of swine (Matt 8:28). See also GERASENES. This area is associated with the site of Gadara, modern Umm Qeis (M.R. 214229), located near the N border of Jordan, about 10 km SE of the S tip of the Lake of Tiberias, on a flat plateau which is aligned in an E–W direction at an altitude of 350 m above sea level. On the N, steep slopes descend to the Yarmuk valley, on the W is the Jordan valley, and to the S is the Wadi el-ʿArab. In and near the modern village lie the ruins of the ancient city, which was first associated with Gadara by U. J. Seetzen in 1806. Its arrangement and size were adapted to the local topography.

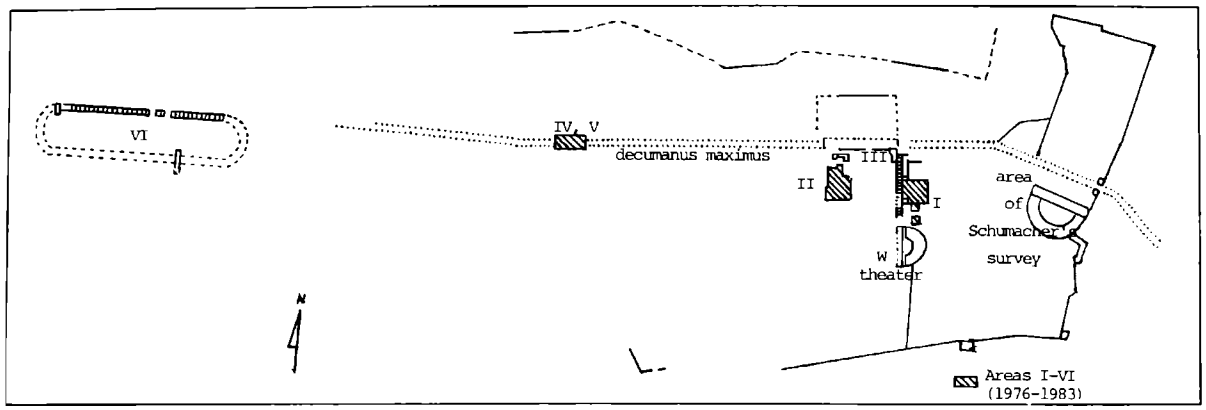
In 1886, G. Schumacher was commissioned to undertake a surface survey of Umm Qeis, mainly in the upper city, which at that time was uninhabited. After a long interruption, several separate campaigns have been conducted at the site: The excavation of a late bath in the NW part of the village, whose mosaic floor and inscription were published by U. Lux (1966) and S. Mittmann (1966) respectively; the cleaning of a (probably) Late Roman tomb in the same vicinity, published by B. De Vries (1973); and the uncovering of an extensive, subterranean mausoleum within the ancient city limits (unpublished). In 1974 a second surface survey was carried out, and its site plan recorded the architectural remains of the ancient city over an area ca. 1,600 m long with a maximum width of 450 m, superceding Schumacher's 1886 plan of the upper city. The necropolises located all around the ancient city limits could not be taken into account.

Between 1976 and 1980, excavations were conducted under the direction of Ute Wagner-Lux, and later with S. Holm-Nielsen who joined the expedition in 1977. Several fields between the upper and lower cities, the so-called terrace, and in the lower city were excavated. The results of these excavations are briefly presented in the remainder of this article. See Fig. GAD.01.

Field I is situated in the central part of the terrace. The expedition unearthed the foundations of a square building (measuring ca. 23.5 × 23.1 m) with an octagonal interior, built over a floor from the Roman period which was composed of limestone slabs. The doors were on the W and E sides of the building. Two shaft tombs (0.52 × 1.72 m and 0.6 × 1.74 m) were found in the floor of the NE apse in front of a basalt sarcophagus. At the horizontal apex of the SE apse, which had been separated by chancel screens from the octagonal interior, a hexagonal basalt column 0.74 m high (a reliquary stand?) was discovered. In the interior, a corridor surrounds a central octagon, which is entered from the N and formerly was demarcated with chancel screens. On the E side of the central octagon was a semicircular, stepped installation oriented to the E, and just W of the latter, a shaft tomb with a stone ossuary or reliquary (?) (ca. 1.2 × 0.5 × 0.4 m). The floor of the building was overlaid with small, stone tiles assembled to form various geometric patterns in hues of black, slate blue, yellow, red, and white. All the excavation data indicate that this square building corresponds to a church of the central-plan type. It was erected at the beginning of the 6th century A.D. largely from reused material and was destroyed in the 8th century by an earthquake. From the courtyard, three doorways gave access to the *decumanus maximus*.

Field II was excavated by the Danish team in 4 campaigns from 1977 to 1983. Its focus was a public bath located about 50 m W of the church and skirted on the N by the E–W oriented *decumanus maximus*. The main building was 30 m wide and 50 m long. It had been built on a steep slope, with its northernmost room cut partly into the rock and its S end supported by 2 large, vaulted rooms founded on bedrock. Skirted by another E–W street, the S facade of the building at its original height of about 14 m, must have been an impressive sight. Including the auxiliary rooms or corridors on the E and W as well as some on the N, the edifice covered an area of about 2,300 square m. From the auxiliary rooms, the hot bathrooms were heated through underground furnaces so that hot air circulated under the floors *(hypokaustikon)*, which were supported by pillars made mainly of basalt but also of tiles. The temperature needed for the different rooms was further regulated by chimneys and hot-air pipes *(tubulus)* along the walls. It is estimated that 10 furnaces were employed when the 8-room bath was fully functional. Olive wood and olive seeds were used as fuel, and water was supplied by the main aqueduct carrying water to Gadara from the far NE. The various rooms known from the classical Roman public bath were represented: dressing room *(apodyterium)*, cold-water room *(frigidarium)*, lukewarm room *(tepidarium)*, hot-water room *(calderium)*, dry hot-air room *(sudatorium)*, and possibly also a room for massage and anointment *(unctorium)*. The open courtyard for gymnastic exercises *(palaestra)* does not seem to have been included in the construction, however, perhaps because by this time it was no longer a normal feature of public baths.

Three main periods are discernible in the history of the bath. The first was terminated by a destruction possibly caused by an earthquake, around A.D. 400. In the second period, the building continued as a bath, but on a slightly reduced scale. The S wall had partly collapsed and was not re-erected. The southernmost room, originally the most luxurious of all the rooms, was abandoned as a bathroom and from then on served only as a stoke room for a new



GAD.01. Site plan of Gadara, showing fields I–VI. *(Courtesy of U. Wagner-Lux)*

and much smaller, semi-circular hot-bath basin, which was built against the arched passage to the neighboring room on the N. Some of the other doorways in the building were narrowed and the heating system reduced. This gradual change may reflect the beginning of an economic decline at Gadara. Sometime in the first half of the 7th century A.D., the use of the building as a bath came to an end, and in the third period it was used for habitation and perhaps also for industrial purposes on a smaller scale. Whether this development had anything to do with the Islamic conquest is uncertain, but the finds, especially in the smaller rooms on the W, clearly attest an Umayyad presence. A semicircular niche in the S wall of Room VII seems to have been turned into an Islamic prayer niche *(mihrab)*. The structure was ultimately destroyed by the great earthquake of A.D. 746 at the end of the Umayyad era.

SVEND HOLM-NIELSEN

Field III is located at the N end of a street that branches southward at right angles from the *decumanus maximus*, running to the W of and below the terrace, and leading along a row of consecutive rooms with vaulted ceilings but broken-off facades to the W theater. In this field the W face of the entrance at the N side of the terrace, as well as the adjacent vaulted room extending to the S, were exposed. The reconstruction of the facades on the series of consecutive rooms was facilitated by the recovery of various architectural pieces. In addition, a water system was identified both under the Roman street and, in its later phases, breaking through the pavement.

Fields IV and V were in a 34 m length of the E–W oriented *decumanus maximus*, which was excavated at about the midpoint of the ancient urban area. The average width of the street between the N and S stylobates of the column rows measured 12.55 m, and the average width of the sidewalks was 3 m. The reuse of building stones for the street pavement suggests a secondary process of road formation, probably a renovation during the Byzantine period.

Field VI is situated in the W zone of the ruins at the remains of a hippodrome. Three soundings were made in order to examine the structure more closely, but without obtaining further results.

Although Gadara played a role as a member of the Decapolis only from the time of Pompey (64/63 B.C.), the known history of the city nevertheless reaches well back into the Hellenistic period. According to the ceramic finds from the 1974 surface survey, Gadara must have had an even older, pre-Hellenistic predecessor; however, no clarifying section could be cut at a suitable place during the excavations.

Gadara was made famous primarily because of its scholars: Menippus (3d century B.C.), Meleager (first half of the 1st century B.C.), Philodemus (first half of the 1st century B.C.), Theodorus, teacher of the emperor Tiberius (end of the 1st century B.C.), Oneomaus (2d century A.D.), and Apsines (3d century A.D.). The establishment of Christianity at Gadara must have occurred very early (as the participation of Bishop Sabinus in the Council of Nicea in A.D. 325 notably attests), though doubtless not without a struggle (witness the martyrdom of the deacon Zacchaeus in A.D. 303). Subsequently Christianity became the dominant religion throughout the Near East, resulting in the emergence of important Christian centers with proportionately major church structures, such as Bosra, Zorʿa, Jerash, and Madeba. On the basis of the excavation of its central-plan church, Gadara joined these cities, with their analogous central-plan churches, as a center of equal rank.

UTE WAGNER-LUX
K. J. H. VRIEZEN

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S.H.-N.
U.W.-L.
K.J.H.V.

GADDI (PERSON) [Gk *Gaddi*]. Nickname of John, the eldest among the 5 sons of Mattathias (1 Macc 2:2). As with all his brothers, 1 Maccabees mentions his nickname. We do not know to what purpose these nicknames are mentioned nor when or why they originated. It is assumed that they were given to Mattathias' sons at their birth, and were aimed to distinguish their bearers, especially because their proper names were very common at that period. Gaddi may be drawn from Heb *Gad*, which means (good) fortune. It may also be a name (cf. Num 13:11), but this is less acceptable since the other brothers carry what are evidently nicknames, and not second names. See MACCABEE.

John the Gaddi did not distinguish himself in the Maccabean rebellion and is mentioned only once as a commander of a convoy, sent for shelter to the Nabateans, but ambushed on its way. In the ensuing battle or in captivity, John was killed (1 Macc 9:35–38). This event took place some time after the fall of Judah Maccabeus in 160 B.C.E. See JOHN (PERSON).

URIEL RAPPAPORT

GADDIEL (PERSON) [Heb *gaddi'ēl*]. The name is a compound of the Hebrew words *gad* and *'el* ("God"). The root meaning of GAD is "luck" or "good fortune" (cf. Gen 30:11). In Isa 65:11 it represents the name of a deity which personified "fortune." Thus, the most likely meaning of Gaddiel is something like "God is my good fortune."

The personal name Gaddiel is found only in Numbers 13:12. The son of SODI, Gaddiel represented the tribe of Zebulun among the 12 men Moses sent from the wilderness of Paran (Num 12:16) to spy out the land of Canaan. Though not the head of the tribe of Zebulun (Num 1:9; 7:24), he was one of its leading princes (Num 13:2, 3). His selection was doubtless based upon his suitability for the mission to be carried out. For further discussion, see Gray *Numbers* ICC.

JON PAULIEN

GADI (PERSON) [Heb *gādî*]. The father of Menahem king of Israel and the assassin of Shallum ben Jabesh (2 Kgs 15:14, 17). Nothing is known about him apart from these 2 references. The name ending has suggested to some scholars that it refers not to his father's name, but to Menahem's place of origin, the tribal territory of Gad on the E side of the Jordan River. However, that Gadi is a personal name is supported by its appearance as such in several sources. The name is found in a slightly different form in Num 11:13 as "Gaddi" [Heb *gāddî*], in the Samarian Ostraca (6, 16–18, 30) as "Gaddiyo" [Heb *gdyw*], possibly an abbreviation for "Gaddiyahu" (*TSSI* 1: 8–11), and in the Arad Inscriptions (71, 72) as "Gadi" or "Gaddiel" and as a possible diminutive, "Gada" [Heb *gd'*] (*AI*, 95–96). Recently published Hebrew seal impressions from the 7th century B.C.E. (Avigad 1986: 39–41) have confirmed that Gadi is an abbreviation for Gaddiyahu. Seal impressions 23, 24 and 26 mention "Shahar ben Gad[d]iyahu" [Heb *šḥr bn gdyhw*]. Obviously referring to the same person is seal impression 25, which reads "To Shahar son of Gadi" [Heb *lšḥr bn gdy*].

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T. R. HOBBS

GAHAM (PERSON) [Heb *gaḥam*]. Second son of Nahor, Abraham's brother, by the concubine Reumah (Gen. 22:24). The assumption that Nahor's 12 sons were the fathers of as many tribes appears to be groundless since most of their names, as Gaham, never occur again in Scripture. The name "Gaham" most probably means "flame" or "bright blaze."

JOEL C. SLAYTON

GAHAR (PERSON) [Heb *gaḥar*]. Head of a family of *nĕtînîm* (temple servants) (see NETHINIM) which is listed among those exiles returning from Babylon to Jerusalem and Judah (Ezra 2:47 = Neh 7:49; 1 Esdr 5:30 [LXX *geddour* reading Heb *gdwd* instead of *gḥr*]). Noth (*IPN*, 229) places the name among those emphasizing spiritual/intellectual qualities and derives it from Ar *jaḥirun* "weak (or humble) of spirit (or intellect)." Koehler (1940: 37), pointing to the lack of such emphases in Hebrew names, derives it from the Ar *jaḥara*, similar to *jaḥrāh* "year with little rain," which he understood as describing one "born at a time of little rain." Loewenstamm (*EncMiqr* 2: 475), discounting these proposed Arabic etymologies for lack of supporting examples, holds that the interpretation of the name remains vague. Zadok (1980: 112) likewise agrees to the unsatisfactory nature of these etymologies as well as those he derives from Mishnaic Hebrew by citing Jastrow (1926: 237b, 233b): *gîḥôr* "red-spotted"; *gĕḥārîm* (or *gehārîm*) and *gĕḥîrîm* from *gaḥar* or *gahar* "projection, jetty." Zadok nevertheless includes the name with those which are "both Hebrew (or a late type) and Aramaic."

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RODNEY H. SHEARER

GAI (PLACE) [Heb *gay'*]. A place toward which the Philistines fled after the death of Goliath (1 Sam 17:52). Although it has been translated as "the valley" (KJV; see also Rainey 1975: 69*–70* who identifies "the valley" with the Elah Valley), this translation appears unlikely owing to the absence of the definite article. The syntax of the verse would seem to indicate that Gai is to be understood as a proper noun. However, on the basis of the LXX "Gath" most modern scholarship views Gai as a Heb scribal error for Gath (M.R. 135123; see Driver 1890: 114; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 286, 290; RSV). This argument is strengthened by the pairing of Gai and Ekron as the destinations of Philistine flight in the first half of v 52 in the MT, and the pairing of Gath and Ekron in the second.

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CARL S. EHRLICH

GAIUS (PERSON) [Gk *Gaios*]. **1.** A Corinthian Christian mentioned after Crispus and before the household of Stephanas as one of the few people baptized by Paul during his stay in Corinth in the early 50s (1 Cor 1:14). Being baptized by Paul, it is reasonable to assume that Gaius was partial to Paul's position in the disputes among the divisive Corinthians. It is most probable that he is the same Gaius who served as host to Paul and to "the whole church" at Corinth in the late 50s (Rom 16:23), since Paul was apparently in Corinth when he wrote Romans. In Rom 16:23, Gaius sends greetings from his residence in Corinth to the church in Rome, implying that he may have known personally some of the Roman Christians. His Latin name and his financial position suggest that he belonged to the class of Roman freedmen who had come to Corinth and had apparently prospered economically. He was at least a person of sufficient wealth to host the whole Corinthian church, which must have been quite large judging from Acts 18:10 and from the names of the Corinthians that are known.

Because Rom 16:23 names Gaius as Paul's host and because Acts 18:7 states that when Paul left the synagogue in Corinth he went next door to the house of the god-fearer Titius Justus, some have held that Gaius may be identified with Titius Justus, whose full name would then be Gaius Titius Justus. According to a tradition reported by Origen (*comm. in Rom.* 10.41), Gaius became the first bishop of Thessalonica. See JUSTUS.

2. A Macedonian who was a traveling companion of Paul and who along with Aristarchus was present with Paul in Ephesus at the confrontation with Demetrius and the silversmiths (Acts 19:29). Gaius and Aristarchus were dragged by the rioters into the theater, probably to be questioned concerning Paul's activities. They apparently were freed shortly after the town clerk had defused the scene (Acts 19:35–41). Then it is probable that Gaius along with Aristarchus joined Paul when he departed for Macedonia and Greece (cf. 20:1–2).

3. One of the 7 people named in Acts who accompanied Paul from Corinth to Troas as he journeyed toward Jerusalem with the collection (Acts 20:4). This Gaius may also have been one of the brethren referred to in 2 Cor 8:18–22, previously sent to Corinth by Paul. The text of Acts 20:4, which reads Gk *Gaios Derbaios,* is usually taken to mean Gaius "from Derbe." However, it is also possible that he was not from Derbe since *Derbaios* could refer to Timothy who is also mentioned in 20:4 (cf. 16:1); thus the text could be read as listing Gaius as one of the Thessalonians, along with Aristarchus and Secundus. If so, it could be argued that this Gaius, being a Macedonian and being with Aristarchus, is to be identified with Gaius #2 above. The question whether Gaius was actually from Derbe has also been raised on textual grounds since the Western text (D) reads *Douberios* (instead of *Derbaios*), which like Thessalonica is also a Macedonian town. This reading, too, would support an identity of Gaius #3 with Gaius #2. According to the late 4th century *Apos. Con.* (7.46) Gaius (from Derbe) was made the first Bishop of Pergamum in Asia Minor. However, the historicity of this information, due to its late date of composition, is highly questionable.

4. The personal recipient of the canonical letter 3 John (v 1) and a person who had showed hospitality to the Johannine "brothers" (vv 5–6). Because he provided hospitality, Gaius must have been a wealthy Christian whose means, home, and social status enabled him to play such a role. The recipients of Gaius' hospitality were itinerant missionaries who adhered to the Presbyter (also translated Elder), the author of 3 John. The Presbyter favors the leadership of Gaius, referred to affectionately as beloved (v 1), to that of Diotrephes, the head of a house church who refused hospitality to the Johannine "brothers." Whether Gaius himself belonged to the house church in which Diotrephes liked "to put himself first (among them)" (v 9), or was part of another, is unclear. The use of the singular, "the church," in vv 9–10, suggests that Gaius was a member of the house church controlled by Diotrephes. Other evidence seems to indicate that Gaius and his circle of "friends" (v 15) were not dominated by Diotrephes: Gaius had been able to offer hospitality without being expelled by Diotrephes; "among them" in v 9 excludes Gaius; and the singular, "the church," may have a more general reference, thus including the various house churches in the area. Also, if Gaius was unaware of the earlier letter sent to the church of Diotrephes (v 9), this is a further argument that the two were part of different groups since the Presbyter has to tell Gaius about this letter (Brown *The Epistles of John* AB, 729, 731). Finally, it is unclear whether Gaius was a member or the head of a house church. There is no evidence that he had any special authority by virtue of his hospitality beyond that of being able to accept or to exclude traveling missionaries.

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JOHN GILLMAN

GALAL (PERSON) [Heb *gālāl*]. The name of 2 persons mentioned in Nehemiah and Chronicles. The name possibly means "turtle" (*IPN*, 230).

1. An ancestor of one of the Levites who returned to Jerusalem following the Babylonian exile (1 Chr 9:16, Neh 11:17). Galal is presented as a descendant of Jeduthun who was head of one of the 3 families of Levitical singers appointed by David (1 Chr 16:42, 25:1–8). Galal and his descendants probably continued to function as Levitical singers.

2. One of the Levites who returned from Babylonian exile to Jerusalem (1 Chr 9:15). According to the text, Galal was a descendant of Asaph who was the head of another of the 3 families of Levitical singers appointed by David (1 Chr 15:16–17, 25:1–8) and the author of several psalms (Pss 50, 73–83). Thus Galal most likely served as a Levitical singer himself. Galal is not mentioned in the parallel passage in Nehemiah (Neh 11:15–18), but Bowman (*Ezra and Nehemiah* IB, 777) suggested that Gilalai (Neh 12:36) who was a trumpeter might have been Galal. Although the names and professions are similar, there is no conclusive evidence that Galal and Gilalai were the same person.

ROBERT C. DUNSTON

GALATIA (PLACE) [Gk *Galatia*]. GALATIANS. The name applied to a region of central Asia Minor (modern Turkey) which was occupied or controlled by Celtic immigrants of European origin known as Galatians. The geographical definition of this region varied widely at different periods. The Galatians crossed into Asia Minor in 278/77 B.C. and after raiding the prosperous W regions in the 270s were restricted to the arid steppes of central Anatolia stretching about 150 kms E and W of modern Ankara, henceforth known as Galatia. Raids against the cities of the W continued during the 3d century B.C., but Galatian power was much curtailed first by Attalus I of Pergammon between 240 and 230 B.C. They retained their independence and enjoyed a resurgence in the 1st century B.C. when their leaders proved to be stalwart allies of Rome in the wars against Mithridates VI of Pontus (95–63 B.C.). They were rewarded with important territorial grants by Cn. Pompeius and M. Antonius between 63 and 36 B.C. At the time of the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.) and the beginning of the principate of the emperor Augustus, a single Galatian ruler, Amyntas, controlled the whole of central Turkey and his kingdom even reached the Mediterranean. Other Galatians controlled territory in NE Anatolia, the old Pontic kingdom of Mithridates. During this period the Galatians retained much of their traditional Celtic culture: they spoke a Celtic dialect which survived in rural areas at least until the 4th century A.D.; Celtic personal and place names are widely attested; and they had a distinctive Celtic form of religious and political organization. They were renowned warriors and prized mercenaries whose outlandish appearance, great physical stature, and barbarian ways struck terror into their enemies, but they were insufficiently disciplined to prevail over the armies of the Hellenistic kingdoms or Roman legions (Stähelin 1907; Ramsay 1899: 1–102).

Around 25 B.C. the entire kingdom of Amyntas was annexed to the Roman Empire to form the province of Galatia. At this date the province included the original area of Galatian settlement around Ankara; ancient Ancyra, which was henceforward the chief provincial city; the steppic central Anatolian plateau of East Phrygia and Lycaonia; the mixed Pisido-Phrygian area around Pisidian Antioch and Apollonia; the mountainous tribal region of Isauria and Pisidia; and the Pamphylian plain. This vast and diverse area was further enlarged between 6 B.C. and A.D. 64 by the addition of Paphlagonia to the N and the Pontic regions to the NE. Between A.D. 70 and 114 it was joined under a single Roman governor with Cappadocia and Armenia Minor to form a central and E Anatolian province which reached as far as the river Euphrates (Sherk 1980).

During the first 150 years of direct Roman administration autonomous city states with large adjacent territories were created over most of the province except for Cappadocia. For instance in N Galatia the Celtic tribal peoples were constituted into the cities of Pessinus, Ancyra, and Tavium during Augustus' principate. At the same time, 13 Roman colonies, each inhabited by an elite of discharged Roman veterans, were founded mainly in the S of the province, including 3 cities evangelized by St. Paul on his first missionary journey, Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra (Levick 1967; Mitchell 1980). During this period the province was generally governed by a Roman senator of consular rank with experience of important military commands behind him. Garrison legions were stationed in the S of the province around Pisidian Antioch under Augustus, and along the E frontier of the empire, the upper Euphrates, from the 70s A.D. until late antiquity (Mitchell 1976; Mitford 1980). A major Roman highway, the *via Sebaste*, was built before 6 B.C. linking most of the major colonies of the S part of the province and helping to secure Roman domination over the intransigent native tribesmen of the Taurus mountains; the Roman roads of the N part of the province were constructed for the first time in the 70s and 80s A.D., as part of the program to fortify and garrison the Euphrates frontier (Magie 1950, 1: 566–92). As a result, many of the cities of the N, in particular Ancyra, witnessed a spectacular growth in military traffic.

After A.D. 114 the E part of Asia Minor, including Cappadocia, Armenia Minor and most of Pontus, was made into a separate province under a consular governor, while central Anatolia was reserved for separate administration by a junior praetorian senator (Sherk 1954). Although the province of Galatia thereby reverted to relative insignificance in Roman political-military thinking, it enjoyed considerable prosperity. Much of the rural central plateau was divided into great estates owned by the emperor, members of the senatorial aristocracy, or civic dignitaries; it was inhabited by a peasantry which developed a thriving mixed agricultural economy alongside the rearing of livestock, which had hitherto been typical of the area. The cities meanwhile, benefitting from this rural prosperity, were adorned with fine public buildings in the Greco-Roman tradition and displayed many of the characteristics of cultural life which was the hallmark of civilization under the high Roman Empire. While the urban elites acquired the trappings of Hellenic sophistication, the indigenous

population of the countryside retained its native culture. Not only Galatian but other local languages such as Phrygian, Pisidian, and Lycaonian were spoken under the empire (Holl 1908); there was worship of a bewildering diversity of native deities, principally Zeus, the Phrygian Mother of the Gods, and the Anatolian moon god Mên.

Within the boundaries of the Roman province of Galatia there is little reliable evidence for Judaism or Christianity in the 1st and 2d centuries A.D. Except for the passages in Acts which refer to synagogues at Pisidian Antioch (13:14) and Iconium (14:1), Jews are hardly attested in any of the cities before the 4th century. There were, however, important Jewish communities to the W, above all in Phrygia at Apamea and Acmonia (*HJP*^{2} 3/1: 27–32). Moreover, inscriptions of N Galatia from the 3d to the 6th centuries do indicate small Jewish communities in rural districts (*RECAM* 2: 133, 141, 2096, 508–11). There is only one unambiguous reference to Christians in a Galatian city before A.D. 200, to Montanists in Ancyra (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.16); the evangelization of the apostolic period, therefore, left few traces. It is likely that Christian communities became larger and more influential in the second half of the 3d century, at least in certain cities (Harnack 1915, 2: 184–226). By the mid-4th century, however, Christianity seems to have become the religion of the majority of the inhabitants, as was more obviously the case in neighboring Cappadocia. The Galatian city of Laodice Catacecaumene was then a noted heretical center (Calder 1923).

The references in the NT to Galatia, Galatians, and to cities in the province have given rise to contentious dispute. The central problem concerns the recipient of Paul's epistle to the Galatians. The letter is addressed "to the churches of Galatia" (Gal 1:2; 1 Cor 16:1) and the recipients are apostrophised as "foolish Galatians" (Gal 3:1). Do the churches belong to the cities of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, which Paul had visited according to Acts (the so-called South Galatian Theory); to the cities of Celtic N Galatia, Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium (the North Galatian Theory); or to the cities of the whole province? The most authoritative champion of the South Galatian Theory was the great explorer of Asia Minor, W. M. Ramsay, and although the North Galatian Theory still finds many supporters, his work should long ago have put the matter beyond dispute (Ramsay *HDB* 2:81–89; 1899).

There is no evidence in Acts or any non-testamentary source that Paul ever evangelized the cities of N Galatia by any means. In so far as the gospel was taken here in the early years of the church, the evangelist was the author of 1 Peter, who addressed the Jews of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Asia (1 Pet 1:1). Paul did not visit N Galatia. The book of Acts relates that he passed through a region called Phrygia and the Galatic country after leaving Derbe and Lystra, as a stage in a journey that led through Mysia to Troas (Acts 16:6). This cannot have been Galatia, which lay some 200 km NE of any natural route between Lystra and Mysia in NW Asia Minor. The phrase is naturally understood as denoting the country of Phrygia Paroreius which lay on either side of Sultan Dağ, the mountain range that divided Pisidian Antioch from Iconium, an area that was ethnically Phrygian but which was divided between the Roman provinces of Asia and Galatia.

A later passage in Acts describing Paul's third journey states that he crossed these same regions, the Galatic country and Phrygia, before coming to Ephesus (Acts 18: 22–23; 19:1). Again, this route can only have intersected the first one in the region of Phrygia Paroreius, not conceivably in N Galatia, which would have involved a huge detour for any traveller between Syrian Antioch and Ephesus. The Pontic bishop Asterius of Amasea in the later 4th century A.D. rightly understood this passage to refer to Lycaonia and Phrygia, not to Galatia in the ethnic sense. In the mid 1st century A.D. it was normal to refer to the whole province and not just the Celtic region as Galatia (Eutropius 7.10; *Inscriptionos Latinae Selectae* 9499; *IG Rom.* 3.263). It is proper therefore, for Luke to speak of non-Celtic parts of the province as Galatian country, and in the 1st century A.D. it was as natural to refer to the churches of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe as churches of Galatia as it was to call that of Corinth a church of Achaea (1 Cor 1:1).

No weight should be placed on Paul's reference to the foolish Galatians. Certainly this would not be a natural mode of address to the inhabitants of cities which had few if any Celtic inhabitants, but that is precisely the point. It is part of Paul's reproach to his correspondents that he equates them with the barbarous and unsophisticated people who had given their name to the province and who, throughout antiquity, had a quite independent reputation for simplemindedness. The epistle, therefore, was certainly addressed to the Galatian churches where Paul had preached in the S of the province, and should be interpreted in conjunction with the account of his mission to them in Acts, not treated as a letter addressed to communities in N Galatia, with whom he had no other attested dealings.

The churches of Galatia, therefore, were established in the S part of the province, at Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe in the course of Paul's first missionary journey. Although he was to revisit them twice they appear not to have flourished, and Christianity made no further significant progress in the region before the 3d century A.D.

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STEPHEN MITCHELL

GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

A letter to the church at Galatia by the apostle Paul, now found as the ninth book of the NT canon.

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A. Text

Among the extant letters of the Apostle Paul, his letter to the churches of Galatia is the fourth in the present CANON (NT), but the first in Marcion's (Harnack 1924: 40*–79*). The canonical lists, however, do not reflect the actual historical chronology. Textually, we do not possess the Gk original, and the early history of transmission is unknown. The reconstruction of the text, presented by the critical editions of NovTG[27] and *The Greek New Testament* (1983), is as close an approximation to the original as possible, given present knowledge (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM [NT]). J. C. O'Neill's (1972) attempt to follow the example of Marcion by eliminating approximately one third as later glosses and interpolations remains unconvincing.

B. Author

The preface names Paul (1:1) as the author of the letter. This fact is confirmed by the literary form and style, argumentative methods, and theological content, as well as by the tradition, which never doubted it. Pauline authorship was denied by some scholars in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but their arguments are insufficient. Since in the original the postscript was handwritten by Paul (6:11), the remainder of the letter must have been written by an amanuensis, a fact which complicates authorship technically but not substantially (Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 1).

C. Address

The letter is addressed to "the churches of Galatia" (1:2; cf. 3:1). The location of this area called Galatia has been discussed extensively but without definitive result. Most likely the location is central Anatolia, where wandering Celtic tribes settled after 278/277 B.C.E. (the "North Galatian" or "territory hypothesis"). Less likely is the "South Galatian" or "province hypothesis," which assumes that Paul meant the Roman *provincia Galatia*, established in 25 B.C.E. This included Galatia as well as some areas to the south (Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Pamphylia) which can be connected with Paul's first missionary campaign, according to Acts 13–14. Yet the information contained in Galatians and Acts cannot be harmonized. Acts 13–14 does not mention Galatia as all. In 16:8 and 18:23, a "Galatian country" is mentioned, but no mission is described. Also, the inhabitants of Pisidia and Lycaonia were not called "Galatians." Whether the itineraries of Acts are historically reliable in that they report all of Paul's campaigns accurately is another unsolved problem. Although no archaeological traces seem to be left, central Anatolia is the most likely location of the churches of Galatia (see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 1–5).

D. Date and Place of Origin

The Galatian letter can be dated only approximately, since no unambiguous evidence exists. Scholars have argued in favor of both early and late dates in relation to the other Pauline letters (see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 9–12). Theologically Galatians reflects positions closer to 1 Thessalonians, while Romans, Paul's last extant letter, shows development and revision at important points. Hence, an earlier date is more probable (Vielhauer 1975: 79–81, 110–11: 52–54/55 C.E.; Jewett 1979: 103: 53 C.E.).

The letter provides no clues as to its place of origin. The Marcionite Prologues (for the text see Harnack 1924: 127*–28*) state that it was sent from Ephesus, but the *subscriptio* contained in some manuscripts of Galatians names Rome as the place from which it was sent. Scholars have argued in favor of Ephesus, Macedonia, and Corinth; but these are no more than possibilities (see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 12).

E. Galatians and the *Corpus Paulinum*

Among the authentic Pauline letters, Galatians holds a peculiar position. While all the others are addressed to churches in Macedonia, Greece, and Rome, only Galatians has survived from what must have been at one time a larger correspondence with churches in Asia Minor (unless Romans 16 was originally addressed to Ephesus). The reasons for its survival, however, are unknown, as is the early history of transmission and edition of the Pauline corpus (see Gamble 1975: 403–18; Aland 1979: 302–50). Galatians shows no awareness of or links with the churches of Macedonia and Greece, or with any of the other letters. The literary genre and composition of Galatians have much in common with Romans. Both are apologies; but while Galatians is short and confrontational, representing the beginning of a controversy, Romans is conciliatory and greatly expanded, showing an advanced stage of debate in which Paul defends his theology as a whole by elaborate arguments reformulating and even revising positions taken in Galatians. While Galatians is unaware of the Corinthian crisis, Romans acknowledges it. Because of the theology of the Spirit, Galatians is closer theologically to the early letter of 1 Thessalonians which, however, is not concerned with Jewish-Christian adversaries; in this regard, Galatians has parallels in Phil 3:2–21; 2 Cor 10:1–13:10; Rom 16:17–20.

F. Literary Analysis

The literary analysis proposed by Betz (*Galatians* Hermeneia, 14–25) assumes Galatians to be of the "apologetic" letter type including other epistolary and rhetorical features. The letter frame consists of an epistolary prescript (1:1–5) naming the sender and co-senders (*superscriptio,* 1:1–2a) and the addressees (*adscriptio,* 1:2b) and a conclusion with an expanded salutation (*salutatio,* 1:3–4) and doxology (1:5). The epistolary postscript (6:11–18), handwritten in the original (6:11), sharpens the points Paul wishes to make in the letter and concludes with a blessing (6:18).

The body of the letter (1:6–6:10) is a compositional unit containing the typical features of a defense speech. The *exordium* ("introduction," 1:6–10) confronts the readers with the statement of the cause for the letter—their impending shift from Paul to his opponents (1:6–7)—along with a conditional curse (1:8–9). The *narratio* ("statement of facts," 1:11–2:14) defines the nature of Paul's apostleship (1:12) and narrates the history of his previous apostolic work (1:13–2:14) in three sections. The first section deals with the beginnings of his life as a Jew (1:13–14), his vocation (1:15–16a), and his early mission (1:16b–24). The main point here is to underscore his independence from the authorities of the church at Jerusalem. The second section (2:1–10) treats the conference in Jerusalem, where the mission of Paul and Barnabas was recognized. The third section (2:11–14) recounts the conflict between Paul and Cephas at Antioch and the subsequent separation from Barnabas. As Paul formulates it, Cephas' dilemma (2:14) is precisely that which the Galatians must face. The *propositio* ("proposition," 2:15–21) sets forth the points of agreement (2:15–16) and disagreement (2:17–18), an exposition 2:19–20), and a refutation (2:21). The *probatio* ("proofs," 3:1–4:31) presents the major arguments justifying Paul's theological position. The first proof (3:1–5) is one of undeniable evidence: the Galatians have received the Spirit on the basis of their faith, not of their observance of the Torah. The second proof (3:6–14) uses the example of Abraham (Gen 15:6; 12:3; 18:18) and other testimonies from Scripture (Deut 27:26, Hab 2:4, Lev 18:5, Deut 21:23) to demonstrate that those who are believers are the "sons of Abraham" and the heirs of the promise. The third argument (3:15–18) introduces an analogous example from the secular law of inheritance. Chapter 3:19–25 is a disgression on the Jewish Torah. The fourth proof (3:26–4:11) is an argument from Christian tradition, using baptismal (3:26–28) and christological (4:4–6) formulae. The fifth proof (4:12–20) uses topics from friendship and speaks about Paul's relations with the Galatians, both past and present. The sixth proof (4:21–31) consists of an allegory of Sarah and Hagar. The *exhortatio* ("exhortation," 5:1–6:10; differently Merk 1969: 83–104; Hübner 1984a: 67, n. 65; Hübner *TRE* 14:6) is made up of three sections: a warning against the acceptance of the Jewish Torah (5:1–12), a warning against the corruption of the "flesh" (5:13–24), and recommendations in the form of ethical maxims (5:25–6:10).

The *peroratio* ("peroration," 6:11–18) is identical with the epistolary postscript and sums up the main concerns of the letter. A sharp polemic against the opponents (6:12–13) is followed by a restatement of Paul's own position (6:14) and his "canon" (6:15). The conclusion consists of a conditional blessing (6:16) juxtaposed with a conditional curse (1:8–9), an appeal (6:17), and a benediction (6:18). The rhetoric of the letter is, on the whole, of the judicial type *(genus iudiciale),* but the element of dissuasion is also present *(genus deliberativum).* The two genres co-relate here as they do in other texts. In addition, Galatians contains features of a "magical" letter, in that the reaction of the readers to the letter will activate either the conditional curse (1:8–9) or the blessing (6:16; see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 25, 32–33).

G. Galatians as a Historical Document

Galatians is an historical document of the first order, without which the earliest history of the Church would be even more obscure than it unfortunately is. To be sure, Paul's accounts are to a certain extent biased in that Paul does not provide a full account of the history but only certain data and episodes that are important for his self-defense. Information is recoverable in mainly three areas.

1. Paul's Own Early History. It was Paul's conviction that he was set aside from birth (1:15) and then called when God had decided that the time had come to proclaim the gospel to the gentiles (1:16). Speaking of his time before conversion, he names his strict Jewish orthodoxy and zeal in persecuting the Church (1:13–14, 23–24). His early mission work was done in Arabia and Damascus, independently from the Jerusalem authorities (1:16–17). His first visit to Jerusalem occurred three years later (1:8), when he first visited with Cephas (Peter) and James, the brother of Jesus. Then there was more mission work in Syria and Cilicia (1:21). The apostle remained unknown to the churches of Judea (1:22–24; but cf. Acts 9:26–30) until his second visit to Jerusalem "after fourteen years."

2. The History of the Early Church. Information related to the history of the early Church is comparatively rich although it is extremely brief. When the mission spread to Palestine and Syria at a very early date, there was apparently no regulation concerning areas or ethnic identities. Opposition arose over the practice of making converts from gentiles without subjecting them to either the Torah covenant or circumcision. This dispute led to the conference at Jerusalem (2:1–10), where three parties came together: Paul, Barnabas, and Titus as delegates of the gentile mission; James, Cephas, and John as the "pillars" of the Jerusalem church (2:9); and the anti-Pauline opposition, called "the false brothers" (2:4). The last group demanded circumcision and observance of the Torah for gentile as well as for Jewish Christians. Agreement was reached by two parties at the expense of the third. The gentile Titus took part in the conference and returned uncircumcised (2:3). Paul cites from what may be the formal agreement (2:7–9). The stipulation recognizes one God and one church, but the mission was divided into two thrusts. Cephas was put in charge of the "apostolate of the circumcision," while Paul was appointed as the leader of the gentile mission. As a token of gratitude (2 Cor 9:6–15, Rom 15:27), Paul pledged a financial collection for the poor of the Jerusalem church (2:10; see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 103; *2 Corinthians 8 and 9* Hermeneia, 169). The final episode concerns the conflict at Antioch between Paul and Cephas (2:11–14; see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia,

103–12; Kieffer 1982; Dunn 1983: 3–57; Hübner *TRE* 14:9–11). At issue was whether Jewish Christians could have table fellowship with gentile Christians without the former violating their Jewish purity laws (*koinophagia,* "consumption of unclean food"). The question was, what must take precedence, Christian fellowship or Jewish purity laws? Paul took the side of the gentile Christians, defending their religious standing in faith and salvation; but Cephas, Barnabas, and others were persuaded by "the men from James" to withdraw. The dispute was not resolved but resulted in the separation of Paul from the other Jewish Christians present; a further result was the current crisis in Galatia which precipitated Paul's letter.

3. The Anti-Pauline Opponents. Also of great importance is what the apostle has to say about the anti-Pauline opponents, whose agitation he traces back to the Jerusalem conference (2:4). As he sees it, the present crisis was caused by intruders who had almost persuaded the Galatians that their salvation depended upon their acceptance of Torah and circumcision (1:6–7; 5:1–12; 6:12–13). The question of who the intruders were is still a matter of controversy. The traditional view stated by the Marcionite Prologues identifies the opponents as "false apostles" who had reverted to Torah and circumcision (Harnack 1924: 127*–28*; 37–38). Called Judaists or Judaizers (Gal 2:14; Ignatius, *Mag.* 10.3). they were seen as Jewish Christians who erroneously prescribed Torah and circumcision for all Christians. Rediscovery and reconstruction of Jewish Christianity by 19th- and 20th-century historians, however, brought to light a far more complicated picture (see Lüdemann 1983b for the history of research and bibliography). This picture is reflected by a number of hypotheses. Lütgert (1919) assumed that Paul fought on two fronts, against law-observant Judaists and against libertine enthusiasts ("pneumatics"); the evidence for the latter, however, came largely from 1 Corinthians. Schmithals (for bibliography, see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia 7, n. 46; Schmithals 1983a: 27–58; 1983b: 111–13) took the opponents to be Jewish-Christian gnostics who for magical reasons were interested in Jewish rituals but not in the Torah as a whole. Other scholars opted for other syncretistic combinations of Christian, Jewish, gentile, and gnostic elements. Galatians, however, shows no evidence of gnosticism, and one must not supply it from other Pauline letters or later sources. At present, there is a growing consensus that Paul's opponents were rival Jewish-Christian missionaries opposed to the Pauline mission. For them, the Christian Church was an extension of the Jewish religion, so that joining the Church required conversion to Judaism with mandatory observance of the Torah and submission to circumcision. Jewett (1970–71: 198–212) pointed out their connection with Palestinian Judaism, both Christian and non-Christian. A further question is whether James (2:12) was in fact behind the agitators (see Lüdemann 1983a: 64–66). Betz (*Galatians* Hermeneia, 5–9) sees them in connection with the early history of the Galatian churches: following an initial phase of spiritual enthusiasm, the Galatians had increasing problems with the "flesh," at which point the anti-Paulinists impressed them with the cultic and moral security provided by the Torah covenant.

H. Galatians as a Theological Document

Galatians testifies to the first radical questioning of Paul's gospel and theological views by his own churches, a challenge the apostle met by his first systematic apology. This apology involved not only his message but also his apostolic office and mission work as a whole. The apostle was not defending himself for the first time. His report on the conference at Jerusalem (2:1–10) implies that he had had to justify his preaching and mission to the gentiles before, and especially at the conference. Similarly the account of the Antioch incident (2:11–14) suggests fierce debates in which Paul had to defend his position. One should not, however, assume that the arguments on these earlier occasions were quite the same as those he presents in Galatians. This particular apology was worked out to meet the Galatian crisis; other apologies employing different arguments were sent to Corinth (CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE). Compared with Galatians, Romans shows more similarity but also considerable expansion and reworking. However, Galatians does not represent a transition theology rendered obsolete by Romans (so Hübner *TRE* 14: 9–8, 11). Paul's theology and its relation to the letters has yet to be described by scholarship. Galatians, in this respect, is important for several reasons.

First, it contains Paul's line of argument as he justifies his preaching of the gospel to the gentiles and their acceptance into the church without Torah and circumcision. The theological legitimacy of this message and mission was questioned first by his Jewish-Christian adversaries and then by the Galatians themselves. In the section of the "proofs" (*probatio,* 3:1–4:31), Paul argues from experience, history, and theology. He reminds the Galatians that they have received the gift of the Holy Spirit not on the basis of "works of the law" but by faith (3:1–5). He then demonstrates by exegesis of scripture (3:6–4:31) what he calls "the truth of the gospel" (2:5, 14), specifically "the gospel of the uncircumcision" (2:7). In the "statement of facts" (*narratio,* 1:11–2:14), Paul demonstrates that his preaching has always been consistent and in correspondence with the history of the Church, while his opponents have been acting disruptively and inconsistently. In the "exhortation" (*exhortatio,* 1:1–6:10), the apostle recommends that continued reliance on the Spirit (5:25; 6:8–9) will enable the churches to deal effectively with the problems of ethical conduct that have arisen in their midst (6:1). Such reliance on the Spirit is declared sufficient even to the extent that it enables them to fulfill the demands of the law of God apart from the Jewish Torah (5:14; 6:2).

Second, the arguments reveal that Paul can draw on a wide variety of conceptual, scriptural, and doctrinal resources. As in 1 Thessalonians, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is fundamental. New in Galatians is the doctrine of justification by faith juxtaposed to justification "by works of the law" (2:15–16, 18–21; 3:6–25; 5:4–5). Two questions arise in connection with the doctrine of justification by faith. Did Paul work out the doctrine of justification by faith in response to his Galatian opponents (so Strecker 1976: 481)? Or did he argue the doctrine before, at Jerusalem or Antioch (see Hübner *TRE* 14: 8)? Certainly the doctrine was shared by Jewish Christianity apart from Paul, but it was the apostle who fully realized the doctrinal implication (see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 115–19). Accordingly, all Christians, including those of Jewish origin, are granted justification before God by faith in Jesus Christ (2:15–16). Therefore, christology and soteriology are of

principal importance, while the Jewish Torah is devaluated (3:19–20). Christ's death on the cross as a voluntary sacrifice has redemptive efficacy (1:4; 2:19–21; 3:1; 4:4–6; 5:11; 6:12, 14, 17). It is the source of Christian freedom (2:4; 5:1, 13; cf. 3:28; 4:21–31).

The preaching of the kerygma of "Christ crucified" (3:1), accompanied by the gift of the Spirit (3:2–5, 14; 4:6, 29; 5:5, 16, 17, 18, 22, 25; 6:1, 8), leads to baptism (3:27). In this ritual, the Christian is made partaker and beneficiary of redemption; together with other Christians the baptized is henceforth "in Christ" (3:26–28; 1:22; 2:4, 17; 3:14; 5:6) and a member of the Christian church (1:2, 13, 22). The gift of the Spirit continues to serve in enabling the Christian "to walk in the Spirit" (5:16, 25) and to bring the "fruit of the Spirit," the Christian virtues (5:22–23). Living a life thus endowed and assisted by the Spirit, the Christian community awaits the eschatological judgment (5:5; 6:7–9).

I. Literary Influence of Galatians

The literary influence of Galatians must be distinguished from that of Paul's theology or later Pauline controversies (see on the whole Lindemann 1979; Lüdemann 1983a). In the NT, only Romans shows clear literary and theological relations with the Galatian letter (see Hübner *TRE* 14: 11). Acts refers to events told of also in Galatians but without knowledge of the letter. The epistle of James has polemics against Paul's theology, but whether it alludes to the letter of Galatians remains unclear. In the 2d century, Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 46–47) could describe Jewish Christianity without reference to Paul's letters. The *Grundschrift* (or "basic writing") of the Pseudo-Clementines, however, seems to aim at Galatians in its anti-Pauline polemics (see Lüdemann 1983a: 248–52). Marcion appears to be the first to appropriate Galatians and its theology. Removing from it what he regarded as judaizing interpolations (see Harnack 1924: 67*–79*), he "reconstituted" the "original" letter and placed it at the beginning of his *Apostolikon*. Marcion seems to have influenced Mani (216–276/274 C.E.) and some of his disciples who valued Galatians highly (see Betz 1986). In the 4th century, the unknown author of the so-called Ambrosiaster commentary shows an astonishing understanding of the letter, an understanding matched only by the commentaries of Martin Luther, especially that of 1535 (for bibliography see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 36–37).

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HANS DIETER BETZ

GALBANUM. See PERFUMES AND SPICES.

GALEED (PLACE) [Heb *gal'ēd*]. The Hebrew name that Jacob gave the heap of stones that served as a witness to the covenant he had made with Laban (Gen 31:44–54). Laban named the heap in Aramaic JEGAR-SAHADUTHA; both names mean the same: "heap of witness" (in Heb *gal* means "heap" and *'ēd* means "witness"). Verse 45 narrates that Jacob set up a single stone as a massebah (cf. Gen 28:18), probably serving the same purpose. One suggestion is that v 45 is from the E source of the Pentateuch while v 47 is from the J source. Skinner (*Genesis* ICC, 401) and Simpson (*IB* 1: 716) have suggested that originally the cairn or stele either was a god or was the home of a god. Hence Galeed may have been the name of a god, as the god Salem is reflected in Jerusalem. Note, however, that the inanimate is often called as witness to covenant making (cf. Josh 24:27) perhaps reflecting a naturalizing or historicizing of the ancient gods who normally served as witness to a covenant, or perhaps reflecting an animation or anthropomorphizing of nature, since Israel had (at least later) only one God.

Von Rad (*Genesis* OTL, rev 1972: 313) sees v 53 (J) as speaking of two gods, the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor, but this could also be one deity. In v 50 (the Elohist? ca. 750 B.C.), God is the witness, which Skinner sees as an advance over the primitive witness of an inanimate object (J; ca. 950 B.C.). However, one may not be amiss here to see a touch of humor in the ancient mind when a god or symbol of a god is changed into a pile of rocks.

One may also note (v 52) that the Galeed was a boundary marker between the two peoples of Israel and Aram. The implication is a peace treaty or a nonaggression pact, since neither is to pass the marker "for harm." However, the covenant meal (vv 46, 54) implies active protection of one another rather than simple "hands off" each other's territory. The Galeed then becomes a witness to others of the mutual protection agreement between the two neighbors.

Verse 50 introduces yet another dimension of the covenant. Marriages of the ancient world were often political alliances; thus Jacob was prohibited from other marriages that might endanger the covenant with Laban, and/or the Aramaeans.

Some have suggested the Galeed was a witness of peace in the time of the writers (ca. 950–750) but von Rad proposed that it reflects a very old boundary agreement from a time of fairly peaceful contact, perhaps when both groups were still nomadic. Both J and E use the occasion to explain a well-known landmark in Gilead. The "Galeed" has been seen by some interpreters as an etymology of Gilead. The "Galeed" has been seen by some interpreters as an etymology of Gilead, the name of the country, and a later great-great-grandson of Jacob. Gen 31:21, 23, and 25 all refer to "Gilead," perhaps building up to this etymology from *gal'ēd* (Keil and Delitzsch n.d.: 300).

At one time, some scholars suggested Galeed was the mountain range of Gilead and that Laban and Jacob were giants (Rephaim?), but as Skinner (*Genesis* ICC, 401) pointed out, there is no support for this in the text. This same "naming" of Gilead has been related to Josh 22:34. The term *gal'ēd* does not appear there, but some would restore it to the text. Joshua 22 tells the story of the 2½ tribes of Transjordan, who returned after the conquest was complete. At the Jordan, they built an altar, which upset the other tribes, but the builders explained it as an altar of witness.

The exact location of the *gal'ed* is unknown, but Skinner, Gehman (1970: 625), and others note Kh. Jel'ad on Jebel Jel'ad, S of the Jabbok N of es-Salt, as one suggestion. Keil and Delitzsch (n.d.: 300) reject this because Gilead is a much broader term, but especially because it refers to the area N of the Jabbok. They and others note that Jacob moved from N to S and did not cross the Jabbok until later (Gen 32–33). Others do not think the narrative reflects a consistent line of travel and note that nomads following their flocks do not necessarily move in a straight line. Jacob may have been in the area for some time before Esau arrived. Still others take all the stories as fiction and aetiologies to explain such things as the heap of stones.

Both (*NHI*, 158–159) dates the stories after the encounter between the Ammonites and Gileadites under Jephthah. "A group of Aramaeans settled for a time S of the Jabbok immediately to the E of the land of Gilead." Here they come in contact with the Gileadites. It was a peaceful contact and the boundary—the *gal'ēd*—marked their frontier. They were, however, in the area of the expanding Ammonites who occupied Gilead, a settlement on "Mount Gilead" from which the whole district took its name. It was this occupation which brought the defensive action led by Jephthah, which drove out the Ammonites and saved the area for its Ephraimite inhabitants. See EPHRAIM, FOREST OF.

Roland de Vaux (*EHI*, 170–71, 573) also thought the stories concerned two peoples, the Aramaeans and Israelites, though Aramaean was a more general term that included Ammonites. The *gal'ēd* was set up as a boundary between them on Mt. Gilead and explained the name of the latter. Gilead is used in the earlier and narrower sense of S of the Jabbok in the region of, and the boundary to the E of, Jebel Jel'ad. The frontier separated the two peoples in the time of the Judges, particularly the time of Jephthah. Finally, we note that the Aramaic name seems natural in the mouth of Laban, biblically part of the Aramaic tradition. Millard notes (*NBD*, 402) that documents of the earlier 2d millennium show a great mixture of ethnic groups in N Mesopotamia. It is quite possible some Aramaeans were included among them and that their dialect had been adopted by other Semitic groups. The Aramaic, of course, would also be "natural" with Noth's theory.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

GALILEANS. Discussion of the ethnic strands among the inhabitants of Galilee in Hellenistic-Roman times has often centered on an understanding of Isa 8:23. In that oracle of salvation the three newly established provinces of the Assyrians in the north—the Way of the Sea, the Land of Zebulun and Naphtali, and Galilee of the Gentiles—are

promised deliverance from their oppressor. Whatever the precise meaning of the expression *galil haggoyim*—circle or region—it can scarcely mean that the territory later to be known as Galilee was totally populated by non-Israelites in the wake of the Assyrian conquest (Alt, *KlSchr* 1). Yet, this has been the dominant understanding, so that when the phrase is echoed at 1 Macc 5:15—*galilaia allophylon*—it is assumed that Galilee in early Hellenistic times was populated for the most part by people of non-Israelite stock, with only a tiny minority of Jews living there. However, apart from other considerations (see GALILEE), there seems to have been an implicit understanding by the Hasmoneans that the region was part of traditional Jewish territory, and this influenced their approach to the region, including the forced circumcision of the Itureans who had infiltrated into upper Galilee and the Gaulan (Jones 1933). The fact that archaeological surveys suggest that the population of Galilee increased considerably in the early Hasmonean period (Meyers et al 1978) does not seriously challenge this assumption, since "internal colonization" ensured that the best lands in the conquered territories were distributed to Hasmonean sympathizers from Jerusalem.

The name "Galilean," though primarily geographic in connotation, often carries with it other associations—cultural, social and religious—both in ancient sources and modern discussions. The purpose here is to focus primarily on the religious affiliations and attitudes of the Galileans. (For the cultural and social dimensions, though intimately interwoven with religious issues, see GALILEE [HELLENISTIC-ROMAN]). One cannot view these matters in isolation, however. If, for example, the Galileans of the 1st century B.C.E. were largely forced converts to Judaism, would that fact influence our perception of their alleged religious laxity when judged by the standards of later Jerusalem orthodoxy? If Galileans lived in conditions of social and economic deprivation, would this predispose us to view them as apocalyptically motivated revolutionaries (Lohmeyer 1936)?

The Galileans are mentioned in lists of Jewish sects by two early Christian writers, Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 80.2) and Hegesippus (Eusebius *Eccl Hist* 4.22.7), but no information is given on their distinctive beliefs and practices, except that, with the others, they were "opposed to the tribe of Judah and the Christ." In addition, Galileans are mentioned by Epictetus (Arrian, *Dissert.* 4.7.6) and in a letter of Simeon bar Cosiba (Bar Kokhba) from Wadi Murabbaat, but both may be references to Jewish Christians of the 2d century rather than to a Jewish sect of earlier times.

The number of sects listed by Justin Martyr and Hegesippus (as well as in a third similar list in Epiphanius, which does not mention the Galileans) is 7, and this is suspicious. Therefore we are largely dependent on Josephus and the NT for our information on the Galileans, while being conscious of the fact that these literary sources are themselves also the product of religious propaganda which may not convey a correct picture of the total complexity of the situation (Vale 1987). By far the greatest number of references occur in Josephus' writings—82 in all, distributed as follows: 46 in *Life*, 20 in *JW*, 15 in *Ant*, and 1 in *AgAp*. These may be compared with the NT figures, where apart from the adjectival usage in regard to an individual (Jesus, Peter, or Judas, Matt 26:69; 14:70; Luke 22:59; 23:6; Acts 5:37), the plural *galilaioi* occurs only 6 times in all. Of these 2 refer to the followers of Jesus (Acts 1:11; 2:7), 3 to certain Galileans who had been put to death by Pilate on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Luke 13:1.2.3), and 1 to the inhabitants of the region generally who are said to have received Jesus in contrast to the *Ioudaioi* who rejected him (John 4:45).

It has been proposed, particularly on the basis of Josephus' *Life*, that "Galilean" does not have a geographical connotation, but refers rather to a party of revolutionaries against Rome who were so designated by the Jerusalem leadership opposed to the revolt (Zeitlin 1976: 193). This party is further linked to the Fourth Philosophy of Josephus, whose founder in 6 C.E. was Judas the Galilean (*Ant* 18.23–25), and the members of which have been identified with Josephus' *lestai* who were responsible for the first revolt (Hengel 1976: 57–60).

The theory of the Galileans constituting a revolutionary party with no geographical connotations attached to the name can be easily dismissed on a closer examination of all the references in Josephus' *Life* (Armenti 1981). In that work the Galileans are constantly distinguished from the inhabitants of the chief cities of Galilee (Sepphoris and Tiberias) with whom they have a generally hostile relationship (Freyne 1980b). They are equally distinguished from the brigands who operate in the border regions of upper Galilee, in the district of Ptolemais or in the Great Plain (*Life* 77f, 105–11, 126–31, 145, 175, 206). Since these various and separate bands of brigands do not operate in favor of the Galileans, they can scarcely be described as social brigands (Horsley 1979; Freyne 1988b). Allowing for the self-apologia operative in *Life* (Cohen 1979) it can still be said with a fair degree of confidence that the picture of the Galileans emerging in this work—namely, that of a confused peasantry, but with deep-seated attachment to Jerusalem and its representative, Josephus, and not at all intent on revolution—is in its general outline quite plausible (Freyne 1987).

That does not deny that some Galileans were fired by the religious nationalism of the period. As well as the impending struggle with Rome, there were also the tensions with the residents of the surrounding cities and the Jewish inhabitants of the land which seem to have flared up with particular intensity just prior to the First Jewish Revolt. These tensions inevitably engendered increased religious fervor as a way of establishing separate Jewish identity, as is exemplified in the case of the Jewish inhabitants of Caesarea Philippi, who were prepared to pay exorbitant prices to John of Gischala for oil produced from olives grown within the land (*Life* 74f). John, a moderate turned rebel (Rappaport 1982; 1983), emerged in Jerusalem at the head of a company *(syntagma)* of Galileans, (*JW* 4.558), and we hear also of some Galileans who joined the leader of the radicals of Tiberias, Jesus son of Sapphias, in destroying Herod's palace, ostensibly because of the animal representations in violation of strict Jewish observance of the second commandment (*Life* 66). There is also the rather surprising case of the inhabitants of Tarichaeae refusing to allow refugee noblemen to remain in their city unless they underwent circumcision (*Life* 112f).

These examples of particular manifestations of Galilean fervor at the time of the First Jewish Revolt cannot be detached from their geographical setting, but neither can they be made to signify a radical party of Galileans, much less a whole province whose inhabitants were fired with religio-nationalist aspirations. It is not easy to assess the extent to which any of the special halachic developments associated with the parties during the Second Temple period had any impact on Galileans. Such essentials of Jewish life as Sabbath (*Ant* 13.347) and observance of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Luke 2:41; 13:1) are assumed in literary sources, though archaeological evidence for synagogues from the pre-70 period is meager (Levine 1986).

The gospel of Mark mentions scribes and Pharisees coming from Jerusalem in order to discredit the native Galilean teacher/healer, Jesus (Mark 3:22; 7:21); some local Pharisees are also presumed in the gospel narratives. Luke speaks of "teachers of the law" *(nomodidaskaloi)* from every village of Galilee (5:17), but if he means Pharisaic scribes this can hardly be an accurate description of the situation in Jesus' day or before 70 C.E. The Galileans of the gospels are enthusiastic about Jesus' healing activity, whereas his teaching appears to have been directed to a more intimate band of traveling companions/disciples. The Fourth Gospel generalizes this picture by declaring that the Galileans received (that is, accepted) Jesus in a way that the inhabitants of Judea did not (John 4:3, 43–45), even though it is not possible to restrict the use of the term *Ioudaioi* to a purely geographic reference to Judeans (cf. John 6:52; Ashton 1985; Bassler 1981). Yet the stance of James, the brother of the Lord, on issues such as the dietary laws (Gal 2:10), and even the vacillation of Peter on such matters, indicates that not all Galileans were automatically open to a more liberal understanding of their faith as proposed by Jesus, especially in regard to relations with gentiles.

On several occasions the suggestion has been made that the enthusiastic crowds of the gospel narratives may be representative of post-Resurrection Galilean Christianity (Elliot-Binns 1956; Lohmeyer 1936; Meeks 1966). However, there is little evidence elsewhere of any substantial attachment to Jesus in his homeland after his death. Luke makes a passing reference to a mission in Galilee (Acts 9:31), but this seems to have been prompted by his missionary schema rather than by any hard evidence. Apart from an obscure sect of the Nazoreans, which Epiphanius locates in Transjordan, and the passing references to Galileans already alluded to in Epictetus and the Wadi Murabbaat letter, there is little evidence in later sources for a form of Christianity that remained directly rooted in Galilee. In these circumstances it seems better to apply the term "Galilean Christianity" only to the later, post-Constantinian situation.

We read about only a few other Galilean teachers in addition to Jesus of Nazareth in the literary sources. Judas the Galilean, the founder of the Fourth Philosophy, is described as a *sophistes*, teacher (*JW* 2.118). Eleazar, a Galilean teacher, is to be found at Adiabne, advocating circumcision for the royal family, despite the political implications of such an act (*Ant* 20.43). Yose, the Galilean, is known to us from the Jamnian stratum of the Mishnah's redaction, but there is nothing in the traditions ascribed to him that would link them specifically with Galilee or a Galilean viewpoint (Lightstone 1980). Significantly, all three seem to have operated outside the region.

Even when the scribal schools moved N after the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–35 C.E.), rabbinic control of Jewish life in Galilee was not absolute. This emerges both from a study of the rabbinic documents emanating from the Galilean schools (namely, Mishnah/Tosefta and Yerushalmi) and from the archaeological remains of the great Galilean synagogues (Neusner 1983a; 1983b; Meyers and Strange 1981), in which the Targumin (the Aramaic paraphrases of the Scriptures) were read. School and synagogue became the two independent but related centers around which Jewish religious life was to develop, and while there would appear to be no fundamental conflict concerning the nature of Israel and its responsibility between the rabbinic viewpoint and that reflected in the Targumin, some tensions can be detected between the two spheres of influence which these two bodies of writings represent (e.g., the matter of representational art and the different areas of jurisdiction of rabbinic and nonrabbinic courts). Thus, the divisions of an earlier age—in terms of the religious life of the ordinary Jews and the more-intensified programs associated with the various parties—continued to find expression in the religious life of the Jews of Galilee, long after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple and the disappearance of the parties associated with it (Goodman 1983: 93–174).

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SEÁN FREYNE

GALILEE. The northernmost region of the land of Israel. Culturally and historically it is characterized by its close proximity to the coastal cultures of Canaan-Phoenicia on the W and NW and to the inland Syrian-Aramaean cultures on the E and NE. The character and culture of Galilee and its neighbors changed and developed with respect to their relative strengths, consequently the political and cultural borders between them fluctuated, and the direction and intensity of their mutual influences varied. To understand the culture and history of Galilee, one must first appreciate the interplay of these forces and cultures.

Since Galilee was geographically distant from Jerusalem, the seat of the Judaean palace, temple, archives, and scribes, events occurring there are rarely mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, and its history is therefore difficult to reconstruct. However, throughout the biblical period, and even after Galilee had become part of the Assyrian empire in 732 B.C.E., the beauty of its countryside—particularly the mountains that skirt it: Carmel, Tabor, Bashan, Hermon, and Lebanon—inspired the prophets and poets; there are references to it in similes and metaphors throughout the poetic books of the Bible (e.g., Cant 4:8–15; 7:5–6; Pss 42:7; 89:13; 133:3; Isa 33:9; 35:2; Jer 46:18; 50:19; Neh 1:4). On the other hand, because Galilee was the location for much of the ministry of Jesus, for the military activity of the Jewish historian Josephus, and for post-70 C.E. Palestinian Judaism, it is mentioned prominently in the NT (especially the Gospels), in the writings of Josephus, and in early rabbinic writings.

PREHELLENISTIC GALILEE

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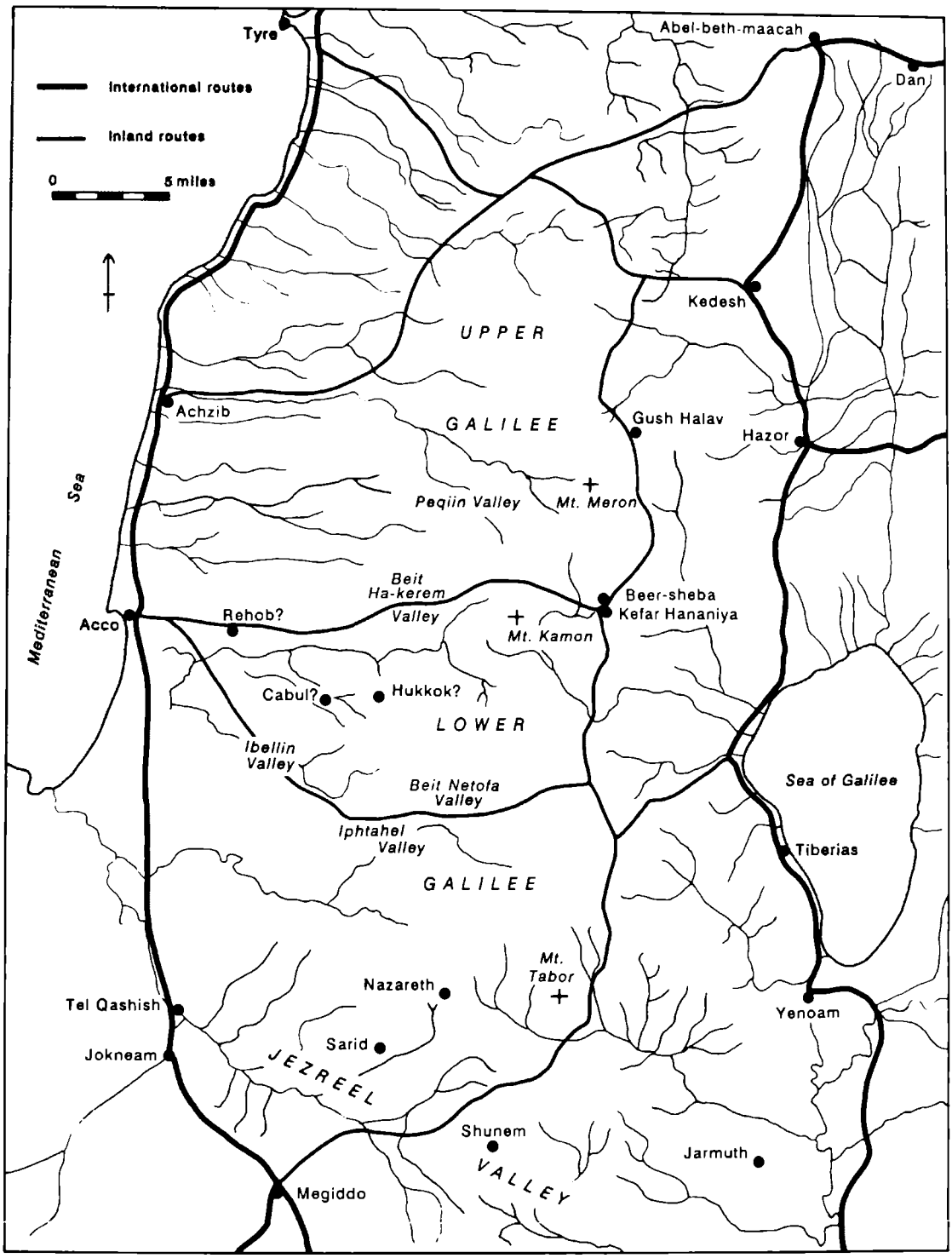
A. Geography

1. Name and Borders. The name Galilee appears possibly for the first time in Thutmoses III's town list from the 15th cent B.C.E. as *K-r-r* (Simons 1937: list I, no. 80). In the OT the name appears as *gālîl* or *gālîlâ* 7 times (including 1 in corrupted state), once as "the land of Galilee" (1 Kgs 9:11), and twice as "Galilee of the Gentiles/peoples" (Isa 8:23; Josh 12:23 LXX^{B}). The name is derived from Heb *gll*, a root associated with circularity, meaning "cylinder" or "rod" (Cant 5:14; Esth 1:6) or, by extension, "(circumscribed) district" (Josh 13:2; Joel 4:4). With the definite article, however, it always refers specifically to the N region.

It is not clear whether Galilee is an abbreviation of "Galilee of the peoples" (cf. also 1 Macc 5:15, which may allude only to part of Galilee) or whether "of the peoples" is a later explanatory addition (Alt 1937: 53–54). In either case, the name almost certainly originated as a description of the N mountain region of the land of Israel encircled by valleys, the coastal plain to the W, the Jezreel to the S, the Jordan to the E, and the Litani to the N. Throughout history, these valleys were usually more densely populated than the central mountain area, often with peoples of diverse character and origin.

The OT references, although few, suggest that Galilee in the Bible coincided with the whole geographical region that the name implies, including "the twenty cities in the land of Galilee" presumably in the coastal plain (1 Kgs 9:11–13); Kadesh in the central mountains (Josh 20:7; 21:32; 1 Chr 6:61); and Ijon and Abel-beth-maachah in the N Jordan valley (2 Kgs 15:29; Alt 1937: 55–56). Zebulun and Naphtali appear as a synonym for "Galilee of the peoples" as a whole (Isa 8:23). From later sources (such as Josephus, the NT, and Talmudic literature) the same geographic picture emerges, although in some cases the surrounding valleys are included in Galilee while in others they are not. On occasion there is similar confusion between Galilee as a geographic region and as a political or administrative province. For instance, the Mishnaic definition of the border between Samaria and Galilee at Kefar 'Otnay (Lejjun; M.R. 167220) (*m. Git.* 7:7) implies the inclusion of the Jezreel Valley in Galilee, as does Josephus' definition of this border at Ginaē (Jenin; M.R. 178207) (*JW* 3.3.4). However, Josephus' definition of the S border of lower Galilee at Exaloth (Iksal; M.R. 180232) (*JW* 3.3.1) would exclude the Jezreel Valley from Galilee. Similarly, by placing Ptolemais/Acco on the "coast of the land of Galilee" (*JW* 2.10.2), Josephus includes the coastal plain within Galilee; yet elsewhere he states that the border of Upper Galilee and "the land of the Tyrians" is Baka (el-Buqeia/Peqein; M.R. 181264) (*JW* 3.3.1), which would exclude not only the coastal plain but also the hills W of Mt. Meron. Josephus' definition of the N border of upper Galilee at Mērōth (Marus; M.R. 208272) is again clearly a political, not a geographical, border (Ilan 1984).



GAL.01. Area map of Galilee.

2. Regional Subdivisions. In the OT, the subdivision of Galilee is generally according to tribal territories (see Josh 19:10–48). Joshua 11:2, however, suggests that there were also geographic subdivisions: mountain region *(hār)*, the "Arabah south *(negeb)* of Chinneroth," the "lowland" *(šĕpēlâ)*, and "Naphoth-Dor." The "Shephelah" of Israel is mentioned only one other time in the Bible (Josh 11:16, "the mountain of Israel and its *šĕpēlâ*"). This division is clearly reminiscent of the traditional sub-division of Judah into hill country, Negeb, and Shephelah (Deut 1:7; Josh 10:14; 12:8; Judg 1:9, and esp. Josh 15:20–63); thus a familiar Judaean topography has been attributed superficially to Galilee. Nevertheless several suggestions have been made as to the position of the "lowland" or "Shephelah of Israel" (Josh 11:2, 16), the most recent (Finkelstein 1981) locating it in the W foothills of upper Galilee (i.e., modern S Lebanon).

In later literature, Galilee was subdivided by Josephus into Upper and Lower Galilee (*JW* 3.3.1), whereas the Mishnah divides it into Upper Galilee, Lower Galilee, and the valley (*m. Šeb.* 9:2). The places defining the border, Kefar Ḥananiya (*m. Šeb.* 9:2; Kafr ʿInan; M.R. 189258) and Beer-sheba (*JW* 3.3.1; Kh. Abu esh-Shiba; M.R. 189259) are less than 1 km apart, clearly indicating that upper Galilee began with the steep escarpment N of these 2 sites. Upper and lower Galilee as defined in the Mishnah and by Josephus are strikingly different, upper Galilee having a maximum height of 1,208 m above sea level (Mt. Meron) and lower Galilee a maximum of only 598 m (Mt. Kamon). Height is not all: There are also noticeable differences in morphology, climate, vegetation, and agriculture; consequently modern geographers continue to subdivide Galilee into upper and lower regions.

3. Topographical Features. The present morphology of Galilee is mainly the result of faulting and uplifting of tilted blocks of cretaceous rocks associated with the creation of the great Jordan valley rift. The most marked feature of the Galilean landscape is the great escarpment dividing upper from lower Galilee. The highest parts of upper Galilee are at its S extreme near this scarp; gradually it drops off to the N until it reaches the Litani river valley. The Cenomanian and Turonean rock formations exposed in the S of upper Galilee create a rugged landscape, which together with its height makes this one of the most forbidding and isolated regions of the country.

North-south faults in upper Galilee create additional geographical features, primarily the great block of Mt. Meron. The hills W of this block are cut by valleys that flow W to the coastal plain. This W region was the natural hinterland of the coastal plain, whose political centers were Acco and Tyre; when these were politically strong, their E borders extended as far as Mt. Meron. To the E of the Mt. Meron block the valleys flow S and SE, so that this region was always more open to influences from the S. An interesting and anomalous feature in the E region are the 2 small basaltic plateaus of Dalton and Alma (W of Hazor).

The hills of W lower Galilee consist of a series of blocks tilted by tectonic pressures from the N, consequently the S faces of the blocks are more abrupt escarpments, while the N faces gently slope down to the N, just like the main block of upper Galilee. In E lower Galilee the tectonic pressures were from the reverse direction (from the S), so that the abrupt escarpments face N and the gentle slopes extend S.

The Tosephta (*t. Nida* 3:11; but cf. *b. Nida* 20a) names from N to S the parallel valleys of W lower Galilee: the valley of Beit Ha-kerem; the valley of Sakhni; the Valley of Yoṭbat; and the valley of Ginosar. Also known in Talmudic literature is the valley of Beit Netofa (Klein 1939: 24), and "Yoṭbat" was either the name of its NW part or 1 of its 2 names. The last valley listed in the Tosephta—Ginosar (on the shore of Lake Kinneret)—is not included in lower Galilee according to *m. Šebu.* 9:2, and is there called simply "the valley" (note detailed description in *JW* 3.10.8). Yet another valley apparently S of that of Beit Netofa is called Rimon in *y. Ḥag.* 3: 78d. Of the series of valleys of E Galilee apparently only the name of the northernmost (valley of Arbel) appears in Talmudic literature.

Galilee has the highest annual rainfall of any region of the land of Israel, reaching 1,000 mm in the highest mountains; only in the E region of lower Galilee, where the average annual rainfall is below 400 mm, is there any danger of drought. Consequently, there are several perennial streams and many springs in the region. In the mountains of upper Galilee temperatures reach below freezing point for some period every year, and some snow falls in most years; whereas in the valleys, and particularly in the Jordan valley, the winters are mild and summers hot. These differences allow for a great variety of agricultural crops and for regional variations in harvest times for the same crop or fruit.

A map showing the probable course of ancient routes in Galilee can be drawn based on the location of ancient sites, on the records of ancient military campaigns, and on itineraries and roads of later periods. There were international routes in the Acco coastal plain to the W, in the Jezreel valley to the S, and in the Jordan valley rift to the E of the mountains of Galilee. The main N–S watershed route through the hill country of Judah and Ephraim continued N past Megiddo, ran to the E of Mt. Tabor and of the Beit Netofa valley, and entered upper Galilee near Beer-sheba and Kefar Ḥananiya. Since they were located on the road near where travelers crossed into upper Galilee, it is logical that Josephus and the Mishnah would define the regional subdivision in terms of these 2 towns. This route then continued E of Mt. Meron to Gush Halav and NW to Tyre. A subsidiary of this route branched E to join the Jordan valley road N of Tiberias.

The 3 main E–W routes crossing the Galilean mountains were (from S to N) that associated today with the Way of Hauran from Acco via the Ibelin, Beit Netofa, and Rimon valleys (Oded 1971); the route through the Beit Ha-kerem valley; and the route from Tyre to Dan skirting the N edge of Upper Galilee, possibly associated with the "way of the Sea" (Rainey 1981: 146–48).

B. The Bronze Ages

1. Chalcolithic Period. Until recently it was suggested that the Ghassulian-Beersheba culture typical of the land of Israel in the Chalcolithic period did not penetrate as far N as Galilee, and that in this region the pottery Neolithic culture continued until it was replaced by the EB cultures (*CAH* 1/1: 530–34). However, recent surveys have recorded some sites with close affinities mainly to the Wadi Rabah

culture and others that can be associated with the later Ghassul Beer-sheba cultures (Frankel and Gophna 1980). The presence of Chalcolithic sites on the Dalton basaltic plateau is particularly interesting in light of their close cultural affinities with the Chalcolithic cultures of the Golan Heights (also a region of basaltic rock).

2. Early Bronze Age. The early stages of the EB I (Proto-Urban) period were characterized in the N by grey, burnished pottery (Ezdrealdon ware) associated with intensive settlement in the valleys skirting Galilee; few sites were found in the mountains. In the later stages (characterized in this region by "band slip" [or "grain wash"] ware), settlement penetrated into the hills of lower Galilee. It was, however, only in the EB proper (EB II–III)—the period of urbanization—that the mountains of Galilee as a whole (including upper Galilee) were intensively settled (Broshi and Gophna 1983). Over 70 sites of this period are now known in the mountain regions, some of considerable size. The ceramic vessels typical of the region at this period are jars with everted rims (combed) and large platters, both of fine metallic ware. Also common in the region are seal impressions (Ben-Tor 1978). This first intensive occupation of the Galilean mountain areas came to an abrupt end and did not continue into EB IV, although the circumstances and the exact stage of this break remain a quandary.

In Galilee, as in other parts of the country, the main finds dating to the EB IV period are from burial caves apparently not associated with settlements. However, some small sites have been recorded in SE lower Galilee and in the Jordan and Beth-shean valleys (Zori 1977; Gal 1980), while in upper Galilee the only evidence of actual settlement is in several natural caves. The remarkable finds from the cave at Kedesh would appear to represent a cult center (Tadmor 1978). The ceramic repertoire in Galilee at this time has close affinities to that found in Syrian sites, where urban civilization continued throughout this period; this suggests that during EB IV, Galilee culturally was a peripheral extension of Syria.

3. Middle Bronze Age. In the MBI II period of reurbanization large cities were established in the valleys skirting the mountains of Galilee (Broshi and Gophna 1986), and a comparatively large number of them are listed in the Egyptian execration texts (Helck 1962: 49–66). The absence of Megiddo from these texts has been cited as evidence that this city was perhaps an Egyptian administrative center, while the others were at least potential enemies or rebels. The mountain regions of Galilee were less-densely populated in this period. In upper Galilee more sites have been recorded in the E than in the W, perhaps a result of the influence of the great urban center of Hazor.

4. Late Bronze Age (1550–1200 B.C.E.). The primary importance of the LB Age for biblical studies is that it is the precursor of the Iron Age, the stage during which the Israelites first emerged in Canaan. The cities of the period were the Canaanite cities of the Bible, and the "princes" of these cities the Canaanite kings mentioned in the Bible.

The archaeological evidence suggests a cultural decline in the LB Age. In sites that have been excavated, many structures from earlier periods (particularly fortifications) continued in use, while many others (such as temples and palaces) were rebuilt with only slight modification. Excavations and surveys show a reduction both in the number and size of settlements. The main centers of population remained in the valleys; but LB sites have been recorded in the mountain areas also: 15 in lower Galilee and 6 in upper Galilee (within modern Israel), fewer sites than in the previous period. There are also several cases of burials from this period which cannot be associated with any settlement (e.g. Hanita, Saphet), presumably evidence of a non-sedentary population.

However, Egyptian New Kingdom records provide us with data from which we can gain insight into the political and social structure and pattern of settlement in the region. The description of military campaigns, the topographical lists, and other documents (such as the El Amarna [EA] archives and Papyrus Anastasi A [*ANET*, 476–78] describing an imaginary journey through the region) allow us to draw up a reliable map of the Canaanite cities (Simons 1937; *ANET*, 242–43; *CTAED*). The locations of many places have been established without doubt, and the fact that others also appear in the description of Israelite tribal territories in Joshua 13–19 enables us at least to define the region in which they are situated.

From the Thutmoses III list, 6 cities in the N Jordan valley have been identified: Laish (#31), Hazor (#32), Chinnereth (#34), Beth-shean (#110), Abel (-beth-maachah) (#92), and Ijon (#95). In the Jezreel valley another 6 cities have been identified: Megiddo (#2), Shimron (#35), Geba-Shumen (#41), Taanach (#42), Ibleam (#43), and Jokneam (#113). In the coastal plain only Acco (#47) can be identified with certainty; however, 4 other cities also listed in the territory of Asher (Josh 19: 25–26) are probably located somewhere in the S section of the Galilean coastal plain—Mishal (#39), Achshaph (#40), Allamelech (#45), and Helkath (#112). In lower Galilee 3 cities have been identified: Adami-Nekeb (#36), Kishion (#37), and Anaharath (#52). Aharoni (*LBHG*, 147–52) has suggested that some sites in upper Galilee can be associated with names on the Thutmoses III list, but these identifications are subject to revision. We learn of additional LB cities from other sources: Hannathon, a city in the portion of Zebulun (Josh 19:14), appears in two Amarna letters (EA 8 and 245), while Shunem in Issachar (Josh 19:18) is mentioned in another (EA 365). Yarmuth in Issachar (Josh 21:29) is mentioned on a Stele of Seti I (*ANET*, 255).

The Amarna letters from the 14th century B.C.E. provide important glimpses into the political and social structure of Galilee at this period. They indicate that the region consisted of city-states whose princes nominally were Egyptian officials; in practice, however, they were vassal monarchs involved in complicated relationships with one another. The ʿApiru mentioned in those letters were social and not ethnic groups, a class outside the law and the urban social structure; their connection with the Hebrews of the Bible remains a moot point. See HABIRU. Letters from some Galilean city-states were found in the Amarna archives, including *Ṣur-ri* (Tyre), *Ak-ka* (Acco), *Ak-ša-pa* (Achshaph), *Ma-gid-da* (Megiddo), *Ta-aḫ-nu-ka* (Taanach), *Ša-am-ḫu-na* (Shimron), and *Ha-ṣu-ra* (Hazor). In addition, we know that Beth-shean was an Egyptian garrison town. The Amarna archives were not retrieved in their entirety, and from earlier documents we know of other cities that

were city-states (e.g., Geba-Shumen; *ANET,* 247). However, it is unlikely that there were many more than these, and although there could have been some changes in the political structure, it seems unlikely that all the cities in Thutmoses III list were independent city-states.

From the Amarna letters we learn in considerable detail of the activities of the Galilean princes. Zuratu, prince of Acco, and Indaruta, prince of Achshaph, aided Abdu-Heba of Jerusalem with 50 chariots (EA 366). Twice Rib-Addi of Byblos complained to the king of Egypt that Zuratu of Acco was unjustly receiving preferential treatment (EA 85, 88). The Babylonian king Baranburiash complained to the king of Egypt that one of his caravans had been pillaged at Hannathon in the land of Canaan by Sutatna, the son of Zuratu of Acco, and by Shum-Addi, the son of Balumeh, prince of Shimron (EA 8). Aiab of Ashteroth complained to the king of Egypt that the prince of Hazor had taken 3 of his towns (EA 364), while Abimilki of Tyre complained that the prince of Hazor was allied with Abimilki's enemy, Zimreda of Sidon, and had "joined the ʿApiru" (EA 148). The affairs referred to most frequently in the Amarna letters are those connected with Labayu of Shechem, who, with the help of the ʿApiru, appears to have attempted to expand his influence as far N as Megiddo, as far S as Jerusalem, and as far W as Gezer. He was finally killed under mysterious circumstances in the region of Hannathon on the way to Egypt, but Zuratu of Acco, Biridiya of Megiddo, and Yashdata of Taanach all seem to have been involved in this affair (EA 245).

The picture of Galilee that emerges from the written and archaeological evidence is one of city-states situated in the valleys. Even important towns such as Hannathon and Anaharath (the capture of which is described in detail in the annals of Amenhotep II; *ANET,* 247), both situated on routes crossing lower Galilee, were apparently not city-states in their own right but dependencies of states located in the valleys. From the Labayu affair we learn of a large political organization in the central hill-country around Shechem, and from the letters of Rib-Addi of Byblos (EA 68–137) we learn of a similar organization ("Amurru") further N under the control of ʿAbdi-Ashirta and his son Aziru. The fact that Abimilki of Tyre complains of the activities of the prince of Hazor suggests that their respective territories met somewhere in the mountains of upper Galilee. Abdi-Tirshi of Hazor was the only prince to call himself "king" in a letter to Pharaoh (EA 227), and he was also called this by Abimilki of Tyre (EA 148); it is therefore probable that he ruled large parts of the Galilean hill-country (Alt 1966: 155). The widespread influence of Acco beyond the immediate confines of the coastal plain is suggested by the fact that twice we hear of the prince of Acco being at Hannathon, that the king of Byblos regarded him as a competitor, and that on one occasion he sent aid as far as Jerusalem. Megiddo also seems to have enjoyed such widespread influence.

C. The Late Bronze–Early Iron Age Transition

The transition from the LB Age to the Iron Age is undoubtedly the period to be associated with the events portrayed in the books of Joshua, Judges, and the parts of the Pentateuch describing the Exodus and the Israelite entry into the land of Canaan. It was the time in which the Israelites first appear in history. However, the sparsity of extrabiblical (mainly Egyptian) sources, the varying critical interpretations of the biblical texts, and the ever-increasing amount of archaeological data have led different scholars to depict the historical events of the period in extremely different ways. Consequently, although research has reached the stage that the specific biblical texts associated with each site and each region demanded fresh examination in light of the new archaeological evidence, such an examination can only be intelligible within the wider context of the historical problems of the period in the country as a whole, and of the various historical hypotheses advanced to resolve these problems. See also ISRAEL, HISTORY OF.

Albright and others regarded the very marked archaeological and cultural break characteristic of the end of the LB Age (manifested both in the destruction of the Bronze Age cities and in the very different character of the civilization in the subsequent strata) as evidence corroborating the historicity of the conquest narrative (especially in the book of Joshua). Alt (1966), however, pointed out that the Egyptian New Kingdom evidence shows that the important Canaanite centers were located mainly in the valleys, whereas the biblical evidence reflects the Israelite settlement to have been mainly in the mountains. A similar picture is reflected in the list of cities not captured by the tribes (Josh 1:27–36), usually understood as representing the cities that became part of the kingdom only at the time of David. Those cities are also located in the lowlands, mainly in the Jezreel valley and coastal plain. This settlement pattern, when viewed in terms of the analogy of modern bedouin and other nomadic sedentarization, led Alt and others to conclude that the Israelite settlement was primarily a peaceful infiltration of the largely unsettled mountain regions, corroborating their view that the narratives in the book of Joshua were largely etiological, not historical.

Archaeological research in Galilee in the 1950's brought these two approaches into sharper focus. In 1951–53 Aharoni carried out an archaeological survey in upper Galilee, recording many small hill-country settlements from the first stages of the Iron Age that had not been occupied in the LB Age (Aharoni 1956; 1957). These early Iron Age sites provided, for the first time, archaeological evidence that could be used to support Alt's hypothesis of peaceful infiltration, a hypothesis that previously had been based only on written evidence. Excavations at Hazor in 1955–58, however, demonstrated that the 175-acre LB city (stratum XIII) was utterly destroyed and that the subsequent Iron Age settlement there (stratum XII) was an extremely meager hamlet (Yadin 1972: 108–9, 129–32). For some, this provided striking archaeological confirmation not only of the biblical conquest narrative as a whole, but particularly of the events as described in Joshua 11. Subsequent discussion of the historical interpretation of the evidence from the Hazor excavations and the upper Galilee survey focused primarily on the chronological problem: Did the foundation of the early Iron Age villages in upper Galilee *precede* the destruction of LB Hazor or were they established *after* this destruction (Yadin 1972: 129–32)?

At the same time, other scholars approached the prob-

lem of the Israelite "conquest" from a different angle suggesting a completely new approach as to the origins of the Israelite tribes. The picture of social unrest as evidenced in the Amarna letters (e.g., EA 248; 74; 89), and the fact that many aspects of early Iron Age culture were apparently derived from Bronze Age (ceramic, linguistic, and epigraphic) prototypes, led Mendenhall (1962) and later Gottwald (1979) to suggest that people who lived in the early Iron Age villages (such as those discovered in the upper Galilee survey) were not nomads who had come from the far-off desert fringe to settle down, but rather indigenous town-dwellers who had fled from the more densely populated areas controlled by the Canaanite cities into the more remote hill-country area. Finkelstein *(AIS)* has suggested that these villages were created by the sedentarization of pastoralists who previously had existed in symbiosis with the LB urban population but who found it necessary to create self-sufficient farming villages when the urban structures collapsed.

The ever-increasing archaeological evidence is modifying the picture by showing that the LB/Early Iron transition was much more variegated both culturally and chronologically than previously realized. The crucial question regarding the LB cities is the date of their destruction. Inscriptional remains provide rather precise *termini post quem* dates for the destruction of several LB cities. At Aphek/Antipatris the final LB occupation can be dated to early in the reign of Ramesses II (see ANTIPATRIS); at Lachish to that of Ramesses III; and at Megiddo certainly to that of Ramesses III and probably to that of Ramesses VI. These exact dates have led to attempts to reappraise the destruction dates of other LB cities. The destruction of stratum XIII at Hazor previously had been dated to ca. 1200 B.C.E. due to the presence of imported Mycenean IIIb vessels and the absence of those of Mycenean IIIc (Yadin 1972: 108–9). However, comparison of the locally made pottery with that from the governor's palace at Aphek (which could be precisely dated) led Beck and Kochavi (1985: 33, 38) to suggest that the destruction of Hazor XIII should be dated instead to the beginning of the 13th cent. B.C.E. Thus, present evidence suggests that the LB cities were destroyed over an extended period of 150 years.

Early Iron Age sites similar to those Aharoni identified in Upper Galilee have been reported from more recent surveys in the hill-country regions of W Galilee (Frankel 1983: 222–23; 1986) and lower Galilee (Gal 1982a), as well as in the hill-country regions of Samaria and Judah. Just when these sites were established remains unclear, and although early 13th or even 14th century sherds have been found at one or two sites (Gal 1982a: 86), there is as yet no stratigraphical evidence proving that any of these sites were established earlier than the end of the 13th century B.C.E.

Examination of early Iron Age strata from excavated sites shows these to be far from uniform in character. Hazor stratum XII consists of foundations of huts or tents, cooking and similar installations, and stone lined storage pits (Yadin 1972: 129–20). Megiddo stratum VIb is a small village and Tel Abu Hawam IV a village of well-built square buildings divided into 1 large and 2 small rooms. At Beth-shean V we find temples, albeit different from those of previous strata. The diversity of these sites, all in the valleys of Galilee, suggest a variegated population in the region at this period.

The results of current research permit the following conclusions. The archaeological evidence as a whole suggests that the cultural break between the LB and early Iron periods (i.e., the physical change in size, character, and pattern of settlement that took place at this time) was one of the most marked in the ancient history of the S Levant. Examination of the details, however, indicates that the changes took place over a considerable period and that neither the date of the destruction of the LB cities nor the character of the early Iron Age settlements is uniform. This overall picture—and the discrepancies in details between the archaeological evidence and the biblical narratives (esp. concerning, for example, Arad, Jericho, and Ai)—tend to corroborate the nonhistorical character of some of these narratives. From the historical evidence we know of many agents active in the region during the 14th–12th centuries, among these were the Canaanite city-states themselves, the Egyptians (whose military campaigns are recorded throughout the period), the Sea Peoples, the Israelite tribes, and apparently other tribal groups hinted at in the Bible (Jebusites, Perizzites, Hivites, the biblical Hittites, Amorites, Gibeonites, etc.) of whose history we are almost completely ignorant. The destruction levels and the early Iron Age settlements are evidence of the activity of these diverse agents. Scholars continue to be occupied with the important task of unraveling the specific historical details.

D. The Settlement of the Galilean Tribes

1. Written Evidence. a. Primary Documents. The Amarna letters provide an overall picture of the political climate prevailing in the country prior to this period. Several specific events mentioned in these documents have been related to the early history of the Galilean tribes, particularly some activities associated with the ʿApiru. The early date of these events (ca. 1350 B.C.E.) and the clear realization that the term ʿApiru designates a social class rather than an ethnic group, however, raises difficulties as to how these may be related to the Israelite tribes.

Historically, not only did the Egyptian armies pass through Canaan in their campaigns against the N Hittite and Mitanni empires; we also know of punitive campaigns that the pharaohs took against Canaan itself, right up to the end of the 19th dynasty. Seti I campaigned in the N, capturing cities in the Jordan valley, the coastal plain, and the mountains of upper Galilee (*LBHG*, 166). Ramesses II also both passed through Galilee on his campaigns against the Hittites, and possibly also carried out punitive campaigns in the region itself (Helck 1962:222). The "Israel stele" of Merneptah, after mentioning 3 cities—Ashkelon, Gezer, and Yanoam (in order from S to N)—mentions "Israel" for the first and only time in Egyptian sources, which could be interpreted as evidence for the presence of a people of this name in the north (*ANET*, 378).

Several references in 19th dynasty texts have been tentatively read as "Asher." If this reading is correct, it would imply the presence of this tribe in the region at an early date. Albright's (1954) reservations should, however, be taken into account. The Onomasticon of Amenope, one of

the Egyptian sources referring to the Sea Peoples, lists 3 of these groups: Sherden (#268), Tjekker (#269), and Pleset ("Philistines," #270; Gardiner 1947: 194–201). The Philistine cities are on the S coastal plain. According to the letter of Wen-Amon (*ANET*, 26), the Tjekker lived further N at Dor in the Carmel coastal plain. Recent archaeological evidence of similar elements at Tel Akko and Tel Keisan (Briend and Humbert 1980: plate 71: 8, 9?; plate 80: 12) have led scholars to suggest that the Onamasticon implies Sherden settlements still further N in the Galilean coastal plain (see ACCO).

b. Biblical. The biblical evidence is more extensive but equally problematical. In recent years it has been suggested that the patriarchal traditions recount activities in this period (Mazar 1969; Naaman 1986: 79–84). Since none of those traditions are connected to places in Galilee, and none of the 5 eponyms of the Galilean tribes figure in any significant patriarchal episode, these traditions clearly all originated in the S. Only the genealogy of these 5 eponyms is possibly relevant, although its date and significance are far from clear. Zebulun and Issachar, the eponyms of the 2 southernmost Galilean tribes, were the 2 youngest of Leah's 6 sons (Gen 30:18–21), while those of the 3 northernmost tribes were sons of Jacob's concubines—Asher of Zilpah, and Naphtali and Dan of Bilhah.

On the other hand one of the main conquest stories (Joshua 11) takes place in Galilee, while two of the stories of the book of Judges—Deborah (chaps. 4–5) and Gideon (chap. 7)—take place in the Jezreel valley. The fact that Jabin king of Hazor appears both in Joshua 11 and Judges 4 has led to much controversy. As regards the Song of Deborah, Rabin (1966) has shown that each tribe is there depicted poetically in its traditional geographic setting, so that the historicity of this document as regards the activities of the Israelite tribes at the actual battle is doubtful. In the blessings of Jacob (Gen 40:1–28) and Moses (Deut 33:2–29) there are poetic references to the character, history, and geography of the tribes which cannot be ignored, although the date and significance of these poems are difficult to determine. Although their respective dates are also often uncertain, the genealogical tables (Genesis 36; 46:8–25; Numbers 26; 1 Chronicles 1–9; see *LBHG*, 221–27) provide evidence for connection between tribes, often incorporating geographical and historical elements of undoubted authenticity.

Our knowledge of the tribes is derived primarily from the description of the tribal territories in Joshua 13–19, the longest and most detailed geographical document in the Bible. Although there is considerable difference of opinion as to the origin of this document, there is no doubt that it originates from several different sources. It is generally agreed that one of these sources is a tribal *border description* distinguished by the use of verbs to connect various place names. The description, although not completely uniform in character, delineates a map of the country as a whole with neither intervening gaps nor overlapping territories. Some scholars date this source to the period of the judges (Noth 1935; *LBHG*, 228, 233) while others date it to the United Monarchy (*HGB*; Naaman 1982a).

The second source used in compiling this description of tribal territories was *lists of towns* that usually appear after the border descriptions. These are distinguished by the use of the conjunctive *waw* to connect various place names. These town lists themselves clearly derive from various sources. That of Judah (Josh 15:21–62) originates in administrative lists of the kingdom of Judah, while parts of the town lists of the Galilean tribes derive partly from the cities appearing in Judg 1:27–35 (these always appear in Joshua at the end of the description of the territory of each tribe). It has been suggested that other parts of these lists originated in administrative lists either of the Assyrian province of Magidu (Galilee) (Alt 1927) or of the kingdom of Israel (*LBHG*, 227). The descriptions of the territories of Ephraim and Manasseh lack town lists, and in the description of Asher town list and border description have apparently been interwoven. On the other hand, Simeon, Dan, and Issachar seem to lack border descriptions and are represented only by town lists. The description of the tribal allotments (Joshua 19) does not indicate the N part of the tribe of Dan, including instead a S Dan to depict an historiographic viewpoint prior to the Danites' migration north (Naaman 1986: 46).

The territories of the Galilean tribes, far from Jerusalem, are described more cursorily than those of the S tribes. The latter are described independently of each other, and common borders of adjacent tribes are often described twice; whereas the description of the Galilean tribal territories are integrated one with the other. That of centrally located Zebulun is the first to be described (Josh 19:10–16). Issachar follows (vv 17–23), then the portion of Asher with respect to that of Zebulun (vv 24–31), and finally that of Naphtali with respect to both Zebulun and to Asher (vv 32–39). Also, the borders of Zebulun, Asher, and Naphtali are described in a similar manner. In each case the description begins from a fixed starting point, describing the border in one direction, and then, using the phrase "the border returns" *(wĕšob haggĕbûl)*, the description returns to the fixed starting point and continues describing the border in the opposite direction. In spite of the chronological, textual, and geographical problems of Joshua 13–19, this document undoubtedly represents an authentic picture of traditional tribal territories and must be the basis of any attempt to understand early Iron Age Israel.

The lists of Levitic cities (Joshua 21, 1 Chronicles 6) have been regarded as an independent historical source (*LBHG*, 269–73; *HGB*, 379–403); however, recent research suggests that the full list of 48 cities is a literary expansion on a core of 13 cities in Judah (Auld 1979). Further it has been suggested that the expanded list was largely based on the tribal descriptions in Joshua 13–19 (Naaman 1986: 203–27). Consequently, all reconstructions based on these lists should be used with caution, especially those connected to the N regions of the country.

2. Archaeological Data. In the valleys skirting the mountains of Galilee a large number of sites have been excavated providing data relevant to the period under discussion: in the *coastal plain*, Tel Abu Hawam, Tel Acco, and Tel Keisan; in the *Jezreel and Beth-shean valleys*, Tel Taanach, Tel Megiddo, Tel Beth-shean, Tel Yokneam, Tel Qashish, Tel Qiri, Afula, Tel Kedesh, and a site near Tel Menorah; and in the *Jordan valley*, Tel Hazor, Tel Dan, and Tel Kinnerot.

Our knowledge of the mountainous areas, however, is based primarily on archaeological surveys. Aharoni's pioneering survey (Aharoni 1956, 1957) recorded intensive Early Iron occupation in the Peqiin Valley and more sparse occupation on the Meron Range to the E. Similar Iron Age sites were identified in the W slopes of the mountains of upper Galilee (Frankel 1983; 1986). Early Iron sites have been recorded in the Nazareth mountains (Gal 1982a), but the period is apparently not represented in the low hills to the E of Mt. Tabor (Gal 1980).

An important aspect of the material culture of the early Iron Age is the marked regional diversity in the ceramic repertoire. This manifests itself primarily in the large storage jar or pithos so typical of the period. Three main types of this vessel have been identified: the collar-rim jar typical of the S regions; the Galilean jar (first published by Aharoni 1957: fig. 4); and the Tyrian jar (published from excavations at Tyre, Bikai 1978: plate 40). The geographical distribution of these pottery types is significant. The S collar-rim jar is found in the mountains only as far N as the Beit Netofa valley; the Galilean type is found in the mountains of upper and lower Galilee; and the Tyrian type has been found at sites along the present Lebanese border. The Tyrian jar has clear affinities to earlier jars from Tyre (Bikai 1978: plate 46), and the Galilean jar has similar affinities to LB jars at Hazor.

Only a few Iron Age sites have been excavated in the mountains. These include the site of Horvat Avot, a small village at which both Tyrian and Galilean vessels were identified; and the site of Sa'sa, where a cult installation was excavated and a kernos found. Of special significance are 2 Iron Age forts that have been excavated: one on Mt. Adir, where early Iron Age pottery from the 11th century B.C.E. has clear Tyrian affinities, and the other, Horvat Rosh Zait, dating to the 9th century B.C.E., with pottery that included fine specimens of Cypro-Phoenician ware with clear Phoenician affinities (Gal 1984). Several other forts from the Iron Age have been identified in surveys: one on the S edge of the peak of Mt. Merom; one on an E spur of Mt. Canaan; one on Mt. Mitzpeh Yamim, one of the S peaks of upper Galilee; and one on Mt. Gamal on a SW spur of upper Galilee facing Acco.

3. The Galilean Tribes. a. Issachar. This tribe's allotment is described second in the Joshua 19 list (vv 17–23). Enough place-names there have been clearly identified to determine that the tribal territory consisted of the low, basalt hills SE of Mt. Tabor as well as the E section of the Jezreel valley. Most of the places in the description are connected by the conjunctive *waw*, leading Alt (1927) to suggest that this description was primarily a town list, and that Issachar originally was not included in the border description. Only the N border is described from Mt. Tabor to the Jordan (v 22), and Alt suggested that this was part of the original description of the border of the tribe of Manasseh. Thus, according to Alt, no allotment was originally assigned to Issachar, and the territory subsequently considered as Issachar's in Joshua 19 originally belonged to Manasseh. Among the Galilean tribes, Issachar is exceptional not only because it is defined almost entirely by means of a town list but also because Judges 1 does not list any towns that Issachar failed to inherit.

The description of the N border of the tribe of Manasseh states that the border "touches on Asher to the north and on Issachar to the east" (Josh 17:11) and the cities described there as being "of Manasseh in Issachar and Asher" are the same cities that Manasseh failed to inherit (Judg 1:27). It has been suggested that Josh 17:11 be understood as meaning that these cities were on the border of the two N tribes (*HGB*, 173), but it may also reflect two different historical situations, one in which the hills in the hinterland of Beth-shean, Ibleam, Taanach, and Megiddo were occupied by the tribes of Asher and Issachar, and a later time in which these were incorporated into the territory of Manasseh.

There is much biblical evidence of close ties between the tribe of Issachar and the territory of Manasseh and Mt. Ephraim. The Bible recounts that "Tola, the son of Puah, the son of Dodo, a man of Issachar, dwelt in Mt. Ephraim" (Judg 10:1). Both Tola and Puah are also listed in genealogies as sons of Issachar (Gen 46:13; 1 Chr 7:1). Shimron the son of Issachar is apparently to be associated with Mt. Shomron, on which the city of Samaria was built (1 Kgs 16:24). Jashub, another son of Issachar (1 Chr 7:1), may be connected to Jashub, a place mentioned in the Samaria Ostraca (*LBHG*, 223, 325).

Issachar is mentioned in the song of Deborah as participating in the battle and described as "on foot in the valley" (Judg 5:15), a clear description of the tribe's home territory. Surprisingly, Issachar is not mentioned in the Gideon story that is set in that tribe's territory (Judges 6–7). In Jacob's blessing (Gen 49:14–15), Issachar is characterized as a corvee-worker through an apparent wordplay on the phrase "a man of hire" (Heb *ʾîš śakar*). In Moses' blessing (Deut 33:18–19) the tribe's close association with Zebulun is expressed through poetic parallelism, and both tribes are associated with a mountain of sacrifice, undoubtedly Mt. Tabor. The territory of Issachar is listed 10th among Solomon's districts (1 Kgs 4:17), and the tribe is rarely mentioned in the Bible in connection with subsequent events.

Egyptian New Kingdom documents describe two incidents occurring within the territory of Issachar. From the Amarna letters we learn that Labayu of Shechem captured Shunem (EA 250) and that its lands were worked by Birdiya of Megiddo with corvee labor (EA 365). On a stele of Seti I from Beth-shean there is reference to a battle with ʿApiru on the mountain of Jarmuth (*ANET*, 20). Both Shunem and Jarmuth are towns of Issachar (Josh 19:18; 21:29; in Josh 19:21 Jarmuth appears corruptly as "Remeth"). On the basis of these sources, Alt (1924) reconstructed the history of the tribe, suggesting that the Amarna episode was evidence of the early settlement of the tribe among the Canaanites and that the tribal name ("man of hire") reveals its status at this early time. The lack of a border description in Joshua 19 was, he suggested, evidence that at the time of the formulation of these borders (in his opinion at the time of the judges) the tribe no longer existed as an independent entity, which explains the absence of Issachar from the Gideon story.

The recent archaeological survey, however, has shown that the hill country of Issachar lacked early Iron Age sites. Gal (1980; 1982b) suggests that the tribe of Issachar originally dwelt in the hills S of the Jezreel valley and that only in the 10th century did it settle in the territory

ascribed to it in Joshua 19 (the Jezreel valley together with the hills to its N). This earlier situation would then be reflected in the close connection between Issachar and Manasseh in the biblical tradition and perhaps in the references to Issachar in the description of the territory of Manasseh (Josh 17:10–11).

b. Zebulun. In the allotment of Zebulun, the first of the Galilean tribal territories to be described in Joshua 19 (vv 10–16), the distinction between border description and town-list is clear. The starting point is Sarid (Tel Shaddud; M.R. 172229), a vantage point from which all the S border of the tribe can be clearly seen. The border is first described W towards Jokneam (Tel Qamun; M.R. 160230) and then E from Sarid towards Mt. Tabor. It is not clear whether Mt. Tabor is within Zebulun's tribal territory or is perhaps an extra-tribal area, a "holy mountain" at the point where the territories of Zebulun, Issachar, and Naphtali meet (Deut 33:19; Hos 5:1). The border continued from Mt. Tabor N and W through the valley of Beit Netofa to the valley of Iphtahel, identified either with Wadi el-Malik (Nahal Sippori; Dalman 1923: 35) or with the Ibillin valley (Gal 1982a: 104–5). The W border is not described. Nevertheless, the territory of Zebulun is thus a fairly well-defined area geographically, known today as the mountains of Nazareth bordering on the Jezreel valley to the S and the Beit Netofa valley to the N. Paradoxically, in both Jacob's and Moses' blessings there are clear references to Zebulun's connections to the sea coast and maritime activities (Gen 49:13; Deut 33:18–19). This has been regarded as evidence of trading with and political dependence on the Canaanite coastal cities (*NHI*, 79), but there is no reason not to see here a reflection of an actual geopolitical situation, albeit a different one from that portrayed in Joshua 19.

Zebulun is the only one of the Galilean tribal territories that was not one of Solomon's administrative districts. Alt (1913: 14) suggested that Bealot (1 Kgs 4:16) is a corruption of Zebulun (but see Ahlstrom 1979) and that Zebulun was part of the 9th district with Asher, while Kallai *(HGB)* suggests that the close connections of Zebulun with Issachar make it probable that Zebulun was part of the 10th district with Issachar. There are several cases in the OT where "Zebulun and Naphtali" seem to represent Galilee as a whole (Judg 4:6, 10; Isa 8:23 [—Eng 9:1]; Ps 68:28 [—Eng 68:27]), reflecting a situation in later years when these were the dominant Galilean tribes. Yeivin (*EncMiqr* 2: 895–900) followed Alt's premise that Issachar appeared in the Jezreel valley as early as the Amarna period. He explained Zebulun's absence from the N border of Manasseh (Josh 17:11), the close association of Zebulun and Issachar in Moses' blessing (Deut 33:18–19), and the genealogies listing them as brothers of the same mother (Genesis 30; 46) by suggesting that Zebulun was originally part of the tribe of Issachar and only later became independent.

Gal's recent survey of the territories of both tribes (Gal 1980, 1982a) requires a reappraisal of Alt's and Yeivin's conclusions. In contrast to the hill country of Issachar, which lacks early Iron Age sites, the hill country of Zebulun yielded several such sites, including some in which were found sherds of imported vessels dating to the early 13th century. The local ware had affinities to that from regions to the S. The mention of Zebulun's connections to the sea in the blessings of Jacob and Moses reflects a situation later than that portrayed in the territorial divisions in Joshua. At this later time, Asher had declined in importance and Zebulun and Naphtali then appear often representing Galilee as a whole.

c. Asher. Asher is the third Galilean tribe to be described (Josh 19:24–31). The reference to the towns of Achzib, Tyre, and Sidon leaves no doubt that this tribe's territory includes the Galilean coastal plain. There is, however, considerable difference of opinion as to the exact extent of the tribal territory to the SE and N. The text consists apparently of alternating sections of border description and town list.

The starting point of the border description is Helkath (in the LXX "from Helkath"). This site has been identified with various places to the SE of the Galilean coastal plain: Khirbet Harbaj (Tel Regev; M.R. 158240; Alt 1929: 38); Tel el-Amar (M.R. 159237; Gal 1982a: 107–8); or Tel Qashish (M.R. 160232; Aharoni 1959: 118–20). The precise location of Helkath would determine the extent to which the low hills in this region (the "Shephelah" of Galilee) belonged to Asher or to Zebulun. Shihor-Libnath is undoubtedly a river, and it has been identified with Nahr el-Zarqa (Nahal Tanninim), thus including Mt. Carmel in the territory of Asher (Grollenberg 1956: map 1; Alt 1927: 69, n. 4). However, analogy (with Josh 19:22, 27, 34) suggests that "touching on Carmel" (v 26) means that Mt. Carmel was outside the tribal area proper and that Shihor-Libnath was the Kishon river. The border then "returns" to the fixed starting point (apparently to Helkath) and then continues in the opposite direction N, touching on Zebulun and the Iphtahel valley "going out towards Cabul to the north" and "reaches greater Sidon and the border returns to Ramah and to the fortified city of Tyre."

It has been suggested that the border actually reached the city of Sidon *(HGB)* but it is more probable that only the border of the Sidonian territory, the Litani river, was intended (*LBHG*, 238; Naaman 1986: 54). The mention of the "fortified city of Tyre" (v 29) shows close affinity to the description of the N border in Joab's census (2 Sam 24:6–7, where MT *thtym ḥdšy* [v 7] should be read *tht ḥrmn*, "beneath Hermon" [Skehan 1969: 46–47]), which in turn is reminiscent of other references to Israel's N border (Josh 11:8; 13:4–6; Judg 3:3; see Naaman 1982a: 154–55). The border thus skirted a Tyrian coastal enclave S of Tyre. The description terminates with a list of towns clearly based on the same source as Judg 1:31. The territory of the tribe is then the coastal plain, from Mt. Carmel in the S to the Litani river in the N, excluding the city of Tyre and its environs, but including the low foothills E of the coastal plain.

The list of cities that Asher did not inherit (Judg 1:31) is the longest such list. Three of the cities can be precisely identified (Acco, Sidon, Achzib), while Helbah and Ahlab are almost certainly to be read as Mahalab and identified with Khirbet el-Maḥalib (see MAHALAB). The remaining two, Aphik and Rehob, should probably be sought in the N part of the coastal plain of Acco. It is noteworthy that Achshaph, one of the more important of the Canaanite cities in the region, is not included in the list. Asher is mentioned in connection to the N border of Manasseh

(Josh 17:10–11), Dor presumably being the town that Manasseh held "in Asher" (Josh 17:11).

It has been suggested that the place-name Khirbet el-Ḥabay (M.R. 170265) is connected to Jehubbah *(yḥbh)*, a descendant of Asher (1 Chr 7:34), and that the Iron Age site nearby was called *Ḥbh* (Zadok 1988: 45). Similarly, Serah *(śrḥ)*, Asher's daughter (Num 26:26; 1 Chr 7:30), should perhaps be associated with Khirbet Suruḥ (M.R. 175276), near which an Iron Age site has been identified. There are, however, also several clear connections to the S tribes of Benjamin and Ephraim. Beriah appears as a son of Asher, as a son of Ephraim, and as a descendant of Benjamin (Gen 46:17; 1 Chr 7:23; 8:13). Beriah's son Malchiel was father of Birzaith (1 Chr 7:31), almost certainly the modern Bir-Zeit (M.R. 169153). Heber, another son of Beriah, was father of Japhlet (1 Chr 7:32), associated with the border between Benjamin and Ephraim (Josh 16:3). Shual and Shilshah, grandsons of Japhlet's brother Helem (1 Chr 7:35–37), may be associated respectively with "the land of Shual" presumably in Benjamin (1 Sam 13:17) and with "the land of Shalishah" in Mt. Ephraim (1 Sam 9:4).

Asher figures in the Gideon saga (Judg 6:35; 7:23), while in the Song of Deborah Asher is said to have "lingered by the seashore, by its inlets he stayed" (Judg 5:17)—again a clear description of the tribal territory. Asher was the 9th of Solomon's administrative districts (1 Kgs 4:16) and the only one that combines a tribal name with what appears to be that of a city, Bealoth (LXX^{A} Maalot). This anomaly has been explained by seeing Bealoth either as a corruption of Zebulun (Alt 1913: 14; but see Ahlstrom 1979) or as a city (Mazar 1942: map 16) possibly added to Asher to compensate for territory ceded to Tyre (1 Kgs 9:11), and that can perhaps be identified with Me'ilya (M.R. 174269).

In several Egyptian New Kingdom inscriptions the word *i-s-r* has been deciphered. Opinions vary as to whether this refers to the tribe Asher, to Assyria, or to an unidentified place name (see discussion in Gardiner 1947: 191–93; *CTAED,* 73; Albright 1954). The name appears in town lists of Seti I and Ramesses II (Simons 1937: xvii 4, xxv 8). A town by the name of *q-t-i-s-r* ("Gath-Asher"? Aharoni 1957: 65; but see also Helck 1962: 222) is mentioned with Acco in a description of a campaign of Ramesses II (Wreszinski 1935: plate 55a). In papyrus Anastasia A, dated to Ramesses II (*ANET,* 477, and n. 42) a king or tribal chief of *isr* is mentioned in association with a description of a journey through what is undoubtedly the Aruna pass S of Megiddo. In the Onamasticon of Amenope (from the time of Ramesses XI), *isr* is listed between coastal cities of S Canaan and tribes of the Sea Peoples.

In an archaeological survey of the region, a large number of small, early Iron Age sites have been recorded on the W slopes and foothills of the mountains of upper Galilee (Frankel 1983; 1986). These, however, neither reached the edge of the coastal plain nor do they reach the top of the hills; thus there remained an unsettled area between these sites and those discovered by Aharoni (1956; 1957) in the Peqiin valley and further E. This survey showed a difference in the ceramic repertoire between the northernmost sites (along the present Lebanese border) and those further S, the main difference evident in the pithos. Those found at the N sites have affinities to Tyrian pithoi both from Iron and Bronze Ages (Bikai 1978), while those found at the S sites are similar to those found in upper Galilee (Aharoni 1956: fig. 4; 1957: 22, plate 4:4, 5) and have clear affinities to pithoi from LB Hazor.

On the basis of all these sources, certain tentative historical conclusions can be drawn. The list of Canaanite cities in Judge 1:31 show that most of the coastal plain did not come under Israelite control until the period of the monarchy, whereas Assyrian annals (*ANET,* 287) show that already in the 8th century this region was Sidonian. There is no proof as to when the region came under Sidonian control; however, the lack of a Solomonic district of former Canaanite cities in the coastal plain (*NHI,* 213 n. 3) makes it probable that the incident of "the twenty towns in the land of Galilee, the land of Cabul" (1 Kgs 9:11–14; 2 Chr 8:2) reflects Solomon's surrender of this region. Consequently the coastal plain, the heartland of the territory of Asher as depicted in Joshua 19, was Israelite for little more than a generation, which in turn leads to the conclusion that the small Iron Age sites in the Galilean foothills are evidence as to the character and extent of the tribe of Asher. On the one hand, the close affinities of the Galilean pithos to earlier pottery from the region and its marked differences from S pithoi point to this N tribe's extended cultural development independent of the S tribes; on the other hand, they suggest that its N culture either was derived directly from the previous LB Canaanite culture or coexisted with it for a considerable period.

A question that remains is the significance of the genealogical tables. Asher and the other 3 tribal eponyms listed as sons of Jacob's concubines (Dan, Naphtali, Gad) share another common trait: they are geographically peripheral, which implies that they were politically peripheral was well. The question is whether they were also ethnically peripheral. As for Asher's close connection to Benjamin and Ephraim, the archaeological evidence does not support Asherite families having originated in the S at an early stage. It is possible that, like Dan or Issachar, clans moved N at a later stage. Recently an interesting solution has been suggested (Edelman 1985) connecting this S presence of Asher to the "Ashurite" province of 2 Sam 2:9. However, the most attractive explanation of the connections between Asher and Benjamin and Ephraim is that of Finkelstein (*AIS,* 299, n. 35). Based on an archaeological survey of the Bir-Zeit region yielding Iron Age remains (almost only from Iron II), he suggests that the Asherite family of Beriah did not originate in the S and migrate N but the reverse—they reached the region of Benjamin and Ephraim at a late period, possibly after the capture of Galilee by the Assyrians.

The territory of the tribe of Asher as described in Joshua 19 (the Galilean coastal plain and adjoining foothills) is a geographical region that throughout history has been to a greater or lesser degree an entity separate from the region to the E. At many later periods this was the territory of the cities of Acco and Tyre, and in the LB Age, too, these were the dominant forces in the region (Meyers 1983: 55). It was within this geopolitical territory that the tribe crystallized.

At various historical periods the exact position of the political border between the coastal plain and the moun-

tain region of upper Galilee to the E has varied. The E border of Asher coincides with a rugged region that is difficult to settle and lacks Iron Age settlements; thus it coincides with a sparsely populated region. The pottery with Tyrian affinities found in the N suggests that this region was largely under the influence of Tyre until a late stage, probably until the Davidic expansion. The written sources hint at changes in the S border of the tribal territory also. The fact that it is implied that Dor belonged to or was on the border of Asher (Josh 17:11) and the possible reference to Asher in the same region in Papyrus Anastasi A (*ANET*, 477) perhaps suggest that at an early stage the tribal territory included the Carmel. The S border as designated in Joshua 19 is N of the Carmel (an intermediate stage?), and the blessings of Jacob and Moses imply yet a third stage in which *Zebulun*'s territory reached the sea (see above).

The tribe of Asher, however, in effect never controlled more than the periphery of the well-defined geographic region that was its purported territory. It is perhaps significant that Asher is the only tribe of which it is said that "the Asherite dwelt amongst the Canaanite" without the addition "and they (the Canaanite) became tributaries" (Judg 1:31–32). It was certainly not one of the more important tribes and rarely appears in later episodes.

d. Naphtali. The references to the "mountain of Naphtali" (Josh 20:7) and the "land of Naphtali" (1 Kgs 15:20; 2 Kgs 15:29)—terms rarely used in reference to other Galilean tribes—have been taken as evidence that the name was originally a geographic one (*NHI*, 67 and n. 1). Naphtali was the largest of the Galilean tribes and, used either in conjunction with Zebulun (Judg 4:7; Ps 48:28; Isa 8:23) or by itself (Deut 34:2; 1 Kgs 15:20; 2 Kgs 15:29; 2 Chr 34:6), "Naphtali" was often synonymous with "Galilee" itself.

The description of the border of this last Galilean tribe is cursory but clear (Josh 19:33–34). First, the S border is described from Heleph (without doubt a site at the foot of Mt. Tabor; v 33) E to the Jordan (the same border is apparently described in Josh 19:22). Then the border "returns" to the fixed starting point (Heleph) to describe the W border in the opposite direction northwards. From Aznoth-Tabor the border "went out towards Hukkok and touched on Zebulun to the S and on Asher to the W . . ." (v 34). The Jordan is clearly the E border, but the N border is not described nor are the important cities on this border (Dan, Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah; cf. 1 Kgs 15:20; 2 Kgs 15:29) included in the list of cities that follows (Josh 19:35–38). Naaman (1986: 46) notes that the tribal territories have been compiled to reflect the situation prior to the Danite migration N. On the basis of biblical descriptions of the N territory that "yet remains to be possessed" (Josh 13:4–6; Judg 3:3) and of a geographical line often mentioned in various biblical episodes (Josh 11:8, 17; 2 Sam 24:6), it is possible to speculate about Naphtali's N border. The joint border with Asher almost certainly extended to the Litani river, and then that of Naphtali followed the river E and N; after the northward bend of the river, the border extended NE to include the valley of Marjayoun (Ijon) and then skirted the foot of Mt. Hermon to the Jordan.

The description of the tribal boundary is followed by a list of towns (Josh 19:35–38). What appears as the first 2 towns (Ziddim and Zer) is apparently a corrupt text (see below). Not all the remaining 14 towns have been identified, but they are clearly listed from S to N. The last 2, Beth-anath and Beth-shemesh, are drawn from the list in Judg 1:33, and their identification remains uncertain.

The reference to "Naphtali on the heights of the field" in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:18) is again a characterization of the tribe's highland territory. There is, however, no reason to doubt that Barak the son of Abinoam the Naphtalite was the leader in the battle or that Naphtali was the leading tribe in this war. Naphtali also figures in the Gideon epic (Judg 6:35; 7:23) and its territory was the 8th of Solomon's administrative districts (1 Kgs 4:15). In Moses' blessing (Deut 33:23), Naphtali is urged to "possess the west and the south," implying a territorial expansion, although it is unclear whether this refers to the early stages of settlement or rather (as with most of the other blessings) to a later period. It perhaps implies an expansion at the expense of Asher and Issachar, who are rarely mentioned in later biblical episodes.

The group of early Iron Age sites surveyed by Aharoni (1956; 1957) in the Peqiin valley and on Mt. Meron in the territory of Naphtali were explained by him as evidence of early Israelite settlement in the area. However, as in the territory of Asher so in that of Naphtali, strong Tyrian influence can be discerned. On the 1,006-m-high peak of Mt. Adir overlooking its surroundings, a well-built fort from the early Iron Age has been partly excavated and has yielded pottery of high quality with marked Tyrian affinities. Evidence of Tyrian presence in this region is referred to in the list of cities of Naphtali (Josh 19:35), the first words of which should not be read "the fortified cities are Ziddim, Zer, . . ." but rather "the fortified cities of the Tyrians: Tyre, . . ." (Heb *ʿry mbṣr ḥṣwrym ṣwr;* cf. Kochavi 1984: 67–68). Kochavi also suggested that the other Iron Age forts situated on peaks in upper Galilee as well as the other early Iron Age sites in this region are all Tyrian, and that the early settlement of Naphtali should be sought only in lower Galilee. However, the exact date and character of the other Iron Age forts has not yet been ascertained; the character of the pottery found at Khirbet el-Tuleil (Tel Harashim; Aharoni 1956: fig. 4) is not Tyrian; and the term Mt. Naphtali (Josh 10:7) clearly suggests an upper Galilee component of the tribe. The LB geopolitical territory in which the tribe of Naphtali settled is that of Hazor, and although the borders are not necessarily identical with those of Hazor, there is every reason to regard the Iron Age sites identified by Aharoni as the early nucleus of the tribe of Naphtali.

The history of Tyre at the end of the LB Age is not clear, but as opposed to the inland region where the Canaanite city-states were replaced by tribal and later national rule, in the coastal region the Canaanite city-state structure continued to exist, in time becoming the flourishing Phoenician kingdoms of the Iron Age. In the early stages of the Iron Age these were clearly dominant in the N, the fort on Mt. Adir probably marking their S border with Naphtali until King David's expansion N to the Litani river reduced Tyre to a small enclave.

e. Dan in the North. The detailed biblical description of the migration of part of the tribe of Dan northwards

(Judges 18; Josh 19:47) is confirmed both historically and archaeologically. That Laish was the city of Dan's ancient name is confirmed by its appearance both in the Execration Texts and in Thutmoses III's city list. The identification of ancient Dan with Tell el-Qadi is certain: The Arabic name is a translation of the Hebrew name. Eusebius states that a village named Dan was located 4 miles from Caesarea Phillipi, as is Tell el-Qadi; and recently the name "Dan" has been found in a Gk inscription at the site. Early Iron Age strata have been uncovered in which were found pithoi of the S type (the collar-rim jar) as well as typical Tyrian pithoi, a remarkable illustration of the biblical episode (Biran 1980: 176).

For obvious historiographic reasons (Naaman 1986: 46) only the S territory of Dan is mentioned in the territorial descriptions attributed to the time of Joshua (Joshua 13–19). Moses' blessing hints that the N area occupied by the tribe reached as far as Bashan (Deut 33:22). Over time, Dan in the N was doubtless absorbed into Naphtali; in fact, Dan and Naphtali appear as the 2 sons of Bilhah (Gen 35:25). The complexity of N Danite identity, however, is suggested in the narrative about Huram-abi, "the son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and his father was a man of Tyre" (2 Chr 2:14); in the 1 Kgs 7:14 parallel his mother is said to have been "a widow of the tribe of Naphtali."

4. Summary. The transition from the LB to the Iron Age was characterized by great change but also by much continuity. The continuity manifests itself in language, certain aspects of the ceramic repertoire, and apparently in the geopolitical divisions of the country. The changes are seen in the character and pattern of settlement: in the LB Age, cities were located mainly in the lowlands; in the Iron Age, villages were located mainly in the hill country.

The maps of tribal territories undoubtedly reflect the dynamics of the settlement process. In part the territorial units are a continuation of those from previous periods; but on the other hand the borders *between* the tribes either are the areas of intensive Canaanite settlement or are the courses of important transportation routes. For example, the border between the Galilean tribes in the N and Manasseh, in the S is the Jezreel valley, an area of Canaanite and Philistine settlement apparently until the time of David. Similarly, the border separating Zebulun and Issachar in the S from Naphtali in the N is the Beit Netofa valley through which passes the "Hauran Route" (Oded 1971), a route of intensive LB traffic and settlement. The territory of Zebulun is the mountain area between these two Canaanite regions—the Jezreel valley to its S and the Beit Netofa valley to its N. The tribe of Asher settled in the mountain areas E of the coastal towns Acco and Tyre, while Naphtali settled in those W of Hazor. The border between these 2 tribes coincides with an area of sparse Iron Age settlement, possibly the border of the area under the control of Hazor in the previous period.

The regional diversity in ceramic typology between the Tyrian, Galilean, and southern cultures appear partly to coincide with the tribal territories. The Galilean pithos is apparently not found S of the Jezreel valley, and the southern collar-rim jar is not found N of the Beit Netofa valley (the border separating Zebulun in the S from Asher and Naphtali in the N); thus, both types are found in the territory of Zebulun.

The cultural continuity from the LB to the Iron Age points to close connections between the periods. The continuity from period to period of the regional diversity in the ceramic repertoire such as that of the Tyrian and Galilean Pithoi is particularly significant when contrasted with the presence of the southern collar-rim jar at Dan. The latter is quite understandable in light of the biblical tradition about the migration of the tribe of Dan to the N. The lack of similar southern ceramic forms elsewhere in the mountains of upper Galilee suggests a lack of connections to the S in these areas, whereas the Iron Age ceramic forms there are quite similar to those found there from the previous LB period, suggesting continuity in population.

In attempting to explain the changes, one must assess the overall historical background. This was apparently a time of general turmoil. Egyptian punitive expeditions were undertaken by all the pharaohs, and the capture of cities is recorded. Violent conflict between Canaanite kings as evidenced by the Amarna letters doubtless continued, while the ʿApiru and the Shusu probably also played a disruptive role. The Egyptian annals record the invasions of the Sea Peoples, while the biblical traditions describe the penetration of the Israelite tribes (whose presence is also attested in the Israel Stele of Merneptah). The Bible hints also at the appearance of other tribes and peoples at this time.

The crucial issue, however, remains the chronology of the changes. The present evidence shows that the destruction of the LB cities took place over a period of more than a century from the early 13th to the middle of the 12th century. The date of the beginning of the Iron Age villages remains a matter of controversy. There is as yet no clear evidence, however, that these existed before the second half of the 13th century.

Therefore we must see the end of the LB Age and the early stages of the Iron Age as contemporaneous. The collapse of the city-states was doubtless the result of a combination of external forces—Egyptians, Sea Peoples, Israelites, and others—and of inner strife between and within the cities themselves. The population of the Iron Age villages in the Galilean hill country was probably variegated, but doubtless included many people who formerly had lived in LB cities before their destruction and abandonment, as well as recent immigrants. The inhabitants of a city the size of Hazor probably later populated many such villages, Hazor's area being at least as great as that of all the known Iron Age sites in the mountains combined.

E. The Period of Samuel and the United Monarchy

None of the events the Bible recounts for the period of Samuel and Saul are set in Galilee. The struggles with the Philistines, which was the challenge that led to the consolidation of the tribes and the creation of the Israelite monarchy, took place in the regions bordering on Philistia, primarily in Ephraim and Benjamin.

It has been suggested that the reference to the "Ashurites" in the description of the kingdom Ishbosheth inherited from Saul (2 Sam 2:9) should be read "Asherite" (Alt 1966: 161; *LBHG*, 255), designating the province of Galilee. In no other cases, however, is Asher used to designate

Galilee as a whole, and there is no other evidence of Saul being active in this region. Edelman (1985) suggests that the verse refers to a southern Asher. Jezreel (2 Sam 2:9), presumably a region, was part of the kingdom although it is not clear exactly what region was entailed. Beth-shean remained under Philistine control (1 Sam 31:10) as apparently did Megiddo (stratum VI) and the Jezreel valley as a whole. This is probably the explanation for the battle of Gilboa. Saul apparently attempted to gain control over the Jezreel valley in order to enlarge his domain to central Galilee and the Philistines went to war to prevent him; when Saul failed, David inherited the kingdom. There is no doubt, however, that in the time of David not only the mountains of Galilee up to the Litani river but also the surrounding valleys were incorporated into the kingdom.

There is very little evidence about the attitude of the Galilean tribes to the struggle between the houses of Saul and David, or about their attitude to the later struggle between Israel and Judah. However, in later periods there are hints of special relations between Galilee and Judah (see G. below), the story of the wise woman of Abel-beth-maachah and Sheba the son of Bichri being one of these (2 Sam 20:14–22).

The fact that Issachar and Zebulun are sons of Leah and not of Rachel perhaps also symbolizes such a relationship. In genealogical tables in the Bible, the geopolitical elements are no less significance than the historico-genealogical elements. This is demonstrated most strikingly by the Samaria Ostraca as regards the genealogy of Manasseh (*LBHG*, 326, map 29). In the genealogy of the tribal eponyms, Jacob's (Israel's) sons conform to such a geopolitical reality. The sons of Rachel, Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh) and Benjamin, are the dominant tribes of the N kingdom of Israel, later known as Samaria. The sons of the concubines (Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher) are the peripheral tribes geographically and also politically. The first 4 sons of Leah (Reuben, Simon, Levi, and Judah) are the tribes of the S kingdom of Judah. The fact that Issachar and Zebulun are the last 2 of Leah's sons apparently reflects a geopolitical conception by which these 2 lower Galilean tribes had closer relations to S Judah than with the neighboring region of Israel. The questions that remain are: when did this genealogy finally crystalize, and what specific political situation does it reflect?

As regards Galilee during the Solomonic period, there is evidence both in the Bible and from excavations for Solomon's building activities; there is also evidence for his administrative districts and hints of changes in the political borders during his reign. Megiddo was fortified at this time (1 Kgs 9:15), but there is considerable controversy as to which structures are Solomonic (Ussishkin 1980; Wightman 1985). Hazor stratum X, with its typical 6-chamber gate and casemate wall, was the first city to be built at the site after the destruction of the Canaanite city (stratum XIII), and it is clearly Solomonic. The finds there indicate that Solomon's administration was capable of building a city at the N extreme of his kingdom, albeit only one-twentieth the size of its Canaanite predecessor. The episode of the 20 cities in the land of Galilee and the land of Cabul (1 Kgs 9:11–14; 2 Chr 8:2) apparently implies Solomon's surrender of taxable land to Hiram king of Tyre, presumably in the coastal plain up to Cabul. It has been suggested that Cabul should be identified with Horvat Rosh-Zayit (M.R. 171253) 2 km NE of the village of Kabul (M.R. 170252). This early Iron Age site was a fortified town in the 10th century, which was superseded by a fort built in the middle of the 9th century (Gal 1984). Gal suggests that the city is the Israelite Cabul and that the fort is Phoenician, built after Solomon relinquished the area to Hiram.

David's administration was apparently based on the tribal structure (1 Chr 27: 16–22; the fact that Asher and Gad are missing is probably a corruption of the text). Solomon's administrative districts, however, were only partly tribal; those districts designated by city names were probably Canaanite regions only recently added to his kingdom (1 Kgs 4:7–20; Alt 1913). The Jezreel, Beth-shean, and part of the Jordan valleys constituted the 5th district designated by the names of cities; Naphtali was the 8th; "Asher and Bealoth" (LXX^{A} Maalot) the 9th; and Issachar the 10th. Two anomalies appear in the Galilean districts: the absence of Zebulun and the fact that the 9th is the only district apparently comprised of both tribe and city. Alt (1913) suggested that "Bealoth" was a corruption of Zebulun, thus resolving both problems, but for paleographic reasons this has been challenged (Ahlstrom 1979). It has also been suggested that "Bealoth" be read "in Aloth," and that Aloth be identified with Me'ilya (M.R. 174269; cf. Mazar 1942: map 16). That two of Solomon's sons-in-law are listed among the district officers, and that there is no district listed for the Canaanite coastal towns (*NHI*, 213, n. 3), suggests that the administrative list reflects a situation toward the end of Solomon's reign, after territory in Asher had been surrendered to Hiram; thus, in compensation, Aloth would have been added to Asher to help strengthen it. It has also been suggested that Zebulun was incorporated as part of the tenth district of Issachar (*HGB*, 59).

F. The Divided Monarchy

For 200 years, from the revolt of Jeroboam (928 B.C.E.) until the capture of Galilee by Tiglath-pileser III (732 B.C.E.), Galilee was part of the N kingdom of Israel. The history of the period was marked by complicated interrelations between Israel and Judah, as well as between both of these and their neighbors (Tyre, Sidon, and Damascus to the N, Moab and Edom to the E, and the Philistine cities to the SW). In the background loomed the evergrowing Assyrian empire, although, in the S, Egypt was comparatively weak.

Five years after the schism ca. 924 B.C.E., Shishak I conducted a military campaign through Israel. The biblical account focuses only on Jerusalem (1 Kgs 14: 25–28; 2 Chr 12: 1–12), but Shishak's inscription at Karnak (Simons 1937: list XXXIX) indicates that the campaign reached as far N as Galilee. Several places in the Jezreel and Beth-shean valleys are listed (Taanach, Shunem, Beth-shean, Hapharaim, Megiddo). A stele of Shishak was found at Megiddo, and Kitchen (1973: 436–37; 447, no. 126) has suggested that the inscription perhaps includes references to campaigns in the N coastal plain and in the N Jordan valley. Opinions differ as to whether Shishak was responsible for the destruction of Megiddo stratum IVa or b

(Yadin 1972: 147–164; Aharoni 1972; Ussishkin 1980; Wightman 1985).

About 40 years later, Asa king of Judah made an alliance with Ben-Hadad king of Aram against Baasha king of Israel. Ben Hadad (I) invaded Galilee; captured the 3 border towns, Ijon, Dan, and Abel-beth-maachah (1 Kgs 15: 20); then advanced to capture the Jordan valley ("Chinneroth") and all Galilee ("all the land of Naphtali"). Hazor stratum IX was probably destroyed in this campaign. A short time after this invasion, and probably partly as a result of it, a series of violent political upheavals raised Omri to the throne of Israel (1 Kgs 16:8–22). He and his son Ahab after him carried out a different foreign policy: cooperation with both Judah and Tyre as manifested in marriages with both royal houses (2 Kgs 8:26; 1 Kgs 16:31). However, throughout the Omride dynasty there was continuous struggle with Aram-Damascus. Ben-Hadad (II) seized Samaria, but Israel subsequently defeated Aram at Aphek (1 Kgs 20:26), recently identified with a tell in the valley below Fiq in the Golan (see APHEK). Ahab was killed fighting Aram in Gilead (1 Kg 22:32–38), and the death of his son Joram and Jehu's revolt that displaced the Omride dynasty was also connected to the war against Aram at Ramoth-gilead (2 Kgs 9:14–27).

At the same time, Assyrian influence began to be felt in the region. In Shalmaneser III's description of the battle at Qarqar (853 B.C.E.), both Ahab the Israelite and Hadadezer of Damascus are mentioned. According to the usual reading, Ahab's army consisted of 2,000 chariots and 10,000 foot soldiers (*ANET,* 279); but it has been recently suggested that this is a scribal error and should be read as 200 chariots (Na'aman 1976: 97–102). The Assyrian campaigns are not mentioned in the Bible, although the alliance with Damascus is perhaps hinted at (1 Kgs 22:1–4; *LBHG,* 305). The description of the Qarqar battle is without doubt one of the factors that has led scholars to regard Ahab as an important monarch (Yadin ascribed Hazor stratum VIII to him). In this stratum, Solomon's city (stratum X) was doubled in size and the water system and storehouses were built. Stratum IVa at Megiddo, with massive wall, water system, and 17 pillard buildings (described as stables), has also been ascribed to Ahab (Yadin 1972: 147–78). There is, however, controversy as to the date of both stratum VIII at Hazor and stratum IVa at Megiddo (Kenyon 1971: 106; but see Kenyon 1975: 167–169; Aharoni 1972), and it is possible that neither should be attributed to Ahab. There is similar controversy as to the function of the pillared buildings, which are probably royal storehouses (Pritchard 1970; Herzog 1973; Na'aman 1981: 142–43).

One of the first events to take place after Jehu's revolt was the campaign of Shalmaneser III (841 B.C.E.), who besieged Damascus and then proceeded to "Baʿali Rasi"—the headland, probably the Carmel—to receive tribute from Jehu and from the kings of Tyre and Sidon (*ANET,* 280). The description of Shalmaneser's receipt of tribute on Baali-Rasi (Carmel), combined with the fact that the religious struggle between Tyre and Israel was symbolized by Elijah's sacrificing on Mt. Carmel (1 Kings 18), suggests that this had become the political border between Israel and Phoenicia, although we cannot determine when this border was fixed. The only hint as to a conflict between Israel and Tyre in the written sources is Amos 1:7–10, which presumably refers to a later period. However the violent destruction and abandonment of the fort at Horvat Rosh Zayit (Gal 1984) is evidence of such a conflict in the middle of the 9th century.

The struggle with Aram continued during the reigns of Jehu and his son Jehoahaz, and Hazael king of Aram prevailed over both Israel and Judah (2 Kgs 10:32–34; 12:18; 13:3–4; 22). It was only in the days of Joash the son of Jehoahaz that Israel succeeded in rebuffing the Arameans, the battle once again being fought at Aphek, the gate to Golan (2 Kgs 13:17, 25), and the century-long conflict came to an end. It has been suggested that stratum VII at Hazor was destroyed by Hazael and that from this time on (except for a short interlude) Galilee as a whole was under Aramean rule (Oded 1971: 195–97). The battles described in the Bible, however, took place in Gilead (Ramoth-gilead), in the Golan (Aphek), or in the environs of Samaria and in Judah, and even in the very detailed list in 2 Kgs 10:33 there is no mention of Galilee. The written evidence therefore suggests that the wars between Damascus and Samaria bypassed Galilee. Furthermore, the large degree of continuity at Hazor between strata VIII–V makes it most unlikely that strata VI and V were Aramaean. Several Iron Age forts oriented towards the S and E have been identified in upper Galilee, and although their exact character and date must await excavation these were probably built as a defense against the Aramaean threat.

During the reign of Jeroboam, the son of Jehoash, Israel became a dominant force in the region and succeeded in enlarging its territory N at Aramaean expense (2 Kgs 14: 25–28; Amos 6:14). It was a prophet from lower Galilee, Jonah the son of Amittai from Gath-hepher, who encouraged Jeroboam in his program of territorial expansion. Strata V–VI at Hazor, particularly the citadel with houses of the elite at the W end of the town and the residential quarter in the center, provide evidence of the prosperity enjoyed during this period. Stratum VI was probably destroyed in an earthquake (Amos 1:1; Zech 14:5), and the residential quarter was immediately rebuilt, but with some changes that perhaps hint at attempts to adapt the house plan to that of the popular 4-room house (stratum V; Shiloh 1970).

The Assyrian armies of Tiglath-pileser III appeared in the region attacking Philistia in 734 B.C.E. and capturing Damascus and Galilee in 733–732, turning them into Assyrian provinces (Tadmor 1967). The biblical account enumerates the cities captured by Tiglath-pileser at the N approaches to Galilee (Ijon, Abel-beth-maacah, Janoah, Kedesh, and Hazor) and then sums up "Gilead and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali" (2 Kgs 15:29). Janoah is the only town whose identification is uncertain. Identifications with 2 sites whose names resemble Janoah are problematic since the sites are too far distant from the other towns mentioned; one too far to the SW (*LBHG,* 37a), the other too far to the NW (Rainey 1981). Kaplan (1978), however, has suggested identifying Janoah at Tel Shoquet, situated between Abel-beth-maachah, Kedesh, and Hazor (as the biblical reference suggests). In the Assyrian annals the names of several other places appear: *Hi-na-tu-na* (Hinatun) and *(Ia)-at-bi-te* (Jotbah) in the Beit Netofa valley, and "Aruma

[and] Merom . . . fortified cities in the land of Omri [situated] on high mountains" presumably in upper Galilee (Tadmor 1967), although some regard these as being in lower Galilee (Na'aman 1986: 119–34). The Assyrian records also enumerate the number of people exiled from some of the cities, providing data useful in estimating the population of Galilee at this time. Tadmor (1967) has pointed out, however, that there is no evidence of the Assyrians settling people in Galilee from other parts of the empire, as was done in Samaria a decade later (*ANET*, 284; 2 Kgs 17: 24).

Excavations at Hazor revealed dramatic evidence of the preparation for the Assyrian attack. Existing residential structures (stratum Vb) were destroyed to allow for additional fortifications (stratum Va), and alternative housing was constructed. The final destruction itself is also evident, and it is even possible to discern from which direction the attack came.

The material culture in the few sites excavated in Galilee from this period shows a marked similarity to that exhibited in contemporaneous Judean sites, among these are the "pillared buildings" (storehouses/stables) and the "4-room houses." On the other hand, there are elements found in various sites both in Galilee and in other parts of N Israel showing affinities to the Phoenician cities to the NW and Syrian cities to the NE. Phoenician influence is particularly marked in the ceramics and the ivories, although one ivory found at Hazor shows Syrian influence and a pillar base found at Dan is similar to one found at Carchemish. The proto-aeolic capitals found at Hazor are markedly different from those found at other sites; they are more naturalistic and lack the typical (frontal) triangle (Shiloh 1979). It has been suggested that this difference is due to their earlier date (Aharoni 1982: 216); however, the capitals from Hazor show marked affinities to capitals appearing in reliefs from the N (Frankfort 1954: fig. 89, pl. 121), and thus their unique character is partly regional, apparently also a result of N influence.

G. Assyrian and Persian Rule

The Israelite regions captured by Tiglath-pileser III became Assyrian provinces named after their respective capitals: Dor (*Duru*, the Sharon coastal plain), Gilead (*Galaza*, the region E of the Jordan) and Megiddo (*Magiddu*, presumably Galilee). After Sargon II captured Samaria, the remaining region became a province of that name (*Samerina*). The prophet Isaiah (8:23—Eng 9:1) was perhaps referring to these provinces in his description of the future exaltation of "the way of the sea [Dor? but see Rainey 1981], the land beyond the Jordan [Gilead], Galilee of the nations" [Megiddo].

Little is known of Galilee at this period. At Megiddo (stratum III) fine examples of courtyard buildings, clearly part of the administrative capital, were found exhibiting Assyrian characteristics (Amiran and Dunayevsky 1958). This, however, was not the last Iron Age stratum of Megiddo; stratum II consisted only of a fort, and Alt (1938: 90–93) suggested that the capital of Galilee had been moved from Megiddo to Acco. At Hazor (stratum III), however, a fort resembling the Megiddo courtyard buildings was built on the ruins of the Israelite citadel (Yadin 1972: 191–194), and a large and impressive building built below the tell has been identified as an Assyrian palace or residence (Reich 1975). Avi-Yonah (1977: 25) has suggested that this, not Acco, was the capital of Galilee that replaced Megiddo. The fine bronze cup in the shape of an antelope's head found at Kafr Kana is additional evidence of Assyrian presence in Galilee (Frankfort 1954: 103, pl. 118A).

Recent surveys show a marked decline in the size and number of sites during this period (Gal 1982a: 78–79), as opposed to a marked increase in Judah (Kochavi 1972: 85). Also, the ceramics of the N are now stylistically much less similar to that of the S than in previous periods. Nevertheless, there is considerable biblical evidence for ongoing contact between Judah and Galilee during this period, in some ways more than between Galilee and Samaria. At the time of the great Passover, Hezekiah is said to have sent messengers to Ephraim, Manasseh, "and as far as Zebulun." It is then stated that the people ridiculed the messengers, but that a few people from Asher, Manasseh, and Zebulun (but not from Ephraim) came to Jerusalem (2 Chr 30: 10–11). Ephraim's omission could be the result of a later scribal error; it could reflect the truly special relationship between Judah and Galilee; or it could well be a result of the Chronicler's historiographical preference for Galilee. Also, 2 Kgs 21:19 records that Manasseh, undoubtedly at Hezekiah's initiative, married Meshullameth the daughter of Haruz from Jotbah in lower Galilee (2 Kgs 21:19), identified with either Kh. Shefat (M.R. 176248) or Kerem el-Ras (M.R. 182239).

During Josiah's reign, Judaean influence extended to Megiddo (2 Kgs 23:29) and even farther N (2 Chr 34:6). The fort of Megiddo (stratum II) has been dated to this period. According to 2 Kgs 23:36, one of Josiah's wives was Zebudah the daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah (Kh. el-Rumeh; M.R. 177243), located in the Beit Netofa valley only a few km from the 2 sites proposed for Jotbah, the hometown of Josiah's grandmother. Apart from Athaliah the Israelite princess (2 Kgs 8:26), these 2 queens from lower Galilee are the only queens of Judah known not to come from Judah.

During the Persian period there is considerable archaeological and written evidence for the importance and prosperity of the Phoenician towns on the coast. The main source is the *Periplus* attributed to Scylax of Coryanda, but shown to date to the 4th century B.C.E. and known as pseudo-Scylax (Avi-Yonah 1977: 28–31). The S coastal cities are all described as belonging either to Tyre or Sidon; but Acco and a city to its N (presumably Achzib) were apparently independent, and Acco is known to have been the Persian base for wars against Egypt (Strabo *Geog.* 16.2.25; Diod. 15.41.3). The archaeological evidence shows Acco to have grown immensely at this period (see ACCO), and the population inland also increased. We have no written evidence as to the administrative divisions of the region, but Hazor was probably capital of the province of Galilee during this period also (Avi-Yonah 1977: 28–31).

A fundamental historical question that has aroused much controversy is the character of the population of Galilee culturally and ethnically in the Persian period—more specifically the degree of continuity between the Israelite presence in Galilee in the First Temple period

and Jewish Galilee at the end of the Second Temple period. According to one view (Bar-Kochva 1977: 191–94), the Jewish population in Galilee in the Mishnaic period consisted mostly of descendants of Itureans converted during the Hasmonean period and Jews who migrated from Judea later. The main arguments put forward are: the complete lack of any reference to Galilee in the biblical sources of the Second Temple period; the complete lack of archaeological evidence of a specifically "Jewish" character from this period; and the fact that the situation in Galilee at the time of the Hasmonaean revolt as reflected in the written sources would appear to be one of a predominantly Gentile majority and a small Jewish minority (1 Macc 5:21–23). Archaeologically the material culture in Galilee in the Persian period has been defined as Phoenician in character (Stern 1973: 237), and attempts have been made to show that sites important in later Jewish history had no antecedents in the First Temple period (Meyers, Strange, and Groh 1978).

On the other hand, the same written sources have been interpreted as showing the existence of a Jewish population in Galilee before the Hasmonaean conquest (Alt 1939; Stern 1974: 225–26; Fuks 1981). Further, the deep-rooted Jewish traditions of a distinctly Galilean Judaism (already manifested in early Mishnaic texts) could not have arisen over such a short period or developed in a region that had been previously antagonistic. Furthermore, Samaria came under Hasmonaean rule a generation before Galilee; therefore the schism between Judah and Samaria, as well as the close connection between Galilee and Judah only 2 or 3 generations later, can only be explained as originating in characteristic differences between Galilee and Samaria in previous periods.

There is biblical evidence for connections between Israelite elements in Galilee and Judah after the Assyrian conquest (2 Chr 30:10–11; 2 Kgs 21:19; 23:36), and it has been suggested that the cultural difference between Galilee and Samaria had its origins in the fact that the Assyrians settled people from other parts of their empire in Samaria but did not do so in Galilee (Tadmor 1967). The two remaining questions are whether or not there were differences between Galilee and Samaria prior to this, and in which parts of Galilee a Jewish population survived and continued into the Second Temple period.

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

HELLENISTIC/ROMAN GALILEE

A. Introduction
B. Administrative History
C. Economic and Social Conditions
D. Cultural Ethos
E. Christian and Jewish Sources

A. Introduction

As applied to the N part of Israelite, and later Jewish territory, the name Galilee has been interpreted to mean "the circle" or "the district" (Bosen 1985: 13–17). The former would be indicative of the early Israelite experience, surrounded by Canaanite city-states, and is perhaps echoed in the designation "Galilee of the Gentiles" (Isa 8:23). Whatever about the precise designation, Galilee had become a proper name relatively early, as the repeated

description of Kadesh as "a city in Galilee" (Josh 10:7; 21:32; 1 Chr 6:61) indicates. It is, perhaps, significant that the expression "Galilee of the Gentiles" is echoed in the Hellenistic period (1 Macc 5:15) when the predominantly Jewish territory was encircled by Hellenistic city-states.

Josephus gives a detailed description of Jewish Galilee of his own day, defining its boundaries in terms of the surrounding states: On the W lay the regions of Carmel and Ptolemais, with those of Gaba (of the cavalry); Samaria and Scythopolis were to the S; on the E side the territories of Hippos, Gadara, and the Gaulanitis touched the Sea of Galilee; and to the N the territory of Tyre completed the circle (*JW* 3.35–40). There is some scattered evidence, however, also from Josephus, to indicate that the territory had once been more extensive (*Ant* 5.63.89; *JW* 2.188f; 3.25). Both Josephus and the Mishnah agree on distinguishing between upper and lower Galilee, the latter on the basis of altitude and vegetation including a third division, namely the valley of Gennesar (*JW* 3.38f; *m. Šeb* 9.2), but the distinction had also social and cultural implications.

B. Administrative History

We are poorly informed about the administrative divisions of Palestine as a whole in the Persian period, and hence there is no definite information on whether Galilee constituted a separate political region at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. As part of Coele-Syria it was at the center of the struggles between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids during the 3d century B.C.E., and several of the campaigns that ensued between the rival Hellenistic monarchs were conducted in the region (*Ant* 12.132; Polybius, *Hist.* V, 62.2; 87.1–7). In the wake of the Hellenistic reform of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the Maccabean brothers were also involved in struggles there. Simon went to Galilee and rescued the Jews who were being harassed by the gentiles, probably only in the region of the Hellenistic coastal cities (1 Macc 5:14–23), and later Jonathan engaged the Syrian general Trypho at Kadesh in Galilee (1 Macc 11:63; 12:47.49). Two of the sons of John Hyrcanus, Antigonus and Alexander Jannaeus, are said to have lived in Galilee, and the former may have conducted a military campaign there (*Ant* 13.304.322). A third son, Aristobulus, had the Itureans, who had infiltrated into Galilee, forcibly circumcised as part of his consolidation of Jewish-controlled territory, though (*HJP*^{2} 2:9), this episode cannot apply to the whole of Galilee (*Ant* 13.318f, on the report of Timagenes, cited by Strabo). At all events the Jewishness of Galilee is recognized by both Pompey and Gabinius, the former making it part of the territory ruled by the ethnarch Hyrcanus II (*Ant* 14.74), and the latter establishing a sanhedrin at Sepphoris as one of 5 such centers for his administrative reorganization of Jewish territory (*Ant* 14.91).

After the long reign of Herod the Great, who as a young man had been governor of Galilee, and who encountered stiff resistance there at the beginning of his reign as king of the Jews (40–37 B.C.E.), the province was again detached from the S and, together with Perea, became part of the territory allotted to Herod's son, Antipas. He ruled as tetrarch (though Mark 6:14 gives him the title *basileus*, king) from 4 B.C.E.–39 C.E., and it was in this period that Sepphoris was restored as the ornament of all Galilee (*Ant* 18.27) and Tiberias founded, probably in the year 19 C.E. (*Ant* 18.36–38). The old kingdom of Herod the Great was briefly restored under his grandson, Agrippa I (41–44 C.E.). Thereafter, Galilee, while clearly retaining some internal administrative separateness (cf. the evidence of Josephus' *Life* at the outbreak of the First Jewish War), appears to have been included in an enlarged province of Judea (*Ant* 20.137; *JW* 2.247; Tac. *Ann.* 12.54), even though Nero granted the cities of Tiberias and Tarichaeae with their territories to Agrippa II (*Ant* 20.159; *JW* 2.252). After the First War this administrative pattern was further developed, with Galilee incorporated into a reorganized province of Judea. However, a policy of increased urbanization was part of the Roman strategy also, especially after the Bar Kokhba revolt, when practically all of lower Galilee came under the administrative control of Sepphoris and Tiberias (Avi-Yonah 1966: 111). Upper Galilee seems to have remained under direct Roman rule, with its village life-style reflected in the later official Roman name for the area, Tetracomia. About the year 400 C.E. there is evidence concerning a Roman province, one of three in Palestine, called Palestina Secunda. This included Galilee of earlier times, the cities of the Decapolis and the Gaulan, as well as Scythopolis, which served as the capital of this enlarged province (Avi-Yonah 1966: 126).

Galilee, then, is a recognized administrative territory throughout the Hellenistic-Roman period according to the ancient literary sources. We are less well-informed about its internal administration, apart from the city territories, though Josephus speaks of 204 cities and villages when he took over administration of the province in 66 C.E. (*Life* 235). This strongly suggests a rural way of life, even though some of the places not included in the list of chief cities (*Life* 123) such as Tarichaeae (presumably to be identified with Magdala), Gischala, and Gamala (in the Gaulan, though closely linked with Galilee) were, on the basis of other evidence, large and thriving centers, each with such hallmarks of a typical city as walls, a hippodrome, and its own adjoining land (*JW* 2.252.599; *Life* 45.188). In addition, Corazin, Bethsaida, Capernaum (Matt 11:20), and Nain (Lk 7:11) are also designated *poleis* in the gospels. Because of this, it has been suggested (Sherwin-White 1963: 130) that Josephus uses the term "city" to denote a toparchic capital. On that reckoning, there would be 4 such centers in lower Galilee, with upper Galilee—sparsely populated in the early Roman period—constituting a 5th administrative unit in the area (Avi-Yonah 1977: 97f); however, others have argued for as many as 8 toparchic districts in Galilee (Klein 1928: 44–47).

On the basis both of the gospels and Josephus's *Life*, the internal administration of justice, as well as aspects of commercial and political activity, were in the hands of locals, presumably elders, but sometimes designated *hoi protoi ton Galilaion* (Mark 6:21; *Life* 220). This is similar to patterns of organization in other peasant cultures in antiquity, though we also hear of such local officials as the village scribe *(komogrammateus)*, the leader of the synagogue *(archisynagogos)*, the village chief *(archon)*, the market supervisor, *(agoranomos)* and the controller of finances *(epitropos)*. Larger centers such as Tiberias, and presum-

ably also Sepphoris, had all the trappings of a *polis* with a *boule* (council), a *demos* (assembly), and an *archon* (a chief magistrate). Collection of taxes and tolls seems to have been highly organized also, presumably dating from Ptolemaic times, when a bureaucratic network, consisting of locals and foreigners, was established throughout the land on lines similar to Egypt, as we learn from the Zenon papyri (Freyne 1980a: 183–93).

C. Economic and Social Conditions

Galilean economic and social life was largely based on its rural ethos, though there is some evidence of other industrial activity as well. Josephus extols the fertility of the land, and, therefore, the intensity of agricultural activity (*JW* 3.42f). Elsewhere, he singles out the plain of Gennesar in particular for its fertility and the variety of its foliage based on ideal climatic conditions and a spring (*JW* 3.518). This picture can be substantiated both by archaeological surveys based on aerial photography, which suggest intense cultivation of the slopes and terraces, as well as by inference from modern climatic conditions (Applebaum 1977). Grapes, figs, and olives are repeatedly mentioned in Talmudic sources as stable produce, but wheat and other cereal crops were also grown, especially in the plains of lower Galilee in the Bet Netofah, Bet Kerem, and Saknin valleys, as well as in the plain of Gennesar. We hear of royal granaries in upper Galilee (*Life* 71); the underground silos at Sepphoris, reported in recent archaeological probes (Meyers 1986), may be further evidence of the wheat-growing capacity of lower Galilee.

In addition to its soil and climatic advantages, Galilee was also ideally situated on the commercial routes to take advantage of the increased trade and commerce of the Hellenistic age. It provided a natural hinterland for the Phoenician coastal cities, and the important trade routes that operated from Tyre, Sidon, and Ptolemais were the natural outlets for the caravans of traders who followed the Via Maris. This was the road that lead from the E over Damascus to the Mediterranean; it followed the borders of upper Galilee and Tyre, or branched southwards by the lakefront and crossed the great plain to the coast or S to Egypt. The archaeological evidence from upper Galilee has convinced Meyers and his team that despite the religious conservatism of the region, as displayed for example in the synagogues of the Roman and Byzantine periods, strong trading and other commercial links existed between Tyre and the region (Meyers 1985: 123–25; Hanson 1980). Josephus informs us that the Jewish town of Chabulon, on the borders of Ptolemais and Galilee, had its houses built in Phoenician style, thus suggesting similar links between lower Galilee and the coast despite the religious differences (*JW* 2:504f).

Apart from agriculture, the main industrial activities that can be documented from archaeological and literary sources and glass and ceramic ware and the salted-fish industry; as the name suggests, the latter had its center at Tarichaeae, even though the gospels make clear that other places along the lakefront, like Bethsaida and Capernaum, were also involved in the industry. According to the Meiron team's archaeological survey, native Galilean fine ware does not appear on any significant scale before the 3d century C.E., though native Galilean bowls with everted lips are found in the 2d century already (Meyers, Strange, and Groh 1978: 10–16). Prior to that, luxury goods would have been the prerogative of a small band of wealthy Herodian aristocracy, whose affluence is exemplified in the wife of Herod's overseer Ptolemy. Her caravan, comprising of 4 mule loads of apparel and other articles, as well as a large pile of silver and 400 pieces of gold was waylaid as it crossed the great plain (*Life* 127).

The emergence of large estates in which the peasants were sharecroppers, lessees, or simple day-laborers, was a particular feature of Hellenistic economic policy in Palestine. This is indicated by the 3d-century B.C.E. Zenon papyri, especially PCZ 59004, which deals with a tour of inspection conducted by Zenon that covered estates at Beth Anath and Kedasa, both inland from Ptolemais, where he and his retinue had disembarked. Other papyri help to complete the picture: they deal with the intensification of production, the provision of a proper water supply, and housing for the tenants (Hengel 1968: 12f). The gospel parables of Jesus which are presumed to reflect Galilean social conditions, do suggest a situation of absentee landlordism (Mark 12:1–10; cf. Qoh 2:4–12), yet the same parables know of family farms and small landowners also (Mark 4:2–9; Matt 21:28–30). We should not assume therefore that all Galilean landowners were holders of large estates, and that the peasantry was totally impoverished and in a condition of quasi serfdom. The evidence from Josephus, as well as other Jewish literature, suggests the opposite, while allowing for the fact that some of the better land was held in estates, but often in the less densely populated areas across the Jordan (*Life* 33). Herod the Great had made allotments of land both in Batanea and in the neighborhood of Gaba, as part of his colonization policy for security reasons, suggesting that small private holdings, rather than large tracts under single ownership, formed the dominant pattern in the area (Freyne 1980a: 156–70). This would have been reinforced by Jewish religious beliefs and continued as the dominant pattern in the post-Bar Kokhba period (Goodman 1983: 27–40).

Since it was the primary resource, social stratification was very much dependent on who did and did not own land. In this regard the gospel parables are also illuminating, since they presume a mixed social world in which the whole spectrum of large landowners, sharecroppers, and day laborers is represented. Debts were a fact of life, it would seem, and one can infer from the exhortations of Jesus about the sharing of goods as well as the blessings of poverty, that the prevailing social attitudes and assumptions were those of a limited goods economy. The basic resource, land, was in short supply, and consequently there was pressure upwards and downwards on the small owner. A bad harvest or some other catastrophe could mean lifelong penury. The poor tended to move to the cities—Josephus mentions the destitute classes at Tiberias (*Life* 66)—and there is evidence also of banditry, mainly along the borders and well away from the main centers of population (*Life* 77f.105–11.126–31). In view of this information it does not seem to be an accurate profile to suggest that Galilean life in Roman times was in a state of extreme social tension due to the impoverished condition of the population at large. In this regard an interesting contrast can be drawn between Galilee and Judea in the strict sense,

where, according to Josephus, the emergence of the *sicarii* in the pre-Revolt period is to be seen as a symptom of the alienation of the people of the countryside, due to the hardships of direct Roman rule. The long reign of Herod Antipas, while not being without its own problems for the Galilean populace, would seem to have shielded them from the worst features of an insensitive or venal Roman administration.

While the majority of the Galilean population was, we maintain, of peasant stock—that is, private holders of small holdings—there were undoubtedly some representatives of other classes also within the province in the 1st century C.E. These would have comprised both native gentry—the upper eschelon of the Herodian court—as well as military officers of various rank. In fact these 3 categories are mentioned as the guests at Herod's birthday (Mark 6:21), and this list corresponds to what we know from other sources also (Hoehner 1972: 102, 119f).

D. Cultural Ethos

The current understanding of Judaism's complex interaction with Hellenism as a cultural force, even in Palestine, makes it impossible to continue with stereotypes such as the epithet "Galilee of the Gentiles" might suggest. Galilee was unmistakably Jewish, at least by the time of Pompey's intervention; otherwise it would not have been assigned to the territory of the ethnarch, Hyrcanus. See GALILEANS. The question then is: How did their Jewish loyalty affect the cultural affiliations of the natives, given that they were surrounded by Greek-style city-states and their territories? In discussing such a question it is important to recognize that while cultural affiliation and social stratification are intimately interwoven, allegiance to the values of the larger culture at one level need not necessarily mean their acceptance in other more-intimate areas of life. What, for example, are the assumptions of the Markan narrator about cross-cultural contacts in Galilee when we are informed that a Syrophoenician woman, a Greek, came to a Jewish healer, Jesus, in search of a cure for her child? Furthermore one must distinguish between various periods within the Hellenistic-Roman epoch generally for more intense and active hellenization. Thus the reign of Herod the Great would have to be sharply distinguished from the immediate post-Bar Kokhba situation when emigré Jews from the S found upper Galilee a safe haven in the wake of the collapse of the Second Revolt.

There is widespread acceptance of the fact that Aramaic was the lingus franca of Galilee in the 1st century C.E., but that by itself did not mean cultural isolation; it had been for centuries the international language of the whole Syrian region. Greek, had indeed replaced it as the language of trade and commerce as well as of administration since Alexander's conquests. In Galilee this meant that those who first used Greek would have been non-natives or those who were involved in the bureaucratic structures. Inscriptional evidence suggests that Greek was more common in the region of the lakefront than elsewhere, but even then one has to be cautious in using it as a cultural indicator. In the 1st century Tarichaeae was deeply involved in the international fish industry, we must assume, and it was endowed with a hippodrome; yet its inhabitants refused to accept refugee noblemen from the territory of Agrippa unless they underwent circumcision. Likewise, Tiberias, a city with very strong Herodian associations, had as its governor one Jesus, son of Sapphias, who seems to have been imbued with the xenophobic attitudes of the more nationalistically minded Jews of the period.

These instances may have been exceptions to the rule that the more thoroughly Hellenized Jews, both in terms of outlook and values generally, were to be found in the Herodian cities. Justus of Tiberias, described by Josephus as not unversed in Greek education (*Life* 40) would be typical of such a Jew in the 1st century (Rajak 1973). Even the earlier colonization of lower Galilee by the Hasmoneans would not necessarily have meant that the Jews of lower Galilee were particularly opposed to all aspects of Hellenism. The continuity of material evidence has suggested to the Meiron team that in fact they were quite open to such technical influences, even in supposedly conservative upper Galilee (Meyers 1985). At the same time it must be emphasized that no clear evidence, with the possible exception of the bilingual inscription from Dan (Biran 1981), has so far come to light to suggest syncretistic attitudes among the Jews of Galilee in the religious sphere—even when the late Roman and Byzantine synagogues, such as Hammath Tiberias and Capernaum manifest a combination of pagan and Jewish motifs in their artwork. A recently discovered mosaic of the wine god Dionysus, from Sepphoris, awaits a definitive interpretation (Meyers, Netzer, and Meyers 1987); but it is unlikely to change the profile of Hellenistic influences at this level being confined to the Herodian nobility, even if identification of Yahweh with the wine god may have been a particular temptation for people in the Galilean region generally (Smith 1975; Freyne 1988a).

Other indicators of cultural change such as art and architecture, the presence of various symbols of the Greek way of life—theaters, baths, gymnasia, and the like—are indeed present in the archaeological remains as well as being mentioned in the literary evidence. "Their acceptance was greatest where it did not affect native traditions at all, as with the use of baths, and least where it affected them the most, as with the insistence on the study of the Greek poets as the basis for education, rather than the Bible" (Goodman 1983: 86). Despite the clear evidence for trading influences with Tyre in upper Galilee, there seems to be reliable indications that it remained culturally more isolated than lower Galilee, as well as being less-densely populated in the early Roman period. On the basis of what we know from elsewhere, some distinction must also be made between the city culture of such places as Sepphoris and Tiberias as well as the larger of Josephus' densely populated villages and the smaller units among the 204 such places which he claims for Galilee. In many of these, the natural conservatism of the peasant way of life would have been resistant not just to the cultural aspects of Hellenism, but even to its technical advantages. Claims to the contrary, often based on meager and disparate evidence, notwithstanding, there seems to be every indication that such resistance, often supported by Jewish religious values, was quite successful.

E. Christian and Jewish Sources

Galilee's ongoing significance both in ancient literature and modern scholarship is largely due to its association

with Jesus of Nazareth. The different evangelists focus on different aspects of his association with the region. In Mark, Galilee stands in opposition to Jerusalem as the place in which Jesus conducts a successful ministry of healings and exorcisms and where he is to be reunited with his chosen disciples (16:7). Matthew, maintaining the Galilee-Jerusalem tension of Mark, portrays the career of Jesus as messianic and seeks to validate its claims through scriptural allusions (2:21; 4:15–16). Even though he also includes the woes against the Galilean towns for not accepting Jesus' message (11:20–24), he still locates the final meeting of the Risen One with his disciples and their commissioning for a universal mission on a mountain in Galilee, not in Jerusalem, as might have been expected on the basis of prophecy (28:16; Isa 2:2–4). For Luke, Galilee is the place of beginnings (23:5; Acts 10:37) from which the Jesus movement begins its journey that will eventually lead it to the end of the earth through Jerusalem. In John, Galilee functions as a place of refuge (4:1), but also as a place of revelation through signs (2:11; 4:44; 21:2), even though it receives much less narrative space than it does in the Synoptics.

Because of its treatment in the gospel narratives many different suggestions have been made about the importance of Galilee for the early Christians, ranging from the location of the expected Parousia to symbol of the gentile mission of the church (Stemberger in Davies 1974: 409–38). Despite its symbolic role within these narratives, the importance of Jesus' historical association with the region must also be acknowledged, since a genuine memory of an actual ministry there undoubtedly underlies the later treatment of the region as the location for his career (Bauer 1927; Freyne 1988a).

By contrast, Galilee does not feature prominently in the Jewish sources, even though such foundational documents as the Mishnah and the Yerushalmi reached their final redaction in the schools of Galilee and the Palestinian Targum must assuredly have originated in its synagogues. In the Mishnah it functions for the most part as a separate region from Judea for the working out of the implication of various case laws, but with little concern for detail beyond a few references to certain local customs and differences from Judea in weights and measures. This absence of concern for geographic setting matches the Mishnah's neglect of historical particularity in terms of its overall worldview (Neusner 1981). The often-cited dictum of Johanan ben Zakkai about Galilee's neglect of Torah learning would appear to reflect later Galilean neglect of the authoritative claims of the rabbinic schools, even though the impressive synagogue remains that have been uncovered in upper Galilee suggest an active Jewish faith with a prosperous social base. Despite the revolt under Gallus in the mid-4th century C.E., which was centered on Sepphoris (Diocaesarea) and which may have been prompted in part, at least, by increasing Christian claims on Palestine, Jewish and Christian practice would appear to have coexisted side by side in Galilee down to the Arab conquest, a fact to which the archaeological remains of a Christian church and a synagogue side by side in Capernaum bear striking witness down to the present day (Corbo 1975; Tzaferis 1985).

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SEÁN FREYNE

GALILEE, SEA OF (PLACE). The large expanse of water in the Jordan Valley rift which separates Galilee from the Gaulan and Decapolis regions. There is no consistency in the name that is given to it.

A. Terminology

In the OT, this lake was called "the sea of Chinnereth" (Heb *yām kinneret,* cf. Heb *kinôr,* "lyre[-shaped]"), and it is mentioned in connection with the N territorial boundary of the early Israelite settlement (Num 34:11; Josh 12:3; 13:27). Josephus, who gives the most detailed description, usually calls it "the lake of Gennesar(itis)" (*JW* 2.573; 3.463, 506, 515–16; *Ant* 5.84; 13.158; 18.28, 36); less frequently he designates it "the lake of Tiberias" (*JW* 3.57; 4.456) or simply "the lake" (*Life* 96, 153, 165, 304, 327). Pliny assumes that the usual name is the "lake of Gennesaret," while observing that some call it "(the lake of) Tarichaeae" from the name of that town on its shore (*Nat. Hist.* 5.71).

These variant designations are easily explained on the basis of local topography, since Josephus does tell us that natives called it the "lake of Genessar" because a place by that name was situated above the NW shore of the lake (cf. 1 Macc 11:67). In all probability this was the oldest name, since it is clearly a grecized version of "the sea of Kinnereth." The other designations—lake of Tiberias or lake of Tarichaeae—obviously stem from Roman times when these were established Herodian centers on the lakefront, each with its own territory.

Of the gospel writers, Luke alone retains the more general usage, speaking of the "lake of Gennesar" (Gk *limnēn Gennēsaret;* 5:1) or "the lake" (5:2; 8:22, 23, 33). Mark and Matthew, on the other hand, never use the term "lake," but speak of the "sea" (Gk *thalassa:* Mark 7 times and Matthew 11 times), each employing the fuller expression "sea of Galilee" (Gk *thalassan tēs Galilaias*) twice (Mark 1:16; 7:31; Matt 4:18; 15:34). John also speaks of the "sea of Galilee" (John 6:1), to which he adds "of Tiberias." Elsewhere in chapter 6 he speaks of the sea 6 times, and in the later addition to the work, chap. 21, we read "the sea of Tiberias" simply or "the sea" (21:1, 7).

Different proposals have been made to explain this rather distinctive usage. In ancient Semitic and Jewish mythology the sea is associated with evil monsters, of whom Yahweh is lord (Job 38:8, 11; Ps 107: 23–25, 28f). This idea would certainly concur with Mark's theological point of view in regard to Jesus (Mark 4:35–41; 5:13). Furthermore, within Mark's gospel the various sea journeys mediate between the oppositions represented by the Jew/gentile portrayals within the work, which Jesus, Lord of the Deep, reconciles (Struthers-Malbon 1984). Alternatively, the case has been made by Theissen (1976) for seeing the terminology of the gospel writers in the light of local coloring, and the proximity of the traditions about Jesus and the lake to their original setting. In this connection the Heb *yām* can mean either sea or lake (something Jerome had noted against Porphyry who had attempted to discredit the miracles of Jesus). Mark's constant use of *thalassa* (followed by Matthew), would, in this view, be partly reflective of this linguistic background, but would also point to local usage by country people, living close to the lake and with a very restricted view of the world. Luke's constant use of *limnē* bespeaks a greater distance from the local situation and a much wider horizon, which recognizes that the only proper "sea" in the region was the Mediterranean.

B. Geography

The lake forms part of the rift that is usually called the Jordan valley. The 3 head-streams that eventually flow together to form the river rise in the foothills of Mt. Hermon (*JW* 3.515; 4.2–3) and enter lake Huleh (Semachonitis). In Josephus' day this was approximately 7 miles long by 4 miles wide, surrounded by marshes. (Today, due to extensive Israeli irrigation, the whole area has been drained.) From there the river descends rapidly—930 feet in a 9 mile stretch—to the lake of Gennesareth. The lake, then, is part of a deep basin surrounded by mountains on both sides, but opening out on its NW shore into the plain of Gennesareth, the fertility of which Josephus so lavishly extols (*JW* 3.516–21).

With his accurate knowledge of Palestinian, and in particular Galilean, topography, Josephus describes the lake in detail. His dimensions, 140 by 40 stadia—that is, 16 by 4.5 miles—differ apparently from modern reckoning, which is 12.5 by 7 miles. It may be that the line of the lakeshore at the N end has receded since Josephus' day, since there seems to be some evidence that the river bed has changed near the point where it flows into the lake, though it could scarcely diverge by as much as 4 miles (Pixner 1985). The width of the lake as proposed by Josephus may have been estimated from Tiberias or Tarichaeae across to the other side, a journey that Josephus must have made more than once (*Life* 153).

Strabo, Pliny, and Josephus all extol the lake as a natural resource: Its waters were fresh and of a pleasant temperature, unlike the Dead Sea; it had clear, sandy beaches rather than swampy marshes, and in particular it was well stocked with fish (*Geog.* 16.2; *Nat. Hist.* 5.15, 71; *JW* 3.506–8). Two of the towns along the lakefront have names associated with the fish industry: Bethsaida and Tarichaeae. It is generally accepted that the latter is the Gk name for Magdala (Migdal Nunija), a change of name which reflects the techniques for the preservation of fish, and is indicative of the technical advances which Hellenism brought to Palestine. Josephus also mentions that a fish resembling the *coracin,* a type of black eel normally associated with the Nile in Egypt, was found in a spring near Capernaum. This could indicate a deliberate policy of developing the fish industry by the early Ptolemaic rulers in Palestine also, since we know that they had a virtual monopoly of that industry in Egypt (Freyne 1980a: 174f). The gospels also mention the fish industry on the lake (Luke 5:1–10; John 21:1–11; Mark 1:16–20; Matt 4:18–22; 17:27), though the parables of Jesus do not reflect this to the same extent as farming and other types of commercial activity (cf. Matt 13:47f).

Partly because of the industry which the lake, as a natural resource, generated, and partly because of its role as a border between Jewish and non-Jewish territories, the lake's surrounding regions appear to have been quite heavily populated on both sides, with some important settlements in Hellenistic and Roman times. These settlements gave to the lake region a more cosmopolitan character well illustrated by the high incidence of Gk inscriptions in this area of Galilee/Gaulan (Meyers et al 1978: 16). This suggests frequent contacts between the Jewish and non-Jewish communities on either side of the lake, which is further substantiated by the similarity of the material

culture of lower Galilee/Golan according to the evidence of the archaeological remains (Meyers 1976: 97).

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SEÁN FREYNE

GALL (LIVER). See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

GALLIM (PLACE) [Heb *gallîm*]. **1.** A town mentioned as the place of origin of one Palti, the son of Laish, to whom Saul gave his daughter Michal, previously married to David, after David fled from Saul (1 Sam 25:44). Nothing further is known of this site (see McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 400), unless it is the same as the following place.

2. A town located N of Jerusalem (Isa 10:30). It is mentioned by Isaiah in an itinerary of an invading army (Isa 10:27–34). The identity of this invading army approaching Jerusalem from the N has been identified as that of a Syro-Ephraimite coalition in 734–722 B.C.E. (Donner 1964: 30–38). Others identify the assailant as an Assyrian army, either Sargon II in 715 B.C.E. (Wildberger *Jesaja 1–12* BKAT, 427–428) or Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. (Kaiser *Isaiah 1–12* OTL, 150). Each of these suggestions has points of historical difficulty. The suggestion that the foe is the Syro-Ephraimite coalition is countered by the observations that the text is not within Isaiah memoirs of the Syro-Ephraimite War (i.e., Isa 6:1–9:6) and that a coalition army is not mentioned (Wildberger *Jesaja 1–12* BKAT, 427). Both Assyrian proposals run into the difficulty that the route does not coincide with any known Assyrian invasion (Christensen 1976: 387). Christensen (1976: 397–99) prefers to see this text as having been reworked and rendered anonymous with respect to the identity of the invader in order to transform it into an eschatological war oracle in which the foe is the Divine Warrior: God who comes to besiege Jerusalem in judgment.

This town has been identified with Khirbet Ka'kul (Albright 1924: 139) and Khirbet Erḥa (Donner 1968: 54), but in neither case is the identification certain. Both sites lie immediately N of Jerusalem. The mentioning of Gibeah of Saul in Isa 10:29 makes it likely that this is the same town as that mentioned in 1 Sam 25:44 (above, 1), also connected with Saul.

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JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

GALLIO (PERSON) [Gk *Galliōn*]. L. Iunius Gallio Annaeanus, born M. Annaeus Novatus but later adopted by Iunius Gallio, was the oldest son of the rhetor L. Annaeus Seneca Sr. of Corduba (Spain) and a brother of L. Annaeus Jr., the famous politician and author, and of L. Annaeus Mela (Tac. *Ann.* 16.17.3, Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.32). Under Claudius he became proconsul of Achaia, in A.D. 55 consul suffectus (Pliny *HN* 31.62). In A.D. 59 he had to act as compère for Nero at his appearance on the stage (Dio Cass. 61.20.1). He died in A.D. 65 in the aftermath of the Pisonian plot as did his 2 brothers (Dio Cass. 62.65.3), probably by suicide (Eusebius ad annum 64), although the senate had testified to his innocence (Tac. *Ann.* 15.73.3). Famous for his charm, his brother Seneca speaks of him with admiration and love, especially commending his contempt of adulation (Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.32; Sen. *QNat.* 4 praef.10). He shared Seneca's low opinion of Claudius, as is shown by an ironical comment upon the emperor's death by poison (Dio Cass. 61.35.3). Both Seneca and Plinius mention a sea voyage which Gallio chose as an immediate remedy against symptoms of phthisis when he was in Greece (not during his proconsulship as some modern writers wrongly assume) (Sen. *Ep.* 104.1; Pliny *HN* 31.62; Cel. *Med.* 3.22).

Gallio's proconsulship in Achaia becomes a matter of biblical studies because of his encounter with the apostle Paul as narrated in Acts 18:12–17. The story is important for chronological and legal aspects of early Christian history.

A. Chronology

The event gives one of the few firm and rather precise starting points for fixing the journeys of Paul within the frame of secular history and so-called absolute chronology. From 1905 on a number of fragments from an inscription at Delphi (in 1967 totalling up to 9) have been published which mention Iunius Gallio as proconsul and friend of Caesar. The text seems to be a letter (to the city of Delphi?) or decree of Claudius and is dated after the 26th acclamation of Claudius as imperator which leads to a date within the first 7 months of the year A.D. 52, probably in spring (Plassart 1967: 377). According to the reconstruction of the text by Plassart (1970: 27–30), which was only slightly modified by Oliver (1971: 239–40) and Hemer (1980: 7), Gallio had reported the depopulation of Delphi; in reaction, the emperor gives orders to encourage new settlers to come to the city. Plassart (1967: 376; 1970: 31) takes the letter to be addressed to an individual (reading the pronoun *se* in line 17) different from Gallio (mentioned in the third person in line 6), probably his successor as proconsul; however, Oliver (1971) questions this reading

of line 17 and concludes from the use of the title *anthypatos* in line 6 that Gallio is still holding his office at the time the letter was dispatched. Taking into account that the letter publishes a political decision with antecedents in a report of the proconsul (and beyond), and reckoning in that governors had to take up their provincial residence by May 1st and used to stay in office for 1 year at least, we reach the conclusion that Gallio seems to have been at Corinth in A.D. 51–52, if not longer. The 18 months of Paul's first stay at Corinth (Acts 18:11) must overlap with this period.

More cannot be said from this part of the evidence—contrary to a popular reading of Acts 18:12,18 which dates the event at the beginning of Gallio's proconsulship and shortly before the end of Paul's Corinthian ministry. Acts 18:12 does not say that Gallio had just taken up office, and "many days" in Acts 18:18 does not denote a short time but rather a longer one (Haacker 1972: 253–54; cf. 1 Kgs 2:38–39). The assumption that Paul left Corinth soon after Gallio's arrival as proconsul becomes highly improbable if Orosius (7.6.15–16) is right in dating the expulsion of Jews from Rome (mentioned in Acts 18:2 and Suet. *Claud.* 25.4) in the 9th year of Claudius (i.e., A.D. 49). Aquila and Priscilla, whom Paul met on his arrival at Corinth and whose firm he joined for a while, will have needed some time for leaving Rome at the emperor's command and for resettling and reopening their business at Corinth. All this considered, the proposal of Hemer (1980: 8) that "Paul was in Corinth from autumn 50 to early summer 52" makes good sense.

B. Legal Aspects

The encounter of Gallio and Paul is introduced by Luke as a dramatic episode if not the climax of the apostle's conflict with the majority of the Jewish congregation at Corinth (Acts 18:1–11). Unable to accept the Gospel and unwilling to lose the support of semi-pagan sympathizers who responded to Paul's preaching, the Jewish leaders resorted to legal proceedings against the Christian movement. This step runs into the traditional policy of Jewish congregations to secure as much autonomy as possible, especially in religious matters, a fact which reveals the severity of the conflict.

The historicity of the event had been disputed by Juster (1914, 2: 154–55) because of the clumsiness of the charge against Paul but was convincingly defended by Sherwin-White (1963: 99–100) who defines the proposed trial as a case of *cognitio extra ordinem* where the judge was free "to decide whether to accept a novel charge or not" (100). A refusal of unsatisfactory charges was likewise possible in the context of an ordinary *quaestio* where the defendant could be present already at the *delatio nominis* (as Paul was according to Acts 18:12) in order to be asked to plead guilty or not guilty (*PW* 24/1: 755–56). In the case of Paul, however, the judge refused to enter into any preliminary proceedings.

Of course the accusation against Paul did touch problems which could demand legal action, since Corinth was a Roman colony and Roman society did not know religious liberty or toleration in the modern sense of the word (Garnsey 1984; cf. Acts 16:20–1). But apparently the enemies of Paul could not charge him with any break of public law, so that they could only denounce his alleged deviations from rules of worship contained in or deduced from the Law of Moses (Acts 18:13). Gallio's decision interprets the traditional Jewish privilege of religious autonomy as an obligation to settle their internal disputes themselves without disturbing the public or troubling the magistrates. Since Paul is not allowed to defend himself (as he is in later appearances before Roman courts), Gallio's attitude should not be regarded as an expression of sympathy with the Christian movement. Rather it is indicative of the limits of tolerance towards Jewish congregations in Greco-Roman cities, completely in line with the letter of Claudius to the city of Alexandria (CPJ 153; Smallwood 1976: 248–50) and with his expulsion of Jews from Rome because of their being *assidue tumultuantes* (Suet. *Claud.* 25.4). Tensions within Jewish congregations or between Jewish and pagan inhabitants of Greek cities, however limited in scope, were considered as local disturbances of the *pax Romana*, the pride of the early principate (cf. Acts 19:40). That is why the later trial of Paul in Caesarea was much more dangerous for the apostle, because then he was charged of being "a fomenter of discord among the Jews all over the world" (Acts 24:5, NEB).

The suggestion that the decision of Gallio might be due to an anti-Jewish bias of the proconsul (Elliger 1978: 236–37) is confirmed by the reaction of the public (not the Jews themselves, as some mss read) against one of the Jewish leaders and by Gallio's lack of concern in this outbreak of violence (Acts 18:17).

Gallio's opinion of Jews and Judaism may have been similar to that of his brother Seneca who, according to Augustine (*Civ Dei* 6.11) was speaking of the Jews when he wrote (in *De superstitione*): "The vanquished have given laws to their victors." In *Ep. Mor.* 95.47 Seneca's sentence *"quomodo sint dii colendi solet praecipi"* ("There use to be rules as to how the gods should be worshipped") reminds us of Acts 18:13—but is followed by a criticism of the Jewish custom to light candles on Sabbath.

Paul's own reaction to the Jewish attack on his missionary work was not peaceful either: In 1 Thess (written during Paul's first stay at Corinth) the polemical passage 2:14–16 sounds like a furious postscript to the episode of Acts 18:12–17. Taken together, the 2 passages give an impression of the fierceness of the early conflicts between the Christian movement and traditional Judaism in the first decades of their mutual relations.

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KLAUS HAACKER

GAMAD (PLACE) [Heb *gammād*]. A putative place name found in the lamentation over the Phoenician city of Tyre raised by Ezekiel (27:11). The Heb word *gammādîm* is not attested elsewhere and is of uncertain meaning. The context is metaphorical: Tyre is imaged as a ship whose crew is a collection of allied peoples. Fars (Persia), Lud, and Put are mentioned in v 10 as members of the Tyrian armed forces. Men of Arvad (the island of Aradus 125 miles N of Tyre) and Helech (less certainly a place name) are upon the walls—either the hull of the metaphorical ship or, shedding the imagery, the literal city walls)—and *gammādîm* in the towers (Ezek 27:11).

The occasional confusion of the Heb letters *dalet* and *reš* has led to the reinterpretation of the word as **gōmĕrîm* (see GOMER), to which has been compared Ug *gmrm* (*IDB* 2: 351). But the association with Arvad suggests a Phoenician city (Cooke *Ezekiel* ICC, 300). A site appearing in the topographical lists of Seti I at Karnak as *qmd* or *kmt* (*LBHG*, 166 no. 7) is located between Byblos and Arvad. Simons (who prefers to interpret the biblical word as an appellative noun rather than as a place name; *GTTOT*, 455) is among those who have noted the possibility that the name *qmd* in the Egyptian list may designate *Kumidi*, known from the Amarna letters (EA 116:75; 129:85; 132:49, etc.) and other sources (Simons 1938 XIII/55; XIV/57; XV/20). Ancient Kumidi is identified as Kamid el-Loz N of Mt. Hermon in the Beqaʿ valley of Lebanon between Sidon and Damascus (on the site, see Edzard et al. 1970; Hachman 1970).

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

GAMAEL (PERSON) [Gk *Gamēlos*]. An alternate form of the name DANIEL.

GAMALIEL (PERSON) [Heb *gamlîʾēl;* Gk *Gamaliēl*]. **1.** Son of Pedahzur and head of the tribe of Manasseh (Num 1:4, 10, 16). He is so designated by God in the address to Moses, in which a census of Israel's congregation in the wilderness of Sinai is commanded (Num 1:1–54). Gamaliel appears again in the next chapter of Numbers (2:20), where the encampment of Israel around the tent of meeting, by tribes organized by leaders, is set out (2:1–34). Within that scheme, Manasseh—gathered at the appropriate standard and led by Gamaliel—is stationed to the W of the tent, next to Ephraim, the leading tribe of the 3 on the W (2:1–2, 18–24). The entire scheme establishes an ideal of both encampment and orderly movement through the wilderness, in which tribes and their leaders are the principle of discipline. Gamaliel is therefore emblematic, with the other leaders, of the structure inherent in Israel's gathering around the divine presence, guarded and maintained by priests and Levites (cf. Num 2:17; 3:1–4, 49).

Gamaliel next appears after Moses has anointed and consecrated the altar and its tabernacle (Num 7:1). The tribal leaders appear with offerings, which the Lord commands Moses to accept on behalf of the Levites (Num 7:2–10). Specifically, the leaders are to bring offerings one each day (v 11), in an order which corresponds to the scheme of encampment in chap. 2. The names of the leaders are given again in chap. 7, which enhances the impression of correspondence with chap. 2. Such differences as there are appear practically insignificant. Eliasaph, leader of Gad, is identified as "son of Deuel" in 7:42 (and 10:20), rather than "son of Reuel" (2:14); the variation is obviously the result of the similarity of the *reš* and *dalet* in the Hebrew alphabet. Similarly, Gamaliel in 7:54 is son of Pedah-Zur, rather than Pedahzur (2:20 cf. also 10:23), although the RSV does not do justice to the distinction. Although the same name is palpably at issue, the separated orthography perhaps brings out its sense, "the rock (that is, God) has ransomed" (cf. GKC, 81; BDB, 804).

There is, however, a significant contrast between Numbers 2 and 7, which makes them appear more complementary than simply similar. The essential issue in chap. 2 is the order of procedure among the 12 tribes. That order is fixed by the sequence encampment: Judah, with Issachar and Zebulun, camps towards sunrise (vv 3–9); Reuben with Simeon and Gad to the S (vv 10–16), the tent of meeting in the midst (v 17); Ephraim with Manasseh and Benjamin to the W (vv 18–24); and Dan with Asher and Naphtali to the N (vv 25–31). The sequence of encampment is also prescribed as the sequence of setting out from camp (vv 17, 34). In chap. 7 the same sequence is maintained, but the emphasis is upon the equality of the tribes, rather than upon precedence among them. Each is said to offer precisely the same offering: a silver plate of 130 shekels; and a silver basin of 70 shekels, both filled with fine flour and oil for a cereal offering; a golden dish of 10 shekels (full of incense); animals for burnt offering (a young bull, a ram, a male lamb of one year); a male goat for sin offering; and peace offerings (2 oxen, 5 rams, 5

male goats, 5 male lambs of one year). Those specifications are repeated for every leader of each tribe, and then the offering of the 12 tribes in aggregate is tallied (vv 84–88). Each tribe therefore takes part equally in the dedication of the altar (v 5), which is why a full day of dedication is allotted to each tribe (v 11). The sequence of tribes and leaders, when applied to encampment and movement, necessarily implies precedence; the same sequence, when applied to dedicatory sacrifice, assures an equality of participation.

The last reference to Gamaliel, and to the other leaders, appears in Numbers 10. The order of march is in accordance with the specifications of chap. 2, except that there is a refinement in respect of the Levites (see vv 17, 21; and 2:17. The issue of priority among the tribes, however, which was implicit in chap. 2, becomes moot in chap. 10: the march is set in motion by the cloud which settles in the wilderness of Paran, not any tribe or leader (10:11, 12; cf. 9:15–23). All of the passages in Numbers which relate to Gamaliel are commonly ascribed to the 'Priestly' source of the Pentateuch (cf. Marsh, Numbers *IB* 2: 140). Whether or not a strictly documentary theory of Pentateuchal origins is to be upheld, it does appear evident that Gamaliel and the other tribal leaders in Numbers 2, 7, and 10 are invoked in order to offer a portrait of how the divine presence dwells in Israel. Sequence, tribal order, and equal offerings of sacrifice are all conveyed as the occasion of God being with his people.

The function of the name Gamaliel in the book of Numbers, then, is less to refer to a definable character than it is to hold the place of the theological motif of God's presence with Israel.

2. A Pharisaic member of the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem who was widely respected for his learning in Torah (Acts 5:34). At first glance, the name Gamaliel—now attributed to a rabbi of the 1st century—might seem to function differently in the NT than it did in the OT. He plays a crucial role in the proceedings against the apostles. As a result of Sadducean jealousy at the apostles' reputation for healing, they have been put in jail, only to be released by an angel (vv 12–20). Once the Sanhedrin convenes, their officers eventually track the apostles down in the Temple, and set them before the council (vv 21–27a). The high priest demands to know why the apostles persist, despite prior warning, to teach in Jesus' name; they reply that obedience is owed to God, rather than people, and accuse the Sanhedrin of murdering the savior (vv 27b–32). Condemnation to death at that moment seems certain (v 33), but Gamaliel intervenes and cautions restraint. His standing in the Sanhedrin is assumed to be great, in that he *commands* the apostles to be put outside for a brief time (v 34c). He then urges caution, on the grounds that the movements of Theudas and Judas the Galilean had come to nothing: The apostles also will fail, if their movement is of men (vv 35–38). If their movement is of God, Gamaliel argues that the Sanhedrin would be unable to prevail, and rebellious even to try (v 39). Having been convinced by Gamaliel's arguments, the Sanhedrin releases the apostles with a mere beating, and repeats the old command, not to speak in Jesus' name (v 40, cf. 4:17). The second (and last) mention of Gamaliel occurs in Acts 22:3, within a speech of Paul, in which the apostle claims to have been instructed at the feet of Gamaliel with an exact knowledge of the ancestral law.

Superficially, there is a degree of verisimilitude in Gamaliel's portrait in Acts. The Pharisees in general are described by Josephus as combining a view of fate with that of the freedom of human will, a philosophical compromise which may also be said to animate Gamaliel's position in Acts (cf. *Ant* 13.5.9 §171–73; *JW* 2.8.14 §162–63; Neusner 1987: 279, 282; and Bruce 1982: 68 n. 5). Moreover, Gamaliel himself occupies a position of such prominence in Rabbinica, that his implicit status in Acts appears plausible. *Soṭa* 9.15 has it that "When Rabban Gamaliel the elder died, the glory of the law ceased and purity and abstinence died" (Neusner 1984: 33, 34). In that the interpretation of the Torah (in its fullest sense), keeping purity and maintaining dietary discipline were programmatically typical of Pharisaism (cf. Neusner 1987: 290), Gamaliel appears as a paradigmatic figure within the movement. For that reason, his decision that a Targum of Job was to be buried within a construction of the Temple (*Šabb.* 115a, cf. Neusner 1984: 53–54, cf. 37, 38, 42) was representative of the emerging attitude towards the Targumin among the rabbis: Targum, as the product of a discipline between Bible and Mishnah (cf. *Sipre Deut* 161) was to be orally promulgated (cf. *Meg.* 4.4), and yet disposed of as Scripture when it was written. The rabbinic ambivalence in regard to the medium of the Targumin is what resulted in their consignment to writing at a much later stage.

Gamaliel is also said to have forbidden attempts by husbands to annul divorce proceedings without their wives' knowledge (*Giṭ.* 4.2, cf. Neusner 1984: 34–37), and to have extended, for certain groups, the amount of movement permitted on the Sabbath (*Roš. Haš.* 2.5, cf. Neusner 1984: 29, 30). In that all of these matters—Targum, divorce, and keeping Sabbath—were of systemic import within the Pharisaic perspective, Gamaliel's prominence, as reflected in Acts 5:34 and presupposed in 22:3, may be taken as factual, and the position attributed to him is not implausible. Indeed, Neusner discovers a significant degree of corroboration between *Roš. Haš.* 2.5 and Acts 5:34. Because the former passage concerns the movement on the Sabbath of witnesses who attested sightings of the sun and moon, they were closely associated with the Temple, where the sacred calendar was declared. The pericope therefore assumes Gamaliel's high standing among the authorities of the Temple, much as Acts 5:34 does (Neusner 1984: 29 cf. also 38–40, 42, 43, 50, 55).

Both passages of Acts, however, manifest characteristics which make their accuracy doubtful. In 5:36–37, Gamaliel refers first to the revolt of Theudas, and then to that of Judas, in an evidently chronological order; as it happens, that seemingly careful presentation precisely inverts the order of events. Even more troubling (from the point of view of the historicity of the entire episode) is the fact that Theudas's revolt is dated in A.D. 44, some 10 years after any plausible dating of the scene in Acts (cf. Cadbury and Lake 1979: 60). It has been suggested that the inversion of chronological order is the result of a elementary misreading of a passage in Josephus (*Ant* 20.5.1–2 §97–104, cf. Foakes Jackson and Lake 1979: 356, 357 and Lüdemann 1984: 34, 35). Two considerations have also cast doubt on the alleged assertion of Paul in 22:3. First, it seems strange

that, if Gamaliel in 5:38, 39 counseled restraint in respect of followers of Jesus, his supposed disciple should have persecuted them. Second, even if one were to accept that a statement in Acts should be credited apart from a confirming echo in the Pauline corpus, Paul's lack of sympathy with the rabbinic position in his own writings is striking. Each of these considerations requires to be weighed before the historical value of the statements in Acts can be assessed.

The anachronism of Gamaliel's advice in its reference to Theudas in Acts 5:36, 37, certainly casts doubt on the placement of the episode. The infelicitous sequence, which places Theudas before Judas, greatly strengthens the argument that the speeches of Acts are largely synthetic. Indeed, the reference to Gamaliel in Acts 5:34–39 seems to suit the programmatic purpose of Luke-Acts at least as well as, and probably better than, it accurately reports an episode of history. It has been aptly remarked that there is an irony in having "a respected leader of the Jews" provide the interpretation of the new movement which Gamaliel does: He himself provides the criterion by which the movement centered upon Jesus represented a fulfillment of the promises to God's people (Juel 1984: 66, 99, 117). Were the Pharisees comparatively tolerant of Jesus' followers, and were Gamaliel a reputed, Pharisaic leader, those facts may be all that need be posited in order to explain the composition of Acts 5:34–39.

Just such a picture, of Pharisaic toleration of Jesus's followers (at least relatively speaking), is conveyed in Acts 23:6–9: Hauled before the Sanhedrin (22:30), Paul is able to set Pharisees against Sadducees by means of his claim that he is a Pharisee, and that the Pharisaic belief in resurrection is what has occasioned the charge against him (22:6). The statement attributed to Paul in 22:3, that he was born in Tarsus but brought up and educated in Jerusalem at Gamaliel's feet, suits the apologetic tendency of this section of Acts. Paul has entered the Temple at the suggestion of James, to purify himself and participate in the vow of several other men (Acts 21:23, 24). What was supposed to prove him a keeper of the Torah (v 24), however, failed: The deadly charge is raised that Paul has introduced "Greeks" into the Temple (v 28). The claim in 22:3, then, serves retrospectively, as an answer to the charge of sacrilege, and prospectively, as substantiation of Paul's clever ploy in the hearing of the Sanhedrin. It has also been argued that the style of 22:3 suits the redactional tendency of Luke-Acts (cf. Lüdemann 1984: 39, n. 72).

Indeed, the coherence of Acts 22:3 with the characteristically Lukan portrait of Paul is precisely what most casts doubt on its accuracy. Acts 22:3–21 gives us a Paul who was known from childhood in Jerusalem; the Paul of Galatians claims that his face was unfamiliar in Judea (1:22). Luke's Paul gives an account of his commissioning on the road to Damascus (22:6–11), in a manner strikingly similar to Acts 9:1–9 (cf. also 22:12–21 and 9:10–31), but quite unlike anything Paul has to say on the subject in his letters. Precisely these observations were aptly described by Knox (1950: 34–40, 114–119) and have increasingly featured in discussions of the relationship between Acts and the Pauline corpus. Knox considered "gravely doubtful" the notion that Paul actually studied with Gamaliel, although he also stopped short of denying it outright (1950: 35).

Knox's restraint at this point was apposite. For all that, there are grave difficulties in reconciling Acts and the Pauline corpus, Paul's Pharisaic background is a matter of agreement between them (cf. Phil 3:5). Gamaliel's relative tolerance of Jesus' followers is, in itself, plausible—and not only in view of the general considerations suggested above. That doughty traditionalist of somewhat later in the century, Eliezer ben Hyranus, was known to have discussed exegesis with such a heretic (cf. *Abod. Zar.* 16b–17a). That Paul should have studied with Gamaliel, and then have failed to mention the fact is indeed perplexing, but not impossible (cf. Knox 1950: 35). The argument that Paul was too distinctive from Gamaliel, in his attitude towards the new movement, to have been his disciple, is not convincing.

First, the material in Acts 5:34–39, upon which the argument is based, has itself been shaped by the apologetic requirements of early Christianity, and so is scarcely a direct representation of the historical Gamaliel. Second, Gamaliel's own son, Simeon, took part in the revolt against Rome which is officially dated from A.D. 66 (cf. Josephus, *Life* 5.38–39 §189–98 and Neusner 1987: 276; compare Neusner 1984: 57). If the son might depart from the father in his attitude toward Rome, the disciple might surely devolve from the master in the less pressing concern of a minor sectarian excess (cf. Bruce 1982: 226).

We cannot say with certainty whether Paul ever visited Jerusalem prior to his famous visit with Cephas (cf. Gal 1:18; and Enslin 1927: 366, 372), or even whether such a visit would have been necessary in order for him to have been known as a Pharisee. In the latter regard, it might be observed that, in Phil 3:5, Paul calls himself a "Pharisee according to law" *(kata nomon)*. The qualification might mean nothing more than "by custom," but a sense such as "as to the law" (see RSV) appears more likely. Why should Paul have introduced such a qualification? It appears at least possible that he acknowledged that his Pharisaism was not of the sort which flourished in Jerusalem, where Pharisees had a particular concern for, and influence over, the cult in the Temple (cf. Enslin 1927: 365). That aspect becomes especially apparent in the traditions concerning Gamaliel (cf. Neusner 1984: 23–58). Manifestly, a "Pharisee" living in the Diaspora would need to be of an attenuated variety of Pharisaism, a movement whose focus of interest was the Temple, and the maintenance of purity in the interests of cultic worship.

Paul must specify in Phil 3:5 that he is "from the race *(genos)* of Israel," not from the land of Israel. Hellenistic Judaism (cf. Gal 1:14 and Georgi 1986: 46–49) was his natural milieu and continued to be even after he understood himself to be an apostle. Although considerable effort has long been expended on understanding Paul as a product of "Palestinian" Judaism, the result is only a paradox: How can an alleged product of rabbinic Judaism have seen the Torah as a "work" which earns God's favor when the rabbis understood it as a gracious instrument, designed to convey the living possibility of God's covenant with his freely chosen people (cf. Montefiore 1915: 24–44, 70–73)? Precisely that paradox is an obstacle before any attempt to portray Paul as a rabbi, trained by Gamaliel or

any other Pharisee who was active in Jerusalem (cf. Montefiore 1915: 90, 91).

Whether or not Paul actually had contact with Gamaliel at some point or another is impossible to know. The inextricable link between Paul and Jerusalem is a thematic and apologetic concern of Acts (cf. Enslin 1927: 372–75). "Gamaliel" is an emblem of that concern, and—except in very general terms—little historically accurate information is provided by Acts in respect of that rabbi. Comparison with rabbinic sources suggests that Paul should not be seen preeminently as a rabbi in the mode of the Pharisees in Jerusalem (cf. Montefiore 1915: 92–129). He was rather a provincial hanger-on of the movement, who turned a zeal for the Temple and purity into a zeal for the oral law (cf. Gal 1:13, 14 and Acts 22:3), and thereby sowed the seeds of his own conversion.

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BRUCE CHILTON

GAMMA. The third letter of the Greek alphabet.

GAMUL (PERSON) [Heb *gāmûl*]. A priest who received the 22d position in the priestly order of the Temple during the reign of David (1 Chr 24:17). 1 Chronicles 24 is the only place where Gamul appears in the OT. An evaluation of the historical reliability of his appearance therefore depends entirely on the literary context of 1 Chr 24:1–19. Though generally agreed that the priestly list originated after the exile, its exact date remains debated. Liver (1968: ix, 33–52) associates the 24 course priestly organization to the reforms of Nehemiah, while Williamson (1979: 262–68) assigns it to the late Persian period. Due to genealogical connections between 1 Chr 24:7–18 and the Hasmonean priestly claims, Dequecker (1986: 94–106) dates the list to the Hasmonean era. The stylistic characteristics of the list, however, seem to link the list to the time of the composition of Chronicles (ca. 385 B.C.E.).

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JOHN W. WRIGHT

GANGRENE. See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

GARDEN OF EDEN. See EDEN, GARDEN OF (PLACE).

GARDEN OF GOD (PLACE) [Heb *gan-ʾĕlōhîm*]. A phrase occurring only in Ezek 28:13 and 31:8–9. The similar phrase *gan-yhwh*, "garden of Yahweh," appears in similies in Gen 13:10 and Isa 51:3. Both phrases indicate a place of great luxury. However, the notion of a divine garden is not restricted to biblical material. References are found throughout ANE literature.

Descriptions of the gardens in ANE literature mention springs, trees possessing divine attributes, and the overall beauty and fertility of the place. The trees on "the cedar mountain, the dwelling of the gods" mentioned in the Gilgamesh Epic, are said to be luxuriant (V.i.1–9, Assyrian version; *ANET*, 82). No mortal is intended to enter there. In the biblical material, Ezek 31:2–18 compares Pharaoh to a great tree. Verse 9b states that "all the trees of Eden which are in the garden of God" became jealous of the tree which represented Pharaoh. From further description it becomes evident that this tree grows in the divine enclosure.

The divine garden is often the source of life-giving waters that refresh the earth. The land of Dilmun, the most celebrated example of the garden of the gods in Mesopotamian literature, is described in the Sumerian myth called *Enki and Ninhursag*. The land is watered by the "waters of abundance" from the earth which gush forth to fertilize the land (lines 55–64; *ANET*, 38). In Ugaritic myth, the high god El dwells "at the sources of the (two) rivers, in the midst of the (double) deep" (*CTA* 3.5.14–15, etc.). Ezek 47:1–12, Zech 14:1–21, and Joel 4:16–18 all picture life-giving water rushing forth from the sanctuary on Mt. Zion. In the Ezekiel text this water fertilizes even the area of the Dead Sea. Every creature that comes to the stream lives, and its fish are prolific (vv 9–10). Ezekiel is shown two great trees (or forests) growing on its banks (v 7).

Of course, the main feature of the garden of God theme is the presence of the deity. The divine council meets there and decrees of cosmic importance are issued. El's dwelling is also called the *phr mʿd*, "appointed assembly" (*CTA* 2.1.19–21). It is to this place that Yamm sends messengers demanding the surrender of Baal (lines 36–38). Also, both Anat and Asherah go to El's dwelling to seek permission for the building of a temple for Baal (*CTA* 3.5.12–17, 4.4.20–24). In Ezek 28:14 the presence of lesser deities in the garden may be reflected in the reference to the "protecting cherub" and to the "fiery stones."

Finally the divine garden is the site where the sexual union of the deities occurs. The marriage of Enki and Ninhursag takes place in Dilmun (*Enki and Ninhursag*, lines 8, 11, and possibly 65–68, 75; see *ANET*, 38–39). In the Ugaritic Baal cycle, El anticipates some sexual activity on the occasion of a visit from his consort Asherah, only to discover that she has come for other reasons (*CTA* 4.4.31–39).

The description of the garden of Eden in Gen 2:4b–3:24 contains many of these motifs. These include the unmediated presence of the deity, the issuing of divine decrees (3:14–19, 22–24), the source of the subterranean life-giving waters which supply the earth (2:6, 10–14), abundant fertility, and trees of supernatural qualities and great beauty (2:9). Eden should not be understood as a garden planted strictly for the habitation of humans. It is essentially Yahweh's garden which humans were invited to enjoy and cultivate. The narrative is therefore concerned with the issue of humankind entering and dwelling within the presence of deity.

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HOWARD N. WALLACE

GAREB (PERSON) [Heb *gārēb*]. One of the elite group of David's warriors, known as "The Thirty" (2 Sam 23:38 = 1 Chr 11:40). The etymology of the name is uncertain (see *IPN*, 227). He is placed near the end of the official list of warriors in 2 Samuel, a position which is reserved for those of non-Israelite descent (Mazar 1963: 318–19). He is called an Ithrite *(hayyitrî)* in the MT. This is an adjective probably describing the clan with which he was associated. The Ithrite clan is known to have been related to the peoples who dwelled in the area near Kiriath-jearim in Judah and probably was of Hivite origin (Josh 9:17; 1 Chr 2:53). It has been argued that Gareb was not an Ithrite *(hayyitrî)* but a Jattirite *(hayyattîrî)*—a descendant from the town of Jattir, a Levitical city in the hill-country of Debir (Josh 15:48; 21:14; 1 Chr 6:42—Eng 6:57) (Elliger 1966: 104–6). There is some evidence that supports this view but it is far from conclusive. See ITHRITE; DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

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STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

GAREB (PLACE) [Heb *gārēb*]. The name of a hill in the vicinity of Jerusalem mentioned in connection with Jeremiah's eschatological vision of the restored and re-sanctified Jerusalem (31:39). It is usually associated with the SW hill today known (erroneously) as "Mt. Zion," situated W of the Tyropoeon Valley and N and E of the Hinnom Valley, a hill that was apparently inside the walls of Jerusalem during the century before its destruction in 586 B.C. In Jeremiah's vision, the sanctity of the city would extend to "the whole valley of the dead bodies and the ashes" (31:40), presumably the Hinnom Valley outside the walls (cf. Jer 7:30–34). However, if sanctity is coterminus with the wall of the city (but it perhaps was not; see Num 35:4–5), then Gareb may have been a hill *opposite* the Hinnom Valley, either W or S of "Mt. Zion." In this case, the city wall envisioned by the prophet would have little, if any, strategic military value, since the lower contours of the Hinnom Valley would then be situated inside the city.

GARY A. HERION

GARLIC. See FLORA.

GARMITE [Heb *garmî*]. Gentilic derived from Gerem (Heb *gerem*), meaning bone or bony (1 Chr 4:19). A man of Judah, Keilah is referred to as "the Garmite."

DAVID C. SMITH

GAS (PERSON) [Gk *Gas*]. A servant of Solomon who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:34). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear among their lists of returning exiles (see Ezra 2:57; Neh 7:59). Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

GATAM (PERSON) [Heb *gaʿtām*]. One of the sons of Eliphaz who stemmed from the marriage between Esau and Adah (Gen 36:11; 1 Chr 1:36). According to Gen 36:16, he was considered to be one of the Edomite "tribal chiefs" *(ʾallūpîm)*, i.e., a clan of the Edomite-Esauite tribe Eliphaz. The meaning of the name Gatam (LXX: *Gotom, Goōtam, Gotam;* Vg *Gatham, Gathan*) is uncertain (cf. Arabic *ǧuʿṯumat*, Safaitic *jʿṯm*).

ULRICH HÜBNER

GATE, CITY. See CITIES (LEVANT); FORTIFICATIONS (LEVANT).

GATE BETWEEN THE TWO WALLS (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar bên-ḥaḥōmōtayim*]. A gate of Jerusalem at the extreme S end of the City of David where the Central and Hinnom Valleys join in close proximity to the King's Garden. It is only called the "Gate Between the Two Walls" in the accounts (2 Kgs 25:4; Jer 39:4; 52:7) of the escape of

Zedekiah and members of his army from the forces of Nebuchadnezzar. Jeremiah dramatically broke a clay pot at this gate (19:2; Avi-Yonah 1954: 245) alluding to it as the Potsherd Gate (Heb *saʿar haḥarsôṯ/ûṯ*[K]; *haḥarsîṯ*[Q]), erroneously translated East Gate in the AV. This gate was later called the Dung Gate (Heb *šaʿar hāʾašpōṯ*) by Nehemiah (2:13; 3:13, 14; 12:13) and was located some 1,000 cubits (Avi-Yonah 1954: 245) S of the Valley Gate on the W side of the City of David. It was rebuilt by Malchijah, and the gate (or its successor) continued to be used through the Second Temple period (Kenyon 1962: 84).

The yet unanswered question as to how Zedekiah and his men escaped the city under siege may be answered by Kenyon's discovery of an unexplained tunnel complex near and intruding into the area of the Birket el-Hamra. This complex was sealed under 1.25 m of Iron Age II remains and continued "an unknown distance to the SE towards the valley" (Kenyon 1965: 16–17). Evidence of this nature may eventually explain Zedekiah's escape from Jerusalem.

Opinions generally concur as to the location of the Gate Between the Two Walls. An exception is Weill, who proposes the Fountain Gate as the Gate Between the Two Walls because it exits to a 15 m (49 foot) corridor between two massive walls (Weill 1947: 95–96). Others propose that the pool Isaiah identifies as being "between the two walls" (Isa 22:9–11) and the Gate Between the Two Walls share an identity with two parallel walls in the open Central Valley, while Simons believes that the gate received its name for being at the juncture of the two walls which come from the City of David and from the western Hill (Simons 1952: 128).

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DALE C. LIID

GATE OF THE GUARD (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar hammaṭṭârâ*]. An inner gate of Jerusalem in close proximity to the Court of the Guards and the Royal Palace that most likely gave the royal family, the judiciary, and security personnel access to the sacred Temple precincts.

The Gate of the Guard is mentioned only once (Neh 12:39) as the destination of one of Nehemiah's dedicatory processionals just before they entered the Temple precincts. But functionally, the Gate of the Guard and the "court of the guards" go together, and in the absence of physical evidence there are textual references indicating more precisely where this "gate" and "court of the guard" are located. The texts concerning the "court of the guards" are found in the accounts of Jeremiah's imprisonment in the "court of the guards" (Jer 32:3; 31:1; 37:14–21; 38:6–28; 39:12–18) inside the royal compound (originally built by Solomon, 1 Kgs 7:1–8; 9:15, 24) to the S of the Temple, situated on the former threshing floor of the Jebusites. The royal compound occupied the area at about the present al-Aksa Mosque, N to the stairs (Makam an Nabi) that lead to the platform on which the Dome of the Rock now sits. While the dimensions of Solomon's buildings are known, their arrangement is not certain although they were probably more cloistered (e.g., Avi-Yonah 1973: 13–14, with maps 3.2. 3.3) than those portrayed by Vincent and Steve (1954: 428, fig. 134).

References to Jeremiah's confinement in the court of the guards near the royal residence, his being brought from confinement for a private audience with Zedekiah at the "third entrance of the Temple" (probably the Gate of the Guard of Neh 12:39 as well as the New Gate of Jer 26:10 where the royal judiciary had earlier listened to the people's complaints against Jeremiah), and the abundance of cisterns in this area of the Temple Mount point to a location of the court of the guards, and consequently, the Gate of the Guard between the royal courts and the Temple precincts. The fact that one of Nehemiah's two processionals halted at the Gate of the Guard just prior to the dedicatory liturgy within the Temple enclosure (Neh 12:39) again indicates that the Gate of the Guard was a gate into the sacred Temple enclosure itself as proposed by Avi-Yonah (1954: 240, fig. 1; 1973: 14, with maps 3.2[7], 3.3[9]). There is little to suggest that the Gate of the Guard should be equated, as some have, with the Muster Gate or the Inspection Gate (Neh 3:31; Simons 1952: 340, 342).

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DALE C. LIID

GATE, CITY. See CITIES (LEVANT); FORTIFICATIONS (LEVANT).

GATH (PLACE) [Heb *gat*]. One of the five principal cities of the Philistines. Gath was situated in the Shephelah S of its sister city Ekron (now identified with Tel Miqne) and was the Philistine city in closest proximity to the territory of Judah to the E (1 Sam 17:52). However its exact location is still the subject of scholarly dispute. Early archaeological commentators, including W. F. Albright, favored identification with Tell Sheikh Ahmed el-ʿAreini (M.R. 129113), near Araq el-Menshiyeh, located just N of the modern settlement of Kiryat Gat (Albright 1923: 6–12). Interpreting 1 Sam 7:14, which notes the restoration of Israelite territory "from Ekron to Gath," as a note defining Philistine boundaries, Albright looked for the site of Gath to the S, at some distance from Ekron. However, excavations at Tell el-ʿAreini (now ironically called Tel Gat) between 1956 and 1961 by S. Yeivin showed that the site was not occupied during the Iron Age I (i.e., the Philistine period [Yeivin 1961; *EAEHL* 1: 89–97]). This led G. E. Wright to suggest

an alternative location at Tell esh-Sheri'ah (Tel Sera'; M.R. 119088), even farther S along the Wadi Gerar at the very edge of the Negeb desert (1966: 80). Excavations there by E. Oren between 1972 and 1976 did recover significant Philistine period remains (*EAEHL* 4: 1059–69).

However, consensus today supports an identification with the more N site of Tell es-Safi (M.R. 135123). This site is located on the S bank of the Wadi Elah, ca. 5 miles NW of Beit Guvrin, and 10 miles to the SE of Tel Miqne/Ekron. Support for such a more N location is based on observations by B. Mazar and H. L. Ginsberg that, rather than suggesting distance between them, the Hebrew text in 1 Sam 7:14 actually indicates the close proximity of Ekron and Gath (Rainey 1975: 68). A close proximity is also reflected in 1 Sam 17:52, and a location in this N region is likewise indicated by the few postbiblical references to Gath (Gitta, Geth) found in the writings of Eusebius and Jerome (Rainey 1975: 64). Two further references to Gath, involving conflicts with Ephraimite (1 Chr 7:20–23) and Benjaminite (1 Chr 8:13) clans, also suggest a N location, but these may refer to a different site otherwise known as Gittaim (Mazar 1954: 228). Until now the only excavations conducted at Tell es-Safi were those by Bliss and Macalister for the PEF in 1899 (Bliss and Macalister 1902). While this early work recovered evidence of Iron Age occupation, including Philistine period vessels, only a very general stratigraphic profile was obtained (*EAEHL* 4: 1024–27). Final confirmation of the site's identification with Gath awaits further field investigation.

For the biblical writers, Gath was considered to be a city of early Canaanite origin where remnants of the Anakim, a race of giants, continued to dwell until after the time of Joshua (Josh 11:22). The huge Philistine champion, Goliath (1 Sam 17:4), was a Gittite, and other giant Philistine warriors also came from Gath (2 Sam 21:19–22). Canaanite backgrounds are further attested by a reference to Gath *(gimti)* in the LB Age Amarna correspondence. In letter 290 (EA 290:9), it is mentioned in relationship to Gezer (Tell Gezer) and to Keilah (a Judean town identified with Khirbet (Qila ca. 12 miles E of Beit Guvrin). Gath is also one of the cities to which the Ark of the Covenant was taken during its sojourn among the Philistines (1 Sam 5:1–12).

The significance of Gath in biblical reference focuses mainly on its association with the early exploits of David. When first expelled from the court of King Saul, David sought refuge with Achish son of Maoch, the king of Gath. In 1 Sam 21:10–15, David flees to the city alone, and when recognized by the men of Gath, feigns madness and is rejected by Achish. This passage and the poetic lament in Psalm 56 (also see Psalm 34) seem to be part of an apologetic tradition regarding David's associations with the Philistines. However, according to 1 Sam 27, David and six hundred of his men and their families are accepted into mercenary service by Achish. Together they reside briefly in Gath and then are settled in Ziklag, a smaller border village (1 Sam 27:6). Through deception, David gains full acceptance by Achish. The service of his mercenary contingent is terminated only by the suspicions and fears of other Philistine overlords during preparations for their final campaign against King Saul at Gilboa (1 Sam 29). It is in connection with David's lament over the death of Jonathan and Saul in 2 Sam 1:20 that the proverb "Tell it not in Gath" first appears. It is repeated in a similar lament context in Mic 1:10.

David's curious association with Achish also helps us understand the later mention of a man of Gath, Ittai and other Gittites among his professional soldiers (2 Sam 15:18–23), and explains his confidence in Obed-edom, another Gittite (2 Sam 6:10), to whom he entrusts the safekeeping of the Ark of the Covenant for three months before its transfer to Jerusalem (2 Sam 6:10–11; 1 Chr 13:13). In 1 Chr 18:1 David's final conquest of Philistia and of "Gath and its towns" is reported. However at this point in the parallel passage in 2 Sam 8:1, the reading of the Hebrew, *meteg ha'ammāh*, is uncertain. The RSV renders it as a place name. It is not clear which of the two texts preserves a correct reading.

In later tradition, Gath is listed among the cities under Judean control that were fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:8), but 2 Kgs 12:18 records that it was taken from Judah by Hazael of Damascus during the reign of Johoash. 2 Chr 26:6 indicates that it was again recovered from Philistine hands during the time of Uzziah. Although Amos 6:2 testifies to its continued characterization as a "Philistine city" well into the early 8th century, no later reference to Gath is made in the prophetic literature, even where lists of Philistine cities otherwise appear (see Amos 1:6–8; Jer 25:20; Zeph 2:4). In 711 B.C., Sargon II of Assyria claims conquest of the city in his campaign against Azuri, the king of Ashdod (*ANET*, 286; also see Isaiah 20). Apart from a few references in later, postbiblical commentaries, this is the latest historical reference to the site.

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JOE D. SEGER

GATH-HEPHER (PLACE) [Heb *gittâ hēper; gat hahēper*]. A town on the E border of the territory of Zebulun (Josh 19:13). Gath-hepher is recorded in the book of Kings (2 Kgs 14:25) as the birthplace of the prophet Jonah, son of Amittai. Jerome, in his commentary on the book of Jonah, locates Gath-hepher two miles from Sepphoris (M.R. 176239), on the road to Tiberias. The modern village of Mashhad, about four km E of Sepphoris, in fact contains a tomb attributed to Jonah, and the nearby site of Kh. el-Zurra'a (Tel Gat-hefer) is identified with ancient Gath-hepher. Tel Gat-hefer (M.R. 180238), which measures about 5 hectares at its base and 2.5 hectares at its summit, contains remains of urban settlement of the EB and MB Ages, as well as traces of LB Age settlement. A small Israelite settlement was established on the site in the

Iron Age I, followed by a fortified city which was occupied until the Assyrian conquest. Settlement was renewed at the site in the Persian period (Gal 1982: 21).

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RAPHAEL GREENBERG

GATH-RIMMON (PLACE) [Heb *gat rimmôn*]. The last city listed among the Levitical cities allocated to the tribe of Dan (Josh 21:24; 1 Chr 6:54[—Eng 6:69]). Gath-Rimmon is also mentioned only in the inheritance list of Dan (Josh 19:45). It is generally accepted that in the city list of Dan, Gath-Rimmon is so written in order to distinguish it from other cities with the element Gath, i.e., Gath of the Philistines, Gath-hepher, etc. (*LBHG*, 266). The possible confusion of names because of the lack of specificity is one of the problems confronted when looking at the nonbiblical texts that might have used the name Gath-Rimmon.

Some have suggested that Gath-Rimmon is the city Gath *(knt)* of the Thutmose III city list. When studying the route of Thutmose III this suggestion makes good sense. The towns mentioned in the list are Joppa (62), Gath (63), Lod (64), Ono (65), and Aphek (66). If Gath were identified with Tell es-Safi, then Thutmose's forces would have had to backtrack 45 km; if Gath were associated with Gath-Rimmon, then Thutmose's path would have been on course as the army moved NE from Joppa to Gath-Rimmon and then slightly SE to Lod before going N again to Ono and Aphek. Another reference to Gath-Rimmon is in the Amarna Letters. Mazar (1958: 115–23) and Aharoni (*LBHG*, 149) have identified Giti-rimuni with Gath-Rimmon. Although there is no mention of Gath-Rimmon in Shishak's records, Mazar (1957: 206) has argued that the site was destroyed at the time of Shishak's campaign.

Two cities have been identified with biblical Gath-Rimmon: Tell Abu Zeitun and Tell Jerishe. Abel (*GP* 2: 327) has been a major advocate of the former. Today Tell Abu Zeitun (M.R. 134167) is encompassed by the N section of Tel Aviv in the Bene Berak suburb, surrounded by industry and railroad tracks. It is only 6 km E of the Mediterranean and less than 1 km S of the prominent Yarkon River. The importance of this river cannot be underestimated, since not only is it an excellent water supply for drinking and irrigation, but it also provided transportation toward the Valley of Aijalon. Tell Abu Zeitun is situated on the Plain of Sharon, a plain that is nearly flat and was perhaps forested in antiquity (Isa 33:9). It was one of many ancient towns along the lower valley of the Yarkon, important to the sea and inland trade routes, especially the Via Maris.

Very few geographers other than Abel make reference to Tell Abu Zeitun, although the inspection visits made by the Department of Antiquities in the 1930s are helpful. During these visits sherds from the Arabic, Hellenistic, and Iron Age periods were found (Ory 1932). In 1957 Kaplan (1958: 134) conducted an excavation, publishing pottery from the Persian, Iron I and II, and LB periods. The Levitical City survey team found the same periods represented, except for LB (Peterson 1977: 354–78).

Ever since Mazar in 1951 suggested that biblical Gath-Rimmon be identified with Tell Jerishe (M.R. 132166), most geographers have followed his proposal. Tell Jerishe (sometimes called Napoleon's Hill) is located 3.5 km E of the Mediterranean, only 500 m S of the Yarkon River; the mouth of Wadi Musrara is directly to the NW of the tell. As in the case of Tell Abu Zeitun, one of the important geographical considerations pertaining to Jerishe is the Yarkon River. Along with the other tells on the Yarkon, Tell Jerishe defended the mouth of the river, protecting the land against possible invaders from the sea.

When the inspection visits from the Palestine Department of Antiquities began in 1925, the pottery found on the mound ranged from the EB to the Iron Age, with comparatively good numbers of representative sherds from Intermediate Periods. E. L. Sukenik conducted four seasons of archaeological excavations at Tell Jerishe in 1927, 1934, 1936, 1940. As a result of those excavations he identified MB, LB, and early Iron pottery. He suggested that the site was abandoned during the 10th and 9th centuries never to be occupied again. However, the Levitical City survey team's research does not support Sukenik's conclusion because not only were MB II A, LB, and Iron I sherds found at Jerishe, but also Iron II, Hellenistic, and Islamic (Peterson 1977: 354–78). The Levitical City team found evidence of 12th–11th century occupation, but a gap in the 10th century. There was evidence of occupation in the 9th century and a good collection in the 8th century. Clearly Sukenik's conclusion that the site was abandoned after the 10th or 9th century must be reconsidered. Although the site might not have been fully rebuilt after the destruction by Shishak's campaign, a settlement undoubtedly existed at Tell Jerishe in the 8th century, as is the case at nearby Tell Abu Zeitun.

When one studies both sites it is impossible to make an absolute identification. The sites are very close to each other, only a few meters away from the Yarkon River. The pottery distribution at both sites is nearly identical, and although Tell Jerishe is much larger physically, size certainly cannot be the determining factor. What is important to conclude here is that Gath-Rimmon, whether it was located at Tell Abu Zeitun or Tell Jerishe, was occupied through the 8th century. What possibly happened is that at the end of the 8th century Tell Jerishe was abandoned until the Hellenistic period, during which time Tell Abu Zeitun was occupied.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

GAULANITIS (PLACE) [Gk *Gaulanitis*]. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods Gaulanitis was the common name for the Golan, a rocky plateau situated immediately E of the Jordan and stretching from the foothills of Mt. Hermon in the N to the Wadi Yarmuk in the SE. See also GOLAN HEIGHTS. Although in earlier years the land was used primarily for pastoral activity and was economically somewhat marginal, in the Roman and Byzantine periods this region flourished and became considerably more important. Increased settlement, coupled with the development of an excellent network of roads and more efficient exploitation of water resources, made the area viable for agriculture and craft industries as well.

The political and cultural history of the Golan in the Hellenistic and Roman periods is interesting, if at times complex and even confusing. Much of our information comes from Josephus, although recent archaeological surveys and excavations are supplementing our knowledge. Significant advances in our understanding of the area are to be expected in the near future.

At the beginning of the Hellenistic period, the Golan was an independent administrative unit with the rank of a hyparchy. The Seleucids had incorporated the entire Golan into the epiarchy of Gilead, however, during the Maccabean revolt, large areas of the Golan were captured and brought under Hasmonean control, particularly by Alexander Jannaeus. In 83–80 B.C.E., he annexed a large part of the Golan and accomplished the conversion of a considerable number of gentiles to Judaism as well.

When Rome took control of the area in 64 B.C.E., Pompey gave the Golan to Ptolemy, son of Mennaeus, an Iturean ruler. In 20 B.C.E., Augustus granted the land to King Herod under whose leadership a significant amount of development took place.

At Herod's death in 4 B.C.E., the Golan (except for Hippos and Gadera) passed into the hands of Herod's son, the tetrarch Philip. He rebuilt Paneas (Caesarea Phillipi) and made it his capital city. When Philip died in 34 C.E., leaving no heir, his territories were incorporated into the province of Syria. This arrangement lasted for less than three years, because in 37 C.E. the emperor Caligula gave the Golan to King Agrippa I. Although at the death of Agrippa I, the territory reverted briefly to Roman control, but was given to King Agrippa II in 53 C.E. and remained in his control until the first Jewish war against Rome. During the war, heavy fighting took place in the Golan and reached a climax in the heroic stand taken at Gamla, which fell after a seven month siege. At the death of Agrippa II the N regions of the Golan were annexed to Syria, and the S regions to Judea.

Because Josephus is such an important source for this history, the situation in the Golan following the war is less clearly understood. Further clarification will come from archaeological excavations now in their early stages. It seems clear, however, that large numbers of Jews from S regions resettled in the Golan following the Bar Kokhba rebellion. Preliminary excavations confirm the view suggested by the occasional references found in rabbinic literature that these settlers flourished and that the region was prosperous throughout the Middle and Late Roman periods.

It is becoming increasingly clear that there is a cultural as well as topological continuity between the Upper Galilee and the Golan. Inscriptional evidence indicates that the language in primary use was Aramaic, although Greek seems to have been widely known, even in small villages. The architecture, the ceramics, and the other artifacts which are found in archaeological excavations show a similarity which supports this picture of cultural continuity, but which separates the Upper Galilee and the Golan from the more thoroughly Hellenized and urbanized regions of the Lower Galilee and the coastal plain to the S and W.

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THOMAS R. W. LONGSTAFF

GAULS [Gk *Galatai*]. Var. GALATIANS. Cited in 1 Macc 8:2 as the name of a people who were defeated and brought under subjugation by the Romans and in 2 Macc 8:20 (here usually rendered "Galatians") as opponents of the Macedonians in Babylonia. It was the Romans who gave them the name by which we know them—Gauls [Lat *Galli*]. This Indo-European group from central and S Europe, also known in Greek literature as Celts [Gk *Keltoi*], was among the peoples who invaded Italy and other lands to the S in the 3d century B.C.E. A large number also went to Asia Minor where they settled in the region of Phrygia, later called GALATIA by the Romans.

Both of the above citations require explanation. Is 1 Macc 8:2 a reference to the Roman conquest of its northern invaders in Cisalpine Gaul or to the defeat of the Galatians of Asia Minor in 189 B.C.E. (Schiffman *HBC*, 886)? The chronology of events and the context of 1 Maccabees 8 suggests the former. Goldstein has shown that the Romans did not yet rule nor extract tribute from the Galatians of Asia Minor (*1 Maccabees* AB, 350–51). The subjugation of Spain in 1 Macc 8:3 suggests the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.E.) which also involved the Gauls of Europe. Since the Galatians of Asia Minor were used by Antiochus the Great (223–187 B.C.E.) in his war with Rome, their mention in v 2 rather than in the description of his defeat in vv 6–8 would be surprising. It is much more difficult to determine whether the Maccabean author is referring to the defeat of the Cisalpine Gauls in 222 B.C.E. or in 190 B.C.E.

Since there is no clear record of a war involving the Gauls (or Galatians) in Babylonia, the specific designation of 2 Macc 8:20 is even harder to determine. Since the Galatians did have quite a reputation as mercenaries and functioned as such for various parties in the battles between the Hellenistic empires, it is reasonable to hypothe-

size that this citation is a reference to some such conflict (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 331–34). The Babylonian provenance rules out a number of such instances (cf. Levy 1950). Whether the epitomist was alluding to the battle of Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.E.) with Molon in Media in 220 B.C.E., the victory of Seleucus II Callinicus (246–225 B.C.E.) over his brother Antiochus Hierax (Bar-Kochva 1973), or some other possibility is impossible to determine with any certainty (Habicht *2 Maccabees* JSHRZ, 240–41).

While some variants of 2 Tim 4:10 read *Gallian* (Sinaiticus, Ephraemi, etc.), *Galatian* is more strongly attested. Most commentators understand this to refer to Asia Minor.

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JOHN KAMPEN

GAZA (PLACE) [Heb *ʿazzâ;* Gk *Gaza*]. A site in SW Palestine, located on Tell Ḥarube, and the highest point of modern Gaza, covering ca. 55 hectares (M.R. 099101). Gaza lies where the coastal plain is the widest, ca. 25 km, in a very fertile region, rich in wells of sweet water. High sand dunes separate Gaza from the sea, which is about 4–5 km to the W. Gaza lies on the main highway between Africa and Asia. This road is one of the oldest in the world, and has been the military road between Egypt and Asia since the days of the Egyptian New Kingdom; it is called in the Bible "the way of the land of the Philistines" (Exod 13:17). Later it was known as the "Way of the Sea" or *Via Maris* (Isa 8:23—Eng 9:1).

This entry consists of three articles that cover the historical significance of Gaza: one focusing on the pre-Hellenistic OT period, another focusing on the Greco-Roman period, and a third focusing on the Byzantine period.

PREHELLENISTIC GAZA

A. The Inscriptional/Textual Evidence
B. Gaza and the Philistines
C. Gaza and Israel/Judah
D. Gaza and the Assyrians
E. Gaza and the Egyptians/Babylonians
F. Gaza and the Persians
G. Gaza and Alexander
H. Archaeological Remains

A. The Inscriptional/Textual Evidence

Two ancient reliefs show a town in Palestine which can with great probability be identified as Gaza. The first is from the days of Seti I (*ANEP,* 329), and the second from the days of Sargon II (Botta 1972: pl. 90). In both, the town is extremely well fortified; in the second it is a watchtower next to a high strong wall recalling the passage: "He (= Hezekiah) smote the Philistines as far as Gaza and its territory, from watchtower to fortified city" (2 Kgs 18:8). Both Arrian (*Hist. of Alex.* 1.2; 25.4–27.7) and Curtius (*Hist. of Alex.* 1.4.6–30) give some descriptions of the locality and the fortifications of Gaza in their books about Alexander the Great. The foundation, however, of Gaza is still obscure. The name appears for the first time in the annals of Thutmose III. At that time (April 25, 1468 B.C.—*ANET,* 235), Gaza was already the property of the Egyptian crown and it became the capital of the Egyptian province *Canaan.* In the records of the 19th and 20th Egyptian Dynasties, Gaza is generally referred to as (the town) *The Canaan,* which clearly demonstrates that Gaza is the town of Canaan, in other words, the capital, which is further evidenced by Taanach-Letter no. 6 (Albright 1944: 24–25) or by the Tell El-Armana Letters nos. 289 and 296 (EA, 289, 296). Egypt's rule over Canaan with Gaza as its capital lasted for more than 400 years (ca. 1550–1150 B.C.).

B. Gaza and the Philistines

Already in the reign of Merneptah (1224–1214), the first waves of Sea Peoples menaced Egypt. In the reign of Rameses III (1195–1164), they invaded Palestine in such numbers that even though Pharaoh defeated them, he had to settle them as garrison troops. We know that the Sea Peoples came to Canaan partly in ships from Cyprus, and partly by the land route from Anatolia. These events may be reflected in the oracle of Balaam (Num 24:24): "Ships come from the quarter of Kittim" (i.e. Cyprus). They are even more clearly alluded to in Deut 2:23: "So, too, with the Avvim who dwelt in villages in the vicinity of Gaza: the Caphtorim, who came from Caphtor, wiped them out and settled in their place."

The Philistines (who were one of the Sea Peoples) settled in the SW corner of Canaan and established the confederation of the five Philistine city-states, each under the rule of a lord *(seren).* Since Gaza had once been the capital, it became the leading power among them. This confederation soon came into conflict with another wave of immigrants, the Hebrew tribes. In the book of Joshua, Gaza is mentioned four times (Josh 10:41; 11:22; 13:3; 15:47). Josh 11:22 states that the Anakites disappeared from the land of the Israelites; but some remained in Gaza. Josh 13:2–4, which states that the whole region "from the Shihor, which is close to Egypt, to the territory of Ekron on the north . . . ," belonged to "the five lords of the Philistines—the Gazites, the Ashdodites, the Ashkelonites, the Gittites, and the Ekronites . . . ," clearly reflects a tradition which is also preserved in the LXX of Judg 1:18 (contrary to the MT): "And Judah did not capture Gaza . . . ," which is confirmed by Judg 1:19: Judah could not "dispossess the inhabitants of the plain for they had iron chariots." Gaza appears again in the story of Gideon in connection with the raids of the Midianites, who, together with the Amalekites and the Kedemites, would attack the Israelites and destroy "the produce of the land all the way to Gaza" (Judg 6:3–4).

The Philistines appear upon the biblical stage for the first time in the stories about Samson (Judges 13–16), which describes the heavy hand of the Philistines on the Hebrew tribes, especially on Judah and Dan. The leading role played by Gaza among the Philistine towns is revealed in the later stages of Samson's life. The town was well fortified, with a gate and a watchtower (Judg 16:1–3) next to it, and it had a prison (Judg 16:21). But the most

important building must have been the temple of Dagon (Judg 16:23–30). It is tempting to surmise that this temple of Dagon was built on the temple of Amon which Rameses III erected (*ANET,* 260–61).

In the wars of the Philistines against Judah and later against Saul, Gaza must have played a part. During the reign of David, the power of the Philistines was much diminished, and this weakness may explain the ease with which "Pharaoh King of Egypt had come up and captured Gezer . . ." (1 Kgs 9:16).

C. Gaza and Israel/Judah

It is possible that the Philistine city-states were later tributary to David and Solomon, and may be implied in a record from the days of Solomon, which says that Solomon's rule extended "from the Euphrates to the land of the Philistines and the boundary of Egypt. They were bringing tribute and were serving Solomon all his life" (1 Kgs 4:21—Eng 5:1). The same statement is repeated almost immediately, that Solomon "controlled the whole region west of the River (= Euphrates), from Tiphsah to Gaza, all the kings west of the River" (1 Kgs 4:24—Eng 5:4). The geographic expression "west of the River" casts some doubt on the authenticity of the source. On the other hand, the inclusion of the territory as far as the border of Egypt is reaffirmed, which reads: "from the entrance of Hamath [Lebo-hamath] to the Brook of Egypt" (1 Kgs 8:65).

It appears that towards the end of Solomon's reign, or at the beginning of Rehoboam's, the Philistines began to escape Israelite domination and turned their attention toward Egypt, whom they solicited for help against the Hebrew kings. We may assume that at this time the *seren* of Gaza (and the other cities of the Pentapolis) became a king.

In the fifth year of Rehoboam of Judah (ca. 928–911 B.C.) Pharaoh Shishak raided Judah and Israel. According to the place list on the Temple of Amon at Karnak (Kitchen 1973: §§398–415), the starting point of Shishak's campaign into Asia was apparently Gaza. From there one force advanced to the N, and another to the Negeb. On his way home, Shishak must have passed Gaza again; in the last row of the record is the name of Raphia. Since no other Philistine town is mentioned, apparently an understanding existed between Egypt and the Philistines, and in particular between Egypt and Gaza. Apparently Shishak died shortly after the campaign, before he was able to restore Egypt's grip on Asia, and even though his weak successors did not follow up that victorious raid, the enfeebled Judah was no longer a real opponent to Gaza.

The list of towns which Rehoboam fortified (2 Chr 11:5–12) must refer to the period after Shishak's invasion and suggests possible territorial gains for Gaza and her sister towns—as allies of Shishak(?).

Asa's victory over Zerah the Cushite (2 Chr 14:11–14) almost certainly drove them to an alliance with Gaza. Gaza's trade to the S, mainly spices and incense, could only benefit from these new allies.

Later the alliance between Jehoshaphat and the Omrides strengthened Judah's position vis-a-vis her S and SW neighbors (cf. 2 Chr 17:11). Again Gaza and the Arabs cooperated to oppose Judah. It is no surprise that in the reign of Jehoram of Judah, when Judah and its former ally Israel were weakened by Aram, the Philistine city-states, together with the Arabs, sought revenge on Judah (2 Chr 21:16–17). From this point, the trade route from Arabia to Gaza was in the hands of Gaza's friends (2 Kgs 8:20).

The name of *Pa-la-aš-tu* (Philistia) appears in the Assyrian records for the first time about forty years later, in 805/804, when Adad-nirari III of Assyria appeared in the W (*ANET,* 281).

Under Amaziah and his son and coregent Uzziah, Judah regained much of its former power. Amaziah defeated the Edomites and conquered their capital, Petra (2 Kgs 14:7); his son Uzziah conquered their port, Elath (2 Kgs 14:22; 2 Chr 26:2) and subjugated the Philistines, the Arabs, and the Ammonites. These events were certainly in the background of Amos' oracles, which he delivered about 760 B.C. Unfortunately the denunciation of Gaza (Amos 1:6) is extremely difficult to understand. While only Gaza is denounced, the punishment falls on all the Philistine cities: Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron. It seems fair to infer that among the Philistine cities Gaza was at least *prima inter pares.* The book of Amos is the earliest source for the tradition that the Philistines came from Caphtor (Amos 9:7).

D. Gaza and the Assyrians

Evil days came upon Gaza in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.). In the tribute list of the year 738 the name of Hanno, king of Gaza, appears (*ANET,* 282). In 734 Tiglath-pileser undertook a special campaign "against Philistia," whose main object was Gaza (*ANET,* 283). Hanno fled (cf. Zech 9:5), the royal family was captured, and a huge tribute was imposed on Gaza, where a "custom station of Assyria" was established (Wiseman 1956: 121).

In contrast, however, to the usual process of annexation by making a conquered state an Assyrian province, neither Gaza nor Tyre was ever incorporated into the Assyrian empire. Hanno was pardoned by Tiglath-pileser and restored to the throne of Gaza, but when Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) came to power, Hanno joined Hamath in rebelling against him. They had the backing of Egypt, but the Egyptian army was defeated at Raphia. Hanno was captured and taken to Assyria in chains, and Gaza again became a vassal city. Gaza remained loyal to Assyria until the reign of Pharaoh Psammetichus I (664–610 B.C.). This Assyrian loyalty made Gaza an enemy of Judah. When King Hezekiah tried to force his W neighbors to join him in the rebellion against Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.), he "overran Philistia as far as Gaza and its border areas, from watchtower to fortified town" (2 Kgs 18:8). After having crushed Hezekiah's rebellion and defeated the Egyptian army which had been called in to help, Sennacherib allocated some of the border cities of Judah to the Philistine kings who had remained loyal: Mitinti of Ashdod, Padi of Ekron, and Ṣil-Bel of Gaza (Sillibel according to *ANET,* 288). By those grants, Gaza (and her sister states) became "a semi-neutral buffer area between Assyria and Egypt" (Tadmor 1966: 97). Ṣil-Bel ruled a long time and is mentioned in the annals of Sennacherib in 701, in those of Esarhaddon in 677, and in the records of Assurbanipal in 667. Gaza again became the leading city among the Philistine city-states (*ANET,* 291, 294). The name Ṣil-Bel testifies to Gaza's adoption of the usages of the Assyrian overlord.

E. Gaza and the Egyptians/Babylonians

After the death of Assurbanipal in 627 B.C.(?), the Assyrian empire declined rapidly, while the Egyptians under Psammetichus I (664–610 B.C.) regained their full independence and tried to restore their hold in W Asia. In 616 B.C., after more than eight hundred years, an Egyptian army appeared again on the banks of the Euphrates, however, this time to support the Assyrians against the aggressions of the rising Babylonian power. Doubtless, by this time Gaza had a new overlord. A hint of Psammetichus' overlordship over Philistia may be found in the prophecy of Zephaniah, since the list of the Philistine city-states proceeds S–N as follows: Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron (Zeph 2:4). This can also be inferred from an inscription, dated to the reign of Psammetichus I, which mentions a king's messenger/commissioner/ambassador Petee-si son (of) Apy in *The Canaan* (= Gaza; see above) (and) in/of Philistia (Ahituv 1984: 36). There can be no doubt that Gaza was Egypt's vassal in 609, when Neco II (610–595 B.C.) hurried to Harran to help the Assyrians against the attacks of the Babylonians (2 Kgs 23:29 = 2 Chr 35:20).

In that battle (605 B.C.), Nebuchadnezzar (still as crown prince) totally defeated the Egyptian forces near Carchemish, and in the words of the Judean historian: "The king of Egypt did not venture out of his country again, for the king of Babylon had seized all the land that had belonged to the king of Egypt from the Brook of Egypt to the river Euphrates" (2 Kgs 24:7).

In the cup vision (Jer 25:15–26), dated from the 4th year of King Jehoiakim (= 605/604 B.C.), Jeremiah prophesied the downfall of Egypt and of "all the kings of the land of the Philistines" (Jer 25:19–20). The same is repeated in the prophecy in chapter 47. The statement in v 5 that "Baldness (i.e., mourning) has come upon Gaza, Ashkelon is destroyed," probably refers to the fact that in December 604, Nebuchadnezzar conquered Ashkelon and totally destroyed it (Wiseman 1961: 68/69). The editorial heading to Jeremiah 47: "before Pharaoh conquered Gaza" was added by a scribe after 600 B.C., because in December 601, Nebuchadnezzar clashed with Pharaoh Neco in a bloody battle near Migdol (Lipiński 1972). Apparently Neco pursued the beaten Babylon forces and occupied Gaza (Hdt. 2.159).

The *Chronicles of the Chaldaean Kings* records that Nebuchadnezzar returned to Babylon and stayed there the following year to reassemble chariots and horses. Not until December 598 did he feel strong enough to return to the W and subdue the mutiny of his former vassal Jehoiakim (Wiseman 1961: 72–73; 2 Kgs 24:1). It seems probable that when Nebuchadnezzar reappeared in the W, Neco decided to abandon Gaza without a struggle. Records show that some decades later, the king of Gaza was held with other kings in Babylon (*ANET*, 308). It is likely that under Nebuchadnezzar, Gaza became a Babylonian garrison-town as we find it in a record from the reign of Nabonidus (555–539 B.C.) (Langdon 1912: 220–21). By conquering Babylon in October 539, Cyrus became the overlord of Gaza, too.

F. Gaza and the Persians

When Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. Gaza became the bridge between Persian Asia and Persian Egypt. In 517, Darius visited Egypt and must have stayed in Gaza. Apparently Gaza, which belonged to the Fifth Persian Satrapy, became a strong fortress town for the Persians. At Tell Jemmeh (ca. 10 km S of Gaza) two big buildings and storehouses belonging to the Persian period were excavated; they probably had been built for the Persian troops. Gaza became the staging era for Persian attempts to subdue Egyptian rebellions or (after Egypt had regained her independence) to restore Persian rule in Egypt.

About 450 B.C., Herodotus passed through Gaza, and recorded that the town was almost as large as Sardis (Hdt. 3.5).

In 350 B.C., Egyptian rebels with help from the Spartans, campaigned against Persia and conquered Gaza, and their fleet landed troops in Phoenicia. Thus after nearly 250 years, Egyptian troops again were operating in Syria. But an insurrection broke out in Egypt, and the Egyptian forces were recalled from Asia.

About the same time, Artaxerxes III Ochus took over the supreme command to reconquer Egypt, and established his base in Gaza. The initial campaign failed, but proved successful several years later.

G. Gaza and Alexander

At Issus in 333 B.C., Alexander the Great gained a decisive victory over the Persians, and having conquered Tyre in 332, he appeared with his fleet and army at Gaza—the only city in W Asia to remain loyal to the Persian king. The town had been entrusted to one of the most loyal servants of the king, the eunuch Batis, who was determined to stop Alexander and thus save Egypt for the Persian crown (Arrian *Hist. of Alex.* 2.25.4–2.27.7; Curtius *Hist. of Alex.* 4.6.7–30). It took Alexander two months to conquer the strong-walled city. The fighting was fierce and all the citizens perished with their leader; the women and children were sold into slavery. The town was repopulated by the neighboring tribesmen (Arrian 2.27.7) and was again used as a fortress. The booty must have been enormous—aside from the presents that Alexander sent to his mother and his family, he sent his tutor, Leonidas, 500 talents weight of frankincense and a hundred of myrrh (Plut., *De Alex. fort.* 25.5).

H. Archaeological Remains

The material remains from pre-Hellenistic Gaza are meager. Probes have exposed remains of what may have been the wall that surrounded the city when Pharaoh Neco attacked it in the 7th/6th century B.C. (cf. Jer 47:1). An earlier wall has been dated to the middle of the 2d millennium B.C. and Phythian-Adams attributes it to the Philistines. Ceramic wares from the LB (base-ring ware, Cypriot "milk bowls," etc.), Iron Age I (Philistine wares), and some Iron Age II wares have been identified (*EAEHL* 2: 408–17). The series of excavation reports published by William Flinders Petrie, *Ancient Gaza I–IV*, do not pertain to this site, but modern scholarship has since identified that site, known as Tell el-ʿAjjul, as Eusebius' (*Onomast.* 48.19) Beth Aglaim.

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H. J. KATZENSTEIN

GAZA IN THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD

Gaza was one of the most important cities of Palestine in ancient times for two main reasons: its role as a major emporium for the lucrative luxury-goods trade from Arabia Felix and the Far East, and its location on the Via Maris leading from Asia Minor and Syria to Egypt. Strategically, it served as a bridgehead for Egyptian rulers who launched campaigns to conquer Palestine and Syria, just as it served as a springboard for conquering Egypt from the N. The city already became an international commercial center under the reign of the Achaemenid Persians (Rappaport 1970: 75), thanks to the political alliance and economic cooperation both with the Persian authorities and with neighboring Arab tribes. With good reason Herodotus (3.5) rated Gaza as no less "a great city" than Sardis in Asia Minor.

A. Under Alexander the Great

Gaza was the only city in Palestine which opposed Alexander. Its defense was directed by a local Persian governor called Betis (or Batis) who was assisted with Arab mercenaries (Arrian, 2.25.4; Curtius Rufus, 4.6.7; cf. Jos. *Ant* 11.320). Since Gaza's security needs related chiefly to caravan trade of the Sinai desert and the Negeb of Palestine, it would be reasonable to assume that any such "Arab mercenaries" hired to protect it had the appropriate military training, namely desert warfare. The explicit mention of Nabataeans in connection with events shortly afterward (312 B.C.E.) reinforces the impression that the Arab mercenaries were Nabataeans or of some closely related tribe.

Alexander besieged the city for two months (August–September 332 B.C.E.) using war machines and digging in the sand underneath the city walls (Stark 1852: 236–244; Kasher 1975: 63–67). He could not leave Gaza unconquered, since it could serve to block him on his return back from Egypt. He was angry with the Gazaeans both for their stubborn resistance and because he sustained personal injury during the siege; he therefore treated them cruelly, their governor Betis in particular. Because this proud man had refused to honor Alexander by kneeling, he was bound by his heals to Alexander's chariot and was dragged around the city, thus sharing a fate similar to that of Hector who was killed by Achilles in the Trojan War. The Gazaeans were sold into slavery and their city was repopulated with people from the vicinity, probably from the loyal Phoenician cities of Palestine. Eventually Gaza was reconstructed and was politically organized as a *polis* by Alexander himself, so as to safeguard his return from Egypt (Arr. 2.25–27; Curtius Rufus, 4.6.7; Diod. Sic. 17.48.7; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 24).

The conquest of Gaza was also an important step in the realization of Alexander's dream to gain control of the source and markets of perfumes and spices (Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 25.5). From Gaza he sent to Macedonia a cargo of 10 ships loaded with the booty he had captured there, and these ships had to bring back new recruits to fill the ranks of the army which had suffered heavy losses in Gaza (Diod. Sic. 17.49). Josephus reports that at this point Alexander paid his visit to Jerusalem (*Ant* 11.325), but the credibility of this report is still under debate.

Following Alexander's death, Gaza became a focal point in the conflicts between the Diadochi (323–301 B.C.E.). First, it was conquered by Ptolemy I in 320 B.C.E., but already in 315 B.C.E. it fell in the hands of Antigonus Monophthalmus. Later in 312 B.C.E., seizing the opportunity of Antigonus' temporary absence from the Syro-Palestinian arena, Ptolemy I recaptured Gaza after winning a decisive battle over Demetrius Poliorcetes (Antigonus' son). But in 311 B.C.E. Ptolemy I was compelled to abandon Gaza once again because of the speedy return of Antigonus with a huge force. While retreating, he destroyed the fortifications of the city, just as he did to those of Acre, Jaffa and Samaria. In 301 B.C.E. he restored his rule in Gaza following the defeat of Antigonus in the battle of Ipsus (Hengel 1976: 25–33).

B. Under Ptolemaic Rule

Gaza was under Ptolemaic rule for a whole century (301–198 B.C.E.) and served as a prosperous and important economic center for trade with Egypt. Its commercial prosperity is well reflected in the Zenon Papyri found in Philadelphia in the Fayûm district of Egypt. Zenon, the chief agent of Apollonius the *Dioketes* (i.e., the Ptolemaic minister of finance), visited Palestine in 260/259 B.C.E. under the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283–246 B.C.E.), and Gaza was one of the most important cities mentioned in his Papyri. The main Palestinian commodities passing through the markets of Gaza were slaves, olive oil, Syrian wheat and other grains, fish, wines, dry fruits, etc. But Gaza's world fame was, of course, as a center of the "Arab trade" dealing with spices and perfumes from Arabia Felix. The Zenon Papyri even mention a Ptolemaic functionary there bearing the title "Officer-in-Charge of Frankincense" (*PSI* 628). The trade activity of the Arab tribes with Gaza branched out to India and the Far East. The main commodities brought from there to Gaza included Indian tree resin, dyes, aromatic essences, ginger, pepper, balsam, persimmon, fragrant creams, vermillion, specially processed wool cloth, precious woods, silk, brocades, and medical drugs (Tcherikover 1937: 9–90; Hengel 1974: 39; Kasher 1975: 68–70).

During the Ptolemaic period Gaza was deeply involved in the "Syrian Wars." In 217 B.C.E. Ptolemy IV Philopator defeated Antiochus III in the famous battle of Raphia (south of Gaza). But in 200 B.C.E. Antiochus was the victor,

this time in the battle of Paneas against Ptolemy V Epiphanes (Bar-Kochva 1976: 128–57); and within two years he had destroyed the last pockets of Ptolemaic resistance, including Gaza (Stark 1852: 404–405; Tcherikover 1959: 73–75).

C. Under Seleucid Rule

The Hellenization of Gaza probably deepened during the period of Seleucid rule even more, as suggested by the change of its name to Seleucia during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.E.). Later, in the wake of increased internal conflicts and civil wars in Syria, Gaza gradually attained more autonomy as a *polis;* this is well reflected in the city coinage (Rappaport 1970: 78–80). Politically this was mainly manifested in connection with the war between Demetrius II and Tryphon, the legal guardian of young Antiochus VI. At that time (145/44 B.C.E.), Jonathan the Hasmonaean was an ally of Tryphon, while his brother Simon was nominated as the *strategos* of the coastal strip from Tyre to the border of Egypt (1 Macc 11: 59). Since Gaza was hostile, the Hasmonaeans attacked the city and burned its suburbs to the ground. Under siege, Gaza sued for peace, which was accepted; however, the Hasmonaeans took some of the city archons as hostages and brought them to Jerusalem (1 Macc 9:61–62; Jos. *Ant* 13.150–53). Thus the plans of Gaza to gain independence went unfulfilled. Moreover, the conquest of Idumaea by John Hyrcanus I (ca. 125 B.C.E.) threatened not only the city's role in trade by disrupting the Idumaean link in the Arabian trade route, but it endangered the very existence of the city's autonomy as a *polis.*

D. Under the Hasmonaeans

In 103/102 B.C.E. Gaza was used as a military base from which Ptolemy IX Lathyrus, governor of Ptolemaic Cyprus, prepared to invade Egypt and depose Queen Cleopatra III, his mother (Jos. *Ant* 13.329, 334, 348, 352). Following the failure of this invasion and the death of Queen Cleopatra III (101 B.C.E.), Alexander Jannaeus, the Hasmonaean king, seized the opportunity to conquer Gaza. Ptolemy XI (Alexander I) probably agreed to the conquest in order to have Jannaeus on his side against his rival Ptolemy IX Lathyrus. According to Josephus' report (*Ant* 13.357–64), Jannaeus isolated Gaza from its hinterland by capturing Anthedon in the N and Raphia as well as Rhinocorura (modern El-Arish) in the S. When the city had been cut off from its own port to the W, the Gazaeans desperately appealed to Aretas II the Nabataean king for aid, but their hopes proved to be in vain. Apollodotus, the city commander, mounted a night raid on the Jewish besiegers, but at daybreak the Jews gained the upper hand. The fate of the city itself, however, had not yet been determined. Only after a fight had broken out between Apollodotus and his brother Lysimachus, in which the former met his death, did Jannaeus succeed in breaching the walls of Gaza. Fierce fighting broke out in the city's streets, and when the Gazaeans realized that they had no chance of victory they set their property on fire and many preferred suicide rather than capture by the Jews. Jannaeus did not take pity even on the five hundred members of the city council *(boulé)* who had sought refuge in the local temple of Apollo. After besieging the city for an entire year (probably 100/99 B.C.E. and not 96 B.C.E. as maintained by many scholars), Jannaeus destroyed it and annexed it to his kingdom (Kasher 1988: 144).

Josephus' report was undoubtedly drawn from historical sources hostile to the Hasmonaeans, probably from the writings of Nicolaus of Damascus. The Gazaeans are portrayed sympathetically, while Jannaeus is described as a bloodthirsty tyrant who tricked the Gazaeans into surrendering and then savagely slaughtered them. The story of the city's last hours was written as a real Greek tragedy which aimed to win the readers' sympathy for the Gazaean victims. Undoubtedly, the destruction of the city was significant, as one might expect to happen after an entire year campaign, but there is no basis to believe that Gaza was completely destroyed. The very fact that Josephus himself stated that Antipas, the new governor appointed by Jannaeus over Idumaea and Gaza, "made a league of friendship with the Arabs and the Gazaeans" (*Ant* 14.10) suggests that the city still existed and even acted politically. Moreover, it seems that Jannaeus wanted somehow to soften the bitterness of his conquest by appointing an Idumaean governor who could win the trust of both the Arabs and the Gazaeans, who had enjoyed good relations in the past (Kasher 1988: 146–49).

E. Under Roman Rule

Gaza was liberated from the Hasmonaeans in 63 B.C.E. by Pompey. Like other liberated Hellenistic cities in Palestine, Gaza too adopted a "Pompeian calendar" to date years from the time of its liberation and reconstruction (61 B.C.E.) and thus to express its gratitude to Pompey. Later, Gabinius, the governor of Syria, rebuilt Gaza along with its neighboring towns Anthedon and Raphia (Stark 1852: 352; Jones 1971: 256–58; 509–13; *HJP*^{2} 2: 101–102).

In 40 B.C.E. Gaza was assigned to the kingdom of Herod, but Herod could not realize his control on it until 37 B.C.E., when he defeated the last Hasmonaean king Mattathias Antigonus. The next year Herod lost Gaza with other cities and rural districts to Mark Antony, who gave them to Cleopatra VII. In 30 B.C.E. Caesar Augustus returned Gaza to Herod's domain (*Ant* 15.217; *JW* 1.396); however, its autonomy as a Greek *polis* was very limited, because of the direct control of the Herodian governor of Idumaea (*Ant* 15.254). It seems that Herod was suspicious of Gaza because of its close relations with the Nabataeans, his enemies. It is possible, therefore, that he rebuilt the port of Anthedon (then called Agrippias after Marcus Agrippa, Augustus' commander-in-chief) in order to compete with Gaza and to diminish its economic power.

After Herod's death Gaza enjoyed the status of partially autonomous *polis* under the aegis of the Roman governor in Syria (*Ant* 17.320; *JW* 2.97; Rosenberger 1975: 54). In Emperor Claudius' days Gaza was flourishing once again and was even described as an important city (Schürer *HJP*^{2} 2: 102, n. 79). In 66 C.E. Gaza and Anthedon were attacked by Jewish zealotic rebels. Josephus (*JW* 2.460) states that the two cities were totally destroyed, but numismatic evidence indicates that this report was greatly exaggerated (*HJP*^{2} 2: 102). Later, in the days of Vespasian, Gaza was annexed to the province of Judaea, but the reason for this is not known.

Under Hadrian, Gaza merited favored treatment, primarily in the economic sphere. Hadrian honored the city with a personal visit (129/130 C.E.) on his trip throughout the eastern provinces. Not only was the date of this visit imprinted on the city's coins, but it formed the basis for a new local calendar used in conjunction with the "Pompeian calendar" adopted in 61 B.C.E. With the suppression of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt in 135 C.E., many Jewish prisoners were brought to the large slave markets of Gaza, Acre, and Bothnah (near Hebron) to be sold and transported abroad (*J. Avodah Zarah*, I, 39 d; *Bereshith Rabbah*, 47 end; *Chronicon Paschale* [ed. Dindorf], I:474; Hieronymus, *In Jeremiam*, VI 31, *Patrum Latinorum Cursus Completum* [ed. Migne], 24 col. 911 etc.). From Gaza the slaves were apparently brought to Egypt on cargo ships or on foot. Some were sold in Egyptian markets and some were sent further to the west. Taking into account the long enmity between Gaza and the Jews, it seems that the defeat of Bar-Kokhba and the Jewish national disaster were probably cheered by the people of Gaza. It is possible that the city served as an important staging base for Roman troops sent to crush Jewish resistance in the southern parts of Judaea (and in Idumaea in particular). Gaza undoubtedly played an important logistical role as a station between Egypt and Judaea, supplying food, water, equipment, and services to the auxiliary forces coming from the S.

It is not known to what extent the establishment of Provicia Arabia in 106 C.E. affected Gaza. If the economic and trade activities of the Nabataeans indeed diminished, then it would seem that Gaza should have suffered as well. But it seems that this was not the case, at least not under the reign of Hadrian, as indicated above. In later generations, however, the fate of Gaza, for better or for worse, was closely involved with that of the Arab population in the vicinity.

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ARYEH KASHER

BYZANTINE GAZA

During the Byzantine period, Gaza reached the highest level of prosperity and culture of its long history. Supported by a flourishing trade in agricultural produce, in particular the export of high quality wine throughout the Mediterranean and beyond, it developed as the home of a school of rhetoric which attracted students from the entire Byzantine world, as a focus for Christian pilgrimage, and as a city which offered its citizens a comfortable standard of living with lavish public cultural and recreational facilities. The period is illuminated by relatively abundant literary sources, many written in Gaza itself, and by some archaeological evidence.

A. History of Gaza
B. Civic Administration
C. Population, Trade, and Industry
D. Rhetorical School
E. Buildings and Archaeology

A. History of Gaza

The history of Gaza in the Byzantine period is closely associated with the spread of Christianity in Palestine and with its adoption by the imperial authorities and the cities themselves. In Gaza, the conflict between pagans and Christians was particularly bitter and well documented.

It is not known when Christianity first reached Gaza, but a number of Christians from the city, notably Silvanus, "the bishop of the churches around Gaza," suffered martyrdom under Diocletian (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 8.13). The Christian community in Gaza was very small, and the majority of the citizens remained militantly pagan throughout the next century. In contrast, the people of Gaza's port town, Maioumas, were more receptive to the new faith, and during the reign of Constantine they converted *en masse*. In response to this the emperor granted the town the status of an independent *polis*, renaming it Constantia. The people of Gaza refused to acquiesce in the loss of control over their port, and between 361 and 363 they appealed to the pagan Emperor Julian, who decreed that Maioumas should lose its independence and its new name and revert to its earlier status as "the sea-side part of Gaza." It kept, however, its independent Church administration under its own bishop. Even this did not satisfy the Gazaeans, and attempts were subsequently made to combine the two sees (Sozom., *Hist. Eccl.* 2.5; 5.3; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.38). The bishopric of Maioumas seems to have survived, however, until the 6th century, when it was apparently combined with that of the neighboring town of Anthedon. The intensity and persistence of the struggle over the status of Maioumas suggest that the dispute was not purely religious. There may have been economic factors behind Maioumas' desire for independence and Gaza's insistence to retain control over its port (Glucker 1987: 25–26, 43–44).

Another ecclesiastical dispute occurred in 341, when Asclepas, the bishop of Gaza who founded the "Old Church" just outside the city, was accused by the Arians, at that time in the ascendancy, of Athanasian tendencies and dismissed him from his post. He was subsequently reinstated, following the intervention of Pope Julius and Emperor Constantius (Marc. Diac. *v. Porph.* 20; Socrates *Hist. Eccl.* 2.15, 23; Sozom., *Hist. Eccl.* 3.8).

The first half of the 4th century was also the period of activity of Hilarion, who introduced the monastic way of life into Palestine. He was born in the village of Thavatha,

five miles S of Gaza, and after his education in Alexandria he returned to the area and adopted the ascetic life of a hermit in the desert nearby. His growing reputation as a holy man attracted a number of followers, and eventually an organized monastic community developed around him (Jerome, *Vit. Hil.* 2–4; 14).

The reign of Julian was marked in Gaza by an outbreak of mob violence against Christians in which Hilarion's monastery was sacked and destroyed. Hilarion himself was abroad at the time and died later in Cyprus. Eventually his body was brought back and buried in the restored monastery, which became the site of an annual festival. The anti-Christian riots in Gaza, which led to a number of deaths, were suppressed by the provincial governor, who was subsequently dismissed from his post and imprisoned on Julian's orders (Jerome, *Vit. Hil.* 35, 41, 44–47; Sozom., *Hist. Eccl.* 3.14; 5.9).

The official adoption of Christianity came at the end of the 4th century, as a result of the efforts of Porphyry, who was appointed Bishop of Gaza in 394. An eyewitness account of the suppression of paganism in Gaza is available in the biography of Porphyry written by his secretary, Marcus Diaconus. The authenticity of this narrative has sometimes been questioned, but it seems probable that it is essentially genuine, despite some later editing, presumably on doctrinal grounds (Grégoire and Kugener 1930: vii–lxxxix). Since Porphyry's efforts to combat pagan harassment and enlarge his small congregation proved unsuccessful, in 398 he appealed to the Emperor Arcadius, who issued a decree ordering the closure of all the eight public temples in Gaza, except the Marneion, the temple of Gaza's patron deity Marnas, who was a local rain god identified by the Greeks with the Cretan Zeus (Marc. Diac., *v. Porph.* 19–27, 64; Stark 1852: 576–80; Hill 1914: lxxv–lxxvii). Two years later Porphyry traveled to Constantinople and gained the support of the Empress Eudoxia, who finally prevailed upon her husband to grant a decree ordering the destruction of all the temples in Gaza (Marc. Diac., *v. Porph.* 32–34, 37–54). This destruction was carried out in the summer of 402, under the supervision of an imperial official, the civil and military governors of the province, a large body of troops, and with the enthusiastic cooperation of the local Christians. Many of the pagans, however, including most of the richest citizens of Gaza, fled from the city, abandoning their homes (Marc. Diac., *v. Porph.* 57–71). The Marneion was razed and a large church was erected on its site, which was completed and dedicated in 407. It was named the Eudoxiana, after the empress, who had provided funds for the project (Marc. Diac., *v. Porph.* 74–79, 84, 92). From this time onward the Church slowly gained strength and influence in the city.

Almost nothing is known of Gaza during the 5th century. The controversial Monophysite theologian Petrus Iberus was appointed Bishop of Maioumas in 451. He spent many years in exile in Egypt, but eventually returned to Maioumas and was buried there (Raabe 1895). The Emperor Anastasius (491–518) granted a request by the orator and grammarian Timotheus of Gaza on behalf of his fellow-citizens and abolished an oppressive tax (the *demosion chrysargyron*). The people of Gaza expressed their gratitude to the emperor by the erection of a statue and a public encomium (Glucker 1987: 52–53).

Gaza reached the height of its prosperity during the reign of Justinian (527–65). An ambitious building program, involving churches and other public buildings, was carried out at the instigation of Bishop Marcianus, who played a prominent part in the civic administration, with the cooperation of Stephanus, the civil governor of the province, who was a native of Gaza (Glucker 1987: 55–56). One of their first undertakings was the restoration of the city wall, which had fallen into disrepair. Evidence for this reconstruction exists in an inscription erected by the building contractors (Abel 1931b: 94–95; Glucker 1987: 140–41, insc. 33). The orator Choricius speaks eloquently of the fear of enemy attack, conquest, and slavery, which he claims prevailed in the city before the restoration of the wall (Choricius *Laud. Marc.* 1.7), but there is no evidence that the security of Gaza was genuinely threatened. The most serious disturbance in the province at the time, the Samaritan Revolt, took place far to the N and did not affect Gaza. The region was occasionally troubled by bandits who menaced travelers on the roads, or by raiding parties of nomads from across the borders of Arabia or Egypt, but neither bandits nor nomads were capable of posing a serious threat to a large city. Choricius' remarks must, therefore, be regarded as heightened rhetoric, intended to justify a project undertaken primarily for reasons of prestige (Mayerson 1964: 183–88; Isaac 1984: 198–201; Glucker 1987: 55–57).

Gaza seems to have suffered from the terrible plague which spread throughout the entire empire between 540 and 542. Evidence for this consists in three epitaphs dated August 541. Others from the town of Nessana, which had close trading connections with Gaza, date from October and November of the same year (Kirk and Welles 1962: 168, insc. 80; 179–81, insc. 112–14; Glucker 1987: 124–27, insc. 9–11).

In 618/19 Gaza was occupied by the Persians under Chosroes II, as they overran the whole of Palestine and pushed S against Egypt. Nothing is known of Gaza under the Persian occupation, which apparently passed peacefully. The city was returned to Byzantine rule in 629, when the Emperor Heraclius regained control over Palestine.

The Moslem attack on Palestine began in 634. Records of the invasion are confused and inaccurate, but it is clear that Gaza was one of the main objectives of the Arab armies and that some of the earliest battles took place near the city (Mayerson 1964: 156–59; Stratos 1972: 48–50). Gaza was finally occupied by the Moslems under Amr-ibn-el-As in June or July of 637 (Stratos 1972: 78–79). An account of the conquest of the city is extant in the *Passio Sanctorum Sexaginta Martyrum*, a Greek work of uncertain date surviving only in a poor Latin translation, which describes the martyrdom of the troop of soldiers defending Gaza, who were imprisoned and finally executed for their refusal to convert to Islam (Guillou 1957: 396–404). Otherwise, however, the occupation of Gaza was peaceful, and the city continued as the administrative center of the region under the Arab governor (Glucker 1987: 59).

B. Civic Administration

The Byzantine sources on Gaza provide a few references to the city's civic administration and magistrates. A lead weight inscribed *Kolonias Gazes epi Herodou Diophantou* in-

dicates that Gaza had been awarded Roman colonial status, probably in the late 3d or early 4th century (Kubitschek 1916: 31–40; Glucker 1987: 77). As a colony, Gaza presumably adopted a Roman municipal constitution, as is suggested by Jerome's reference to a *duumvir* (*Vit. Hil.* 20) and Sozomen's to *strategoi*, the normal Greek equivalent (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.3). There are references to the city council *(bouleuterion)* and councilors *(bouletai)* by Marcus Diaconus (*v. Porph.* 95) and to a *decurio* by Jerome (*Vit. Hil.* 22). A damaged inscription of the 6th century possibly refers to the council *(boulé)* (Glucker 1987: 128–31, insc. 14). A number of Gaza's magistrates are mentioned by Marcus Diaconus: There are three references to the *proteuontes* in terms which make it clear that they were considered the chief officials of the city in his time (*v. Porph.* 25, 27, 95). They were apparently three in number, and are probably to be identified with the *principales* well-known from Byzantine sources, who seem to have formed an inner group of leading members of a city council which directed its administration (Glucker 1987: 80). Marcus also refers to a *demekdikon*, apparently a local term (it has not been found elsewhere) for the *defensor civitatis*, an official whose mandate was to protect the poorer citizens from exploitation, and to the *eirenarchai*, the commanders of the city police (*v. Porph.* 25; Glucker 1987: 79). Several lead weights have been found in Gaza inscribed with the names and title of *agoranomoi*, the supervisors of the city's markets, whose duties included the issue of authorized standard weights (Lifshitz 1976: 168–87; Glucker 1987: 78, 147–54, insc. 42/1–26; 43/1–3). Choricius mentions an *astynomos*, an official responsible for the maintenance of the water supply, public baths, roads, and bridges (*Proc.* 34). But it is clear that by his time the bishop was the most active and influential figure in the city. He did not replace the official magistrates, but tended to take the initiative in public affairs, civic as well as ecclesiastical.

C. Population, Trade, and Industry

The population of Gaza was mixed in origin, but by the Byzantine period appears to have been fairly cohesive. Two stories, by Jerome (*Vit. Hil.* 22) and Marcus Diaconus (*v. Porph.* 66–68), suggest that most people spoke Aramaic as their everyday language. Knowledge of Greek was evidently restricted to the upper levels of society, and there are hints that Christianity may have been more easily accepted by the Aramaic-speaking people than by the Hellenized upper class (Glucker 1987: 48–51). A few Talmudic references may suggest the presence of a small Jewish community in Gaza, possibly from the 2d century A.D. onwards. The early 6th century synagogue discovered at Maioumas indicates that there was a prosperous community there at that date. There are also references to Samaritans at Gaza and to colonies of foreign merchants resident in Maioumas (Glucker 1987: 98–102).

By the Byzantine period the spice trade on which Gaza's earlier prosperity had been based had largely dried up, although some trade between Gaza and the Arabian Peninsula continued. It is recorded that in the late 5th century a trader in Indian goods, a native of Aila, passed through Gaza with two giraffes and an elephant to be presented to the emperor Anastasius (Haupt 1869: 2, 15). Arab merchants from Mecca are said to have visited and even settled in Gaza before the Moslem conquest (Meyer 1907: 74; Mayerson 1964: 169–71). But in this period Gaza's economy rested largely on the export of high quality wine, particularly to W Europe. Agriculture in S Palestine was flourishing as a result of the sophisticated water conservation and irrigation techniques developed by the Nabateans, and excavations in a number of Negeb towns have revealed elaborate wine presses, evidence of wine production on an industrial scale (Mayerson 1962: 211–69; 1985: 75–80). The export of wine from Gaza is first reported in the mid-4th century by the *Totius Orbis Descriptio* (29A), which states: "Ascalon and Gaza . . . send good wine to the whole region of Syria and Egypt." At the end of the century, according to Marcus Diaconus (*v. Porph.* 58), a colony of Egyptian wine merchants was resident in Maioumas. From the 5th to the early 7th century a number of Latin writers refer to the strength and quality of Gaza's wine (Glucker 1987: 93–94). Pottery identified as amphorae from Gaza has been found on several sites throughout Europe and the Near East (Riley 1975: 27–31). Gaza's wine may have been popularized in the W by the Christian pilgrims who visited the Holy Land in large numbers at that time (Mayerson 1985: 79–80).

Gaza also served as a center for trade in other agricultural produce. The Nessana papyri provide evidence for trade in dates, and cereals, olives, and figs must have been marketed in the same way (Mayerson 1962: 227–29; Kraemer 1958: 175–79). The other Negeb towns and the villages on the coastal plain surrounding Gaza must also have dispatched their produce to the city, both to supply the needs of its large urban population and for export. In return, imported goods could be purchased in Gaza and distributed to the surrounding settlements (Glucker 1987: 94–96).

Little is known of other industries at Gaza. The manufacture of pottery was important, consisting chiefly of amphorae for the transport of wine and other agricultural produce. Stephanus of Byzantium refers to jars from Gaza as *keramoi Gazitoi*, and the term *gazition* also appears in papyri (Steph.Byz., s.v. Gaza; Kraemer 1958: 246–47). Excavations on the site of Maioumas near the coast revealed the remains of a dyeworks containing numerous sherds stained with inorganic dyes, some of which had been imported from Italy and Greece (Ovadiah 1969: 197–98). A mosaic pavement in the synagogue also excavated there bore a dedicatory inscription by two timber merchants. This must have been an essential and profitable trade, wood being in short supply in the arid region around Gaza (Ovadiah 1969: 195; Glucker 1987: 96).

Gaza must also have profited from the many Christian pilgrims who began to visit the city from the late 4th century onwards, apparently attracted by the numerous martyr shrines around the city, including those of Timotheus, Major and Thea in Gaza itself, that of St. Victor on the way to Maioumas, and the tomb of Hilarion two miles to the S. The Church officially encouraged pilgrims: a hostel was included in the plans for the Eudoxiana church and a fund was set up to pay each visitor a day's expenses (Marc. Diac., *v. Porph.* 53, 93). The citizens also encouraged visitors to the town. One of these pilgrims wrote: "Gaza is a magnificent and delightful city; its people are most virtuous, endowed with the utmost generosity and lovers

of pilgrims" (Antoninus Placentinus, *Itinerarium* 33; Glucker 1987: 96–98).

D. Rhetorical School

Gaza was the home of a famous school of rhetoric, which reached the height of its reputation in the late 5th and early 6th centuries. At that time, it is reported, even Athenians preferred to study rhetoric in Gaza (Aen. Gaz., *Ep.* 18). Members of the school wrote on a wide variety of literary and mythological topics, in verse as well as prose, being strongly influenced by the school of Alexandria and the poet Nonnus. It was also a devoutly Christian school, some of its leading members producing theological as well as literary works, and this may have been a factor in its popularity. An official chair in rhetoric was established in Gaza, involving a salary paid out of public funds. As well as directing rhetorical education in Gaza, its occupant was expected to deliver orations on ceremonial occasions.

Among the leading rhetors from Gaza were Aeneas, who combined Christianity with Neoplatonism in a dialogue, the *Theophrastus*, on the immortality of the soul, and Timotheus, who wrote a lost book on grammar and a treatise on exotic animals in four books of hexametric verse, partly preserved in a prose summary. A few Anacreontic verses by Johannes, a slightly later poet and grammarian, are extant, as is his long hexametric poem describing the wall paintings in a bathhouse in Gaza. Procopius of Gaza (died ca. 526) was one of the leading members of the school with a high reputation throughout the region. Many of his biblical commentaries are extant, as well as a few short speeches and a large collection of letters. He held the chair of rhetoric in Gaza and was succeeded in that post by his pupil Choricius, many of whose writings have been preserved. Most of these are purely literary in character, but some provide valuable information on Gaza in the first half of the 6th century (Glucker 1987: 51–53).

Public oratory was the most elevated form of entertainment in Byzantine Gaza, and was part of the frequent and elaborate festivals which took place there, some under the patronage of the Church, others, such as the "Day of Roses," evidently survivals from the pagan tradition. Other, perhaps more popular, amusements included mimes, performed in the city's theaters, instrumental and choral concerts, chariot racing, wrestling and athletics (Choricius *Laud. Marc.* 1.83–89; 2.60–69; *Apol. Mim;* Glucker 1987: 54–55).

E. Buildings and Archaeology

Gaza is represented on the 6th century mosaic map from Madeba in Jordan. The vignette of the city, only approximately half of which survives, depicts a walled city built on a Roman street plan, with colonnaded main streets running N–S and E–W, leading to gates in the city walls and meeting in a large *forum* in the center (Donner and Cüppers 1977: 158–59). A small domed structure in the middle of the *forum* may be the elaborate clock described by Procopius of Gaza (Diels 1917: 3–39). A semi-circular structure at the SE corner may possibly represent a theater, but is more probably simply a colonnaded courtyard. The SW quarter is filled by one large building, presumably a church, which cannot, however, be positively identified with any of the churches known through literary sources (Glucker 1987: 18–22). Earliest among these churches are the Irene and the Old Church, both probably dating from the first half of the 4th century (Marc. Diac., *v. Porph.* 18, 20), and the Eudoxiana, dedicated in 407 (Marc. Diac., *v. Porph.* 92). Two magnificent churches built in the 6th century are described in detail by Choricius: the church of St. Sergius, completed shortly before 536, and that of St. Stephen the Martyr, dedicated between 536 and 548 (Choricius, *Laud. Marc.* 1; 2; Abel 1931a: 12–27; Downey 1963: 126–139). Choricius also mentions the Church of the Apostles, which was repaired by Bishop Marcianus (*Laud. Marc.* 2.17–18).

Other building projects initiated by Marcianus include additional stoas and a bathhouse (Choricius, *Proc.* 52). The provincial governor Stephanus was responsible for building another bathhouse, the "summer theater" and, possibly, a basilica (Choricius, *Laud. Arat. et Steph.* 55). The private houses of Gaza were built, for the most part, of sun-dried brick and had flat roofs. They apparently adjoined each other closely, as the rooftops provided an escape (in times of danger) from riot (Marc. Diac., *v. Porph.* 21, 96–98).

No archaeological excavations have been carried out within the modern town of Gaza, apart from an exploratory trench dug in 1922, which revealed numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds (Phythian-Adams 1923: 12, 23–24). In 1965, a large and well-preserved mosaic pavement was discovered close to the sea near Gaza. Subsequent excavations in 1967 disclosed the remains of a synagogue measuring 30 × 26 m, divided by four rows of columns into a central nave with two narrower aisles on either side. One mosaic depicts King David as Orpheus playing his lyre to a group of animals; another represents various animals and birds set in medallions formed from vine tendrils. A dedicatory inscription dates the synagogue to A.D. 508/9. Some private houses and a dyeworks were also uncovered. A second season of excavations in 1976 revealed further domestic and industrial installations and substantial fortifications (a stretch of wall or a tower) close to the sea. These findings, mostly dating from the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., have finally settled doubts over the situation of the port town Maioumas (Ovadiah 1969: 193–198; 1977: 176–178; Glucker 1987: 12).

A number of inscriptions from Gaza, mainly Christian epitaphs, were published at the end of the 19th century (Clermont-Ganneau 1896: 379–437). These appear to have come originally from a cemetery near Maioumas, but most were found in secondary use in buildings in Gaza. Additional inscriptions have been discovered subsequently; a full collection has recently been published (Glucker 1987: 115–63).

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C. A. M. GLUCKER

GAZELLE. See ZOOLOGY.

GAZEZ (PERSON) [Heb *gāzēz*]. The name of two persons in the OT. The name possibly means "shearer." It appears in the LXX as *gezoue* and in the Peshitta as *gozan.*

1. A son of Caleb by Ephah his concubine (1 Chr 2:46). Gazez, however, may not in fact have been a descendant of Caleb, for some suspect, among them Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 54–55) and Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 40–41), that the genealogy found in 1 Chr 2:42–50a represents a clan other than that of Caleb (compare 1 Chr 4:15). Gazez, as well as other names in this genealogy, appears nowhere else in biblical literature. From whose line Gazez descends is unknown.

2. A son of Haran and grandson of Caleb (1 Chr 2:46). This Gazez is apparently a nephew to Gazez son of Caleb by Ephah his concubine.

CRAIG A. EVANS

GAZZAM (PERSON) [Heb *gazzām*]. Var. GAZZAN. Head of a family of NETHINIM (temple servants) who are listed as returnees from Babylonian exile under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:48 = Neh 7:51 = 1 Esdr 5:31). According to Noth, the name means "bird of prey" or "wasp" (*IPN,* 230). For further discussion see AKKUB.

CHANEY R. BERGDALL

GEBA (PLACE) [Heb *geba*ᶜ]. Listed among Benjaminite towns (Josh 18:24) and Levitical cities (Josh 21:17 = 1 Chr 6:60), Geba's original inhabitants were reportedly exiled to Manahath (1 Chr 8:6). Geba is mentioned in such close connection with Gibeah in Judg 20:10, 33; 1 Sam 13:3, 16; and 14:5, and Isa 10:29 that textual emendations in the commentaries are legion; uncertainty exists as to whether the two toponyms refer to separate sites or are linguistic variants of the same site name. See GIBEAH. The city seems to have figured in a battle which expelled the Philistines from Benjamin (1 Sam 13–14; 2 Sam 5:25), though credit for the victory is variously assigned to Saul, Jonathan, and David. After the division of the kingdom, Asa fortified the site as one of Judah's N outposts on the Israelite border (1 Kgs 15:22 = 2 Chr 16:6). In the late 8th century B.C., an invader from the N reportedly passed by this fortress en route to Jerusalem (Isa 10:29). A hill shrine at Geba was reportedly desecrated during Josiah's reform (2 Kgs 23:8). The city is mentioned during the postexilic period (Ezra 2:26; Neh 7:30; 11:31; and 12:29) and appears to have been regarded as a N limit of Judah into the 4th century B.C. (Zech 14:10).

Since E. Robinson's 1838 expedition (1874: 440–42), Geba has been identified with the modern village of Jabaᶜ, 9 km NE of Jerusalem (M.R. 175140). The site is located on the brow of a steep hill S of the Wadi es-Swenît directly opposite Mukhmas (see MICHMASH), 2 km to the NE. This location afforded Geba control over a key road which crossed the intervening valley at the Geba/Michmash Pass (1 Sam 13:23; Isa 10:29; Judg 20:33?). Although the site has never been excavated, M. Kochavi's 1968 surface survey (1972: 183) discovered Iron Age and Persian sherds in and near the village.

Regarding Geba's frequent textual confusion with Gibeah, J. M. Miller (1975: 165) proposed that the two names are linguistic variants of the same toponym. P. Arnold (1987: 101–14) suggested that "Gibeah" is the older, Israelite name for the site known in later Judean records as "Geba." The Judean border fortress at Geba was constructed simultaneously with Mizpah ca. 900 B.C. in order to guard the two main highways leading into Judah from Israel, the former at the strategic Geba/Michmash Pass, and the latter along the watershed highway. The term "from Geba to Beer-sheba" (2 Kgs 23:8) thus probably

demarcated the limits of the Judean kingdom during monarchical times. Y. Aharoni (1968: 30) proposed that these border fortresses also contained sanctuaries, and that the excavation of Geba might reveal a cultic site corresponding to the shrines discovered at Beer-sheba and Arad.

Geba's identification as a Levitical city probably relates to its post-exilic settlement by priests active in the reconstitution of temple worship in Jerusalem (Neh 12:29).

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PATRICK M. ARNOLD

GEBAL (PLACE) [Heb *gēbāl*]. GEBALITES. **1.** A famous ancient Phoenician seaport city, better known today by its Arabic name Jubail (M.R. 210391), situated on the Mediterranean seacoast about 20 miles (32 km) N of Beirut. Since it had a good harbor for small ships it was one of the principal Phoenician seaports long before the development of Tyre and Sidon. Gebal is the earliest Asiatic city mentioned in Egyptian Old Kingdom records. Ancient trade between Egypt and Gebal involved large quantities of papyrus reeds. The Greeks called the city Byblos, meaning "book," because the people of Gebal made paper from the imported reeds. This paper was used to record expense accounts, state correspondence, important documents, and religious texts. The Gebalites (Josh 13:5) were expert stone cutters and masons (1 Kgs 5:18). The inhabitants of the city were also known for their talent in caulking and boat building (Ezek 27:9). Ships built in Gebal sailed between Phoenicia and Egypt carrying cargo of oil for mummification, fancy woods including cedar for mummy cases, etc., and returned with shipments of papyrus reeds, metal wares, gold, and perfumes. These ships also traded throughout the Mediterranean seaports including Cyprus, Tyre, and Sidon.

Gebal was regarded as a holy city. Tradition narrates that the god ʾEl, identified by the Greeks with Kronos, settled in Gebal at the beginning of time. Archaeological excavations conducted by E. Renan in 1860, P. Montet from 1920–1924, and recent digs of M. Dunand revealed that the site of Gebal was occupied as early as 5000 B.C. Evidence of trade with the Caucasus region, Cyprus, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Sudan are noted by the year 3000 B.C. During the Egyptian Old Kingdom (ca. 2700–2200 B.C.), Gebal continued its exportation of oil, leather, wine, and large quantities of wood to Egypt. Sometime before 2100 B.C., five hundred years of peace in Gebal ended with the fall of the Egyptian Old Kingdom and conquest by the Amorites. The Amorites destroyed the city during the conquest, but later rebuilt it. Following the Amorite conquests of Canaan, Phoenicia, and Syria (although there is a shifting concensus that there was not a "conquest"; Richard 1987), peace again came to Gebal and the city enjoyed a new period of prosperity. During this time the city had close cultural ties with W Asia, yet politically it perhaps came under the Egyptian Middle Kingdom control (Albright 1964; however, some see the relation between Byblos and Egypt simply as that of trading partners, Ward 1961; Weinstein 1975).

With the decline of the Middle Kingdom (ca. 1800 B.C.), Egypt lost most of its political outposts in Phoenicia and Syria. At this time the Hyksos moved in and controlled all the area of Palestine, Syria, and the delta region of Egypt. During this period Gebal grew into a large densely populated city and armaments excavated revealed the Hyksos military presence in Gebal. Under the 18th Dyn., the Egyptians drove out the Hyksos sometime after 1600 B.C. and established military control over Gebal and all Phoenicia. During the Amarna era (ca. 1350 B.C.), Egypt's power weakened, and Egyptian strongholds in Phoenicia came under heavy pressure from the Hittites, which resulted in some fifty appeals for help from Rib-Addi of Gebal to Amenhotep IV of Egypt for help (e.g., EA, 137; cf. *ANET,* 483–84), but Egyptian control all along the Phoenician coast declined. Under Rameses II, Egypt restored some control over Phoenicia (ca. 1285 B.C.) but later granted independent status to Gebal (ca. 1200 B.C.). Gebal's subsequent independent spirit resulted in an incident with Egypt (ca. 1100 B.C.) when Wen-Amon, an Egyptian official buying lumber in Gebal, complained about the impolite treatment given him by the king of Gebal (*ANET,* 25–29). See also EGYPTIAN RELATIONS WITH CANAAN.

The people of Gebal thwarted Israel's attempts at conquest (Josh 13:5), enjoying several centuries of independence. During the construction of Solomon's temple at Jerusalem, Gebal sent skilled craftsmen to Israel to assist in its construction (1 Kgs 5:18, 32). In 853 B.C., Gebal, in league with Tyre, fought a successful battle against the Assyrians. The inhabitants of Gebal according to Ezek 27:9, along with its "veteran craftsmen" rendered their services to the city of Tyre. Gebal remained a prosperous city during the subsequent reigns of the Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Muslims.

Archaeological excavations of Gebal reveal some 21 strata of occupation. More significant discoveries include the Amorite temple of Resheph featuring standing obelisks, a Roman theater overlooking the Mediterranean Sea, a large stone Crusader castle, and the late 3d millennium temple of Hathor. Probably one of the most intriguing finds unearthed at Gebal is the sarcophagus of Ahiram, king of Byblos during the 11th century B.C. This sarcophagus is important because it contains one of the oldest Canaanite alphabetic inscriptions, providing a link in the development of the Phoenician alphabet. The inscription includes a curse for anyone attempting to disturb the sarcophagus or the king's remains within (*ANEP,* figs. 456–59).

2. A place referred to in Ps 83:8 (—Eng 83:7) SE of the Dead Sea, probably an Edomite territory N of Petra known also as Teman. It is referred to in a 6th century B.C. ostracon found in the excavations at Heshbon. The place is mentioned along with Amalek, Ammon, Moab, and other nations as forming an alliance against Israel. Jose-

phus spoke of Gobolitis as part of Idumea (*Ant* 2.1.2 §6). However, some scholars believe that the Gebal of Ps 83:8 refers to the Phoenician Byblos (Shea 1977).

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RAY LEE ROTH

GEBER (PERSON) [Heb *geber*]. Son of Uri and the officer in charge of one of the twelve administrative districts under Solomon (1 Kgs 4:19). Geber's territory was the land of Gilead. In 1 Kgs 4:13, Ben-geber is listed as in charge of the territory of Ramoth-gilead, and some have taken the reference to Geber as a duplication of this earlier reference (Albright 1925: 26). Another solution is suggested by a reading in the Codex Vaticanus, which has Gad instead of Gilead in 1 Kgs 4:19. This places Geber in charge of S Transjordan and would leave Ben-geber responsible for N Transjordan. See BEN-GEBER.

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PHILLIP E. MCMILLION

GEBIM (PLACE) [Heb *gēbîm*]. A town whose inhabitants fled as the Assyrian army marched S toward Jerusalem (Isa 10:31). In the poetic oracle of Isaiah it is placed between Anathoth and Nob, suggesting that it lies somewhere ca. 2–3 miles N and perhaps E of Jerusalem.

GARY A. HERION

GECKO (LIZARD). See ZOOLOGY.

GEDALIAH (PERSON) [Heb *gĕdalyāh; gĕdalyāhû*]. The name *gdlyhw* occurs on a seal found at Lachish (de Vaux 1936; Gibson *TSSI* 1: 64 no. 18). Several individuals listed in the OT bear this name.

1. The son of Pashur, and a functionary in the highest levels of politics in the days of Zedekiah (Jer 38:1–6). In concert with three other Judean leaders: Sephatiah the son of Mattan, Jucal the son of Shelemiah, and Pashur the son of Malchiah, Gedaliah exerted such influence on King Zedekiah that he reluctantly resigned the fate of Jeremiah to these four war lords. Their cogent argument was that the prophet Jeremiah was undermining the national welfare by proclaiming surrender to the Babylonians as the only feasible policy. The prophet and his followers were weakening the will to resist among soldiery and people. This was branded by these war lords as treasonable and disastrous. Accordingly, they urged upon the king the immediate apprehension of Jeremiah and his incarceration in the muddy floor of the cistern of Malchiah, the son of the king.

This incarceration would effectively silence the prophet. This was all they could hope for from Zedekiah since he had a personal interest in the prophet. Nevertheless, the imprisonment of Jeremiah in a foul, muddy cistern base would no doubt be fatal. The power of the quartet of nobles was frankly acknowledged by the king who confessed his inability to withstand their reasonable judgments and their official pressure (Jer 38:5). Ebed-melech who dared to withstand the justice of their plotting against Jeremiah feared for his life.

Gedaliah lived in the tumultuous times when Judah was divided within and stormed at without. As one of the high lords of the royal court, he advocated a fight to the bitter end despite the cost and terror of the program and was diametrically opposed to the seeming utopianism of Jeremiah.

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2. Son of Ahikam and grandson of Shaphan, who in 587/586 B.C. was appointed by Nebuchadrezzar to govern Judah (2 Kgs 25:22–26; Jer 40:5–41:18). The LXX (Jer 43:25) includes him among those who urged King Jehoiakim not to burn Baruch's scroll, whereas the MT provides Delaiah (36:25). The MT (39:14) first mentions Gedaliah in connection with the prophet Jeremiah's release from captivity after the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 587 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar ordered Nebuzaradan, the commander of his bodyguard, to free Jeremiah and fulfill his wishes. No doubt other citizens who had encouraged submission to Babylon were similarly favored. Jeremiah was handed over to the care of Gedaliah whom Nebuchadrezzar appointed (Heb *pqd*) over those Judaeans who were not deported (2 Kgs 25:22; Jer 40:5). Since Jerusalem was uninhabitable (Lam 2:13), Gedaliah took up residence at Mizpah. Excavations at Mizpah have disclosed no signs of destruction for this period, in sharp contrast to Jerusalem and the cities of Judah (Albright *FSAC*^{2}, 322).

Gedaliah may have acquired administrative experience under Zedekiah. A seal impression found at Lachish (dating about 600 B.C.) reads, "Belonging to Gedaliah, the one who is over the house," a title designating the chief minister of the king, although Gedaliah is nowhere designated as such in the Bible (Hooke 1935; de Vaux 1936; *TSSI* I: 24, 64). Good (1979: 580–82; 1983: 110–11) argues that the title has a Ugaritic antecedent (but cf. Loretz 1982: 124–26). Lohfink (1978: 336, 341) suggests that the appointment of Gedaliah resulted from a plot by the Shaphan family, whose prominent members (including presumably Gedaliah) were exiled after the Babylonian capture of Jerusalem in 597 B.C. This family decided to replace the house of David by the house of Shaphan which would listen to Jeremiah rather than to the official temple prophets who were leading to disaster. There is, however, no evidence that Gedaliah actually went to Babylon (Scharbert 1981: 53 n. 56). De Vaux (1936: 102) suggests he may have been Master of the Palace under Zedekiah, an office he perhaps still held when Jerusalem fell to the Babylonians. This would help to explain why he was appointed

governor of Judah by Nebuchadrezzar. Gedaliah at first had some success in his efforts at reconstruction. When the commanders of Judaean troops who had escaped the Babylonians reassembled at Mizpah, Gedaliah encouraged them to submit and proceed with harvesting the crops, which they did. Among these were Ishmael son of Nethaniah and Johanan son of Kareah. Judaeans who had fled to Moab, Ammon, Edom, and elsewhere also returned and participated in the abundant harvest (Jer 40:12).

Not all the prominent Judaeans were satisfied with Gedaliah, however. Johanan son of Kareah led a deputation to Mizpah warning Gedaliah of a plot against him. Baalis king of Ammon had persuaded Ishmael son of Nethaniah, a royal prince, to assassinate Gedaliah. Johanan proposed the countermeasure of assassinating Ishmael, thereby preserving the continuing process of reconstruction. Gedaliah, however, failed to heed the warning (Jer 40:13–16) and in the seventh month (October) Ishmael and ten men came to Mizpah and killed Gedaliah along with other Judaeans as well as the Babylonian soldiers stationed there (41:1). The year of Gedaliah's death is not stated, although the context suggests that it was still the year of his appointment (587/586 B.C.). (This fateful day is commemorated in Jewish tradition by the "fast of Gedaliah," held in the seventh month [cf. Zech 7:5; 8:19]. Today it is celebrated on the third day of Tishri.)

Two days after Gedaliah's murder Ishmael killed seventy pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem, and then departed, taking with him the rest of the Judaeans from Mizpah, including the "king's daughters" whom Nebuzaradan had entrusted to Gedaliah (Jer 41:10). The possession of these royal princesses may have constituted a claim to kingship (cf. 2 Sam 16:21). Lohfink (1978: 334) would see here the rationale behind Ishmael's murder of Gedaliah: these symbols of royal authority belonged to the house of David alone. When Johanan heard of Gedaliah's death, he pursued. Ishmael caught up with him at the great pool of Gibeon and rescued those he had captured; however, Ishmael and eight of his men escaped to Ammon. Fearing Babylonian reprisals in the wake of Gedaliah's assassination, Johanan, his commanders, and the people they had rescued fled to Egypt. Near Bethlehem they asked Jeremiah for an oracle as to what they should do. Ten days later the prophet spoke: They were to stay in the land and Yahweh would protect them. The people, however, rejected this oracle and continued on to Egypt, taking Jeremiah with them (42:1–43:7). The effect that these events had on Judah is not altogether clear. In 582/581 B.C. (Jer 52:30), Nebuchadrezzar ordered a third deportation from Judah, perhaps as a reprisal; it is possible that Judah on that occasion lost all separate identity (Bright BHI, 331, 344).

3. A member of the family of Jeduthun, Levitical musicians and singers after the Exile (1 Chr 25:3, 9). Rothstein (*1 Buch der Chronik* KAT, 455) would identify Gedaliah with Jeduthun's son, Galal (Neh 11:17), but the evidence for this view is slight (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 169). Williamson (1979: 255–57) points out that in 1 Chr 25:1–6 David personally organizes the musicians, whereas in vv 7–31 David is not mentioned and the musicians decide their duties by casting lots (v 8). These two lists, furthermore, intend different types of music. In v 7 *šîr* means, "singing," but in vv 1–6 it should be rendered, "music," that is instrumental harmony. Gedaliah is therefore an instrumentalist according to v 3, but a singer in v 9.

4. One of the descendants of Jeshua the high priest and his brothers, who put away his foreign wife according to the decision of the postexilic community in the time of Ezra (Ezra 10:18). A possible parallel in 1 Esdr 9:19 lists the same brothers, but gives the name Jodan instead of Gedaliah. Fensham (*Ezra-Nehemiah* NICOT, 143) observes that the list of priests who married foreign women is given first, no doubt to show that even the religious leaders had broken the law. The high-priestly family is mentioned right at the beginning to emphasize how deeply the exiles were involved in the matter. At the same time the guilt offering of a ram (v 19) usually refers to an unintentional transgression and should have the same meaning here (cf. Lev 5:14–26).

5. Son of Amariah and grandfather of Zephaniah the prophet (Zeph 1:1). Heller (1971: 104) notes that four ancestors are listed for the prophet, which is exceptional in the OT. He argues that the oldest form of the text contained only one forefather, Cushi. A later redactor understood Cushi as gentilic, "the Cushite," and reprehensible. In the light of Deut 23:7–8, which allows children of third generation pagans to "enter the assembly of the Lord," he added two more ancestors, making Cushi a personal name. Rudolph (*Micha . . . Zephanja* KAT, 259) shows that this argument is not cogent, for Cushi need not express ethnic descent. It could, for instance, be a nickname for a Judaean. There is no compelling reason for omitting Gedaliah from the text.

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ROBERT ALTHANN

GEDER (PLACE) [Heb *geder*]. GEDERITE. One of the 31 Canaanite cities conquered by the Israelites under Joshua (Josh 12:13). It may have also been the home of

David's officer Baal-hanan the Gederite, who was appointed over the olive and sycamore trees in the Shephelah (1 Chr 27:28). Geder belongs to a group of place names formed from the Heb root *gdr* "wall" (e.g., Beth-gader, Gederah, Gederoth, Gederothaim, Gedor). It has been suggested that its vocalization was influenced by the name Gezer in v 12 (Boling *Joshua* AB, 326). Geder's location and identification are disputed. Its proximity to the preceding city in v 13, Debir, could indicate a location in the S Judean foothills, or Shephelah. However, Arad and Hormah, the cities immediately following in v 14, could indicate a location closer to the N Negeb desert. Na'aman (1980: 138) has sought to identify it with Khirbet Jedur (M.R. 158115) between Bethlehem and Hebron (see GEDOR); while Aharoni (1956: 27; *LBHG*, 231) has suggested emending the otherwise unknown Geder to Gerar on the basis of the frequently attested orthographic confusion between *dalet* and *reš* in Hebrew.

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CARL S. EHRLICH

GEDERAH (PLACE) [Heb *gĕdērâ; gĕdērātî*]. **1.** A town in the Shephelah, the Judean foothills, in the second administrative district of the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:36). It is probably identical with the Gederah where potters, descended from Shelah son of Judah, dwelt in the royal service (1 Chr 4:23). Gederah, whose name means "sheepfold," has been variously identified with Tell Judeideh 2 km N of Beth-Gubrin (M.R. 141115; Albright 1925: 50–51; but see Broshi *EAEHL* 3: 694), Khirbet Judraya in the Elah Valley (Noth *Josua* HAT, 84; but see Kuschke 1971: 299, 312), and Khirbet Jedireh in the Aijalon Valley (Cross and Wright 1956: 215). Recently Galil (1985: 62) has sought Gederah in the vicinity of Latrun. Gederah has also been identified with Kedron, modern Qatra (M.R. 129136), which was fortified by Cendebeus prior to his defeat by John son of Simon Maccabeus (1 Macc 15:39, 41; 16:9; Turner *IDB* 3: 5).

2. The home of Jozabad the Gederathite, one of the Benjaminite warriors who defected to David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:5—Eng 12:4). It is probably to be sought at Jedireh near Gibeon (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 96).

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CARL S. EHRLICH

GEDEROTH (PLACE) [Heb *gĕdērôt*]. A town in the Shephelah in the third administrative district of the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:41). It lay in the oftentimes disputed border area between Judah and Philistia. After the death of Uzziah/Azariah, who had subjugated the Philistine cities of Ashdod, Gath, and Jabneh (2 Chr 26:6–7), the Philistines were able to reassert themselves against the weak rule of Ahaz. They encroached on the Shephelah and the Negeb of Judah, capturing the towns of Beth-Shemesh, Aijalon, Soco, Timnah, Gimzo, and Gederoth (2 Chr 28:18). The precise relationship of these actions to the Syro-Ephraimite war and the campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III to Palestine (734–732 B.C.E.) remains unclear (Tadmor 1966: 88 n.9). Gederoth's location has been sought at many of the same sites as GEDERAH #1 (*GP* 2: 330; Gold *IDB* 2: 361; Kallai-Kleinmann *EncMiqr* 2: 447–48).

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CARL S. EHRLICH

GEDEROTHAIM (PLACE) [Heb *gĕdērōtāyim*]. A town in the Shephelah in the second district of the tribal inheritance of Judah (Josh 15:36). One of a number of place names derived from the Heb root *gdr* "wall," it follows immediately on another, Gederah. The LXX reading *kai hai epauleis autēs* "and its sheepfolds" would presume a Heb Vorlage *wgdrtyh* instead of the MT *wgdrtym*. The scholarly consensus that the LXX version is to be preferred is given weight by the text's total of 14 cities in the district (v 36), a number which can be arrived at only by deleting one town name from the list in vv 33–36 (Abel *GP* 2: 330). The influence of the dual endings on the first two names in v 36, Shaaraim and Adithaim, was probably a factor in the development of the MT (Boling *Joshua* AB, 380). By following the LXX, one would also restore a play on words in the Hebrew: "Gederah and its *gĕdērōt* ('sheepfolds')."

CARL S. EHRLICH

GEDOR (PERSON) [Heb *gĕdôr*]. A son of Jeiel, the father of Gibeon, by his wife Maacah in the Benjaminite genealogies (1 Chr 8:31; 9:37). Owing to the frequent mixing of geographical, personal and clan names in the biblical genealogies (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 66), the suggestion has been made to equate this Gedor with the *gdr/d*, possibly a district or suburb of Gibeon, found frequently on the inscribed jar handles from Gibeon/Tell el-Jib (Demsky 1971: 20–23).

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CARL S. EHRLICH

GEDOR (PLACE) [Heb *gĕdôr*]. **1.** A town in the hill country of Judah in the district of Beth-zur and Halhul (Josh 15:58). Most scholars identify it with Khirbet Jedur (M.R. 158115), between Bethlehem and Hebron. The site was inhabited as of the LB Age (Ben-Arieh 1981: 115). In 1 Chr 4:4 Penuel is mentioned as the father of Gedor,

which may mean that tradition ascribed to him the town's founding.

2. A Calebite town in Judah, founded by Jered son of Mered (1 Chr 4:18). It may be identical with Gedor #1. The mention of Penuel (v 4) and Jered (v 18) as the fathers of Gedor may indicate variant traditions about the founding of the same town or different traditions about two similarly named sites.

3. A town on the outskirts of the tribal territory of Simeon (1 Chr 4:39). Following the LXX *gerara*, this reference to Gedor should be corrected to Gerar (Aharoni 1956: 27).

4. A town in Benjamin from which came two of the defectors from Saul to David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:8—Eng 12:7). Some Hebrew mss record that Joelah and Zebadiah the sons of Jeroham came not *min haggĕdôr* "from [the] Gedor" (MT) but were *min haggĕdûd* "from the troop." The suggestion, however, that the MT consonantal *mn hgdwr* at the end of v 8(7) is a dittography of the following verse's initial *wmn hgdy* "from the Gadites" is probably correct (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 106).

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CARL S. EHRLICH

GEHAZI (PERSON) [Heb *gêḥāzî*]. Servant (Heb *naʿar*) of Elisha, the prophet, in three narrative contexts (2 Kgs 4:12–36; 5:20–27; 8:4–6). Two of these contexts are closely connected serving as a sort of frame around the central story of the cure of Naaman's leprosy and Gehazi's greed and punishment. For the name itself, a dual connotation has been suggested: "valley of vision" or "valley of avarice." The latter suggestion is from the Arabic cognate *jaḥida*.

In the story of the wealthy Shunammite woman (2 Kgs 4:8–37), Gehazi is portrayed as Elisha's faithful messenger and perhaps overzealous protector (v 27). The initial episode involving Gehazi is framed by the repetition of Elisha's summons that he "Call this Shunammite" (2 Kgs 4:12, 36)—a "great woman" who had made special accommodations for Elisha. Having failed in his initial efforts to repay her kindness, Elisha asked Gehazi what should be done. When Gehazi had the insight to recognize the woman's secret desire for a son, Elisha commanded him to "Call her" (v 15) and the birth of the child was foretold. Some years later the child of promise died; and when the woman "caught hold of Elisha's feet" in her grief, Gehazi thrust her away. Elisha then commanded Gehazi to run ahead to Shunem where he was to lay the prophet's staff on the child, perhaps as a symbol of authority to prevent the possible burial before Elisha's arrival. When Elisha had restored the child's life, he again commanded Gehazi to summon the woman. In this narrative Gehazi appears as a willing, efficient, and practical man (Schmitt 1975).

Some years later, Gehazi was discussing the deeds of Elisha with an unnamed king (2 Kgs 8:1–6). While he was speaking about restoring the dead to life, the Shunammite woman and her son appeared seeking the restoration of her property after a sojourn in Philistia. When Gehazi identified her, the king secured her inheritance. Though nothing positive or negative is said of Gehazi here, the narrative elicits tension because of what precedes it.

The story of the cure of Naaman's leprosy (2 Kgs 5:1–27) presents Gehazi as greedy and deceitful, and ultimately cursed with Naaman's leprosy. Elisha's integrity in refusing the gifts of Naaman is contrasted sharply with the baseness of Gehazi's actions. The glibness with which he lied to Naaman and the coolness with which he subsequently appeared to Elisha suggest that "avaricious" is indeed a character trait. Gehazi's punishment was immediate and fitting: permanent leprosy, extending even to his descendants.

A rabbinic tradition suggests the identification of the four lepers at the gate who discover the mysterious rout of the Syrians (2 Kgs 7:3–8) with Gehazi and his three sons. At first they carried off silver, gold, and clothing and hid them (2 Kgs 7:8). But then, realizing the folly of their greed, they bore the good news to the king's household.

It should be noted that conversation between lepers and others was not forbidden. The leprosy of Gehazi was not necessarily the disease now known as leprosy (Hulse 1975). Moreover, it is possible that the sentence of perpetual leprosy was abrogated by penitence on the part of Gehazi. The judgments of God, though apparently unconditional, are sometimes withdrawn when the judged person repents (cf. 2 Kgs 20:1–11).

If the "servant of the man of God" in 2 Kgs 6:15–17, who is explicitly described as Elisha's "boy" (*naʿar*, v 17) is also to be identified with Gehazi (cf. 2 Kgs 4:43), the other suggested meaning of his name as "valley of vision" becomes relevant. It was Elisha's prayer that opened his eyes so that he could see that "the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha" (v 17). The dominant picture of Gehazi within the biblical narrative, however, is that of avarice. See Bronner 1968: 86–122.

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DUANE L. CHRISTENSEN

GEHENNA (PLACE) [Lat *Gehenna*]. Valley, currently known as the Wadi er-Rababeh, running S-SW of Jerusalem and also a designation for fiery hell, the opposite of the dominion of God and eternal life. The Lat form is derived from the Gk *geenna*. The Gk is a transcription of the Aram *gêhinnām* whose Heb form is *gê-hinnōm*. The name means "Valley of Hinnom" or its full form "Valley of the son of Hinnom" (see HINNOM VALLEY). Outside of the NT (Matt 5:22) and the OT Apocrypha (2 Esdr 2:29; 7:36 [Lat only]), the Gk *geenna* or the Lat *Gehenna* is not

found in any sources, including the LXX, Philo, Josephus, or Gk literature. Further in the RSV, only 2 Esdr 2:29 renders the Latin form of the name as "Gehenna." The other occurrence of the Latin form in 2 Esdr 7:36 and all NT occurrences of the Greek form of the name are rendered in the RSV as "hell."

A. Old Testament

The Valley of Hinnom marked the boundary between the inheritance of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin (Josh 15:8; 18:16) and the northern border of Judah after the captivity (Neh 11:30). The valley was the scene of the idolatrous worship of the Canaanite gods Molech and Baal. This worship consisted of sacrificing children by passing them through a fire on Topheth (a high place) and into the hands of the gods (Jer 7:31; 19:4–5; 32:35). These practices were observed during monarchy at least under the reigns of Ahaz and Manasseh who themselves sacrificed their own children (2 Kgs 16:3; 21:6; 2 Chr 28:3; 33:6).

Josiah defiled the site as part of his reform program (2 Kgs 23:10; cf. vv 13–14), but the prophecy of Jeremiah indicates that it probably recurred later in the monarchy. Jeremiah prophesied that it would no longer be called Topheth or the Valley of Hinnom, but the valley of Slaughter because of the numerous Judeans killed and thrown into it by the Babylonians (Jer 7:29–34; 19:1–15).

Recently Bailey (1986: 189–91) has suggested that since altars and cultic places were considered an entrance to the realm of the god they served, and such sites often lent their name to that realm, then Gehenna may have naturally lent its name to the underworld realm of the god Molech who was worshiped there.

B. Intertestamental Period

One product of the development of a concept of the afterlife during the Hellenistic Period was the notion of a fiery judgment (*1 En.* 10:13; 48:8–10; 100:7–9; 108:4–7; Jdt 16:17; *2 Bar.* 85:13), a judgment usually in a fiery lake or abyss (*1 En.* 18:9–16; 90:24–27; 103:7–8; *2 En.* 40:12; *2 Bar.* 59:5–12; 1QH 3). The Valley of Hinnom, often referred to simply as "the accursed valley" or "abyss," then came to represent the place of eschatological judgment of the wicked Jews by fire (*1 En.* 26–27; 54:1–6; 56:1–4; 90:24–27).

This association of fiery judgment and Gehenna was once attributed to the influence of the Iranian Avestan doctrine of the ultimate judgment of the wicked in a stream of molten metal (*Yasna* 31.3; 51.9). However, the Zoroastrian molten metal was purgatorial, not penal. Other reasons given for the association are the fact that the Valley of Hinnom was noted for the fires of the Molech cult and later contained the continually burning fires of a refuse dump. Although Gehenna does not have these associations in the OT, the OT is the primary source of the association, particularly the prophecies of Jeremiah regarding the dead bodies of the wicked cast into Gehenna (7:29–34; 19:6–9; 32:35). The prophecies of Isaiah which ironically prophesy the threat of the Topheth readied for Molech himself (30:33), a devouring fire and everlasting burnings, and of a fire that will not be quenched readied for the wicked all contributed to the association (33:14; 66:24; cf. Isa 50:11; Dan 12:2; Mal 4:1).

By at least the 1st century C.E. there emerged a metaphorical understanding of Gehenna as the place of judgment by fire for all wicked everywhere (*Sib. Or.* 1.100–103; 2.283–312). The judgment of the wicked occurred either as a casting of their soul in Gehenna immediately upon death or as a casting of the reunited body and soul into Gehenna after the resurrection and last judgment (2 Esdr 7:26–38; *4 Ezra* 7:26–38; *Ascen. Is.* 4:14–18; cf. *Sib. Or.* 4.179–91). This understanding divorced Gehenna from its geographical location, but retained its fiery nature. Gehenna had become hell itself.

C. New Testament

All of the 12 references to Gehenna in the NT are used metaphorically as the place of fiery judgment. With the exception of Jas 3:6, which refers to the tongue being set on fire by Gehenna, all the references are in the Synoptic Gospels as sayings of Jesus (Matt 5:22, 29–30; 10:28; 18:9; 23:15, 33; Mark 9:43, 45, 47; Luke 12:5). Gehenna is preexistent (Matt 25:41) and its fire is reserved for the destruction of the wicked (Matt 5:22; 13:42, 50; 18:9 = Mark 9:43). Its punishment is eternal (Matt 25:41, 46) and the fire will not be quenched (Mark 9:43, 48). Other related NT expressions include judgment, wrath, destruction, Tartarus, fire, and lake of fire and sulphur (Heb 10:27; 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 7; Rev 19:20; 20:10, 14; 21:8). Recently Milikowsky has cogently argued that the comparison of Matt 10:28 = Luke 12:5 and other passages reveals that both 1st century conceptions of Gehenna are found in the NT: Gehenna as a place of judgment for the soul of the wicked immediately after death is Lukan, and Gehenna as the judgment of the wicked in a reunited body and soul after resurrection and judgment is Matthean (1988: 242–44).

Although not describing the torments of Gehenna, Jesus warned his disciples to take all precautions not to fall victim to it. Those who call their brother a fool (Matt 5:22), those who give in to sinful inclinations (Matt 5:29–30 = Mark 9:45, 47; Matt 18:9 = Mark 9:43), and the scribes and Pharisees (Matt 23:15, 33) are liable to Gehenna. A person destined to Gehenna can be designated "a child of Gehenna" (Matt 23:15). Besides being the fate of the wicked (Rev 20:15; 21:8), Gehenna is the fate awaiting the devil and his angels (Matt 25:41; Rev 20:10), the beast and the false prophet (Rev 19:20; 20:10), and death and Hades (Rev 20:13–14).

With the possible exception of Luke 12:5, the NT distinguishes Gehenna from Hades (*NIDNTT* 2: 208–9). Whereas Hades is the provisional place of the ungodly between death, resurrection, and final judgment (cf. Rev 20:13–14 where Hades yields up its dead for judgment and is thrown into the lake of fire at the last judgment), Gehenna is the eternal place of the wicked after final judgment. Hades receives the soul only (Acts 2:27, 31), Gehenna receives both body and soul (Matt 10:28; cf. Luke 12:5). The NT does not describe the torment of Gehenna or portray Satan as the lord of Gehenna. These are later literary accoutrements. (See *TDNT* 1: 657–58.)

D. Rabbinic Literature

The same extended metaphorical use of Gehenna as the place of judgment of the wicked is found in the Mishnah (*m. Qidd.* 4.14; *m. ʾAbot* 1.5; 5.19, 20), Tosefta (*t. Ber.* 6.15), and Talmud (*b. Roš. Haš.* 16b–17a; *b. Ber.* 28b). In rabbinic thought, as early as the 1st century–early 2d century C.E., Gehenna was conceived as both an intermediate place of punishment for the souls of the wicked between death and resurrection to final judgment, and as the place of final judgment of the reunited body and soul of the wicked (*Midr. Tehillim* 31.3).

Most Jews would be spared Gehenna completely, and most of those who do enter it in the intermediate state would be released from it, with the exception of historic reprobates, adulterers, or those who shame or vilify others (*b. Roš. Haš.* 16b–17a). It was a fiery purgatory for those Jews whose merits and transgressions balanced one another (*t. Sanh.* 13.3) who would afterward be admitted to Paradise. Often the punishment of Gehenna was restricted to 12 months (*m. ʿEd.* 2.10; *S. ʿOlam Rab.* 3; *b. Qidd* 31b). However, the punishment for Gentiles in Gehenna was eternal. The epithet "child of Gehenna" is used in the Talmud (*b. Roš. Haš.* 17b) as it is in Matt 23:15. (See Str-B 4: 1029–1118.)

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DUANE F. WATSON

GEMALLI (PERSON) [Heb *gĕmallî*]. The father of AMMIEL, who was sent from the tribe of Dan to spy out the land of Canaan (Num 13:12). The name Gemalli is related to the Hebrew for camel *(gâmâl),* thus it is often understood to mean "camel owner" or "camel driver" but this is an unlikely appellation for an infant. More likely, the name derives from the basic meaning of the root, "bring to completion," or its extended meaning "do someone good" (cf. Isa 63:7; Ps 13:6; 116:7). Therefore, the name may express the parents' sense of fulfillment ("my completion") or blessing ("my gift of blessing") resulting from the birth of the child. Noth (*IPN* 182) considers Gemalli to be a short form of GAMALIEL ("God is my fulfillment" or "God is my blessing").

JON PAULIEN

GEMARA. Aramaic name for both the Talmud of the Land of Israel (ca. 350–450 C.E.) and the Babylonian Talmud (ca. 550–600 C.E.). These compilations contain a wide variety of supplemental materials organized as a paragraph-by-paragraph commentary on the Mishnah. The term "Gemara" is also used to describe the genre of this literature.

A. Sources and Literary History

The Gemara's materials stem from a rather wide range of sources. Some units of discourse clearly circulated independently of their inclusion in either Talmud, accounting for passages that occur nearly verbatim in the Gemara as well as in Midrash compilations (Neusner 1986: 22–25). Others seem to reflect traditional oral formulations of earlier customary law (Lieberman 1931: 216). And some pericopae, especially those narrowly focused on the Mishnah, seem to have been created afresh as part of the Gemara's discussions (Bokser 1980: 471–82).

Recently, scholars have propounded two major theories regarding the literary history behind this diversity of materials. The first distinguishes sources—the rulings and opinions of earlier sages recorded more or less verbatim—from *traditions*—passages corrupted in transmission and so subject to rather convoluted interpretations (Halivni 1968: 8–15). Systematic, detailed attention to textual variants and parallel passages has allowed for recovery of many originally independent sources that lay behind textually difficult portions of the Gemara.

A second literary theory differentiates the Gemara's rulings along chronological lines (Friedman 1978: 283). The basic tenet of this method is that materials attributed to an individual rabbi or sage constitute the earliest layers of the Gemara, while anonymous rulings and sayings, for the most part, are part of the Gemara's later redactional framework. As above, application of this method may allow a glimpse at the Gemara's redactional plan prior to its final edition.

B. Redactional Plan

Overall, three patterns may be distinguished in the Gemara's various materials. Each builds in the first place upon the Mishnah's laws, but then as time progresses develops an ever-widening range of interests.

The earliest redacted portions of the Gemara are contained in the tripartite tractate *Neziqin* within the Palestinian (or Jerusalem) Talmud (Lieberman 1931: 5–6). These materials, completed and collected in Caesarea within 150 years of the Mishnah's redaction, set out to demonstrate the continuity and coherence of the Mishnaic law with its earliest interpretation, found in the Tosefta. The simple redactional pattern established here—a passage of the Mishnah, complementary units from the parallel Toseftan tractate, and a brief discussion of the connection between the Mishnah and the Tosefta—serves as the foundation for the work of successive generations.

Over the next 100 years, in the late 4th and early 5th centuries, a second set of materials took shape. Comprising the bulk of the Talmud of the Land of Israel, these portions of the Gemara add general inquiry about the Mishnaic law's relationship to scriptural precedent and prooftext, rabbinic authority, and the special status of Torah. A typical passage opens with Mishnaic and Toseftan materials, to which it appends a comparative discussion of underlying legal principles, and finally topically related, although rather far-removed anthologies (Neusner 1983b: 12–13).

The Babylonian Talmud represents the third and final stage of the Gemara, and presents the fully expounded system of Rabbinic Judaism. The redaction of an average passage unfolds from the legal pericope at hand to more general and abstract themes. Particular emphasis is placed on the dual nature of Torah: the *Oral Torah,* including the

Mishnah and the Tosefta, together with their legal theory; the *Written Torah*, especially the Hebrew Bible taken on its own terms as regards to meanings and theological themes. To these the Babylonian Talmud adds discussion of the sage and his doings, which describe the life of Torah central to all later Judaism (Neusner 1986: 10, 213–15).

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ROGER BROOKS

GEMARIAH (PERSON) [Heb *gĕmaryāhû*]. **1.** The son of Shaphan, and a high-ranking official in the government of King Jehoiakim (609–598 B.C.). Gemariah was one of those who participated in the important events surrounding the public reading of Jeremiah's first written scroll in 604 B.C. (Jeremiah 36). His father Shaphan was one of the most influential persons in Jerusalem during the reign of Josiah, when the lawbook of Moses was found in the temple and the reform came to a grand climax (2 Kgs 22:3–14). In Josiah's government Shaphan was "secretary of state," and it is possible that he was also head of a scribal school in Jerusalem.

Throughout the difficult years preceding the fall of Judah, the Shaphan family maintained close personal ties with Jeremiah (Muilenburg 1970: 227–28, 231). Gemariah's brother, Ahikam, who was also present when the law book was found (2 Kgs 22:12), gave Jeremiah some needed protection following his famous temple sermon and trial of 609 (Jer 26:24). Another brother, Elasah, hand-carried a letter from Jeremiah to the exiles in Babylon following the deportation of 597 (Jer 29:3). Gemariah did not hold the same high office as his father, perhaps because of his family's pro-Babylonian sympathies and the fact that Jehoiakim was an appointee of Egypt. Nevertheless, he had his own chamber in the temple, and it was there that Baruch made the first public reading of the Jeremiah scroll (Jer 36:10). After this reading Micaiah, Gemariah's son, notified some of the king's ministers who then wanted to hear the scroll themselves. After Baruch read it to them they realized the king would have to be notified, but in anticipation of the king's response they warned Baruch and Jeremiah to hide. Gemariah was present when the scroll was read to the king, and he along with two others unsuccessfully urged the king not to destroy it.

Among a horde of 51 seal impressions discovered in the 587 B.C. destruction level of Jerusalem is one which reads, "Belonging to Gemariah ben Shaphan" (Shiloh 1984: 19–20). The identification of this individual with the Gemariah of Jeremiah 36 appears certain, which then provides striking confirmation of Gemariah's activities during Judah's last days, as well as the authority which he had to seal official documents and other records.

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JACK R. LUNDBOM

2. Emissary of Zedekiah to Nebuchadnezzar who helped to carry a letter from Jeremiah to the exiles (Jer 29:3—LXX 36:3). As a "son of Hilkiah," he is not to be confused with Gemariah son of Shaphan mentioned in Jer 36:10–12, 25—LXX 43:10–12, 25 (as does Thompson *Jeremiah* NICOT, 545; cf. Carroll *Jeremiah* OTL, 552). The probability that at least one if not all of Jeremiah's sympathizers, Elasah (who also carried Jeremiah's letter), Ahikam (e.g., 2 Kgs 22:12; Jer 26:24—LXX 33:24), and the other biblical Gemariah, were sons of Shaphan, the scribe of Josiah, lends force to the suggestion that this apparent friend of Jeremiah was also a son of a prominent figure associated with Shaphan and Josiah, namely, Hilkiah, Josiah's high priest (2 Kings 22). It might be, however, that the association is coincidental; the name of Gemariah's father is very common, and the name Gemariah itself, in addition to Gemariah son of Shaphan (Shiloh and Tarler 1986: 204; see above), is attested three and perhaps four times in Israelite onomastica dating to the end of the monarchy (*AI* 31:8; 38:3; Lachish 1:1; Shiloh 1985 80:19[?]) as well as among the later Elephantine papyri (Cowley *CAP* 2:2; 6:18; 8:29; 9:18; 22:2, 121; 34:5; 43:2, 11; Kraeling *BMAP* 2:15; 4:23; 10:20). Gemariah probably means "Yahweh has completed/accomplished."

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J. GLEN TAYLOR
MARION ANN TAYLOR

GENEALOGY, GENEALOGIES. Genealogies are records of a person's or a group's descent from an ancestor or ancestors. Outside of Israel, genealogies appear only rarely in ancient Near Eastern literature and are attested primarily in Mesopotamian king lists and in 2d-millennium texts dealing with the political organization and

history of the Amorites. However, the OT contains about 25 genealogies of varying complexity, a fact which suggests that genealogy played an important role in Israelite life and thought.

A. Introduction: Terminology and Use
B. The Idiom of Genealogy
1. Genealogical Forms
2. Genealogical Functions
C. OT Genealogies in Context
1. Genealogy and Writing
2. Genealogy and Literary Context

A. Introduction: Terminology and Use

The most frequently attested Heb equivalents of the Eng word "genealogy" are *tôlēdôt* and various verbs and nouns formed from the root *yḥś*. The former of these is derived from the root *yld*, "to bear," and seems to mean literally "the order in which people are born." The word is used prominently by the Priestly Writer (hereafter P) in Genesis to introduce genealogies that are intended to give the book a literary structure (Gen 5:1; 10:1; 11:10; 25:12; 36:1). Outside of Genesis *tôlēdôt* is used to introduce or conclude genealogies (Exod 6:16, 19; 28:10; Num 3:1; 1 Chr 5:7), although not all of the OT genealogies are set off in this way. Because of the word's associations with sequence and progression, it sometimes takes on the extended meaning "story" or "history." In this sense it can be used to introduce narrative passages that are not genealogical in form (Gen 2:4; 6:9; 11:27; 25:19; 37:2). The root *yḥś* is attested only in postexilic texts, where it is most often used in verbal forms to mean "to be enrolled by genealogy," "to be recorded in a genealogy" (1 Chr 5:17; 9:1).

Genealogies are attested in the OT primarily in texts that deal with Israel's early history (Genesis, Exodus) or in literature from the postexilic period (Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah). This fact has led some scholars to conclude that Israel's early interest in kinship ties waned with the rise of the monarchy and was reborn only when the chaos of exile again made membership in a family and a nation an important issue. Although it is true that evidence for the use of genealogies during the monarchy is minimal, it is unlikely that they disappeared completely. Interest in family ties remained strong during the preexilic period, and in some cases old tribal ties continued to be important in spite of royal efforts to disrupt them. In addition, certain groups such as priests, scribes, craftsmen, and even the kings themselves undoubtedly preserved genealogies, and some of these records probably survived to be included in the genealogical collections of the postexilic period.

Scholars generally agree that the OT's attribution of genealogical interest to the early Israelites is not an anachronism but is rooted in the social structure of the groups that formed premonarchical Israel. The narratives that deal with this period all suggest that kinship was a major organizational principle, and for this reason genealogies, which use the idiom of kinship, became an important means of expressing all sorts of social, political, and religious relationships. Because of the persistence of genealogical thinking in Israel's later history, an understanding of the idiom of genealogy is important for an accurate comprehension of the OT examples of the genre.

B. The Idiom of Genealogy

In societies such as early Israel, where kinship is a basis for organizing the society, the language of genealogy, which has its origins in the need to represent actual kinship ties, is used metaphorically to express other social relationships where real kinship is not involved. In these societies genealogies, usually in oral form, are part of daily life and are known and discussed frequently by the people. The form in which a particular genealogy is related is largely determined by the purpose for which it is being recited or recorded. The genealogy's form and function are related, and this relationship must be understood if the genealogical idiom is to be interpreted correctly.

1. Genealogical Forms. The most common genealogical form is the one which replicates a basic nuclear family consisting of two children having the same parents. Such a genealogy will be segmented or branched (the traditional "family tree") and will show the relationship of the two children to a single parent. Genealogies of this sort have both a vertical and a horizontal dimension. Vertically, the genealogy has depth and traces the relationship between two generations. Horizontally, the genealogy has breadth and traces the relationship between siblings by relating them to a common ancestor. Segmented genealogies can theoretically be expanded beyond the nuclear family to include any number of related kin. As more distant kin are included, the depth of the genealogy will increase as the family's common ancestor recedes further into the past. However, in practice segmented genealogies rarely exceed four or five generations in depth, even when the genealogies are in written rather than in oral form (Gen 35:22–26; Num 26:5–51).

Genealogies which are not segmented are normally in linear form. Linear genealogies are simply lists of names connecting an individual to an earlier ancestor by indicating the kinship relationships that tie all of the names together. Genealogies of this sort have only a vertical dimension and are normally of limited depth, although written genealogies sometimes violate this rule (1 Chr 9:10–13). In written genealogies, in particular, the distinction between segmented and linear forms may not be absolute, and the two forms may be mixed (1 Chronicles 6).

When genealogies are reproduced either orally or in writing, they may be given as part of a larger narrative or in the form of a simple list. In the latter case they will have a form such as "X son of Y daughter of Z" or "the sons of W: X, Y, and Z." The genealogies may be given in descending order from parent to child (1 Chr 9:39–44) or in ascending order from child to parent (1 Chr 9:14–16).

All genealogies, whether oral or written, are characterized by fluidity. Where two or more versions of the same genealogy exist, it is usually possible to detect changes in the relationship of names within the genealogy or to note the deletion or addition of names. This sort of fluidity may occur because the names involved are unimportant and thus liable to be forgotten or at least to be poorly remembered. On the other hand, fluidity may be crucial for understanding the genealogies and may indicate signifi-

cant shifts in social relationships. A number of examples of genealogical fluidity can be found in the OT, but unfortunately the reasons for the phenomenon cannot always be determined. In some cases simple scribal error may be involved (1 Chr 4:39), but in others changes in the social structure may be at the root of the alterations. For example, the variants in the genealogy of Esau (Gen 36:9–14, 15–19; 1 Chr 1:35–36) may reflect the different purposes for which the genealogies were originally created, while changes within the genealogies of the 12 Israelite tribes may reflect political or geographical realignments (Gen 46:9, 12, 17; 1 Chr 7:23).

2. Genealogical Functions. In societies that attach great importance to kinship, genealogies have numerous functions, and the idiom of genealogy is used for a variety of purposes. In the case of segmented genealogies, their primary purpose is to express actual kinship relationships between individuals. Such relationships are important in daily life because they are the basis for regulating social interaction, marriage, and inheritance, along with other social rights and obligations. At the level of the family, both the horizontal and vertical dimensions of the genealogy are important. Horizontally, people on the same genealogical level are related to each other as equals, while vertically people are ranked hierarchically according to the level of the genealogy which they occupy. Segmented genealogies are thus both statements of equality and statements of inequality.

However, societies that value and use segmented genealogies to express family relationships tend also to use genealogies metaphorically to indicate the relationships of individuals and groups in other aspects of social life. If a genealogy can be used to relate members of an actual family, then it can also be used to express the political relationships between families that are not actually related to each other. This can be done simply through the creation of a common ancestor, who is considered the parent of all of the people living in the society. In this way, the whole political system can be conceived as one large family and described by using the idiom of genealogy. In the same way, status relationships can be expressed genealogically, and so can economic position, geographical location, or cultic position. In a given society, segmented genealogies being used for differing purposes may exhibit a great deal of variation, for the society's political, economic, and religious configurations may be quite different. In such cases the apparently conflicting genealogies are in fact accurately reflecting the way in which the society sees itself in a particular social sphere.

In contrast to the multiple functions of segmented genealogies, linear genealogies have only one: to ground a claim to power, status, rank, office, or inheritance in an earlier ancestor. Such genealogies are often used by rulers to justify their right to rule and by office-holders of all types to support their claims.

Many of these common genealogical functions have left traces in the OT genealogies, although because these genealogies have been set in new literary contexts it is not always possible to recover their original purposes accurately. The various genealogies of the 12 Israelite tribes probably go back to a time when a kinship system was the actual basis of Israel's political organization, although in the OT tribal equality may well be more pronounced than it was in reality (Gen 29:31–30:24; 35:16–20, 22–26; 46:8–24; Num 26:5–51; 1 Chr 2:1–2). In addition to using segmented genealogies for internal purposes, the OT also preserves genealogies of other nations and uses them to relate Israel to its neighbors (Gen 10:6–7, 21–31; 22:20–24; 25:1–6, 12–20; 36). An important collection of segmented genealogies functioning religiously can be found in the various levitical and priestly genealogies that govern the relationships of the branches of the priesthood to each other and control access to priestly power (Gen 46:11; Num 26:57–62; Exod 6:16–25; 1 Chr 6:1–81; 9:10–34).

Although most of the OT genealogies are segmented, there are also examples of linear genealogies, and these too illustrate the characteristic function of this genealogical form. There are, for example, traces of royal genealogies that indicate that the kings of Judah justified their right to rule by demonstrating their connection to earlier rulers, and such genealogies may have been used in the postexilic period as well as by pretenders to the Davidic throne (1 Sam 9:1; 14:49–51; 1 Chr 2:3–17; 3:1–24; 8:29–40; Ruth 4:18–22). Other officials also seem to have used linear genealogies to justify their authority (Zeph 1:1), and they are particularly important in postexilic texts dealing with the authority of the priesthood (Ezra 2:59–63; 10:9–44; Neh 13:23–28).

C. OT Genealogies in Context

While it is likely that many of the OT genealogies were once in oral form and exhibited the formal and functional characteristics that are common to genealogies used in living societies, it is also important to note that they are now part of a written text. This fact has important interpretive implications not only because writing has a tendency to modify somewhat the formal characteristics of oral genealogies, but also because the literary context of the OT modifies the purposes that the genealogies can serve.

1. Genealogy and Writing. When oral genealogies are fixed in writing, they are likely to become less fluid than they were previously. Although conflicting genealogies in the OT suggest that fluidity in written genealogies is not out of the question, writing nevertheless discourages genealogical change. In turn, when genealogies lose their ability to change, they also tend to become less useful for purposes that require such change. This fact is particularly relevant in the case of segmented genealogies, which are often used to mirror the constantly changing shape of the social structure. On the other hand, writing sometimes helps linear genealogies to function more effectively by permitting them to be longer and therefore more impressive and authoritative.

The most important contribution that writing makes to the use of genealogies is that it preserves them in fixed form so that future generations can read them, reuse them, and on occasion elaborate them. The OT contains a number of examples of this process at work. For example, in 1 Chr 1:1–2:2 the Chronicler has extracted P's genealogies from Gen 5; 10; 11:10–26; 25:1–4, 13–16; and 36:4–5, 10–14 and used them to supply a genealogical introduction to the tribal histories in 1 Chronicles 2–9, which themselves draw heavily on genealogical material

found elsewhere in the Pentateuch. The genealogies in 1 Chronicles 2–8, whether drawn from earlier biblical texts or from independent sources, have probably been even further elaborated through the insertion of military census lists and geographical records, a process which adds considerably to the text's genealogical complexity.

A prime example of genealogical elaboration of a written text can be seen in P's genealogies in Genesis 5 and 10, where the ages assigned to these early figures seem to reflect some sort of chronological speculation involving crucial dates in Israel's history: the flood, the Exodus from Egypt, the building of Solomon's temple, the Exile, and the edict of Cyrus ending the Exile. Scholars have speculated that this chronology assumes the existence of a world cycle or "Great Year" of 4,000 years, a chronological scheme found elsewhere in antiquity. Whatever the intent of the writer in the MT, chronological speculation clearly continued after the Heb text was fixed, for the figures contained in the LXX and Samaritan Pentateuch seem to reflect a different system. Also reflected in some of the genealogies is numerical speculation designed to locate an important figure in a numerically significant position, usually the seventh position. This sort of activity is particularly clear in Genesis 5, where P has reordered the genealogy from Gen 4:17–22 in order to place Enoch in the seventh slot (Gen 5:18).

2. Genealogy and Literary Context. Although the OT genealogies can often be interpreted in their own right, they are also sometimes used for other purposes in the context of a larger narrative. These purposes are often far removed from the genealogies' original functions and sometimes represent a literary reuse of earlier material. The clearest example of this phenomenon is P's use of the formula "these are the genealogies/generations" *(ʾēleh tôlĕdôt)*, which appears often at the beginning of narratives and genealogies, particularly in Genesis (Gen 2:4; 5:1; 6:9; 10:1; 11:10, 27; 25:12, 19; 36:1, 4, 9; 37:2; Num 3:1). Although scholars have often suggested that these formulas mark material extracted from an independent genealogical book, it is equally likely that they are literary markers used by P to give structure to the narrative. Taken as a whole, the formulas, and particularly the genealogies that they introduce, highlight the writer's motif of the transmission of Israel's election and blessing through genealogical inheritance from Adam through the Israelite ancestors and finally to the Israelite priesthood.

A similar reuse of genealogical material can be seen in Exod 6:14–25, where P has inserted into the narrative a portion of one of the standard versions of the Israelite tribal genealogy. The genealogical recitation stops with the descendants of Levi and is clearly intended to underline Moses' priestly heritage and thus reinforce his authority over the people, who at this point in the narrative are refusing to listen to their leader. In this case the original genealogy has been truncated in order to serve a very specific narrative function.

Finally, the large collection of genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1–9, many of which presumably had other functions in other locations, has been positioned at the beginning of the Chronicler's account of Israel's history in order to draw an inclusive picture of traditional Israel. It is to this broad understanding of the extent of Israel that the returning exiles are connected in 1 Chronicles 9.

Just as a genealogy can take on new functions as part of a larger narrative, so also a narrative can help to interpret a traditional genealogy. In Gen 29:31–30:24 and 35:16–20 the writer presents a version of Israel's standard tribal genealogy. However, while the standard genealogy normally stresses the equality of the twelve tribes, this genealogical narrative introduces the notion of inequality by assigning Jacob's sons to their respective mothers. Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun are assigned to Leah, and Gad and Asher to her maid Zilpah. Joseph and later Benjamin are assigned to Rachel, and Dan and Naphtali to her maid Bilhah. In the idiom of genealogy the children of maids are clearly of lower status than the children of wives, and among the children of the wives the first-born are superior to younger children. When this genealogical information is combined with earlier narratives indicating Rachel's status as Jacob's favorite wife, then it becomes clear that the writer is presenting a version of the twelve-tribe genealogy that gives primacy to Joseph rather than to Judah, which is usually the case in later versions of the genealogy.

The various ways in which the biblical writers incorporated genealogical material into their work suggests that they understood the idiom of genealogy and were able to use it creatively throughout the biblical period, even though the social structure of Israel changed markedly during that time. This familiarity with genealogical language persisted well beyond the OT period and continued to flourish in later Jewish and Christian debates.

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ROBERT R. WILSON

GENESIS APOCRYPHON (1QapGen). One of the first Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran Cave 1 to be discovered and published though some of its very fragmentary columns remain unpublished. It is written in a literary form of Imperial Aramaic that is very similar to the language of Daniel. Both linguistically and paleographically it has been dated to the last century B.C. or the 1st century A.D. though it may have been composed a little earlier.

The preserved text is a rewriting of the events recorded in Genesis. The first clearly identifiable section is a description of Lamech's reaction to the news that his wife Bitenosh is pregnant (Col. 2). A number of fragments continue with the story of Noah (generally parallel to Genesis 8–9). Then follow the best preserved columns (19–22) which retell Gen 12:8 to 15:4—Abram's going down to Egypt,

Pharaoh's infatuation with Sarai, the defeat of the four kings and the promise of descendants. There are a number of events which are added to, or more detailed than, the biblical version: Abram's dream, predicting how Sarai will save his life (and in which he and his wife are symbolized by a cedar and a palm tree); a visit by three Egyptians (one named Hirkanos) to Abram and their subsequent report of Sarai's beauty to Pharaoh; an account of Abram's prayer, the affliction of the Egyptians, and their subsequent healing; and a description of the land to be inherited by Abram's descendants. Stylistically, the Apocryphon may be described as a pseudepigraphon, since events are related in the first person with the patriarchs Lamech, Noah and Abram in turn acting as narrator, though from 22.18 (MT 14:21) to the end of the published text (22.34) the narrative is in the third person. There are also a number of specific details in content which are shared with contemporary literature. Thus, the visit of the Egyptians (when they receive religious instruction from Abram) finds a parallel in Pseudo-Eupolemos. The greatest number of similarities are with *Jubilees*. Both texts, for instance, give the name of Lamech's wife as Bitenosh and specify the mountain where Noah's ark came to rest as Lubar. Nevertheless, the precise relationship between the two texts has not yet been determined. The description of Sarai's beauty is thought to be poetry, an early precursor of the Arabic *wasf* (VanderKam 1979). Some of the non-biblical parts and some of the rephrasing call to mind the later Jewish midrashic texts, but any links are tenuous.

Despite the expansions and the recasting in the first person, the biblical text is still recognizable and has been identified as "an older Palestinian type" (VanderKam 1978: 55). Also, as in 11QtgJob, there are a number of "double translations." It is possible that the Apocryphon is (or had as one of its sources) a Targum of Genesis and hence that it may be a forerunner of the Rabbinic Targumim (Kuiper 1968). However, its closest similarities are with the Peshitta and not with the medieval Targumim. One characteristic of the way in which the text has been rewritten is its anticipation of passages which occur later in the Bible. Thus a number of phrases from the later encounter with Abimelech (Genesis 20) are placed in the narrative of Sarai and Abram in Egypt (Genesis 12).

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RICHARD T. WHITE

GENESIS, BOOK OF. Genesis is the first book of the Hebrew Bible. The name of the book is derived from Genesis 2:4a in the Greek translation: "This is the book of the origins *(geneseōs)* of heaven and earth." The book is called Genesis in the Septuagint, whence the name came into the Vulgate and eventually into modern usage. In Jewish tradition the first word of the book serves as its name, thus the book is called *Bĕrē'šît*. The origin of the name is easier to ascertain than most other aspects of the book, which will be treated under the following headings:

A. Text
B. Sources
   1. J
   2. E
   3. P
   4. The Promises Writer
C. Narrative
   1. The Framework: Genealogy
   2. The Primeval Cycle
   3. The Abraham Cycle
   4. The Jacob Cycle
   5. The Joseph Narrative
D. The Patriarchs and History
E. The Religion of the Patriarchs
F. Ancient Near Eastern Parallels
   1. Cognate Parallels
   2. Typological Parallels

A. Text

There are four major textual witnesses to the book of Genesis: the Masoretic text (MT), the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP), the Septuagint (LXX), and the Genesis fragments from Qumran. The latter group comprises our oldest manuscripts but only covers a small proportion of the book (McCarter 1986: 82–88; Davila 1989). In general, the MT is well preserved and reliable, but there are many individual instances where the other versions preserve superior readings (see e.g., index in Tov 1981; frequent examples in McCarter 1986; Davila 1989). An important category of textual variants is the glosses in the MT that are not attested in other major versions; this category of variants shows how the Hebrew text continued to grow even in a conservative scribal tradition (e.g., Gen 14:22: *yahweh* added to *'el 'elyôn* [not in LXX or Syr, SP has *hā'ĕlōhîm*]; Gen 35:7: *'ēl* added to *bêt-'ēl* [not in LXX, Vg, or Syr]; see Tov 1981: 307–9).

B. Sources

Since the beginnings of source criticism of the Pentateuch in the 17th and 18th centuries there has been much controversy over the sources of Genesis. There are several competing theories today, but the long-established identification of J (the Yahwist), E (the Elohist), and P (the Priestly source) still provides the most plausible model for the composition of Genesis (Friedman 1987; see the overview of Knight 1985). To these three sources some scholars would add the Promises writer, who inserted a series of divine promises into the patriarchal stories of J + E (see below, B.4.). Other scholars would explain the growth of Genesis by a series of editorial expansions of a single source (Rendtorff 1977; Blum 1984) or as wholly composed by a single author (Whybray 1987), but these theo-

ries cannot adequately explain the evident inconsistencies in Genesis (see Emerton 1987–88).

1. J. The J writer was probably not the first Israelite author to write prose narratives, but adapted the prose styles of his predecessors (among whom were probably the composers of the "ark narrative," the "history of David's rise," and the "court history of David," found in slightly expanded form in 1 and 2 Samuel; see McCarter *I Samuel* AB; *II Samuel* AB) to his task. J retold the stories of the past, from the creation of Adam and Eve through the patriarchs, the Exodus, and beyond, in a single extended narrative. J's style is generally very compressed, as would be necessary for such a large task. It is likely that many of these stories would have been told at much greater length in Israelite oral traditions, as some of the allusions to unknown details and variants would suggest (e.g., Cain's wife, Gen 4:17; the "men of renown," Gen 6:4; Rebekah's message for Jacob to return, Gen 27:45; Jacob's conquest of Shechem, Gen 48:22; Jacob weeping at Penuel, Hos 12:5—Eng12:4). J portrays his human protagonists as bold, complex figures who tend to choose their own destiny (e.g., the first couple, Gen 3:6), sometimes by devious means (e.g., Abraham, Gen 12:11–13; Isaac, Gen 26:7; Rebekah and Jacob, Genesis 27). J's deity is similarly complex; he is shown changing his mind about the desirability of destroying humans (Gen 8:21–22; cf. 6:5–7) and, in a moving scene, takes ethical instruction from Abraham (Gen 18:22–33). Yahweh often has no role in the stories or intervenes only occasionally. This intermittent role of the deity is in marked contrast to the other sources of Genesis, and shows J as, in a sense, one of the least "theological" writers of the Bible, perhaps reflecting a closeness to the folk traditions of Israel.

The J composition is plausibly dated to the early monarchy and appears to reflect Judean interests (Skinner *Genesis* ICC, lvii; Friedman 1987: 61–67). The depictions of a sympathetic side of Esau (= Edom) in J (Gen 27:30–38) and E (Gen 33:4–16) are strong evidence against an exilic or post-exilic date for J (*pace* Van Seters 1975); at this later time Edom was reviled for its part in the sack of Judah (Ps 137:7; Obadiah; cf. Ezek 25:12–14; Isa 34:5–17; 63:1–6; Mal 1:2–4). For other historical indications, see D. below. See also YAHWIST ("J") SOURCE.

2. E. The E source is less dominant than J or P in Genesis but has a narrative voice and technique that is often distinct (McEvenue 1975 and 1984) In E's narratives, beginning with Abraham in Genesis 20, the human protagonists are often idealized, with their deceits and ambiguous acts explicity justified (e.g., Abraham's apparent lie about Sarah, Gen 20:11–12 [cf. Gen 12:12–13, J]; Abraham's acquiescence in the expulsion of Hagar, Gen 21:10–13 [cf. Gen 16:6, J]). The human characters often voice their intentions and show strong emotions, displaying a greater "interiority" than in J (McEvenue 1984: 320–21). God's role in the stories is much more pronounced than in J; the events and plots of the stories are often explained as the direct expression of God's will (e.g., God's explanation of Abimelech's innocence, Gen 20:6; God's remarks to Abraham about the explusion of Ishmael, Gen 21:12–13; the narrator's description of the plot of Genesis 22: "God tested Abraham," Gen 22:1; the dream theophany explaining Jacob's success in breeding sheep, Gen 31:10–12 [cf. Gen 30:32–43, J]; Joseph's interpretation of events to his brothers: "God sent me before you to save life," Gen 45:5 [cf. 45:7; 50:20]). E is interested in the piety and probity of his characters; a favored quality is the "fear of God" (attributed to Abraham, Gen 22:12; possibly none in Gerar, Gen 20:11; attributed to Joseph, 42:18; see Wolff 1969), and a proper note of humility is struck when Jacob and Joseph exclaim, "Can I take the place of God" (*hătaḥat ʾĕlōhîm ʾānōkî/ʾānî:* Gen 30:2; 50:19).

The E source occasionally displays northern interests (Jenks 1977; Friedman 1987: 70–83) and may have been composed as an alternative text to J, though strongly influenced by J in style and length of the stories (Friedman 1987: 83–88). Others regard E as an expansion of J rather than an originally separate document (McEvenue 1984: 329–30), and some regard the E source as insufficiently proven (Rendtorff 1977: 82; Westermann 1984–86: 2. 571–72). See also ELOHIST.

3. P. To the P source belong two basic types of material in Genesis: narratives and genealogies. Among the narratives are whole texts, such as the creation account in Gen 1:1–2:4a, a version of the flood myth in Genesis 6–9, God's covenant with Abraham in Genesis 17, Abraham's purchase of the cave at Machpelah in Genesis 23, and partial narratives that are appended to J or E texts, such as Rebekah's disgust at Esau's marriages in Gen 27:46–28:9 and various notices of births and burials. Among the genealogical lists are extended sections, such as Genesis 5 or Gen 11:10–27, and also briefer notices that are scattered throughout the narratives. The genealogies and other chronological matter serve to structure the book as a whole. It appears that the P source is best described as a collection of independent narratives (Emerton 1988; Nicholson 1988) *and* as a redactional source (*CMHE,* 301–21; Tengström 1981). It may be that this implies more than one compositional phase for P, perhaps a pre-exilic P writer and an exilic P redactor (Friedman 1981: 44–132).

One of P's chief interests is the relationship between narrative and cult: the practices of Sabbath observance and circumcision are explicitly connected with the narratives of creation (Gen 2:2–3) and God's covenant with Abraham (Gen 17:10–14). On a more subtle level the primeval events in P anticipate the creation of the Jerusalem temple, an institution at the center of Israelite religion. The language in the P creation story anticipates the construction of the tabernacle in Exodus 35–40, which is P's symbol for the Jerusalem temple (Weinfeld 1981; Blenkinsopp 1976: 280–86; Levenson 1988: 77–99). In addition, the chronology of the primeval events also anticipates the construction of the temple: the creation begins the first year, the emergence of the earth from the flood waters also begins a new year (Gen 8:13), the tabernacle is set up on the first of the year (Exod 40:2), all of which foreshadow the sanctification of the temple, which occurred at the (autumn) New Year festival (Blenkinsopp 1976: 283). The symbolic structure of P appears to bring the temple into a close bond with creation and the cosmic order. The interplay between myth and cult, and the explication of the sacred structure of the cosmos, joining past to present, are dominant concerns for P in Genesis. See also PRIESTLY ("P") SOURCE.

4. The Promises Writer. In addition to the three major

sources of Genesis (J, E, P) and a few texts of independent provenance (Genesis 14; 49:2–27), some scholars have noted that many of God's promises to the patriarchs belong to a separate compositional stratum (Hoftijzer 1956; Westermann 1980: 95–163; Emerton 1982). There is a common diction and set of themes in the divine promises in Gen 12:2–3; 13:14–17; 18:17–19; 22:15–18; 24:7; 26:3b-5; 28:14; 32:13; and elsewhere. Many of these passages, which occur in both J and E contexts, appear to be intrusive (e.g., Gen 22:15: "the angel of Yahweh called out to Abraham a second time . . ."). The promises were apparently added to the combined JE text prior to the combination with P, since the promises in the P source are written in characteristic P language but appear to be influenced by the earlier texts (Gen 17:5–8; 28:3–4; 35:11–12). The promises of descendants, land, blessing, etc., bring to the fore some of the implicit and explicit themes of Yahweh's relationship with the patriarchs, and apparently point to the era of the Israelite monarchy as the time of fulfillment of the promises (cf. 1 Kgs 4:20). The Promises writer gives an ethical interpretation to Genesis in Yahweh's explanation of his choice of Abraham: "I have chosen him that he may command his children and his descendants to keep the way of Yahweh by doing what is right and just, so that Yahweh may bring to Abraham what he has promised him" (Gen 18:19). The promises provide a sense of structure and a commentary on the patriarchal narratives. Several of the promises are probably original to the J and E texts (Gen 12:7; 16:11; 18:10, 14; 28:15; also 15:4–5, 18 [source obscure]; see Emerton 1982: 17–23); these formed the basis for the redactional and interpretive activity of the Promises writer. It is instructive to note the differences in theme and diction between the passages from the Promises source and the earlier passages of the blessings given by Isaac (Gen 27:27–28, J) and Jacob (Gen 48:15–16, E; 49:2–27, archaic poetry).

C. Narrative

Hermann Gunkel began the modern study of the Genesis narratives with his attention to matters of genre, literary art, and prehistory in Israelite and ancient Near Eastern traditions (*Genesis* HKAT, 1964). Concern with the first and last of these matters ("form-criticism" and "tradition-criticism") has dominated scholarship on Genesis in the decades since (see Knight 1975), in conjunction with recurrent theological interests (e.g., von Rad *Genesis* OTL; Westermann 1984–86) and historical concerns (see D below). In recent years much attention has returned to the literary aspects of Genesis (Fokkelman 1975; Fishbane 1979; Alter 1981; Sternberg 1985). Also in recent years some have drawn on other fields such as anthropology and folklore for new perspectives on the Genesis narratives (Culley 1985: 180–89; Niditch 1987; Oden 1987; Hendel 1987b). At present there is a wide range of approaches to the Genesis narratives, though there is a regrettable tendency for each approach to be practiced in isolation from the others.

1. The Framework: Genealogy. Genealogies serve as a framework for Genesis on two complementary levels: redactional and conceptual. The final editor of the book (probably to be identified with the P redactor; see B.3 above) used genealogical lists as a structural framework for Genesis (*CMHE*, 301–21; Tengström 1981). The list begins in Genesis 5 with Adam's immediate line and continues in Genesis 10 and 11:10–27, and then occurs sporadically through the rest of the book, linking the various sections of narrative. The editor prefaces each of these sections with the phrase, "These are the generations of . . ." (*ʾēlleh tôlĕdôt . . .*), a heading that occurs ten times in Genesis. The editor essentially organized the book as a genealogical document, from the generations of heaven and earth (Gen 2:4a) to the genealogical descent of Israel's ancestors.

In addition to this redactional role in defining Genesis as a "book of generations," the genealogies also play a conceptual role. The conceptual function of genealogy is evident throughout Genesis (see Oden 1983; McCarter 1988). The linear genealogy from Adam to Jacob serves to define Israel's relationship to its neighbors and other foreign nations (the descendants of Noah, Gen 9:25–27 and Genesis 10; Moab and Ammon, Gen 19:30–38; Ishmael, Genesis 16; Edom, Gen 25:21–34). The segmented lineage of Jacob's sons serves to define the internal relationships of Israel, clarifying the relationships among the tribes and affirming the genealogical unity that binds them together as a nation. The idiom of kinship relationships, whether real or ascribed, is a key organization principle in the type of society called a segmentary lineage system, as Israel appears to have been in the era of the tribal league (see Wilson 1984: 30–53). Derived from this social base, the genealogical structure of the Genesis narratives served to define Israelite identity as a function of the kinship relationships of their ancestors. The genealogical framework of the book thus operates as an expression of ethnic, national, and religious self-definition. Many of the narratives are explicitly concerned with the clarity of kinship relationships (e.g, the wife-sister stories, Gen 12:10–20; 20; 26:1–11; the wooing of Rebekah, Genesis 24; the rape of Dinah, Genesis 34; Judah and Tamar, Genesis 38; the elevation of Ephraim, Genesis 48). The genealogical structure is difficult to separate from the individual stories; it appears that the narratives and kinship relationships are organically related, probably reflecting a common emergence in the early centuries of Israelite society (McCarter 1988: 15–19; and D below).

2. The Primeval Cycle. The stories of Genesis 1–11, often misleadingly called the "primeval *history*" (see the criticisms of Barr 1976; Hendel 1987a: 14 n. 8), form a loose cycle of stories, organized by the idiom of genealogical descent. The stories are properly termed "myths," that is, "sacred narratives that relate how the world and man came into their present form" (Dundes 1984: 1; cf. Oden 1987: 40–91; Müller 1972). The P sections of the primeval cycle include the creation myth of Gen 1:1–2:4a and a version of the flood in Genesis 6–9. The interplay between myth and cult in these P accounts has been mentioned above. The J section begins with the Garden of Eden and extends through the Tower of Babel.

In these myths we see more explicitly the multiple functions of traditional myth: to explore the transition from creation to the present world and to construct the categories and relationships that sustain a coherent world (see Turner 1968; Dundes 1984; O'Flaherty 1988; Blumenberg 1985). The transgressions in these myths—disobedience

(Adam and Eve), fratricide (Cain and Abel), illicit sexual union (Sons of God and Daughters of Men), generalized evil (the flood), familial taboos (curse of Canaan), excessive ambition (Tower of Babel)—serve as narrative catalysts that impel the movement toward the emergence of the present world; they provide the necessary crises for the definition of the proper relationships in the Israelite ethical system. In response to these transgressions Yahweh introduces the qualities and limitations of the present world: from an initial human state of nakedness and innocence come the familiar traits of clothing, mortality, work, the division of labor, a limited lifespan, the multiplicity of societies and languages, etc. The proper ethical relationships are established in this process: between man and woman, brother and brother, father and son, nation and nation, and running through all of these, human and God.

Many views have been advanced in recent years concerning a central theme of the primeval cycle: the increase of human sin and God's grace (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 24; Clines 1976: 502–3; see the criticisms of Golka 1980), the variety of human sin (Westermann 1984–86: 1. 53), the diminution of the "being" *(Dasein)* of humans (Steck 1971: 544), the irresolvable duality of human and divine (Oden 1981: 30–33), and the proper limits of the human "drive for life" (Fishbane 1979: 37). It may be appropriate to avoid the search for a single meaning and to consider the mythic role of the primeval cycle as a narrative exploration and point of origins for the categories and ethical relationships of ancient Israelite religion.

3. The Abraham Cycle. The stories of Abraham form a loosely connected cycle organized around two central themes: Abraham's need for a child and his relationship with Yahweh. These themes concern Abraham's identity as the ancestor of Israel and the founder of Israelite religion. The first theme is sounded in Gen 11:30 with the mention that "Sarai was barren, she had no child." The second theme begins two verses later with Yahweh's command to Abraham to "Go forth" (Gen 12:1). During the course of the Abraham cycle the relationship between Yahweh and Abraham is developed in various ways, with the problem of childlessness as a recurrent theme. The stories that concern Abraham's need for an heir include: the wife-sister stories, in which Sarah's status as Abraham's wife is endangered (Gen 12:10–20, J; Gen 20:1–7, E); the stories of the birth and expulsion of Ishmael (Gen 16:1–15, J; 21:9–21, E); the covenant with Abraham (Genesis 17, P); the announcement that Sarah will bear a son (Gen 18:1–15, J); the birth and circumcision of Isaac (Gen 21:1–8, JEP); and the binding of Isaac (Gen 22:1–19, E). The passages from the Promises writer in the Abraham cycle often concern the promise of descendants; also the passage in Gen 15:1–6 (source obscure) relates the promise of a son. The story of the wooing of Rebekah continues the concern for proper descendants to the next generation (Genesis 24, J).

Yahweh's relationship with Abraham is defined in the course of the Abraham cycle as that of a personal god who grants him offspring, land, abundance, blessing, and victory in battle. Abraham argues with Yahweh (Gen 18:22–33, J) but is obedient to his command (Gen 22:1–14, E), portraying a dialectic of autonomy and obedience that runs deeply in Israelite religion (Levenson 1988: 149–53). The Abraham cycle presents Abraham as father and religious founder; it defines Israel's claim to the promised land and its relationship with Ammon, Moab, Ishmael, and other peoples; and it depicts the religious bond between Yahweh and the children of Abraham.

4. The Jacob Cycle. The stories of Jacob and his family continue some of the main concerns of the Abraham cycle. The themes of the barren wife and the need for an heir recur in Gen 25:21 (Isaac and Rebekah, J) and Gen 29:31–30:24 (Jacob and Rachel, JE), but are minor concerns in comparison with the Abraham cycle. Jacob's relationship with Yahweh is also a subject of interest, particularly in the theophanies at Bethel (Gen 28:10–22, JE; 35:1–15, EP) and Penuel (Gen 32:23–33, E). The kinship with neighboring peoples, particularly Edomites and Arameans, is an important matter, as is the internal relationships among Jacob's children.

The Jacob cycle is primarily a narration of Jacob's life story and adventures, from his early career as a youthful trickster to his later identity as the eponymous ancestor of Israel (Hendel 1987b). Jacob faces a series of adversaries in the course of his career: initially Esau, later Laban, and at Penuel he contends with God. He prevails over his adversaries, both human and divine (as emphasized in Gen 32:29), generally through guile, and thereby wins the family birthright (Gen 25:29–34, J), the blessing of the first-born (Genesis 27, J), abundant flocks (Gen 30:25–31:8, JE), and finally a new name (Gen 32:27–29, E).

Jacob's character is defined through his encounters with adversaries (Hendel 1987b: 101–31). His adversarial relationship with his brother Esau is echoed in Rachel's rivalry with her sister Leah. Rachel, the younger child who becomes Jacob's favored wife, acquires the family gods by deceiving her father (Gen 31:19, 33–35, E), establishing her as a proper counterpart for Jacob, who acquired his father's blessing through deceit (Gen 27:1–29, J; see Hendel 1987b: 94–98). Jacob eventually resolves his relationships with his adversaries: first with Laban (Gen 31:43–54, E), then, curiously, with God (Gen 32:23–33, E), and finally with Esau (Gen 33:1–17, E).

The Jacob cycle traces Jacob's identity in its various aspects: as a trickster, a founder of cult places, a man of blessing, a husband and father, a contender with God, and an eponymous ancestor. Jacob's struggles and the eventual outcome—that he prevails (Gen 32:29)—form an evocative paradigm for Israelite identity.

5. The Joseph Narrative. The stories of Joseph have a different narrative pace than the other stories in Genesis; they linger on individual scenes and flow more directly from one episode to another. This is less a story cycle than a single narrative, though the difference may be one of degree rather than kind. Another difference concerns the absence of theophanies and links with cultic sites. It appears that the Joseph narrative continues the J, E, and P sources, though the differences between J and E are less distinct than in previous sections (compare Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 438–42; Redford 1970: 106–86; Schmitt 1980; Westermann 1984–86: 3. 20-22).

Joseph is not presented as a cult founder or patriarch (except as father of Ephraim and Manasseh), but as the favored son of Jacob who ascends to authority over his brothers, as foretold in his dreams (Gen 37:5–11). The

ascent of the youngest is a common theme in Israelite traditions (cf. Isaac over Ishmael, Jacob over Esau, Rachel over Leah, Ephraim over Manasseh, Gideon, David). The Joseph narrative traces the rise of this eponymous ancestor and provides a transition to the stories of the Exodus. Joseph's rise is told through a series of encounters with adversaries and benefactors, after each of which he experiences a change in status. Joseph begins as his father's favorite son and attracts the enmity of his brothers. His first transition, from beloved son to foreign slave, occurs after he is cast into a pit and his special garment taken away. As a slave he is the favorite of Potiphar but attracts the desire of Potiphar's wife. His identity is transformed from slave to prisoner as he is cast into prison, again with his garment torn away by his adversary. The repeated images of Joseph's clothing torn away present a series of symbolic "rites of passage" from one state to another, from beloved son to foreign slave to prisoner. After the cupbearer remembers Joseph's wisdom to Pharaoh, Joseph is released from prison and is dressed in new clothes (Gen 41:14), signaling a new ascent in identity. His success in interpreting Pharaoh's dreams is rewarded by a final ascent in status to Pharaoh's vizier, and is symbolically enacted when Pharaoh has Joseph dressed in fine clothes and jewelry (Gen 41:42). Joseph's rise is followed by his reunion and eventual reconciliation with his brothers. Yet before this occurs Joseph deceives his brothers, as Jacob had deceived his brother (Friedman 1986: 28–30; Niditch 1987: 99–104), and he implicitly threatens the life of the youngest son, Benjamin, by having a divining cup planted in his bag. In a moment of sharp irony, the brothers tear their clothes in anguish over the danger posed to their youngest brother (Gen 44:13), recalling the scene when Israel tore his clothes after the report of Joseph's death (Gen 37:34). Joseph then reveals his identity to his brothers and effects a reconciliation, symbolized in part by giving his brothers new clothes (Gen 45:22). The transformations that occur in the relationships of Joseph, his brothers, and the other major characters, are often accompanied by the granting, taking away, or tearing of clothing, providing a symbolic framework to the narrative. The key scenes in the story are also linked together by the themes of recognition, disguise, and knowledge, as Alter and others have noted (Alter 1981: 159–76; Sternberg 1985: 285–308). The end of the narrative, according to the E source, fulfills God's design: that the lives of the Israelites be saved (Gen 45:5–8; 50:20).

D. The Patriarchs and History

The topic of the relationship between history and the patriarchal narratives has been of much interest in recent years (e.g., Van Seters 1975; Thompson 1974; de Pury 1978; de Vaux 1978: 161–266; Dever 1977; Worschech 1983; Malamat *WLSGF* 303–13; McCarter 1988). The confidence of Albright and his colleagues that the "patriarchal period" could be located in the archaeological record of the second millennium B.C.E. has waned in the light of recent criticisms, and research into the historical memory of oral narrative traditions has tempered earlier claims (Culley 1967). If the writers of Genesis were drawing on the oral narrative traditions of their times, as is the most plausible scenario (see F below), then we would expect these traditions to preserve a variety of old historical details—social, economic, and religious customs, names and epithets, vague traces of particular events—but would expect many of the themes and plots to be traditional rather than historical (Vansina 1985; Lord 1972; Finnegan 1970). We would expect most of the historical referents to reflect the times when the stories were told, not the times that they purport to describe. From the limited historical data available to us, it appears that the relationship between history and tradition in the patriarchal narratives fits this general understanding of oral traditional narrative.

The Joseph narrative, though written down no earlier than the early monarchy, reflects in the tribal relationships a time when the Joseph tribes (Ephraim and Manasseh) were dominant. In the era of the Israelite tribal league, prior to the monarchy, Ephraim and Manasseh were the most populous tribes (*AIS*, 324–35) and apparently had a dominant status (cf. the tribal blessings in Gen 49:22–26, Deut 33:13–17). This story thus preserves in its plot a memory of the social relationships of the Israelite tribal league. It is possible that the elevation of Joseph to a position of authority in Egypt also preserves a vague memory of a time when men with West Semitic names ruled Egypt (the Hyksos dynasty, ca. 1670–1570 B.C.E.). The role of Reuben in the E stratum of the Joseph narrative recalls the period of early Israelite history when Reuben was still an important tribe, while the corresponding role of Judah in the J stratum reflects a time after the rise of David when Judah became a dominant power. In the Jacob cycle, the dominance of Jacob over Esau corresponds to the era of the monarchy when Edom was a vassal of Israel, ca. early 10th to mid-9th centuries B.C.E. (the reference in Gen 27:40b to a time when Edom will "break the yoke" of Israel appears to be a prose gloss added to update the poetic blessing; Gunkel *Genesis* HKAT, 314), yet Esau's name, locale, and character are independent of his identification with Edom; thus it is evident that his narrative role predates this period (Gunkel *Genesis* HKAT, xx; 1964: 23–24).

The names of the patriarchs follow normal West Semitic patterns that are found in the 2d and 1st millennia B.C.E., though the conspicuous absence of theophorous elements derived from the name "Yahweh" lends weight to the supposition that many may be genuinely archaic names. Occasional references in extrabiblical texts may directly relate to the patriarchal traditions. A local Canaanite ruler in the 18th century B.C.E. may have been named *yʿqb-HR* (in Eg transliteration), and it is conceivable that he may have been the precursor of the biblical *yaʿăqōb*, or Jacob (Kempinski 1988: 45–47). An Egyptian document from the 15th century B.C.E. mentions a Canaanite place named "Jacob-El"; this may also be a sign of the antiquity of the Jacob tradition (*LBHG*, 163; McCarter 1988: 24). An Egyptian document from the late 10th century B.C.E. mentions a place in Judah called the "Field of Abram"; it is likely that this place-name commemorated the biblical patriarch (Breasted 1904–5; *LBHG*, 328–29; McCarter 1988: 239–40 n. 58). The names and social relationships of the Israelite tribes may also shed light on the history of the patriarchal traditions. Some of the names of Jacob's sons may have been originally geographical designations (pos-

sibly Naphtali, Asher, Ephraim, Judah, Benjamin; see McCarter 1988: 28) that were personified as the names of tribal ancestors in the narrative traditions.

In general, the ethnic configurations in the narratives and genealogies reflect relations during the tribal league or early monarchy (Mazar 1969; McCarter 1988: 18–19), which was the era of the formation of Israelite identity and, evidently, of the narrative traditions which articulated this identity. There is thus a diversity of historical reference in the patriarchal narratives. Some items, such as the practice of erecting standing stones at sacred sites (Gen 28:18, 35:14) preserve customs that are continuous from Stone Age to Israelite times (Hendel 1987b: 66–67); many social and economic customs are at home during a broad range of the 2d and 1st millennia B.C.E. (Morrison 1983; Frymer-Kensky 1981; Matthews 1981; Selman 1980); while other elements of the stories, such as the prominence of Hebron, Beer-sheba, and Jerusalem, or the ethnic and tribal relationships, reflect a time when Israel had become a nation.

E. The Religion of the Patriarchs

Without corroborative evidence it is impossible to tell whether the patriarchs were historical individuals, and thus it is impossible to tell what their religion may have been. It is, however, possible to gain a sense of the religious beliefs and practices that are contained in the patriarchal narratives. Many of the features of patriarchal religion are ordinary traits of Israelite religion, including such religious practices and objects as altars, standing stones, animal sacrifice, circumcision, prayers, and oracles (de Vaux 1978: 282–87; Wenham 1980: 168–70). The sacred places founded by the patriarchs are local Israelite sacred places, reflecting the period before Josiah abolished the local shrines (ca. 622) and, more precisely, a time when these sites (Shechem, Bethel, Hebron, etc.) were prominent, pointing to the period of the tribal league and early monarchy (Mazar 1969: 81).

There is a notable discontinuity from the normal pattern of Israelite religion, however, in the name of the deity worshiped by the patriarchs (Alt 1929; *CMHE*, 44–75; Köckert 1988: 55–114; and, in the early poetry, Freedman 1976: 63–66, 87–98, and 1987). Both the E and P sources preserve a tradition that Yahweh did not reveal his true name to the patriarchs, but was known to them as simply "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" or "the God of your fathers" (E, see Exod 3:6) or "*ʾēl šadday*" (P, see Exod 6:3). The J source does not follow this tradition and tends to call the patriarchal deity Yahweh. The nature of the titles of the patriarchal deity in Genesis lend credence to the E and P tradition of a patriarchal deity that was not yet named Yahweh (on the following, see esp. *CMHE*, 46–60 and Cross *TDOT* 1: 255–60). The titles include *ʾēl rōʾî* (Gen 16:13), *ʾēl ʿôlām* (Gen 21:33), *ʾēl ʾĕlōhê yiśrāʾēl* (Gen 33:20), and *ʾēl šadday*. The god of Melchizedek, king of Salem, is called *ʾēl ʿelyôn qōnê šāmayim wāʾāreṣ* (Gen 14:19). The word *ʾēl* can be read either as a generic noun meaning "god" or as the personal name for a god named "El." The latter meaning clearly holds for the title *ʾēl ʾĕlōhê yiśrāʾēl*, literally, "El, the God of Israel." Many of the other divine titles are probably to be understood in the same way as titles of the god El: thus *ʾēl ʿôlām* is probably "El, the Eternal One" or "El, the Ancient One" (or simply "the god of eternity" or "the ancient god"), *ʾēl šadday* is probably "El, the Mountain One" (cf. the Ammonite gods called *šdyn*, probably "the mountain ones" in the Ammonite inscription from Deir ʿAlla; Hackett 1984: 85–89), *ʾēl ʿelyôn qōnê šāmayim wāʾāreṣ* is "El, the Most High, Creator of Heaven and Earth" (cf. the title "El, Creator of Earth" in Canaanite and other West Semitic texts; Miller 1980), etc. In much of the Hebrew Bible the name El is an alternate name for Yahweh, but in the tradition followed by E and P it is conceived as an *earlier* name than Yahweh.

The discovery of the Ugaritic tablets from the 14th century B.C.E. and other epigraphic finds has made it clear that in Canaanite religion the high god of the pantheon was named El. Many of the El epithets in Genesis are also attested of other gods in Canaanite, Phoenician, Aramaic, and Ammonite religion. It appears that the biblical tradition according to which a god named El was worshiped in the land of Israel (i.e., Canaan) prior to the settlement of the Israelite tribes is historically accurate, and that the religion of the patriarchs described in Genesis preserves at least some authentic memories of Canaanite religion (*pace* Van Seters 1980). Many of the religious features of the patriarchal narratives would be at home in Canaanite traditions. For example, there are many continuities in the relationship between El and his votaries Danel and Kirta in the Canaanite epics and El and the patriarchs in Genesis (*CMHE*, 182–83; Clifford 1973; Hendel 1987b: 33–67). However, the patriarchal narratives only preserve features of earlier religious practice and belief that are compatible with Israelite religion; thus while there are divine "messengers" (*malʾākîm*) in Genesis, there is no mention of Baal, Asherah, or other prominent Canaanite gods.

The patriarchs are monotheists (or monolatrists) and practice a form of "personal religion" in which a family enters into a close relationship with a deity, who blesses and protects the family. This type of religion is common in the ancient Near East, and appears to be a substrate of both Canaanite and Israelite religion (Albertz 1978; Vorlander 1975). The title "the God of my father" is often applied to the patron god in personal religion. This personal god has a name (*pace* Alt 1929) and is often one of the major gods of the pantheon. The religion of the patriarchs preserves memories of El as a personal god, and this religious tradition, rooted in pre-Israelite times, was apparently a precursor of Israelite religion, in which Yahweh is both a high god and a personal god.

F. Ancient Near Eastern Parallels

There are many parallels in ancient Near Eastern literature to the narrative elements (motifs, episodes, themes, story patterns) in Genesis. Some of these parallels are sufficiently precise to indicate a genetic or historical relationship between the stories, while others may be attributed to general habits of thought or universal storytelling techniques. Often it is difficult to distinguish between these two classes of parallels, which can be termed "cognate" (i.e., genetically related) and "typological" (i.e., not genetically related). Factors such as the degree of cultural contacts and the specificity and complexity of the parallel are important to assess in order to form a proper evaluation.

In general it appears that the primary basis for cognate parallels is not a scribal relationship between individual texts but a continuity of the narrative traditions that the texts (and their audiences) presume.

1. Cognate Parallels. Motifs belonging to the class of cognate parallels include: the heavenly "ladder" *(sullām)* in Gen 28:12 and the heavenly "ladder" *(simmiltu)* in Babylonian myth (see the Sultantepe version of "Nergal and Ereshkigal," Hendel 1987b: 65); the great dragons *(hattannînīm haggĕdōlîm)* in Gen 1:21 and the Ugaritic dragon *tunnānu* (Day 1985: 74); the "Sons of God" *(bĕnê hā'ĕlōhîm)* in Gen 6:1–4 and the Ugaritic "Sons of God," or more precisely, "Children of El" *(bn 'il)* (Hendel 1987a: 16 n. 16); the cherubim *(kĕrūbîm)* in Gen 3:24 and the Akkadian *kurību* and the frequent representation of mixed-breed guardian creatures in Near Eastern art (Freedman and O'Connor *TWAT* 4:322–34); the "seven years of famine" in Gen 41:27–30 and numerous examples of this motif in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Canaan (McCarter 1988: 26 n. 77); the "spurned wife" motif in Genesis 39 and the Egyptian "Tale of Two Brothers" (Redford 1970: 91–93; Irvin 1977: 185–88).

Some more general concepts or themes that are cognate include: the "garden of God" at the source of the rivers, including the Tigris and Euphrates, in Genesis 2--3 and the abode of Canaanite El at the source of the Tigris and Euphrates (see the Hittite myth "Elkunirsha" and the Ugaritic descriptions of El's abode at "the source of the rivers," Wallace 1985: 76–86); the creation of humans in "the image of God" *(ṣelem 'ĕlōhîm)* in Gen 1:27 and 5:1 and the Egyptian descriptions of the king (and occasionally all humanity) as the "image" of god and the Assyrian descriptions of various kings as the "image" *(ṣalmu)* of a god (Dion *DBSup* 10: 365–403); the lengthy lifespans of the antediluvian patriarchs in Genesis 5 and the lengthy lifespans of the antediluvian kings in Mesopotamian traditions (see the "Sumerian King List," VanderKam 1984: 23–38); the humans who have knowledge "like the gods (or: like God)" but are denied immortality in Genesis 3 and in Mesopotamian traditions (Adapa and Gilgamesh, see Westermann 1984–86: 1.272; Wallace 1985: 104–5); the creation of the universe by divine word or divine action in Genesis 1 and 2 and numerous Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Phoenician myths (Westermann 1984–86: 1.26–47; Blanquart 1987).

Whole story patterns that are cognate include: the flood stories in Genesis 6–9 and the several Mesopotamian stories of the flood (Westermann 1984–86: 1.398–401; Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 159–66); and the birth stories of the biblical patriarchs and the Ugaritic birth stories in the Aqhat and Kirta epics (Hendel 1987b: 37–59). The parallels in the flood story extend from the general plot to specific motifs and scenes such as the wisdom and piety of the flood hero, the instructions to build an ark, the sending of birds (or the same bird) three times to determine when the waters have abated, the landing place of the ark on a mountain in Armenia or Kurdistan, the flood hero's sacrifice after departure from the ark, a symbolic reminder of the flood (the rainbow in Genesis, a necklace in Atrahasis), and the ethical reflections of the deity (or deities) after the flood. Several obscure features of the biblical flood stories are illuminated by this history of tradition reaching back to older Mesopotamian myths. Yahweh's apparently unmotivated change of heart after Noah's sacrifice is illuminated by the Mesopotamian scene at a similar point in the myth when the flood hero offers a sacrifice and the starving gods realize that they are dependent on humans for their sustenance. Similarly, the apparent contradiction in Yahweh's decision to destroy *all* humans (Gen 6:7, J; 6:13, P) but to save Noah's family (Gen 6:8, J; 6:14, P) is clarified by the Mesopotamian tradition where there are two major gods in opposition, one of whom (Enlil) decides to destroy all humans, and another god (Enki) who determines to save the flood hero and his family. In the Israelite tradition a single god has taken on both divine roles—destroyer and savior—thus creating an inner tension in his character and a deep ambiguity in the story (cf. Petersen 1976; Müller 1985).

In the Canaanite and Israelite birth stories there is a similar story pattern and set of relationships between the childless father and his god(s). The hero (Daniel [or Danel], Kirta, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob) has a special relationship with the god (El or Yahweh/El), he appeals to the god(s), and El or Yahweh finally blesses the hero and promises him a son. The parallels in narrative themes and plot are accompanied by the common role of El or Yahweh in both narrative traditions as the patron god who bestows blessings and progeny to his favored ones (see D above). The birth stories in the patriarchal narratives appear to be later multiforms of the traditional birth stories of Canaanite epic, though with the differences one would expect in Israelite narrative: there are no prominent gods besides El/Yahweh, and the human heroes are not kings but farmers and herders (Hendel 1987b: 47–48).

The many cognate parallels between Israelite and Near Eastern texts lend credence to the theory that there existed a tradition of oral narrative in Israel that was continuous with other Near Eastern oral narrative traditions (Cross 1983; Wallace 1985; Hendel 1987b). There are some indications of cognate parallels with archaic Greek traditions as well, as in the myth of the destruction of the demigods in Gen 6:1–4 and the Greek tradition that the Trojan War was sent to destroy the mixed offspring of gods and mortal women (see Hesiod's "Catalogue of Women," Hendel 1987a: 18–20; Van Seters 1988: 4–9). The oral narrative traditions that served as the most likely source for these Near Eastern and Mediterranean parallels would have been characterized by a multiformity of stories and motifs, as one generally finds in oral narrative (Culley 1976: 1–68; Lord 1960). It is less likely that these parallels were generated primarily by textual or scribal traditions; it is possible that some Mesopotamian, Canaanite, or Egyptian literary texts were available to Israelite writers, but none have yet been found in Israelite sites, and direct textual influence is rarely discernible in biblical writings (a probable exception is the Egyptian "Instruction of Amenemope" and Prov 22:17–24:22, see McKane *Proverbs* OTL, 369–406).

2. Typological Parallels. Ancient Near Eastern parallels that are more likely typological than cognate include: the symbolic contrast of culture and nature in the rivalry between Jacob and Esau and in the Mesopotamian rivalry between Gilgamesh and Enkidu, the Egyptian rivalry between Horus and Seth, and the Phoenician rivalry between Hypsouranios and Ousoos (Hendel 1987b: 111–31); the

use of clothing to symbolize the *rites de passage* in the Joseph narrative (see above, C.5.) and in the Gilgamesh epic (Moran *EncRel* 5: 559); Jacob's mysterious wrestling encounter with God in Gen 32:23–33 and Gilgamesh's dream of a wrestling encounter with his patron god Shamash in the Gilgamesh epic (Hendel 1987b: 103–9). There are many typological parallels from other cultures for stories about tricksters like Jacob (Hendel 1987b: 123, 128–29; Niditch 1987: 95–118), wise heroes like Joseph (Niditch 1987: 110–14), heroes who wrestle with gods (de Pury 1979), primeval floods (Dundes 1988), and many other motifs and themes in Genesis (Frazer 1918; Gaster 1950). There are also typological parallels for the overall structure of the book of Genesis, beginning with myths of origins and extending through the lives of the ancestors, e.g., the Mayan *Popul Vuh* (Pitt-Rivers 1977: 149–50).

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RONALD S. HENDEL

GENESIS, THE NARRATIVE OF.

This entry consists of two articles surveying certain aspects of the story told in the biblical book of Genesis. The first summarizes the flow of the plot and the story line, while the second examines various literary forms that are found within the story.

THE GENESIS NARRATIVE

The book of Genesis, or the first book of Moses, is known in Jewish tradition by its opening words in Hebrew, *bĕrē'šît*, "in the beginning." The name Genesis derives from the LXX heading (Gk *Genesis*). Since the middle of the 18th century the great majority of scholars have explained the formation of Genesis, as part of the Pentateuch, by means of the documentary hypothesis, deriving in large part from K. H. Graf (1815–69) and A. Kuenen (1828–92), and given its definitive formulation by J. Wellhausen (1844–1918). All three scholars built on the work of their many predecessors, the earliest of whom were R. Simon (1638–1712), J. Astruc (1684–1766), and J. G. Eichhorn (1752–1827). The Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen hypothesis explained Genesis, and the Pentateuch, as in essence, the result of the juxtaposition of three written accounts of the origin of the human race and Israel known as the Yahwistic (J), Elohistic (E), and Priestly (P) documents. Scholars have sub-divided these sources further. Wellhausen's important contribution was to date the Priestly Document to the late

exilic or postexilic period. The standard introductions to the OT by Eissfeldt (1965; see also his article in *IDB* 2: 366–80), and Fohrer (1968) provide detailed accounts of the documentary hypothesis (see also TORAH). Though many scholars still follow this hypothesis in substance, it has been subject to thorough examination and penetrating criticism by Volz and Rudolph (1933), Cassuto (1961), Engnell (1969), Schmid (1976), Rendtorff (1977, 1985), Thompson (1987), Whybray (1987).

There has been a long and massive process of formation behind the book of Genesis. It is relatively simple to discern the heavily stylized Priestly tradition and, by and large, a "Yahwistic" storyteller. It is possible to note expansions of compact, self-contained stories, places where passages have been joined together more or less skillfully, and incoherences. There are also theological comments which betray a definite religious bias. In addition, the patriarchal stories are laid down on a set of promises, which reflect to a large extent the situation of land and people between the period of maximum expansion in the early monarchy and the Exile as well as the Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic interests. See also GENESIS, BOOK OF.

It is not known who gave to posterity the final biblical text of Genesis or when this was done, though it can scarcely have been preexilic. But this biblical text with its unity and disunity is the only definitive text that we have. It is this text that the scholar must exegete, always bearing in mind both its final form and its long period in the making.

Genesis may be divided conveniently into three parts: The primeval story, 1:1–11:26; The patriarchal story, 11:27–36:43; The Joseph story, chaps. 37–50. Though the contents of these parts are different and the types of story have their own characteristics, they are not entirely disparate. One leads into the other until, in the steady expansion of the human race in time and space under the dynamism of the creation blessing (1:28), the people that is to become Israel is in Egypt awaiting God's saving action. The word "story" is used to describe each of the three parts rather than history because history today, though descriptions of it vary, is still much under the influence of the fathers of modern scholarly and documented history—Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886) and Theodore Mommsen (1817–1903)—and rightly so. Von Ranke aimed to present the past "wie es eigentlich gewesen," "as it actually was"; Mommsen pored over centuries of documents relating to Roman history and law with similar interest. For the people of Israel, the book of Genesis, and the whole Pentateuch, is their tradition; this is their past, this has made them what they are, this is what happened.

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A. The Primeval Story

The Priestly (P) and Yahwistic (J) accounts of the primeval period may be considered separately, at least as a preliminary step, as each is large and, for the most part, presents an easily definable block.

1. P Source. The creation of the universe and its inhabitants, animal and human, is followed by the blessing which is effective in time in the long genealogy of chap. 5. There is no account of sin or transgression or revolt on the part of humankind as a prelude to the flood, but merely the statement that "the earth was corrupt . . . and . . . filled with violence" (6:11). This omission makes one hesitate to describe P as a continuous document. God is in complete control of the flood and its effects (7:16; 8:1). The blessing of creation is renewed after the flood (9:1), and an assurance is given to humankind that the order and stability of the universe will remain undisturbed (9:8–17). The extension of the human race in space, stemming from the sons of Noah, is recorded in chap. 10; the progression in time of the descendants of Shem (11:10–26) leads to the father of the family which is to become Israel.

2. J Source. The Yahwistic account presents a series of transgressions similar in style and pattern (cf. sections 5 and 6). The man and the woman transgress in chap. 3, and the first child, Cain, son of *hā'ādām*, transgresses in chap. 4. There follows the defiance of Lamech, the father of Jabal and Jubal, the first cattle breeders and metal workers (4:23–24). The transgression of "the sons of God" (6:1–4) is a prelude to the general revolt against God that leads to the flood (6:5–8). Assurance is given after the flood that the order and stability of the universe will remain undisturbed even though the human race remains evil (8:21–22). The revolt continues when Ham dishonors his father (9:20–27), and when "the sons of *hā'ādām*" attempt to burst their limitations (11:1–9).

3. Creation of the Universe and Its Inhabitants. The Priestly writer begins with a statement which distinguishes between God and "not God." "In the beginning God created the universe," has become, as it were, the superscription of the Bible. The Hebrew word *bārā'*, create, is used 46 times in the OT, always with God as subject, never with a preposition governing the material out of which God created, and with a variety of objects such as the universe, the human race, something new and wonderful (Isa 48:6–7; 65:17), the people of Israel. "The heavens and the

earth" are the equivalent of the cosmos, for which Hebrew has no single word. The sentence in v 1 is of primary importance. It is an affirmation that God is supreme and, of course, alone to be worshipped; but the people of God fell away continually throughout its history and worshipped "not-God." Verse 2 describes "before creation." The Priestly writer speaks out of the ordered universe of his experience, in which day follows night with regularity, season follows season, plants sprout and animals breed at their proper times, and water and land have their proper place. "Before creation" is the opposite of this, namely *tôhû wā bōhû*, "a formless waste or chaos." Darkness was over the deep.

The verse in Genesis describes "before creation" in a language and imagery stamped strongly or faintly by the language and imagery of the ancient Near East. It is "chaos" as opposed to "cosmos." One cannot speak of God creating chaos or formless pre-existent matter; this is a contradiction in terms. "God created" means God created order. This sentiment is expressed in the Isaian passage, "He (God) did not create *(bārā')* it (the universe) a chaos *(tôhû);* he formed it to be inhabited" (Isa 45:18). The problem of *creatio ex nihilo,* creation out of nothing, is not a problem here; it became one for later generations when Hebrew and Hellenistic culture came together (cf. Wis 11:17; 2 Macc 7:28).

The great Jewish scholar of the Middle Ages, Rashi, Rabbi Solomon, Son of Isaac (d. 1105), read v 1 as a temporal subordinate clause (protasis) in the construct with v 3 (apodosis), and v 2 as a parenthesis: "When God began to create (or In the beginning of God's creating) the heaven and the earth—the earth being unformed and void, with darkness over the surface of the deep and a wind from God sweeping over the water—God said, 'Let there be light'; and there was light" (NJPSV; Orlinsky 1983: 207–9; Speiser *Genesis* AB, 12–73). The NEB joins vv 1 and 2 as protasis and apodosis and reads v 3 as an independent principal sentence: "In the beginning of creation, when God made heaven and earth, the earth was without form and void, with darkness over the face of the abyss, and a mighty wind that swept over the surface of the waters. God said." The NAB is virtually the same. In yet another view the action begins with the 3d part of v 2: "When God began to create . . . , the earth was . . . ; and the spirit of God was moving over the surface of the waters, and God said . . ." The writer, it is claimed, goes a step behind creation; v 2c is a circumstantial sentence referring to the creative breath of God which is about to become the creative word (Steck 1981: 236–37). The NIV and JB (1985, 2d ed.) retain the more familiar RSV translation reading vv 1, 2, 3 as three successive main sentences. The question cannot be resolved on grounds of syntax alone. The structure of the chapter as a whole, in particular the eight times repeated "And God said," must be brought into the discussion. The position adopted here is that "And God said" introduces each work of creation after the presentation of chaos according to a pattern.

The word of God in the formula "And God said" (vv 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26, [29]) dominates the account of the creation of the ordered universe and its inhabitants. God creates light and order, which are necessary for vegetable, animal, and human life to exist. He does this by his word. The writer stands in the full stream of the tradition of the ANE. "The creative power of the word underlies all Mesopotamian religious literature" (Jacobsen 1976: 15). The creative word is a feature too of the Egyptian theology of Memphis (Dürr 1938; Koch 1965). The word in the ancient Near East was presented under the image of a natural and cosmic power (Dürr 1938: 21); it came from the mouth of God and was the power that creates and sustains in existence. The word of God in the Bible must be effective, just because it is *God's* word (Pss 33:6; 104:7–9; 147:15–20; Isa 55:10–11). It is no emanation from the divinity, but depends on God's will.

The priestly creation account follows a pattern in vv 3–25. Immediately after the formula, "And God said," followed by the command, and before any action, there is the fulfillment formula, "and it was so." The exceptions in the MT are vv 6–7, where the words follow the action of v 7 rather than the command of v 6, and vv 20–22, where "and it was so," expected at the end of v 20, does not occur at all. In the LXX, however, the fulfillment formula, "and it was so," follows the word of command immediately in each case (vv 3, 6, 9, 11, 15, 20, 24; "and there was light" in v 3, in both MT and LXX, is an equivalent). Whether the LXX imposed the fixed pattern or followed a slightly different Hebrew text, or whether there has been a slight dislocation and an omission in the MT, cannot be decided. It can be stated reasonably that there is the pattern, Word-Formula-Event. God's word effects an event that follows immediately on it and in precise accordance with what is said. There is an inner connection between God's word and the event. God's word is an event. The pattern is there in essence in vv 26–31 where God speaks, creates, blesses, assigns a function, and makes provision for the human race and the animals; the formula "and it was so" is at the end of v 30. A second formula, "And God saw that it was good" (vv 4, 8 [LXX only], 10, 12, 18, 21, 25); v 31 ("very good"), means that the ordered world with its inhabitants, human and animal, was just as it should be as it came from the word of God.

The creation of humankind (Heb *hā'ādām*), begins with the words: "And God said," (v 26), and ends with "and it was so," (v 30). "Let us make" is best understood as a plural of deliberation, though there may be an echo of the heavenly court. The word *hā'ādām* means predominantly humankind, one of the human race; its various meaning groups are all related in some way to the creaturely state of humans; *'ādām* occurs 46 times in Gen 1–11. God creates *hā'ādām* "in our image" (Heb *ṣelem*) and "according to our likeness" (Heb *dĕmût*) (Gen 1:26). In Gen 5:3 (also P), Adam begot a son "in his own likeness" (Heb *bidĕmûtô*) and "after his image" (Heb *keṣalmo*), the same words used in Gen 1:26. Just as there is something of the father in the son, and there can be communication and response between the two, so there is something of God in *hā'ādām,* and there can be communication and response between them.

The statement about creation in v 27 is best set out in rhythmic form:

So God created man *(bārā' 'et hā'ādām)* in his own
image *(ṣelem),*

In the image of God he created *(bārā')* him,
Male and female he created *(bārā')* them.

The creation of the human race is the creation of male and female. In v 28 the blessing, in the plural, is given to "them," male and female. To bless is to bestow with the dynamism to increase. The blessing is given to humans and animals alike (v 22), and is natural to them. Both man and woman receive dominion over the world that God has created (v 28). "Dominion is not a license to caprice and tyranny but, in the best sense, a challenge to responsibility and the duty to make right prevail" (Vawter 1977: 59). *Hā'ādām* stands over God's ordered creation (Psalm 8), but with God, the creator of all, as humankind's point of reference.

"The universe (the heavens and the earth) and all its furnishing was completed" (2:1); the verse resumes 1:1. The Priestly writer now links creation formally with the seven-day week and the Israelite sabbath (2:2–3), and with the last words of v 3 echoes 1:1 once again, "because on it he rested from all the work which God created *('ăšer bārā' 'ĕlōhîm)* and made."

The priestly creation account carries traces of a variety of presentations of creation in the ancient Near East. Besides creation by word and act, there are traces of creation by separation (v 6), by eduction (v 11), and by spontaneous generation (v 20). But the priestly tradition has brought all under the creative word of God, though not at all times smoothly. There are some polemics too in the priestly account. Light is not to be identified with God (vv 3–5) as in Egypt (*ANET,* 365–66, 368); the sun and the moon (their names, *šemeš* and *yārēaḥ* are not used) are not deities (see the warnings in Deut 4:12, 15–20; 17:3; Job 31:31–38; and the abuses, 2 Kgs 23:5–11), but are described in their functions in an ordered universe (vv 14–18); it is God, not Baal, who gives fertility through God's own blessing. These 35 verses are priestly doctrine, the fruit of centuries of careful theological reflection (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 63).

"These are the generations (Heb *tôlĕdôt,* or, this is the story) of the heavens and the earth in their being created" (2:4a). The word *tôlĕdôt* means begettings, generations, genealogies; hence, story, descendants, family history. *Tôlĕdôt* is used in Genesis in 2:4a (universe); 5:1 (Adam); 6:9 (Noah); 10:1 (Noah's sons); 11:10 (Shem); 11:27 (Terah); 25:12 (Ishmael); 25:19 (Isaac); 36:1, 9 (Esau); 37:2 (Jacob). This half verse (2:4a) is a link verse from the Priestly tradition. In retrospect, the ordered universe has been created; in prospect, the story of the human race, and of Israel, can run its course in the created universe (Anderson 1977: 160–62).

4. The Garden and the Transgression (2:4b–3:24). In the ancient Near East the story of the creation of the human race is a tradition separate from the creation of the universe. The final editor of Genesis has taken one such story, the work of the storytelling Yahwist, and put it immediately after the account of the creation of the universe. Revolt against God follows upon God's ordering of chaos. The story is not cut from whole cloth. The account of the four rivers (2:10–14) is an independent piece of geographical information; the punishments in 3:14–19 are etiological. There are the well-known themes from the ancient Near East of the garden and the tree of life. The grammatical structure of the opening verses, 2:5–8, is similar to the structure of the opening of the Babylonian epic, Enuma Elish: "When YHWH-Elohim made the earth and the heavens, there was not yet . . . nor was there *'ādām* . . . then YHWH-Elohim formed *hā'ādām.*" The Babylonian epic begins: "When on high the heaven had not been named, firm ground had not been called by name . . . no reed hut . . . no marshland . . . no gods . . . then it was that the gods were formed within them" (*ANET,* 60–61). The important difference is that there is no theogony, that is, genealogy of the gods, in Genesis.

The author of 2:4b–3:24 has fashioned a unity, tying the parts together with great skill. *Hā'ādām,* dust from the earth (2:7) is to return to the source whence he came just because that is what he is (3:19); the tree of life, a symbol of immortality in the ancient Near East (2:9), must be protected against man's attempt to reach beyond himself (3:22, 24); the prohibition to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is at the center of the story (2:16–17; 3:3, 11–12); the experiences of no shame and shame are linked (2:25; 3:7); nearness to God in the garden (2:9, 15) is followed by alienation and expulsion (3:23, 24). The Yahwist has given unity to disparate traditions and motifs.

a. Making of *hā'ādām* (2:4b–7). The combined name, *YHWH-'ĕlōhîm* (2:4a) occurs only in Gen 2–3 (in Exod 9:30 the text is uncertain). It is probably a construction of the Yahwist (or an editor) to mediate the transition from *'ĕlōhîm* in chap. 1 to YHWH. Man *(hā'ādām)* from the surface dust *('āpār),* of the ground *('ădāmâ;* 2:7) is destined to return to the *'ădāmâ,* because he is *'āpār;* the human being is linked inexorably with the ground and is limited; because of this limitation the human being is not immortal; human destiny is from the mother's womb to the womb of mother earth. The human being is a living being *(nepeš ḥayyâ;* 2:7) one with all other living beings (1:20, 21, 24, 30; 2:19; 9:10, 12, 25). In 9:12–14 God makes a covenant with all living beings.

b. Rivers (2:10–14). The author incorporates into the text a piece of vague geographical information (2:10–14), saying that the four great rivers, the Indus? *(Pîšôn),* the Nile? *(Gîḥôn),* the Tigris *(Ḥiddeqel),* and the Euphrates *(Pĕrāt),* the sources of the earth's fertility, have their origin in the river in God's garden. Verse 10 is best rendered: "And there is a river going out from Eden to water the garden, and from there it divides into branches and becomes four (separate) streams."

c. Prohibition (2:15–17). The prohibition in 2:15–17 is essential to the story of chaps. 2–3 (cf. 3:3, 11–13). There is plenty for the man to eat in the garden. The prohibition does not improve a privation, but tells the man that God the creator, who possesses a will beyond the creature, requires him to live according to the creator's will. The human being is limited; the creature cannot be the creator. The prohibition implies the possibility of the opposite, namely, of the creature acting freely against the creator. The penalty is pronounced in the form of a capital offense. If or when (*bĕyôm* does not mean "on the very day") you do so, then you are guilty of a capital crime (Heb *môt tamût* or *yāmût,* a traditional phrase from the sanctions in the legal sections of the Pentateuch). Both stories of creation take for granted that work belongs to the nature of

hā'ādām who is at work before the revolt against God (1:28; 2:15).

d. Woman (2:18–25). The man is alone in the garden, and this is not good (2:18). It is not that *YHWH-'ĕlōhîm* forgot to create woman or that God experimented to see if the man could manage alone. Neither is it that God took a wrong track in parading the animals before the man to see if the man could find a partner among them. The man exercises his dominion over the animals by naming them; he then decides himself that there is none among them that can stand before him as his counterpart. The "deep sleep" and the removal of a rib from the man are part of the story. The counterpart is of the same stuff as the man. There is no indication that the counterpart is to be subordinate. "This is one *(zō't)* at last is bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh; this one *(zō't)* shall be called woman *('iššâ)* because this one *(zō't)* has been taken from man *('iš)*" (2:23). The author repeats the forceful Hebrew demonstrative pronoun three times; it is this one, distinct from the animals, that is his equal, in whom he is reflected. "Bone of my bone" is a traditional formula of relationship (cf. Gen 29:14; Judg 9:23; 2 Sam 5:1; 19:13–14; in each case the RSV renders the Hebrew "bone" by "flesh and blood"). The word *'iššâ*, woman, taken from *'iš*, man, is a name etiology. The author is expressing the complete oneness of man and woman: their physical and spiritual unity, their mutual belonging as equals, their mutual joy in each other. They are to form their own community of life (2:24), and their relationship is without embarrassment (v 25).

e. Transgression (3:1–7). The man and the woman are naked (Heb *'ărûmmîm*); the serpent is *'ārûm*, clever. The serpent is a creature of God, "the most clever of all the animals that *YHWH-'ĕlōhîm* had made" (3:1). There is the inexplicable riddle of a creature of God leading another creature of God to transgress God's prohibition. In the modern study of folklore, a talking animal is a trait of the fairy tale or folktale *(Märchen)*. The present scene is in the realm of primeval event, before time. The question is not, what does the serpent represent, but what is its function in the story? Its function is to act as antagonist to the woman in a brief dialogue. It disappears from the action as soon as it has enticed the woman to transgress, to be mentioned later as the object of God's curse (3:14–15). The serpent was a symbol of wisdom and magic in Mesopotamia and Egypt. There was the tradition of the bronze serpent in Israel (Num 21:4–9), an object which was worshipped in the temple area and later destroyed by Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:4). The serpent was familiar in Israel on pottery with serpent decorations on the handles, on cultstands showing twined serpents, and on an inscribed silver cup from 2250–2000 B.C.E. (*EAEHL* 2.457–58, 477). The serpent was also a symbol of the Canaanite fertility cult, as witnessed by the thousands of cult symbols found in Palestine in the form of figurines of a naked woman with a serpent twined around her neck. Though the serpent in Genesis represents none of these, nor does it represent Satan or human desire or intellectual curiosity or a power of the underworld, nevertheless it is difficult to deny that it would evoke associations, especially with the Canaanite fertility cult, in the minds of the Israelites who listened to the story. See SERPENT (RELIGIOUS SYMBOL).

The serpent exaggerates the divine prohibition (3:2); the woman in reply limits it to the proper object, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, but builds a fence around it, "you shall not even touch it" (3:3). The serpent's counter is that "you (plural throughout) will be like God (or the gods) knowing good and evil" (3:4). The word *hā'ādām* has been made like God, "little less than *'ĕlōhîm* (God, the heavenly beings?)" (Ps 8:5); now he will be God. Knowledge for the Israelite was not something theoretical, on the plane of mere understanding. It was practical and experiential. The knowledge of good and evil is the knowledge of what is good and evil for *hā'ādām*, with whom these first 11 chapters are concerned. It is a knowledge that concerns humankind in community; the transgression is only completed when the man and the woman have eaten the fruit. To read the text as the seduction of the man by the woman is to read what is not in the text. The man and the woman were aiming to be masters of good and evil, to determine good and evil, to be autonomous and so to determine the course of life without reference to God.

The writer faces that unfathomable riddle which is part of the human race so long as and wherever it exists. There is in the human being that drive to transcend the self by overstepping or bursting the limits within which it is set. There is nothing wrong in the desire itself. The fruit is "good to eat and pleasing to look at." Two normal and good reactions are described. The fruit is also "desirable so as to make one wise." It is here that the drive to overstep the limits is introduced (Vawter 1977: 79). The relationship of the man and the woman to God is changed by the transgression; hence too their relationship to each other. They are now embarrassed (cf. 2:25). They try to take away their own shame by covering themselves with fig leaves; but they still have to hide themselves from God.

f. Interrogation (3:8–13). God's call to the man: "Where are you?" is decisive for understanding the story. The man and the woman are unmasked before God, who alone can take away their guilt. The four questions (3:9–13), call up the prohibition of 2:16–17. Though the man and the woman each try to shift the responsibility, each must remain responsible for the free individual transgression. There is no interrogation of the serpent; neither its motive nor the origin of evil are explained.

g. Etiologies (3:14–19). These come from another source or are partly or wholly a construction of the Yahwist. In none of the three punishments is it a case of before and after. There was not a state in which the serpent moved along in a way different from crawling on its belly, in which there was painless childbirth, or when the man did not sweat at his work and thorns and thistles did not grow. The writer speaks out of his own situation in which he knows of the enmity between serpents and humans and of the burdens of life, offering an explanation of the cause, that is, an etiology.

The serpent is cursed. In v 1 the serpent is clever (Heb *'ārûm*) above all wild creatures; in v 14 it is cursed (Heb *'ārûr*) above all wild creatures. Neither the woman nor the man is cursed, but the ground is cursed; and the man in his work is involved in the consequences. The woman is considered as wife and mother. In the very relationships where she finds her fulfillment, her dignity, and her joy,

she also finds pain, suffering, and subordination. The writer speaks out of his own social situation.

h. Woman's Name; God's Intervention (3:20–21). The wife's name is *ḥāwwâ* (Gk *zôē*, "life" 3:20). The blessing of fertility is there. Ben Sirach reflects on the "mother of all the living":

> A great anxiety has God allotted,
> and a heavy yoke to the sons of men;
> from the day one leaves his mother's womb,
> to the day he returns to the mother of all the living.
> (Sir 40:1)

God makes garments of skins for the man and the woman (3:21), a sign of his care for his creatures. He alone can take away their shame and guilt before each other and before him.

i. Expulsion (3:22–24). The story concludes with 3:23. It is the original punishment. From a life of intimacy with God, the man has passed into a state of alienation, and his life is forever bound to the earth. 3:22 and 3:24 are aware of the two trees of 2:9; they form another ending. 3:22 has the form of a brief divine soliloquy (cf. 1:26; 11:6, 7). The man and the woman have sought to be morally autonomous by eating from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Will they now reach for immortality as Gilgamesh did (*ANET,* 96)? But the Adapa myth says: "To him (man) he had given wisdom; eternal life he had not given him" (*ANET,* 101, lines 4–5). "And God expelled the man and at the east of the garden of Eden he stationed cherubim and the flickering flaming sword to guard the way to the tree of life" (3:24; Westermann 1984: 183, 174–75). The cherubim, whose human-beast-bird form varies at different epochs of Mesopotamian civilization, are to protect access to the tree of life.

5. Synthesis (1:1–3:24). The story of Gen 2:4b–3:24 is the story of the primeval event. It is beyond history. It is the story of humankind or Everyman. The goal is not to present an ultimate state of the human race which is different from a previous state. The man and the woman are not endowed with supernatural or preternatural powers which they lost. The story reflects on the human being, and the writer speaks again out of his experience. This is what the human being is: created, limited, weak, with that dynamic in-built drive to know, to continue the species, and to reach beyond, and hence to burst its limitations and to be independent of the creator. Such is *hā'ādām* of the writer's experience; such has *hā'ādām* been from the beginning. There is the sequence, to be repeated several times in chaps. 1–11, of limitation, transgression, punishment, saving action—or simply crime and punishment. The story is making a basic statement about the human being which no religious, philosophical, scientific, technical, or medical advance can alter: the human being is never anything else but limited and weak. The story is about the representatives of mankind in the primeval period who, for the writer and his listeners, were people in history, the first man and the first woman. It is not concerned with hereditary sin as such or with death as punishment for sin. The story must not be read or interpreted in isolation, but with the rest of chaps. 1–11 as one of several stories about *hā'ādām* that follow a definite pattern.

6. Pattern of Transgression. There follows on chaps. 2–3 a series of independent stories (4:1–16; 6:5–8 + 8:20–22 with 6:9–22 + 9:1–17; 11:1–9) about *hā'ādām* which have been brought together in a common pattern. *Hā'ādām* "knew" (experienced within proper union) his wife (4:1); God saw that the wickedness of *hā'ādām* was great, he was sorry that he had made *hā'ādām*, and he decided to blot out *hā'ādām* (6:5, 6, 7; the *kôl bāśār*, "all flesh," of 6:12 is the priestly equivalent; it is the human being in all its limitations); the *bĕnê hā'ādām*, the sons of man (11:5) reach for the heavens (in 6:1, see below, *hā'ādām* begins to increase in number on earth). In the story of Cain and Abel, the first children in primeval time, Cain usurps God's right. God has given life (4:1) but Cain takes it; God punishes and, at the same time, protects Cain (4:15). The accusation or interrogation (4:9–12) is very like that in 3:9–13. In 6:5–8 the revolt of *hā'ādām* has reached gigantic proportions; hence the punishment is proportional (see also 6:11–13). God saves through the ark. In the Priestly account, God chooses Noah, a just man (6:9) as the instrument through which he is to exercise his saving justice. The men who build the tower (11:1–9) want to become God, or reach to God, to make a name for themselves but not for God (11:4), by means of technology. The builders, who spoke one language (11:1), did not want to be scattered (11:4). They defied God with the work of their hands and so their language was confused; they were scattered and they did not make a name for themselves. God's saving action appears in the Priestly genealogy that introduces Abraham (11:27) and in the Yahwistic introduction to the patriarchal story (12:1–3) where God's choice, Abraham, is the instrument through whom "all the families of the earth shall bless themselves." With chaps. 2–3, these three stories follow a pattern of limitation, transgression, punishment, saving action.

7. Further Transgressions (4:23–24; 6:1–4; 9:20–27). God has reserved vengeance to himself (4:15). Lamech, a direct descendant of Cain (4:17–18) boasts before his wives that he will take vengeance himself (4:23–24), thus usurping the place of God. The four verses which are a preface to the biblical flood story (6:1–4) are not part of the traditional flood material from Mesopotamia. Rather, the writer uses a myth or mythical fragment, probably from Canaanite sources, and adapts it to his own purpose. The myth gave an account of the origin of the giants, the *nĕphîlîm* (Num 13:33; Deut 1:28), and the heroes of old, the *gibbôrîm*. The text as it stands is a "mythological torso" (Gunkel *Genesis* HKAT, lxvi). It is another story about *hā'ādām* as the introductory sentence indicates: "When *hā'ādām* began to multiply on the face of the earth" (6:1). The "sons of God (or the gods)" are clearly celestial beings (Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; Pss 29:1; 89:6(7); 1 Kgs 22:19). There is a mingling of the human and the divine in an attempt to grasp at immortality in some form or other. Though the story is about primeval events, that is, about the human race in general, it was told and heard in a culture which was familiar with ritual prostitution as a form of contact with the divine. But there is to be no immortality for the created human being. Yahweh intervenes (6:3); God's spirit, which gives the breath of life, will not remain in *'ādām* forever; three generations (3 × 40) shall be the length of a person's days (God's great servant and prophet,

Moses, died at 120 years, Deut 34:7). The pattern of crime and punishment is there.

The wickedness of *hā'ādām* (see 8:21 and below) continues after the flood (9:20–27). Ham, a son of Noah, dishonors his father. The brothers Shem and Japheth make amends and do not look on their father's nakedness, for nakedness, in Israel, meant a loss of human respect. Ham is cursed by his father. The names Ham and Canaan are not connected philologically, and the Hamites are not Canaanites. "Ham was the father of Canaan" (9:18b), is a phrase inserted to link a genealogy with a story and is repeated in 9:22. The story itself takes up the genealogical note of 5:29. Drunkenness was just bad manners but not a crime in Israelite society; wine was not the invention of a god, but the result of human industry and not to be feared; it was a gift of God (Ps 104:15). In Canaan, the dutiful son is the one "who takes him (his father) by the hand when he is drunk, carries him when he is sated with wine" (*ANET*, 150, lines 32–33). Ham was not a dutiful son.

8. Genealogies. The genealogies from the Yahwistic tradition (e.g. 4:1–2, 17–22, 25–26) are usually annotated and do not simply report generation and ages. Notes on the progress of civilization are added to the short genealogy in 4:20–22: Jabal was the father of those who dwell in tents and have cattle, Jubal was the father of those who play the lyre and harp, Tubal-Cain was the forger of all instruments of bronze and iron. This type of genealogy is continued in 4:25–26. In 4:26b, the writer identifies the God who is invoked in the primeval stories with YHWH, the God of Israel: "then it was begun to call on the name of YHWH."

The names in the genealogy in 4:1, 17–22, 25–26 are the same as those in the Priestly genealogy in chap. 5, though with some variations: Seth and Enoch are interchanged (4:25–26 and 5:3–5, 6–8); the order of Enoch (4:17; 5:21) and Mahalalel/Mehujael (4:18; 5:15) is reversed. Noah of 5:29 belongs to chap. 4, after Lamech, and points forward at the same time to 9:20–27.

The Priestly writer begins his genealogy with the *tôlĕdôt*, "generations," formula in 5:1–3, where he resumes the language of 1:26–27—*bārā'*, "he created," *zākār ûnĕqēbâ*, "male and female," *ṣelem* and *dĕmût*, "image" and "likeness." In 5:4–5 he moves into a pattern which continues into the 10th generation of Noah, with modifications in the cases of Enoch (5:24) and Lamech (5:29). The enumeration of the years to the birth of the son, the name of the son, the generalizations about other sons and daughters, and further enumeration, end with the simple words "and he died" (except for Enoch, 5:24). The death of Noah, following the same pattern, is recorded after the flood in 9:29. Not even the hero of the flood is immortal. This is in contrast to the Mesopotamian flood story in which the hero Utnapishtim and his wife are enrolled among the immortals (*ANET*, 93, Tablet XI, lines 1–7; 95, lines 193–97). As for Enoch, he "walked with God and he was not, for God took him" (5:24). This note has given rise to an extensive intertestamental literature surrounding Enoch. The mystery of the long lifespan of the primeval patriarchs has not yet been solved (Vawter 1977: 103–9; Westermann 1984: 352–54).

The genealogy from Shem, a son of Noah, to Abraham (11:10–26) is modeled on chap. 5 and likewise spans ten generations. It omits "and he died," which is added 8 times by the LXX. The ages of the ancestors of Abraham are high enough, though not as high as in chap. 5. The movement here is from the primeval period into the framework of history.

The genealogies are an essential part of the structure of chaps. 1–11. They portray the blessing of 1:28 and 9:1, 6 working itself out in time. They are an old and independent literary type which have their origin among nomad peoples where the basic sociological unit is the clan or family. The genealogy is the basis of origin and belonging (Johnson 1969; Wilson 1975, 1977; Westermann 1984: 6–18).

9. Flood (6:5–9:17). The flood story is set within the framework of the Priestly genealogy (5:1–28, 30–32, and 9:28–29). The analysis presented here supports the view that this block of material is composite in structure. The final editor has left intact the introduction and conclusion of both J and P without any interweaving of texts. The Yahwistic introduction and conclusion are linked neatly: "The Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually" (6:5); *hā'ādām* is repeated three times in 6:5a; 6:6a; 6:7a. J is interpreting in 6:5b. The words are taken up in the conclusion: "I will never again curse the ground because of man, even though (*kî*, emphatic concessive) the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth" (8:21). Then follows Yahweh's pledge that henceforth nature will run its regular course (8:22). The Yahwistic account of the flood moves directly from the divine decision to destroy creation to the entrance into the ark (7:1–5). There is no mention of the construction of the ark. The introduction ends with "Noah did all that Yahweh had commanded him" (7:5), as does the priestly introduction (6:22), though with *'ĕlōhîm* instead of YHWH. The Yahwistic material in the description of the flood proper is very sparse, no more than 7:7, 10, 12, 16b, 22–23. The flood is caused simply by rain (7:12; 8:2) which fell for forty days and forty nights (7:4, 12). Noah finds out that the flood has ended and the waters have abated by experimentation. He sends out birds (8:6–12, 13b) as did Utnapishtim in the Mesopotamian epic (*ANET*, 95, lines 156–61).

The Priestly account of the flood moves directly from the genealogy (5:32) to the flood (6:9). The earth is corrupt and seething with revolt (6:11–12), and God decides to destroy it. God had blessed creation and seen that it was just as it should be (chap. 1). Now, with no previous mention of transgression or corruption, the whole world is corrupt. The instructions for building the ark (6:14–16) may be compared with the parallel instructions in the Mesopotamian account (*ANET*, 93, lines 24–31, 50–69). In the introduction, in the description of the flood itself and the abating of the waters, and in the account of the exit from the ark, P enumerates those who were saved with the animals (6:18–21; 7:13–16a; 8:1a, 15–19). There is a detailed chronological framework (7:6, 11, 24; 8:3b, 4, 5a, 5b, 13a, 14), and the flood is described as a return to primeval chaos (7:11; 8:2). The flood gates are open for 150 days. The flood and its effects last a complete solar year (7:11 and 8:15), i.e., twelve lunar months alternating

between 29 and 30 days (a 354-day year) plus eleven supplementary days. Throughout the whole account, God is in complete control. The combined account moves to a mighty crescendo: "the waters increased, and bore up the ark" (7:17); "the waters prevailed and increased greatly" (7:18); "and the waters prevailed so mightily" (7:19); "the waters prevailed above the mountains" (7:20); "all flesh died" (7:23); "and the waters prevailed upon the earth a hundred and fifty days" (7:24). There is a pause after the crescendo reaches its height, "But God remembered Noah" (8:1), followed by a decrescendo down to 8:19.

The repetitions in the narrative as a whole, with the J reference first in each case, are: the general corruption (6:5–7 and 6:11–13); the announcement of the flood (7:4 and 6:13, 17); Noah ordered to enter the ark (7:1–3 and 6:18–20); Noah obeys (7:5 and 6:22); Noah enters (7:7 and 7:13); the deluge commences (7:10 and 7:11); the waters rise and lift the ark (7:17 and 7:18); all living things die (7:22–23 and 7:21); the waters subside (8:3a and 8:1a); God's promise (8:21–22 and 9:8–17). In the J account seven pairs of clean and one pair of unclean animals enter the ark (7:2), and it just rains (7:4, 12; 8:2b). In the P account one pair of each species enter the ark (6:9–20; 7:15–16), and the windows of the firmament open and the waters under the earth burst forth (7:11; 8:2a).

In the light of this evidence, it is beyond reasonable doubt that the biblical writers knew the Mesopotamian flood story in some form. In fact, a fragment of the epic from the 15th century, written in Akkadian, was found accidentally at Megiddo.

The Priestly conclusion to the flood story (9:1–17) resumes the blessings of creation (1:22, 28), and gives an assurance that God will henceforth be faithful to his creation. It is in two parts, each framed by an *inclusio:* (1) 9:1–7: "And God blessed Noah and his sons and said to them: Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth" (9:1); "be fruitful and multiply and bring forth abundantly on the earth, and multiply on it" (9:7); and (2) 9:8–17: "Behold I establish my covenant with you" (9:8); "This is the sign of the covenant which I have established between me and all flesh" (9:17). In 9:1–7, living creatures, as well as vegetable matter, are put at human disposal. Blood is taboo, a tradition elaborated in Lev 17:10–14. There was an ancient belief that life resided in the pulsating blood. It is not a question of shedding blood as such, nor of the material, blood, but of blood in so far as and so long as it is the life of an animal. An ancient prohibition against eating blood has been put into the context of the concession to *hāʾādām* to eat flesh. The passage 9:5–6 is best set out in verse form:

v 5 *the blood of your lives* I will *demand*
from every living being will I *demand* it
from *hāʾādām,* from each person, I will *demand* the *life*
of *hāʾādām*

v 6 who sheds the blood of *hāʾādām*
on behalf of *hāʾādām* shall his blood be shed
for God has made *hāʾādām* in his image.

Vengeance belongs to God. The prohibition is against clan vengeance. 9:6 does not give *hāʾādām* the right to take the life of *hāʾādām,* whom God has made in his image. As this image consists in a relationship to God (1:27), murder is a direct affront to God.

9:8–11 describes the covenant, and 9:12–17 describes the sign of the covenant. In the Hebrew text, the word *bĕrît* dominates the passages (9:11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17) where it occurs 7 times. It is already there in 6:18(P). In both contexts it describes a solemn assurance by which God binds himself. There is no quid pro quo. The initiative and the assurance comes from God. The rainbow is the natural sign that the rain has passed; here it is the sign that destruction has passed. God binds himself to the earth (9:13), to Noah (9:15), and to all living things on earth (9:15, 16, 17). The covenant is an eternal covenant, *bĕrît ʿōlām* (9:16), a typical priestly expression (Gen 17:7, 13, 19; Exod 31:16; Lev 24:8; Num 18:19; 25:13). The goal of the Flood Narrative for the Priestly writer is a solemn assurance by God that he will remain faithful to his creation. The earth is to be populated anew by the descendants of the survivors of the flood (9:18).

10. Table of Nations (10:1–32). The table of the nations synthesizes Israel's knowledge of the inhabited world in the period of Solomon in the 10th century B.C.E., and at the same time affirms the unity of the human race and the common stem from which it springs. It is an extraordinary combination of system and lack of system. A Priestly framework embraces two largely self-contained blocks from other (J?) sources.

The Priestly writer introduces the generations, *tôlĕdôt,* or descendants of the sons of Noah—the sons of Japheth (10:2–4), peoples to the north; of Ham (10:6–7), peoples to the south; of Shem (10:22–23), peoples to the east. Each list ends with a summary description of what a nation is: "These are the sons of (Japheth, Ham, Shem) in their lands, each with his own language, by their families, in their nations." The formula is virtually the same each time (10:5, 20, 31). The whole is summed up with a closing formula in 10:32. Only Japheth, Ham, and Shem are personal names, the rest being the names of peoples, countries, or regions.

The first block (10:8–19) is fitted in between 10:7 and 10:20. It elaborates on three of the names mentioned in the P list, Cush, Egypt, and Canaan. After the note on Cush's son, Nimrod (10:8–9), the list is expanded with names of lower Mesopotamian cities (or regions; 10:10), and northern Mesopotamian names (10:11–12). Misraim (Egypt) is the father of eight peoples, each with a Hebrew plural ending (10:13–14). After Canaan's firstborn, Heth, come four Canaanite peoples, Jebusites, Amorites, Gergashites, and Hivites (10:16–17a), and five Phoenician peoples, Arkites, Sinites, Arvadites, Zemanites, and Hamathites (10:17b–18a), and a geographical note on Canaan and seven of its main cities (10:18b–19).

The second block (10:24–30) follows the P list of peoples to the east. Arpachshad (10:24) may well be a people to the east, though in 11:10–13 it is a personal name, as are Shelah and Eber (11:13–15). There is a note on Peleg (10:25), though it is not known to what it refers. The sons of Joktan (10:26–30) are thirteen South Arabian names.

Jerusalem had commercial dealings with many of these groups just as it did with most of the Phoenician names.

Israel is but one of these many nations, some of which have made substantial contributions to civilization. If Israel has any claim, it is due not to herself, but to God's election (Deut 7:7–8).

11. Statement of Genesis 1–11. The biblical text of Gen 1:1–11:26 is Israel's statement on the universe and the human race. The statement is complete only when both contributions, the Priestly and the Yahwistic, are read together as they stand. The Priestly writer is the systematizer, the Yahwistic writer is the story-teller who recounts the wickedness of *hā'ādām* through stories. The Priestly writer presents God's ordered universe as the theater in which man and woman, made in God's image and likeness, and so with a special relationship to him, are to play out a responsible existence. He records God's blessing (1:28) working itself out in time (5:1–32; 11:10–26) and space (chap. 10). Though he knows that the earth has become corrupt in God's sight (6:11–12), he gives no account of the revolt of *hā'ādām*. However, the Yahwist does give such an account; it is his theme. The writer speaks from the world of experience, the world of revolt of *hā'ādām* against God (chaps. 2–3), of brother against brother (4:1–16), of the race against the creator (6:5–8). God states, "I will blot out *hā'ādām* whom I have created" (6:7). God's order is destroyed by the flood which God sends. The Priestly writer sees it as a return to primeval chaos (7:11; 8:2a). Both writers record a return to the stability and order of creation (8:22; 9:12–16), again effected by God. The primeval blessing is renewed (9:1, 7). But *hā'ādām* remains perverse (8:21). He continues to revolt, now by means of the work of his hands (11:1–9). But God will not abandon his creature of revolt. Such, then, is *hā'ādām;* such has *hā'ādām* always been and will always be.

B. Patriarchal Story

The story of the patriarchs may be divided into two parts, (1) the Abraham cycle, 11:27–25:28, and (2) the Jacob-Esau cycle, 25:19–36:43. The figure of Isaac joins the two parts; he is the channel through which the promises made to Abraham (26:3, 5, 24; 28:3–4) pass on to Jacob. This division is not arbitrary, as each part begins with the *tôlēdôt* formula: "these are the descendants of Terah" (11:27) and "these are the descendants of Isaac, Abraham's son" (25:19), and each resumes a preceding genealogy. The parts are called cycles, i.e. each is a collection of individual stories or traditions about the patriarch which may have had already a certain unity, and which has now been given a final unity and stretched on a rack of promises. Neither part is a modern biography.

1. Abraham Cycle (11:27–25:18). These chapters present a portrait of Abraham which is definitive biblically and which has determined all subsequent Jewish and Christian understanding of Abraham up to the Enlightenment. The portraits that come from the Yahwistic or Priestly sources, or from any other sources, are not complete. They are like the preliminary sketches of Leonardo da Vinci or Michelangelo. The faces and figures from the sketches can be seen in the final picture, but they are not the complete picture. The biblical writers, Yahwist, Elohist(?), Priestly, and others, as well as the final editor, did not work from nothing, but from material already at hand which itself had undergone a process of transmission. Each writer or editor was, in varying degrees, a receiver, a transmitter, and a contributor. The final product is not a carefully assembled jigsaw puzzle, but a loosely coherent story, put together from genealogies, lists, enumerative passages, and family stories, into and around which have been woven a variety of motifs: the complaints of childless parents; the promises of a son, of descendants, of land, of assistance; the promise in danger, and the son in danger. The final account is neither mere history, nor mere story, nor mere retrojection. It is coherent narrative in which all three elements coalesce within a theological framework.

a. Barrenness, Promise of a Son, Fulfillment. Gen 11:27–32 is the first introduction to the story of the patriarchs. Its purpose is to link them in retrospect with the primeval story and to outline in prospect the framework in which the story of Abraham is to be played out. Abraham the father is also Abraham the son; his father, Terah, belongs to the nations. The elements of the Priestly genealogy (vv 27a–b) lead into an itinerary (vv 31–32), and are combined with a genealogy at hand to the Yahwist (vv 27b–30), so as to form a literary unity. A typical Yahwistic note on the genealogy sounds the theme of the Abraham cycle: "Now Sarai was barren; she had no child" (11:30). There follows at once a promise of increase and direct descendants (12:1–3). The Yahwist has constructed this second introduction to the story of the patriarchs as a theological transition. To bless is to bestow the dynamism of fertility (Gen 1:27). Immediately the promise, or rather the instrument through which the promise is to be fulfilled, is put in danger (12:10–20 = 20:1–18 = 26:1–11); the repetitions of this story of "the ancestress (or promise) in danger" are best explained as the reworking of 12:10–20 by authors who, respectively, had the narratives in chap. 12 and then chapters 12 and 20 before them (Westermann 1985: 161–68; 318–29; 394–400). The tension between barrenness and fertility has been set up and is resolved only in 21:1–7, when a son is born to Abraham and Sarah. "Sarai's childlessness is the pre-condition for almost all the narratives that follow" (Gunkel *Genesis* HKAT, 162). In chap. 15 Abraham complains to God that he has no heir, but God assures him that "your own son shall be your heir" (15:4b). In 16:1, the absence of an heir, "Now Sarai, Abraham's wife, bore him no children," leads to the Hagar episode (16:1–14). In chap. 17, the Priestly writer heaps the promises together and has God repeat his assurance that Abraham and Sarah shall have their own son (17:15–21). This assurance constitutes the narrative about the visitors to Abraham's tent in 18:1–16a. The promise is put in danger again in 20:1–18, but God intervenes. Finally there is fulfillment with resolution of the tension in 21:1–7. Barrenness, the promise of a son, the absence of a son, the continual assurance, and the fulfillment constitute the Abraham cycle of the biblical text.

b. Promise of a Son, Descendants, and Land. The stories, accounts, reports, and episodes in chapters 15–18 are of different origins. Many scholars think that chapter 15 contains the beginning of the Elohistic strand in the Pentateuch and that the editor uses this tradition as the framework into which he has fitted a corresponding Yahwistic account so as to produce a literary unity (Cazelles

1962). Others suggest that the chapter consists of two stories fashioned out of the promises, namely, the promise of a son and descendants (vv 1–6), and the promise of the land (vv 7–21). They are "fictitious narratives" (*nachgeahmte Erzählungen,* Lohfink 1967). These narratives have been edited into the present context and introduced by "And after these things," an editorial link (cf. Gen 22:1; 22:20; 39:7; 40:1; 48:1).

In chap. 16, a Priestly framework (vv 1[a], 3, 14–16), encloses a Yahwistic narrative (vv 1[a]b–2, 4–14). Chapter 17 is not a narrative, but a literary construction of the Priestly writer, and is entirely theological. The writer reworks traditions at hand to him (12:1–3; 15; 18:1–16a), and accumulates virtually all the promise material into vv 1–22. The writer gathers together in concentrated form the essence of the Abraham story, what is in fact the central point in his conception of the patriarchal story. Hitherto he has given only genealogies and itineraries (11:27, 31–32; 12:4b–5; 13:6, 11b, 12; 16:1a, 3, 15–16). Now he gives his first detailed discourse. The key word, *bĕrît,* "covenant," here solemn assurance, is used 13 times in the passage (vv 1–22), which is framed by "God appeared to Abram" (v 1), and "God went up from Abraham" (v 22); once in the introduction (v 2); 3 times in the promise (vv 3–8); 6 times in the prescription of circumcision (vv 9–14); 3 times in the promise (vv 15–21).

The passage 18:1–16a is another type of narrative in which the promise of a son is given by God under the traditional figure of the unknown traveler(s). Abraham addresses the three wayfarers as "my Lord," *ʾădonāy* (v 3). In v 9a the phrase "they said to him" indicates that the group dialogues with Abraham. When Abraham replies in v 9b, only one of the travelers continues the dialogue, "and he said" (v 10). Then in v 13 one of the travelers is identified in the statement, "YHWH said to Abraham." So after the meal the travelers take over the conversation affirming that a son shall be born to Abraham and Sarah within the year. The promise is again in danger in 20:1–18, but is fulfilled in 21:1–7.

c. Other Abraham Traditions. Three other stories about Abraham are added in chaps. 22–24, the theme of each being sounded at the beginning: "God tested Abraham" (22:1); "And Sarah died at Kiriath-arba" (23:2), and so a burial place must be found for her; "Swear . . . that you . . . will go to my country and to my kindred, and take a wife for my son Isaac" (24:3–4), so that the promise may be handed on.

The first story (22:1–19) is tied loosely to the material preceding it by the formula, "Now after these things." A story that tells how God tested Abraham to see whether he could give back to God the promised son, freely given to Abraham, is joined with a reassurance of the promises in the language and imagery of 12:3 and 28:14, given a Deuteronomic direction with "because you have done this, and not withheld your son . . . because you have obeyed my voice" (vv 16b and 18b).

Chapters 23 and 24 are family narratives about death and marriage. The story of the purchase of the family tomb is set in a priestly frame (23:1–2, 19), and may well be the work of the priestly writer. The long narrative about the quest for a wife for Isaac is regarded by many as late, though repetitions like 24:11–14, 15–27, 42–49, and 24:2–8 and 34–42 are common in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey.* Abraham is the chief figure in each of these stories. He is the center of chap. 22, and he initiates the action in chaps. 23 and 24. With the heir now settled in marriage (24:62–67), and with the promise of blessing assured, the Abraham cycle can close. His death, after a life of fulfillment (25:7–10[11]) is prefaced and followed by two genealogies (25:1–6; 25:12–18). Ishmael too has been blessed (17:20[P]; 21:13[J]), and his descendants are accounted for. The promises can now pass through Isaac to Jacob. (The Abraham cycle includes another tradition about Hagar and Ishmael [21:8–21], which has been joined to the account of the birth of Isaac [21:1–7].)

d. Figure of Lot. Lot is mentioned in the genealogy of 11:27, and as a member of the company in the itineraries of 11:31; 12:4–5; 13:1–4. A narrative about a dispute between his herdsmen and Abraham's (13:1–12, 18; probably composite) grows out of the itinerary. After Abraham and Lot separate (13:11b), Lot settles in Sodom. The name of the city evokes another tradition about Lot, namely the destruction of Sodom and Lot's role in it, which is anticipated here: "Now the men of Sodom were wicked, great sinners against the Lord" (13:13). The actual events are narrated in chap. 19, an account which is preceded by the dialogue between the Lord and Abraham about the punishment of the innocent with the guilty (18:22–32). This is itself preceded by a theological reflection (of the Yahwist?) in the form of a divine soliloquy which reaffirms that Abraham's descendants will be numerous, but that they must, in Deuteronomic tradition, "keep the way of the Lord by doing righteousness and justice" (18:19b).

e. Abraham the Warrior-Hero. The account of Abraham, the warrior-hero, remains an enigma. There is general agreement that it cannot be assigned to either of the traditions J or P, but stands outside them. Some scholars regard it as an authentic account of a historical event, at least in substance (Speiser *Genesis* AB, 103–9). "But this text appears as an erratic block and is more a hindrance than a help to the historian" (de Vaux 1964: 240; *EHI* 216–20, 258–63). Other scholars reject the "historicity" of the chapter (Thompson 1974: 187–95; Van Seters 1975: 296–308). A full history of the interpretation of the chapter may be found in Schatz (1972). Emerton (1971a, b) and Westermann (1985: 187–208) have opened the most satisfactory approach. Verses 1–11 are a self-contained account of a campaign in annalistic style (vv 1, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11; cf. Zakir Stele, *ANET,* 501) into which an account of another campaign (vv 5b–7), and two lists (vv 1–2; 8–9) have been inserted. The account ends in v 11, and no sequence is expected. Verses 12–17 with vv 21–24 are a narrative following the pattern of the hero stories from the period of the judges (compare Gen 14:14–15 with Judg 7:16–19). A narrative from this period has been applied to Abraham so as to exalt the patriarch to the status of a hero and a savior figure. This narrative has been joined to vv 1–11 which have determined the interpretation of the whole. The section about Melchizedek (vv 18–20) forms an independent episode which breaks the continuity between vv 17 and 21; there was probably some sort of story behind them. They reflect sedentary cult in which priest and tithes have their proper place.

2. Jacob-Esau Cycle. The Jacob-Esau cycle is nicely

dovetailed into the Abraham cycle and continues the family story. The cycle begins with the *tôlĕdôt* formula: "These are the descendants of Isaac, Abraham's son" (25:19–20, 26b). The opening passage, describing the struggle of the twins in Rebekah's womb (25:21–26a), sounds the theme of the cycle, conflict and rivalry—between Jacob and Esau, Jacob and Laban, Rachel and Leah; and the following episode about the pot of red soup (25:27–34; *ʾādōm*, a play on *ʾdm*, "red"; hence the descendants of Esau are the Edomites, "the red ones"), sketches with a couple of strokes the broad outline of the type to which each twin belongs. The Jacob-Esau cycle draws on several blocks of tradition. Two of the blocks, Jacob and Esau-Edom (26:29–34; 27:32–33) and Jacob-Laban (29–31; 29:31–30:24, the sons of Jacob, represent a later stage of the tradition), have a Transjordanian setting, the latter being in NE Syria. Another block is set in central Israel, 28:10–20 and 35:7–14 at Bethel, 33:19–20 at Shechem, and 35:2–4 at Bethel and Shechem. There are two traditions about Jacob's change of name (32:23–33 [—Eng 22–32]) and 35:9–13. Jacob is indeed "a wandering Aramaean" (de Vaux *EHI* 169–85; Blum 1984).

a. Isaac. There is a collection of stories about Isaac which have already been told about Abraham. 26:1–11 (= 20:1–18 = 12:10–20) is a story about the ancestress and the promise in danger; 26:17–25 (= 21:25–31) tells of a dispute about wells; 26:26–33 (= 21:22–32) narrates a confrontation between the patriarch and Abimelech. Isaac is a less important figure in the biblical story of the patriarchs; he is the channel through which the promises made to Abraham (26:3, 5, 24; 28:3–4) pass on to Jacob (Israel).

b. Jacob-Esau Conflict Begins. The action that causes the conflict between Jacob and Esau begins with the deception of Isaac, who is now old and blind (27:1–40). The character types and the parental preferences, noted in 25:27–28, are resumed in 27:3–4, 11–15, 34. Jacob is quiet and pliable, Esau rough and ready. The matter at issue is the father's blessing (27:4, 12, 25, 27–31, 31–38, 41) which Jacob gains by deception and which, after some decades in Paddan-aram, he gives back in part to Esau to seal their reconciliation (33:11).

The conflict is now in motion, and Esau plans to kill Jacob (27:41–45). Rebekah again initiates the action and urges Jacob to flee to her brother Laban in Haran. But there is another motive for Jacob's journey to the region between the two rivers. Esau has taken Hittite wives (26:34) who are an irritant to Rebekah and Isaac (26:35; 27:46). The one who is to carry the promise, Jacob, must take a wife from the family of the patriarch, Abraham (28:1–5). Isaac blesses Jacob again. There is no mention of the deception. As a consequence Esau, who has already two Canaanite (Hittite) wives, goes to his uncle, Ishmael, Isaac's brother from Abraham and Hagar, and takes another wife (28:6–9).

The first conflict, between Jacob and Esau, is now left, as it were, hanging in the air. It is to be resumed and resolved in chaps. 32–33. As Jacob leaves Canaan, he encounters God, 28:10–20, just as he does years later when he returns to Canaan, 32:23–33 [—Eng 22–32]). These two key encounters frame the lengthy Jacob-Laban conflict, chaps. 29–31.

c. Jacob at Bethel. The biblical text narrates that Jacob "happens upon a place" *(yipgaᶜ bammāqôm)*, which is a sanctuary, though he himself is not aware that it is a sacred place. He takes a stone from the place and puts it *at* his head as a protection (he is not using the stone as a pillow). In a dream he sees a ramp *(sullām)* or sloping earthworks reaching from the ground to the heavens on which members of the heavenly court (Job 1:6; Gen 32:2–3 [—Eng 1–2]) are going up and coming down. Heaven and earth are joined, and so Jacob knows that the place is holy. Yahweh stands by Jacob (not at the top of the ramp) and repeats the promises of the land and numerous descendants, and adds another, the promise of the divine assistance or presence, "I will be with you"—a promise peculiar to the Jacob-Esau cycle (26:3–24; 28:15 [—Eng 20]; 31:3; 32:10 [—Eng 9]; 46:3; cf. 48:15; 50:24). Jacob now realizes that "Yahweh is in this place" (vv 16–17). He takes the protective stone which he had put at his head, sets it up as a holy stone *(maṣṣēbâ)* and anoints it. It is to be a witness to the event. He calls the place "the house of El (God)" *(bêt-ʾēl)*. He makes a vow and promises tithes (vv 20–22).

Most scholars regard the story of Jacob's experience at Bethel as composite. De Pury (1975: 33–35, 173–76) lists 21 scholars with their proposed divisions of the text which they assign in various ways to J, E, and a redactor. Blum (1984: 9–35) rejects all source division of the passage and argues that Gen 28:10–22 comprises a compact self-contained narrative (vv 11–13a, 16–19a) which gives an account of the foundation of a place of worship by the eponymous father of the people; this story has been built into the broader context of the Jacob cycle by the itinerary note (v 10), the divine speech (vv 13a–15) and the account of Jacob's vows (vv 20–22). The narrative begins with v 11 and continues as far as v 13a, "And YHWH stood beside him." It is interrupted by vv 13a–15 and is resumed in v 16 continuing on to v 19, "He called the name of that place Bethel." The passages vv 13a–15 and 20–22, it is argued, take up a number of themes which have nothing to do with the narrative and which presuppose the broader context of the patriarchal story, e.g., the promise of the land (28:13b–14, see 12:7; 13:14–17; 15:7–21; 26:3–4; 28:4; 35:12; 48:3–4), the promise of descendants (28:14, see 13:14–17; 22:17–18; 26:2–5, 24; 28:3–4; 35:11–13; 48:3–4, 16, 19), the formulas "like the dust of the earth" (28:14a, see 13:16) and "by you shall all the families of the earth bless themselves" (28:14b, see 12:3; 18:18; 22:18), the promise of assistance or presence (28:15, see 26:3, 24; 31:3; 46:3). Blum's argument is very cogent.

There was a sanctuary at Luz in ancient Canaanite times which became Bethel (28:19) and, later, an important center of worship in Israel. The place was to play an important role in Israel's history: it was taken by the house of Jacob (Judg 1:22–25); it was a premonarchic sanctuary and place of assembly (Judg 20:18, 26; 21:2; 1 Kgs 7:16); it was linked with the beginnings of prophecy (2 Kgs 2:2–3:23); and it was the chief sanctuary in the N kingdom (Amos 5:5; 7:10–13; Hos 10:5). There was a tradition that linked the patriarch Jacob with Bethel. The final redactor has taken the story that preserves this story tradition about Jacob, joined it with the promises, and added vv 20–22 so as to link the later cultic practices of vow and tithes, proper to sedentary life, to the patriarch and to Bethel, thus

binding the story into its present context. The whole is now part of the Jacob-Esau cycle.

d. Jacob-Laban Conflict. This is a self-contained conflict narrative in which there is no mention of Esau. The first part (29:1–30) is a combination of two stories, the story of Jacob "the wandering Aramaean" who is looking for a wife and comes to love Rachel (vv 1–14), and the story of Laban, the deceiver (vv 15–30). The second part (30:25–32:54) tells how Jacob outwits Laban (30:25–43), how he leaves Laban's household and outwits him again (31:1–42), and how they are reconciled by making a solemn treaty (32:43–55). God was with Jacob throughout, particularly in the latter episodes (31:11–13, 24, 29, 42).

Just as the self-contained Jacob-Laban conflict has been inserted into the Jacob-Esau conflict, so too has the Rachel-Leah conflict (29:31–30:24) been inserted into the Jacob-Laban conflict. There is a conflict (29:31–30:24) within a conflict (29:1–30 and 30:35–31:54) within a conflict (27:41–45 and chapters 32–33).

The account of the rivalry between Rachel and Leah (29:31–30:24) includes the naming of the twelve children, eleven sons (Benjamin is born later, 35:16–19) and one daughter. The naming seems to be the work of a reviser or editor who gives, as the reason for each name, an action of God in language reminiscent of the Psalms (Westermann 1985: 471–77). The twelve tribes are mentioned in Genesis in chapters 29–30; 35:16–20, 22–28; 46:8–15; 49:1–17. The naming of the children is worked into old narrative material.

Jacob is now ready to return to his own country (30:25). But his departure can only harm Laban who has profited from his twenty years of work (30:25–26). God's blessing has always accompanied Jacob's work (30:30). Jacob now outwits Laban (30:37–43). it is not at all clear what is going on in this old herder's tale. Jacob and Laban finally resolve the conflict with a treaty in which they invoke "the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor, the God of their father" (31:53). The climax of this well-ordered and well-edited chapter comes in v 42: "If the God of my father, the God of Abraham and the Fear of Isaac, had not been on my side, surely you would have sent me away empty-handed. God saw my affliction and the labor of my hands, and rebuked you last night." Laban has learned that might is not right (vv 24, 29, 38–42).

e. Resolution of the Jacob-Esau Conflict. These are chapters of meetings and encounters: with an army of heavenly beings (32:2–3 [—Eng 1–2]); with Esau (32:4–9 [—Eng 3–8], 14–22 [—Eng 13–21]; 33:1–17); with God (32:10–13 [—Eng 9–12]); with the "man" at the river Jabbok (32:23–33 [—Eng 22–32]).

Jacob is afraid as he prepares to meet Esau. But God's power appears in the form of *malʾākê ʾĕlohîm,* angels (32:2 [—Eng 1]). Jacob had seen the *malʾākê ʾĕlohîm* in his dream vision at Bethel (28:12); they are not the *malʾāk YHWH* of 16:7; 21:17; 22:11, 15 who is Yahweh's messenger and is identified with Yahweh; rather, they are members of the heavenly court who represent God's power in 32:2 (—Eng 1) and his holiness in 28:12, the only two passages where the expression occurs. Jacob sends two embassies to Esau (32:4–9 [—Eng 3–8] and 32:14–22 [—Eng 13–21]); between them he prays for God's help (v 12 [—Eng 11]) and frames the petition by reminding God of his promises (vv 10 [—Eng 9] and 13 [—Eng 12]).

(1) Encounter at the Jabbok. There is broad agreement that a story or a tradition about a demon that guards access to a ford across the river Jabbok has been associated with or applied to Jacob. The Jabbok, *Nahr-ez-Zerqa* (the blue river), flows into the Jordan from the E side about 40 km N of the Dead Sea through a very steep ravine. After crossing and meeting Esau, Jacob appears next at Succoth (33:17) and Shechem (33:18–19), both to the N of the Jabbok, a sign that the present passage is not of one piece with the rest of the Jacob story.

The biblical story says that a man, *ʾîš,* wrestles with Jacob all night but is unable to overcome him. Jacob demands that the man bless him, which he does (vv 27, 30 [—Eng 26, 29]). Jacob reveals his own name, and the man changes it: "Your name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel, because you have striven with God and with men, and have prevailed" (v 29 [—Eng 28]). When the "man" (spirit/demon) "faded on the crowing of the cock" (*Hamlet* 1, 1; cf. v 27 [—Eng 26]), Jacob realizes that he has in some mysterious way, encountered God: "For I have seen God face to face, and yet my life is preserved" (v 31 [—Eng 30]). He calls the place Peni-el (v 31 [—Eng 30]), "face of God" (Penu-el v 32 [—Eng 31]); the former has a better assonance with *pannîm,* face. An etiological piece about a taboo concerning the sinew of the hip has been built into the story (26 [—Eng 25b]), 32–33 [—Eng 31–32]).

There have been many attempts to explain the meaning of the name Israel, *yiśrāʾēl:* it has been derived from *śrh,* to prevail or contend; *śrh,* to fight: *śrr,* to rule; Arabic *waśara* and Ethiopic *šaraya,* to heal (Thompson 1974: 40–43). More recently Vermes (1975: 12–14) has derived it from *śrr,* to rule, act as a prince, and has traced its later development in Jewish writing. The "man" of Genesis becomes an "angel" in Hos 12:4–5. An encounter with a river demon has become an encounter with God. Hence, Jacob has struggled with God. God has blessed him, and he can now go to his meeting with Esau in the strength of God.

(2) Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau. Jacob's ceremonial greeting (vv 1–3, 6–7) is in contrast to Esau's warm advance (vv 4–5). There is no recrimination. Jacob makes a gift to Esau (v 10), thus restoring something of what he had stolen: "accept my gift (*bĕrākâ* blessing) . . . because God has dealt graciously with me" (v 11). God's favor at work with Jacob is the determining factor. Each, now settled in his own lifestyle, goes his own way (vv 12–17). The biblical story brings them together again to bury Isaac (35:19).

f. Shechem. The chapter is in four parts: vv 1–3, the violation of Dinah; vv 4–24, the negotiations; vv 25–29, the attack (with the conclusion in 35:5); vv 30–31, the reaction of Jacob. Two narratives, an older family narrative (a Shechem tradition), and a tribal narrative (a Hamor tradition), have been joined by an editor who made his own contribution to form a third and final narrative.

g. Bethel Revisited; Death of Isaac. The account of God's commission to Jacob and his household (35:1–7) refers back to the encounter at Bethel (28:10–20, in 35:1b, 3b, 7b). The writer is bringing the story of Jacob's flight and return to a close. The conclusion of chapter 34 is 35:5; v 6 is an itinerary sentence from P, molded into a

unity with v 7 by the redactor. The redactor has arranged the chapter according to a definite plan. The Priestly section is a clearly planned whole, included between two itinerary notes (vv 6 and 27). In v 6, Jacob comes to Bethel; then God appears to him (vv 9–13; v 10 is the Priestly change of name); vv 22b–26 comprise a list of the sons of Jacob; in v 27 Jacob comes to Mamre. Finally in vv 28–29, Isaac dies. The texts that do not belong to P are set into an itinerary (vv 8, 14–15 [P knows nothing of pillars], 16–20, 21–22a); and the itinerary is expanded with notes or brief narratives (vv 8, 17–18, 22a). The editor has prefaced his account with a construction of his own, tying it with 28:10–20. It is important for the family unity that Esau and Jacob bury Isaac (35:29), just as it is that Ishmael and Isaac bury Abraham (25:9).

h. Descendants of Esau. The chapter is a redactional unity:

vv 1–14	sons of Esau	names of sons
15–19	chiefs of the sons of Esau	and chiefs are identical
20–28	sons of Seir	names of sons
29–30	chiefs of the sons of Seir	and chiefs are identical
31–39	kings of Edom	
40–43	chiefs of Esau (an appendix)	

Verses 1–5 are a Priestly construction, introduced by *tôlĕdôt* (v 1). Three Canaanite wives of Esau are named, Adah, Oholibamah, and Basemath. The other wives of Esau are Judith and Basemath (26:34) and Mahalath (28:9). The Edomite king list comes from the period after David's conquest of Edom (2 Sam 8:13b–14). It has been suggested that the list derives most probably from the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century B.C.E. (Knauf 1985).

C. Patriarchs and Promises

1. An Event between God and the Patriarchs. The promises tell of something that happens between God and the patriarchs, and so are a part of patriarchal religion. God makes the promises directly, without a mediator. Most of the divine addresses in chaps. 12–50 are promises. Promises are constitutive of the narratives of 16:1–14; 18:1–16a; narratives are constructed for the promises (15:1–6, 7–21; Lohfink 1967); the promises are brought together so as to form an address by God (17:1–22; P); they form an independent scene (13:14–17) or episode (12:7; 26:24–25), or are introduced into or linked with narratives (15:13–16; 22:15–18; 26:2–5; 28:2–3; 28:13 [—Eng 14]–15; 35:9–13; 46:3–4); a short promise opens the Abraham cycle (12:1–3), and the Jacob-Esau cycle (26:2–5).

2. Six Promises. The promises occur, for the most part, in groups, though occasionally alone. There are broadly speaking, six promises: of a son, of descendants, of divine assistance or presence, of land, of blessing, of covenant.

a. Promise of a Son. It occurs alone in chap. 18; in the other cases it is linked with descendants or blessing. This promise is confined to the Abraham cycle and runs right through the biblical text from 11:30 to 21:1–7. It is very probable that it belongs to the oldest part of the patriarchal tradition. It is distinct from the promise of descendants, as 15:1–6 shows, where vv 2–4 promise a son, and v 5 descendants.

b. Promise of Descendants. This promise is not found alone but together with the promise of a son (above), of land and blessing (13:14–17; 26:2–5; 28:3–4; 28:13–15; 35:11–13; 48:3–4, 16, 19); of assistance (presence) and blessing (22:17–18; 26:2–5; 26:24–25; 46:3–4); of blessing (13:1–3; 18:18–19; 22:15–18). There are fixed formulas to express the multitude of descendants: "I will multiply" so that they will be as "the stars in the sky" (15:3; 22:17; 26:4), "as the dust of the earth" (13:16; 28:14), "as the sand by the sea" (22:17; 32:13 [—Eng 12]). Abraham will be the father of a multitude of nations (17:5), the ancestor of nations (17:16), the father of a company of peoples (28:3; 35:11; 48:4), and the ancestor of kings (17:6, 16, 20; 35:11; Priestly emphasis). The promise is retrospective; it speaks from the standpoint of the greatest expansion of Israel from the river of Egypt to the great river, the Euphrates.

c. Promise of Assistance or Presence. This occurs only in the Jacob story, chapters 26–50 (26:3, 24; 28:15; 31:3; 46:3). It is linked with Jacob's journeys, and so may well go back to the patriarchal (pre-settlement) period. It occurs alone only in 31:3. This promise is not limited to Genesis; rather it is found throughout the OT (Preuss 1968).

d. Promise of Land. The promise is made to Abraham (12:7; 13:14–17; 15:7–21) and later to Jacob and his descendants as a renewal of the promise made to Abraham (26:3–4; 28:4; 35:12; 50:24). It is found alone in 12:7; 15:7–21 (24:7), and with the promise of descendants in 13:14–17; 15:11–13; 48:3–4; 28:13–15. The promise in an inchoate form may go back to the nomadic period. The promise of a settled land is dominant in Deuteronomy where it is confirmed by oath on many occasions.

e. Promise of Blessing. The Yahwistic writer has formulated a blessing given by Yahweh to Abraham and prefaced it to the patriarchal story. God who commissions Abraham is God who sends him out to effect blessing. Through Abraham, all the families of the earth "will be blessed" or "will bless themselves" or "will acquire blessings for themselves" (12:1–3 [Westermann 1985: 151–52]; cf. 18:18; 22:18; 26:3–4; 28:14). When God blesses, he confers the dynamism to continue one's posterity through time and space (Gen 1:28), a blessing resumed in 35:11. The patriarchs stand under God's blessing.

f. Promise of a Covenant. God, *ʾēl šadday* (P), gives a binding assurance, *bĕrît* (17:7–8), that he will be their God, i.e., the God of Abraham and his descendants.

3. Promise in History and Tradition. Each promise has its own history in the tradition. Probably only two, the promise of a son and the promise of assistance or presence "on the way," go back to the pre-settlement period. In the biblical story of Abraham, all the promises are heaped together in the middle of the cycle, chaps. 15–18. The whole is given direction by the promise of blessing at the beginning (12:1–3). The promises, apart from the promise of a son and, probably, the promise of assistance or presence, are the result of experience and reflection; they are

projected back into the past and set within a framework of ancient traditions about the patriarchs.

D. Joseph Story

1. Unity or a Composite Story? Many scholars explain these chapters by means of classical source division as two separate narratives, J and E, each more or less complete. See JOSEPH, SON OF JACOB. Eissfeldt (*IDB* 2: 375–76, 377) and Seebass (1978) maintain that tribal traditions are the basis of the story. Redford (1970) proposes that the chapters are a combination of an original Reuben version with a later Judah version, brought together and worked over by a redactor, both versions having their origin in the period 650–550 B.C.E. Schmitt (1980) reverses the order; the Judah version from the early monarchy is the original version, while the Reuben version comes from the exilic or post-exilic period. Gunkel (1922) and Gressmann (1923) saw a unity in the Joseph story, but neither could free himself from the accepted source division. More recent scholarship generally favors a unity, with variations: Volz and Rudolph (1933), Whybray (1968), Brueggemann (1972), Coats (1976), Donner (1976), Crüsemann (1978), Willi-Plein (1979), Westermann (1986).

2. Literary Type. The terminology used to describe the Joseph story shows uncertainty. It has been called a tale, a story *(Sage)*, or a *Novelle*. The terms *novelle* (Old French), *novela* (Spanish), *novella* (Italian), and later *Novelle* (German), have their origin in the Renaissance period to describe certain "romances," longer or shorter, which tell of the exploits of heroes, but there is no general agreement about what precisely they cover (but see Humphreys 1985). The English "novel" is equivalent of the European *Roman*, but the Joseph story is not long or broad enough to come under this category. Von Rad has written that "the Joseph narrative is a didactic wisdom story, which leans heavily on influences emanating from Egypt, not only with regard to its conception of an educational ideal, but also in its fundamental theological ideas" (1966: 300). But the wisdom elements are restricted to chaps. 40–41, and the woman, the wife of Potiphar, in chap. 39 is the spurned woman rather than the seductress against whom the book of Proverbs warns (Prov 2:16–19; 5:1–23; 6:20–25). It is best described, with due caution, as a short story and may be compared with the short stories of Guy de Maupassant (1850–93) or O. Henry (1862–1910), with the difference that the characters and material were at hand to the biblical writer. The biblical writer did not have to create the characters, nor cut the story from whole new cloth. The complete history of the interpretation of the Joseph story is discussed by Ruppert (1965), Westermann (1975: 56–68; 1986: 15–30), Seebass (1978), de Vaux (*EHI* 291–320), Schmitt (1980).

3. Story in the Broader Sense. The Joseph story in the broader sense has a Priestly frame (37:1–2 and 50:12–14). It resumes the story of Jacob who has returned to Canaan, buried his father (35:27–28), and settled there (37:1), ending with the account of Jacob's death, and his burial by his sons in accordance with his wishes (50:12–14). The theme of Jacob's death is introduced in 37:35b and runs through to the end (42:48; 44:22, 19; 45:28; 46:30; 47:9, 27–31; 48:1; 49:1, 28b–33). Chapter 38 is not part of the Joseph story, but fills out the story of Jacob's family. The conclusions of the Joseph and Jacob stories are woven together in chaps. 46–50 and additional material and traditions are included, e.g., the list of all the descendants of Israel who went down into Egypt (46:8–27), the account of Joseph's economic measures as viceroy (47:13–26), the tribal sayings (49:3–27), which lie outside both stories, and other details. The purpose of the tribal sayings is to praise or blame (there is an earlier collection of tribal sayings in Judg 5:14–18, and a later and more theological collection in Deut 33). Reuben, Simeon, and Levi are censured; Judah, Dan, Gad, Naphtali, Joseph, and Benjamin are praised; Zebulun, Issachar, and Asher are blessed in varying degrees. There are word plays on the names of Judah, Zebulun, Issachar, Gad, Asher, and Joseph. There are animal metaphors attached to the names of Judah, Issachar, Dan, Naphtali, and Benjamin; and in the very difficult saying about Joseph, there is a tree (plant) metaphor.

4. Story in the Narrower Sense. The story of Joseph proper begins in 37:2 and comprises chapters 37; 39–41; 42–45. It is in essence a family story which begins with the shattered peace of Jacob's family (37:4, 11, 18–23, 33–35), and moves through tension to climax and resolution (45:1–15), with the restoration of *šālôm* to the family. The device of the pairs of dreams is introduced in chap. 37 and repeated in chaps. 40–41. The theme of Jacob's death is sounded. Two traditions of how Joseph was disposed of and sold into Egypt are recorded. In one, Reuben is prominent (37:22–24, 29); in the other, Judah (39:1); now it is the Ishmaelites who take him (32:35 and 39:1), now the Midianites (37:28, 36).

Chapters 39–41 form an interlude in the family story; they use two traditional themes: (1) the rise of a young man, his fall due to an injustice, and his restoration to favor; (2) a stranger or a foreigner or a pauper is summoned to answer a question that the wise of the land cannot answer. Joseph must rise to power before he can help his family in need and restore its peace. The account of the attempted seduction of Joseph by Potiphar's wife (39:7–18) resembles the Egyptian story of the Two Brothers (*ANET*, 23–25) so closely that scholars have thought that the biblical writer had direct knowledge of it. Joseph does not solve the riddles of the dreams of the prisoners, chap. 40, or of Pharaoh, chap. 41, by accepted Egyptian methods (*ANET*, 495); rather "the interpretation of dreams belongs to God" (40:8: 41:16, 25, 32, 38, 39). Joseph proposes that Pharaoh appoint "a man discreet and wise *(nābôn wĕ ḥākām)*" to administer the economy of the kingdom (41:33), and Pharaoh appoints Joseph as his viceregent (41:37–45). As viceroy, Joseph is in a position to help his family which has been driven down to Egypt by the famine. The story of the family continues in 42:1. The regular movement from Canaan to Egypt begins: Canaan to Egypt (42:1–5); Egypt to Canaan (42:26–34); Canaan to Egypt (43:1–15); Egypt to Canaan (45:21–28); Canaan to Egypt (46:1, 6–7; Coats 1976). Israel is now in Egypt definitively. These movements lead gradually and inexorably through climax to the resolution which restores the *šālôm* of Jacob's family. Joseph's action in 45:1–15, without any recrimination, is an act of forgiveness. With peace and harmony restored in the family, Jacob can die in peace (45:28). The tension has been resolved; the Joseph story has ended.

5. Theology. Gen 45:5–8 and 50:17–31 are key theological passages which tie the Joseph story proper with the conclusion of the story in the broader sense. As Joseph speaks words of comfort to his brothers (45:5), he insists that God has been at work throughout (vv 5b, 7a, 8a): "God sent me before you to preserve for you a remnant on earth, and to keep alive for you many survivors." In 50:17–21, the guilt of the brothers is acknowledged specifically. But Joseph will not play God. It is God who has turned their evil to good. God is acting throughout. The theological introit to the story proper (39:1–6, 21–23) emphasizes that "the Lord was with him" (vv 2, 3, 5, 21, 23). Joseph is aware that he is God's instrument: "the interpretation of dreams belongs to God." God is at work as he brings the brothers to recognize their guilt: "What is it that God has done to us?" (42:28), and "God has found out the guilt of your servants" (44:16). There is no personal revelation to Joseph, nor does he receive divine commands, nor engage in or preside over formal worship. There is no "religion of the patriarchs." The passage 46:2–5a, where God appears to Jacob, is not part of the Joseph story, but part of the conclusion of the Jacob story.

6. Egypt. There is no parallel to the Joseph story as a whole in extrabiblical literature of the period, though 39:7–18 has a parallel in Egypt. Chapters 39–41 are played out in Egypt. They, and the following chapters, display a favorable attitude to the Egyptians and a general knowledge of court protocol (41:37–45; *ANET,* 248a), of dining customs (43:32), of divination (44:4–5), and of interpretation of dreams. But there is no interest in the great buildings or the general culture of Egypt. Westermann (1986: 29) thinks that the Egyptian traits are indicative of the Solomonic period. Vergote (1959) has argued that the Joseph story reflects much ancient Egyptian regal, social, and economic life. Redford (1970: 187–243) takes up twenty-three elements used to support ancient Egyptian influence and argues that they need reflect only the practices of the middle of the 1st millennium B.C.E. Palestine in general had been trading with Egypt since at least 2000 B.C.E.; remains of temples at Byblos, showing marked Egyptian influence, date from the 19th century; and the Amarna correspondence of the 14th century reveals details of the small Canaanite dependencies. Egyptian influence has left its mark. But the dating of Egyptian traits in the Joseph story comes under the history of the relations between Egypt and Palestine.

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JOHN J. SCULLION

LITERARY FORMS IN GENESIS

Many of the terms used by biblical scholars to designate the literary forms of Genesis (and other books of the OT) were current among students of literature and folklore in the 19th century; they were used to describe types of literature and folktales well known in W European culture. However, only with great caution can they be applied to the writings of a civilization that flourished in a very different setting over twenty-five hundred years ago. The terms have often been overstrained. It is necessary to describe some of them before studying their application to the book of Genesis.

A. General Literary Terms
1. *Legende* (Legend)
2. *Märchen* (Fairy Tale, Folktale, Tale)
3. Myth
4. Narrative
5. Novella (Short Story)
6. Saga
7. *Sage*
8. Story
B. Literary Terms Applied to Genesis
C. Other Literary Terms Applied to Genesis
D. Fixed Formulas and Genesis

A. General Literary Terms

1. *Legende* (Legend). Legend has from its beginning expressed a typically Christian concept: the life of a holy person which was to be read to a community for its edification. Rosenfeld (1972: 11–12) describes it as "the imaginative reproduction of the earthly life of holy people . . . the presupposition of a genuine *Legende* is faith . . . The meaning and efficacy of the *Legende* is limited to the religious community in which it arose. Because it arose out of faith, it has the form of a naive, simple, uncomplicated account." Miracles are not essential to the legend, but are a regular part of it, being the sign that God is at work in the holy person, thus confirming the person's holiness (OED 1933; Hals 1972; Rosenfeld 1972; Scullion 1984). From the 17th century, legend took on a transferred meaning of an inauthentic or nonhistorical story, especially one handed down by tradition from early times, and popularly regarded as historical (OED). In popular speech today, the legend is a story of dubious veracity about historical persons or events. It is best, in scholarly circles, to restrict legend to its original and well-established hagiographical use.

2. *Märchen.* The *Märchen* is a fairy tale, folktale, tale of magic, or simply a tale. A tale is a story, "true or fictitious, drawn up so as to interest or amuse, or to preserve the history of a fact or incident"; again, it is "a mere story as opposed to a narrative of fact" (OED). A *Märchen* or fairy tale is the sort of narrative found in the collections made by the Grimm brothers or in Hans Christian Andersen's books. The *Märchen* is indefinite as to time and place; its characters have generic or stereotyped names; its world is "the beyond" where the "unreal," the preternatural and the supernatural, predominates or has become normal; characters flit from place to place; animals and trees speak; people, fairy-godmothers, merlins appear and disappear; poor young men conquer monsters, confront giants, overcome obstacles, and marry princesses—"and they lived happily ever after." There is a simplicity, playfulness, and lightness of touch in the *Märchen* (Lüthi 1968; 1975; 1976; 1977; 1979).

3. Myth. Modern anthropology, sociology, and psychology have made contributions to the study of myth. However, such systems, worked out in European culture in the 20th century, are not to be imposed on the OT. Rather a description of myth for purposes of OT study begins from example. Myth is the sort of thing that is found in collections of ancient Near Eastern texts under the heading of myths and epics (e.g. *ANET:* 3–155) from cultures which have had more or less direct influence on Israel (Barr 1959). These ancient Near Eastern myths are not just symbolic or hazy expressions of truth; they are not metaphoric or poetic expression. They are attempts to express some transcendental truth. Myth is aware of reality, but reaches beyond concrete experience. What is narrated in myth not merely corresponds to reality; it is reality. When Tammuz, an ancient Mesopotamian god of fertility, dies and comes to life again, and vegetation dies and comes to life, the two are not just like each other; they are each other. Myth is not really a literary form, but a way of thinking. One may distinguish myth and *Mythos* (a word used by many German writers): myth is the story itself; *Mythos* is the basic philosophy that underpins it. See MYTH AND MYTHOLOGY.

4. Narrative. Narrative is a general term; it is an account of an event, or events, which moves through tension to crisis and resolution (Licht 1978; Alter 1981). Westermann (1984: xii) often uses the word *Geschehensbogen* to describe the movement of a narrative. It is "like the arch of a bridge which spans the whole from beginning to end. Likewise the narrative arch spans an event from beginning to end and makes it into a self-contained whole." The German word may be rendered "narrative span (arch)."

5. Novella. The novella (Old French, *novelle,* Spanish, *novela,* Italian, *novella*) is a shorter (i.e. shorter than the novel, *roman*) prose narrative which tells an unusual, though quite credible, happening; it is brief and eschews prolixity. It has been described as a short novel or a longer short story (the latter, a division of the novella, presents

an event in concentrated form; it often reflects a particular mood or attitude). The novella has its origins in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance: Boccaccio's (1313?–75) *Decameron*, Marguerite of Valois' (of Navarre, d'Angoulême, 1492–1549) *Heptameron*, Cervantes' (1547–1616) *Noveles ejemplares*. This type of writing developed in both western and eastern Europe, and particularly in the English-speaking world; some of the best known of its masters are: Guy de Maupassant (1850–93), E. T. A. Hoffmann (1776–1822), Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837), O. Henry (1862–1910), Henry James (1843–1916).

6. Saga. The word saga is applied to the narrative compositions in prose that were written in Iceland or Norway during the Middle Ages. The events narrated in the Icelandic narratives belong mainly to the period 874–1030; they were written down in the 13th century. It is for the specialists in this area to discuss whether the sagas were handed down in oral tradition and committed to writing in the later period, or were due to a flowering of creative writing in the 12th and 13th centuries. In any case, there is a long period of oral tradition behind them. Einarsson (1957: 133–34) has summarized the composition and style of the sagas, while Ker (1957: 186) has described the content as follows:

> The original matter of the oral traditions, out of which the written Sagas were formed, was naturally very much made up of separate anecdotes, loosely strung together by associations with a district or family. Many of the Sagas are mere loose strings of adventures, or short stories, or idylls, which may easily be detached and remembered out of connection with the rest of the series.

The Icelandic *segja* means to tell; in modern Icelandic *saga* covers the German *Historie* and *Geschichte* (*Historie* is what happened in fact; *Geschichte* is what these events became in the process of their being passed on). Bentzen (1961: 240, n. 3) has noted that the Swedish term "saga," used for the "chimerical fairy-tale," is "not to be confounded with the usage in Danish-Norwegian-Icelandic, where this word denotes a 'history-narrative.' " The events narrated in the Norwegian and Icelandic sagas were *Historie*, that which actually happened; they became famed in *Geschichte*.

7. *Sage*. The *Sage* is a popular story, folk story, or simply a story. Though set in the past, often the distant past, it is specific as to place and names of the characters, and is rooted in reality. Though there are devils and ghosts, dwarfs and giants, ogres and spirits, there is a clear distinction between the real and the unreal world, the natural and the supernatural. The *Sage* has usually been worked over by poetic imagination in the process of transmission. It may be long or short. Olrik (1965) has formulated his well-known ten laws of folk narrative from a study of the shorter forms of *Sagen*. *Sage* has often been translated into English, incorrectly, by "saga" (see above), with which it has nothing to do.

8. Story. The OED describes story as a "narrative, true or presumed to be true, relating to important events and celebrated persons of a more or less remote past; a historical relation or anecdote"; and then, under N.5, as "a narrative of real or, more usually, fictitious events, designed for the entertainment of the hearer or reader; a series of traditional or imaginary incidents forming the matter of such a narrative; a tale." It is in this latter sense that story is a general equivalent of the German *Sage* and may be used aptly to describe many narratives, both short and long, in Genesis. The scope of its use is broad.

Legende (legend), *Märchen* (tale), Saga (saga), *Sage* (story), Story, are terms which describe different types of narrative. The *Märchen* and the *Sage* differ in a number of important ways (see above), though there are many and inevitable overlappings between the two. The distinction between them is adequate, but not complete. The legend, as described, shares almost nothing with the *Märchen* but much with the *Sage* or folk story. French has but one word to render *Sage* and *Legende*, namely, *légende;* hence the clear and useful distinction is made between *légende populaire* (or *folklorique*) and *légende hagiographique* (Lüthi 1976: 11). In short, *Sage* (German) = *légende* (French) = (folk) story (English).

B. Literary Terms Applied to Genesis

1. Legend. Biblical scholars, e.g. Fohrer (1968: 90–95), often refer to the Elijah-Elisha cycles of 1–2 Kings as legends. They also use the term "cult legend," i.e. a story or narrative which is attached to a place and sets out "to explain the origins of the sacredness of the place together with the customs which are observed at it," e.g. Jacob at Bethel (Gen 28:10–20). The cult legend "also gives information concerning the origin and history of many details of the cultus . . . of the various marvellous effects which were produced by the ark of Yahweh" (Eissfeldt 1965: 43–44). But, as Kaiser (1975: 50) has noted, the name cult legend "is not without danger, because it encourages us to transfer the characteristic features of medieval legends of the saints to these narratives." It is better to call the current cult legends "cultic etiologies," and the legends about individuals "hero stories," "prophetic stories," or "hagiographical stories." The only narrative in the patriarchal story that falls under the heading of legend as described above is the story of the testing of Abraham (Gen 22:1–19). His steadfast adherence to God in faith is a model for the people of Israel.

2. *Märchen*. The prevalent view of OT exegesis is that there are no *Märchen* in the OT, but that there are *Märchen* motifs (Hermisson 1977: 419: Wilcoxen 1974: 69–71). However, a great number of motifs which Gunkel (1917) claimed to be *Märchen* motifs are simply elements from the world picture current at the time or from myths of the surrounding world (Hermisson 1977: 438; 1985: 312–16), e.g. talking animals (Gen 3:1–7; Num 22:28–30); Moses' staff (Exod 4:2–4); Elijah's mantle (2 Kgs 2:8); Elisha's floating ax-head (2 Kgs 6:3–7). There was no abundance of *Märchen* motifs which would point to a rich *Märchen* tradition in ancient Israel. The *Märchen* is a genre in which God does not appear, or in any case is not central. The wonder is a normal part of the *Märchen* world, but God is neither its source nor its cause. When speaking of OT genres, it is better to drop the word tale (used without qualification) because of its association with the *Märchen*, though some scholars use it regularly (Coats *Genesis* FOTL 1985). *Märchen* is often rendered by fairy tale in English (the title of the collection of the *Märchen* of the Grimm

brothers is *Grimm's Fairy Tales*); folktale is perhaps a more acceptable rendering.

3. Myth. There are no myths proper to the OT, though mythological language and imagery often occur (e.g. Isa 27:1 [see *ANET:* 137, lines 36–39]; 51:9; Ezek 28:11–19; Amos 9:3; Pss 74:14; 89:11—Eng 10; 93). In Genesis, the prelude to the flood story, the "angelogamy" of 6:1–4, is a "mythological torso" (Gunkel 1910: lxvi). Myth has left its footprint, however faint, on parts of the two creation accounts in Genesis 1–3.

4. Narrative. Very many of the *Sagen* or stories or cycles of stories in Genesis may be described as narratives.

5. Novella. The only story in Genesis that can be classified as a novella is the Joseph story in the narrower sense—that is, Gen 37; 39–41; 42–45 (Humphreys 1985: 82–96). It may be described too as a (long) short story. Coats (*Genesis* FOTL) classifies other stories in Genesis under the heading of Novella: the story of Lot as a subplot in the Abraham story (11:10–12:9 + 13:1–14:24 + 18:16–19:38), though it is very disjointed with disparate parts; the story of Sarah-Hagar (16:1–21:21), though this is rather a story about Hagar as the secondary wife of Abraham who finds herself in distress because of oppression by Sarah (16:1–14 is reworked in 21:1–21); the solemn assurance by the Lord of a son to Abraham and Sarah (17:1–22; 18:1–15), the reflection (18:16–21) and the theological discussion (18:23–33), the account of the destruction of the cities (19), and the account of the promise in danger a second time (20), though they are very disparate and so scarcely qualify either as separate novellae or as parts of a continuous novella; the story of the search for a bride for Isaac (24), though it is a family narrative; the Rachel-Leah conflict and the Jacob-Laban conflict within which it is set (29:1–32:1—Eng 31:55), though it does not compare well with the unity that is the Joseph story (37; 39–41; 42–45); the Judah-Tamar story (38), though it really belongs to the Jacob cycle and is scarcely a novella.

6. Saga. Neff (1985: 31–32), attending to Ker's description of saga, suggests that one might speak of the saga of Abraham, 12:1–25:18, and of the saga of Jacob, 25:19–36:43. This is not unreasonable. Coats' proposal to call 1:1–11:9 the Primeval Saga is subject to reservations as the "events described" are on the other side of history. To avoid confusion it seems better to restrict saga to the Nordic classics. The stories about Abraham and Jacob can be suitably called the Abraham Cycle (or story) and the Jacob Cycle (or story).

7. *Sage*. The OED (1933, saga. 2), Gibert (1974; 1979: 179–94), Van Seters (1975: 131, n. 19) and Scullion (1984: 327–29) have pointed out the error of translating *Sage* by saga, and McCarthy has written that "the failure to understand that German *Sage* means "folktale" or the like and has nothing to do with English "saga" or the Icelandic original has misled generations and deprived form-criticism of a valuable word" (1981: 9). Coats (*Genesis* FOTL, 5–7, and passim) and Neff (1985: 19–25) have seen the problem, but have not met with complete success in their use of the terms *Sage* and saga. Coats (*Genesis* FOTL, 7–8; 1985: 63–70) prefers to translate *Sage* by tale; the present article prefers story.

8. Story. Story is a general term which embraces large blocks of narrative as well as short narratives of 10–15 verses. The large blocks are the primeval story (1:1–11:26), the patriarchal story (11:17–36:43), which may be subdivided into the Abraham cycle (story; 11:27–25:18), and the Jacob-Esau cycle (or story; 25:19–36:43), and the Joseph story (37; 39–45), plus the two conclusions (chaps. 46–50). In the primeval story, distinct units from various traditions have been brought together to form Israel's statement on the world and on human beings. It is not a closely knit "long short story," but it has sufficient coherence, given by the final editor, to be called a story in the looser sense; it is a series of traditional or imaginary incidents on the other side of history. The loose unity, but essential coherence, of the two blocks that form the patriarchal narrative is enough to allow them to be called stories. The Joseph story in the more restricted sense (chaps. 37; 39–45) is well described as a "long short story," though some scholars prefer the term novella (Coats 1985; Humphreys 1985).

The types of stories within these blocks must be considered in the context in which they are preserved. Many of them have had an independent history, perhaps even a long one, before they took their present form in the biblical text, so that it cannot be presumed that they circulated exactly in the form that they have in the OT.

Stories, which form parts of the primeval story, are 2:4b–3:24; 4:1–16; 11:1–9. The first is a literary composition put together from various sources or traditions and edited into a well-bound unity, though the joins are clear. The stories of the first brothers and of the tower are just that, *"Sagen."* All three stories follow a pattern. The same basic pattern is there in the flood story which must be reckoned a genuine, though composite, narrative as it moves to climax (7:17–24) and resolution (8:1–5).

The long patriarchal story (or cycles) contains many stories. The concise "Ancestress in Danger" (12:10–20), set within the framework of an itinerary (12:9 and 13:1), is considered by many scholars (Van Seters 1975: 169; Westermann 1984: 162) to exemplify in essence Olrik's "Epic Laws of Folk Narrative." The second version of this episode (20:1–18) is not a story or legend in the strict sense, but rather a theological development (Coats *Genesis* FOTL, 149–51), while the third version (26:1–16) is more a story stretched over the promise of blessing made to Abraham (vv 2–5). The dispute between the herdsmen of Abraham and Lot is an episode in the life of the family in the broad sense, and scarcely a story. The Abraham, Sarah, Hagar story (16:1–16) is a story of family strife in the context of Sarah's barrenness. In 18:1–16, the promise of a son constitutes the narrative; the tradition of a visit by strangers or unknown divine messengers to announce the coming of the son, sets the stage for the announcement. The story of Lot and Sodom and Gomorrah (19:1–29) is a narrative of destruction and rescue, and has been likened to the story of the flood in the primeval era (Westermann 1985: 297). The long narrative of the quest for a bride for Isaac (24:1–67) has been classified as a novella, and more specifically, an example-story to show the ideal model for future generations (Coats *Genesis* FOTL, 166–70). But this longest narrative in the patriarchal story is rather a family story about a search for a bride (vv 3–4 and 67) with a clear and transparent structure, commission (vv 1–9), execution (vv 10–60), resolution (v 67); the middle section

makes use of the traditional literary device of repetition, well known in messenger stories (vv 11–14, 15–21, 42–49; Westermann 1985: 282–83). The Shechem narrative (34:1–31) is a tribal story composed from three parts.

C. Other Literary Terms Applied to Genesis

1. Dialogue. Two passages in the patriarchal stories are dialogues: Abraham and the Lord before Sodom (18:22–23), and Abraham and the Hitties at the sale of the cave in the field at Machpelah (23:1–20). The former discusses a theological problem; the latter, within a Priestly frame (vv 1–2, 19), describes a process of bargaining, not unlike that which goes on in the Middle East today (Scullion 1982/83: 54). Van Seters (1975: 98–100) explains the narrative from the pattern followed in certain neo-Babylonian documents known as "dialogue contracts," which de Vaux (1978: 256) also mentions as a possible parallel. However, the "dialogue documents" begin with a title, "tablet of"; then follows in direct discourse the offer made by the legal advocate: "A went to B and spoke as follows." There is no further bargaining. The reply of the second party is recorded in the third person in stylized form. But in Genesis 23 there is a protracted dialogue; the only legal formula is "the current merchant's rate" (v 16), and the only legal procedure is the presence of witness (vv 17–18). The parallel is weak. The assurance given to Abraham of a son and land in 15:1–21 is not a dialogue; Abraham's two utterances in vv 3–4, 8 are no more than the occasion for a divine speech; the assurances follow from a prophetic oracle of salvation, "Fear not," found about sixty times in a theological sense in the OT, especially in Deutero-Isaiah (e.g. Isa 41:10, 13, 14; 43:1, 5; 44:2; 54:4). The dialogues between Joseph and (1) Potiphar's wife, (2) the prisoners, and (3) Pharaoh, do not follow any particular pattern.

2. Divine Speech. The divine speeches of 9:8–17 and 17:1–22, which give assurance of a *bĕrît*, covenant (the word is used 7 times and 13 times respectively), are both from the priestly tradition. In the former, Noah does not speak; in the latter Abraham falls on his face twice (vv 3, 17) and makes two brief interventions (vv 17b, 18). Before the dialogue that precedes the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, there is a divine soliloquy (19:17–21) which is perhaps composite.

3. Etiology. An etiology is a narrative whose purpose is to explain the origin of a custom, an event, a name, a geographical formation, an object, a shrine. There are no etiologies of any length in Genesis, but there are many (popular) name etiologies: 2:23 (woman); 3:20 (Eve); 4:25 (Seth); 16:13–14 (God who sees); 19:22 (Zoar); 19:37, 38 (Moab, Ammon); 21:31 (Beer-sheba); 26:20b (Esek), 21b (Sitnah), 22 (Rehoboth), 33 (Shibnah); 28:16–17 (Bethel); 31:47–49 (Jegar-sahadutha, Galeed, Mizpah); 32:3b (—Eng 2b; Mahanaim, a word play); 50:11 (Abel-Mizraim). Some scholars (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 411; Coats *Genesis* FOTL, 298–300; Westermann 1986: 173) understand the account of Joseph's economic measures (47:13–16) as a tax etiology, i.e. a story to explain a particular method of taxing in Egypt.

4. Genealogies. In chaps. 1–11, the genealogies are a constitutive part and form an essential framework.

Priestly source (P): 5:1–32 Adam, through Seth to Noah
6:9–10; 7:28–29 Noah and sons
10:1–7, 20, 22, 23, 31, 32 generations of sons of Noah
11:10–26 Noah, through Shem to Abraham
11:27a, 31–32 Terah's life cycle.

The Priestly genealogies trace an unbroken line from Adam to Abraham. Everything that happens in the patriarchal story springs from them. They are monotonous, systematized, and present sober succession without elaboration. Genealogy and narrative stand far apart. They record "the continuous event of generation following generation" (Westermann 1984: 16). They preserve (1) a constant—the same sentences recur, begetting, lifespan, more offspring, age, death (chap. 5; chap. 11 is a little different), and (2) a variable—names and numbers. Yahwist source (J): In the Yahwistic genealogies, genealogy and narrative are closely linked and the form is flexible. Notes are added: (1) names are explained (4:1b, 25b; 5:29; 10:25b); (2) the progress of civilization is recorded (4:2, 17b, 20b–22; 5:29; 9:20; 10:8–9); (3) the expansion of the race is noted (9:19b; 10:18b, 25b); (4) there are geographical descriptions (10:10–12, 19, 20); (5) there are songs and proverbial sayings (4:22–23; 5:29; 10:9b); (6) the invocation of YHWH is projected back to the beginnings (4:26).

The genealogies of chaps. 1–11 are a witness to the effects of God's blessing.

Genealogies frame the Abraham cycle (11:27–32 [with itinerary information]; 25:1–6 [an *ad hoc* creation]; 25:7–11[P]); and the Jacob cycle (25:19–20[P]; 35:8, 16–20[J?], 22b–26[P], 28–29[P]).

Wilson (1977: 11–55) has demonstrated the importance of genealogies and their setting in life for non-writing peoples, to which the genealogies of the patriarchal stories bear a close resemblance, and that the OT genealogies cannot be understood apart from their oral prehistory. They serve to specify the position of an individual in the community and form, so to speak, the family coordinates. They have their origin in tribal life and did not arise out of mere historical or antiquarian interest.

From the point of view of form, the genealogies may be classified as linear or segmented (Wilson 1977: 18–20, 196–97), the latter giving the relation to each other of the members of a group:

Linear	Segmented
5:1–32; 9:28–29	10:1–32
11:10–26; 11:27–32	25:12–16 (segment of one generation)
22:20–24; 25:7–11	36
36:9–14	

The genealogy of Esau in chap. 36 is a "collection of Edomite and political information, most of which is presented in genealogical form" (Wilson 1977: 167).

5. Itinerary. The itinerary is a literary genre which stems from the nomadic or interant lifestyle. It reflects the process of movement from place to place. The patriarchal

itineraries are not mere constructions (Davies 1974: 80–81); patriarchal tradition knows of an immigration of Abraham into Palestine. The itinerary form comprises: (1) information about the route, (2) the place of departure, (3) the place of arrival, (4) brief notes about events on the way (Westermann 1985: 56–58, 62). Itineraries run quietly through chaps. 12–25. Typical examples are: 11:31–32: Terah took . . . went forth from Ur . . . to go to the land of Canaan . . . came to Haran . . . settled there . . . died; 12:4–9: Abraham took . . . set forth to go to the land of Canaan . . . came to Canaan . . . passed through to the oak of Moreh . . . built an altar . . . moved to the east of Bethel . . . built an altar . . . journeyed further to the Negeb; 12:9–13:1: Abraham went from the Negeb . . . arrived in Egypt . . . event there . . . went up from Egypt; 20:1: Abraham journeyed toward the Negeb . . . dwelt . . . sojourned in Gerar; 22:19: all returned to Beer-sheba; hence, they must have started from there. Add to these 26:1–6.

The motif of flight-return enters the itineraries of chaps. 27–33. Gen 28:10 and 29:1 are itinerary notes with an episode on the way in between. There are fixed itinerary formulas and data in 33:16–17, 18–19. In chap. 35, there is the departure from Shechem (vv 1, 3, [5]) and the arrival at Bethel (v 6); then come the two episodes on the way, the building of an altar (v 7), and the death of Deborah, Rebekah's nurse (v 8). There follows the departure from Bethel (v 16), the episode on the way, Rebekah's death as she gives birth to Benjamin (vv 16b–20), the stop beyond Migdal-Eder (v 21), and the arrival at Mamre. In 36:1–8, an itinerary is joined to a genealogy: Esau took (v 6a) . . . and went, (v 6c) . . . and dwelt in the hill country of Seir (v 8). There is a concluding note, "Esau is Seir," (v 8b). Finally, Anah "found hot springs," (v 24b), quite likely on a journey.

6. *Hieros Logos* (Cult Legend). This is a formula, or the sacred words of a story, which is attached to a place and sets out to explain the origin of the sacredness of the place together with the customs which are observed at it. Jacob's experience at Bethel (28:10–20) is usually considered to be a cult legend (but see the preceding article, 28:10–20), as is the purchase of land at Shechem (33:18–20), which concludes with "there he erected an altar and called it El-Elohe-Israel," God, the God of Israel. The same is said of 35:1–7, where Jacob's family puts away all foreign emblems and he erects an altar at the place which he names El-bethel. In 35:9–15, Jacob sets up and anoints a pillar at Bethel. Three of these episodes, all of them "on the way," concern Bethel which became an important shrine in Israel.

7. Lists. A list is a serial document. There is the list of the names of the sons of Jacob (35:22b–26), of Esau's wives (with genealogy; 36:1–6), of the names of the chiefs of the sons of Esau (36:15–19, 40–43), of the Edomite kings (Wilson 1977: 167–98). Gen 36:9–14, 20–36 are lists/genealogies, as is 46:8–27, the enumeration of the descendants of Israel who went down into Egypt. There is a list of peoples whom it was important to know about (15:19–21), and a list of 16 places or personal names in the genealogy of 25:1–6.

8. Reports. This is a genre that communicates events for the sake of the record and without developing a narrative: (1) birth reports (4:25–26, Seth and Enosh; 21:1–7, Isaac; 26:19–26, Jacob and Esau); (2) death reports (23:1–2,19, Sarah; 25:7–11, Abraham; 25:17–18, Ishmael; 35:16–20, Rebekah; 35:27–29, Isaac; 47:28–31; 49:1,29–33, Jacob; 50:22–26, Joseph); (3) various: a marriage report (19:30–38; 36:1–5); a report of Esau's move (36:6–8); an adoption report (48:1–12); and a blessing report (48:15–16,19,20a).

The Priestly creation account has been described, with reservations, as a report (Coats *Genesis* FOTL, 47), as a narrative, at least as a point of departure (again with reservations; Westermann 1984: 80), and as a document that sets out priestly doctrine (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 63). The account, however, is unique in form and does not fit into any generic literary category. It is a solemn and stylized statement of the priestly teaching that creation proceeds immediately from the word of God which is itself event. The best parallels to the creation account of chap. 1 are Psalm 104 (a hymn of descriptive praise) and Psalm 136 (the great Hallel, a litany of praise to God for his action of creation and redemption). The flood story (6:13–8:19) is a composite narrative set within disparate theological reflections (6:5–8; 6:11–12 and 8:20–22; 9:1–17), rather than a report.

D. Fixed Formulas and Genesis

Gunkel (1906: 109; Rollmann 1981: 184), after careful study of the biblical texts, arrived at a description of a literary type *(Gattung):* it must exhibit, (1) a common store of ideas and attitudes, (2) a clear and constant form of speech, and (3) a setting in life from which alone the content and form can be understood. This description applies better to the shorter sayings, formulas, and episodes rather than to the longer episodes or stories. The following are the main fixed, short formulas that occur in Genesis.

Accusation: mah zoʾt ʿāśît, "what is this you have done," or a very similar formula, or a formula with *lāmmâ,* "why": 3:13; 4:10; 12:18–19; 20:9; 26:10; 29:25; 31:26, 30; 43:6; 44:15. It formulates a direct accusation of a misdemeanor.

Blessing: The verb *bārak,* "bless," is used as an imperative or a jussive: 1:28; 9:1–2, 27–28; 12:2–3; 22:18; 26:1–3; 27:27–29; 28:3–4, 14; 32:28–29 (—Eng 27–28); 46:1–5a; 48:13–20.

Call to attention: The word *hinneh,* "behold, here I am," or the like, 22:1, 7, 11; the particle draws attention.

Covenant formula: "I shall be your God, and you shall be my people." The formula, typical of Jeremiah, is expanded and varied in 9:8–17; 17:10.

Curse: ʾārûr, cursed, specifying person and content: 3:14–19; 4:11–12; 9:25; 27:29b.

Dirge: a lament over a misfortune: 37:35; 42:36; 43:14.

Farewell speech: An old man is to die; he expresses resignation, exacts a promise or oath, or gives a commission: 24:2–4; 46:30; 47:29–31; 48:11, 21–22; 49:29–32.

Narrative link: the phrases *ʾaḥar haddĕbārîm hāʾēlleh,* "After these things . . . ," or *wayĕhi ʾaher* . . . "Now it happened after . . ."; a formula connecting otherwise noncontinuous pieces: 15:1; 22:1, 20; 39:7; 40:1.

Self-revelation (or self-identification): God or a person identifies himself; *ʾānōkî, ʾănî,* "I" plus a noun: 15:1, 7; 17:1; 24:34; 26:24; 27:19; 28:13; 31:13; 35:11–12; 45:3, 4; 46:3.

Tôlĕdôt: Scholars are not in agreement about the translation of *tôlĕdôt* (Wilson 1977: 158, n. 57; Tengström 1982). Suggestions are: generations, successions, descendants, family history, genealogy. In Genesis the formula occurs in "These *(ʾēlleh)* are the *tôlĕdôt* of" or "This *(zeh)* is the book *(sēper)* of the *tôlĕdôt* of" (once, 5:1): 2:4a (heavens and earth); 5:1 (Adam); 6:9 (Noah); 10:1 (sons of Noah); 11:10 (Shem); 11:27 (Terah); 25:12 (Ishmael); 36:1 (Esau-Edom); 36:9 (Esau); 37:2 (Jacob).

Transition formula: "Now it happened at that time," *wayĕhî bāʾēt hahiwʾ*, 21:22; 38:1, "Now it happened at the end of (after)," *wayĕhî miqqēṣ*, 4:3; 8:6; 41:1.

Word of YHWH: "The word of YHWH came to Abram," *hāyāh dĕbār YHWH ʾel* (15:1); this is a common expression for prophetic revelation, but occurs only here in Genesis. It is frequent in narrative texts in Samuel-Kings: 1 Sam 15:10; 2 Sam 7:4; 1 Kgs 12:22; 16:1; 17:2, 8, etc.

The pioneering work in the study of literary forms in the OT, and in the book of Genesis in particular, was done by Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932). He not only made use of the results of Near Eastern archaeology, but also applied the methods of comparative literature to the study of the OT. Gunkel based his study of literary types on the assumption that the rhetorical forms and literary types in OT times were more fixed than they are in modern times and, as it were, imposed themselves on the writer. If a poet or writer or cultic official wished to speak on a certain theme or in a particular situation, then he did so in a certain way. Forms and formulas became highly stylized. Now there is much truth in this insight which was a major contribution to the study of the Bible. But literary forms and form criticism are tools for the understanding of the Bible and not tyrannical masters. Naturally there were exaggerations in the use of this newfound tool.

One must be aware of the literary type of a whole book as well as of its component parts, large and small (see the preceding article). One must be aware also that fixed formulas are often used in different circumstances. For example, it has been well argued that the formula "fear not" *(ʾal tīrâ)* is a key component in the language of war, in particular the Holy War (Conrad 1985). But it is an exaggeration to say that every time the phrase is used it is in the context of war or evokes associations with war. In Gen 15:1, the Lord addresses Abraham, "Fear not, Abraham, I am your shield." To say that Abraham is addressed as a warrior because he has taken part in a battle in the previous chapter (14:14–16), and the root of the word "shield" *(māgēn)* is used as a verb in 14:20b *(miggēn)*, is to strain the exegesis of the text. A birth formula, "Behold, you are with child and shall bear a son; you shall call his name Ishmael," occurs in 16:11 and in other places in the OT (Gen 17:11; Judg 13:3–5; Isa 7:14; 1 Kgs 13:2; 1 Chr 22:9) as well as in the NT (Luke 1:31), but always with slight variations. The form has not imposed itself as if it were a straitjacket.

There is no such thing as a "pure" literary form, that is, a form that appears always word for word without variation. But there is a definite pattern according to which certain forms of speech are pronounced, e.g. the oracle of salvation (Westermann 1987).

A literary form is not something that one can choose or not choose to adopt. One writes or speaks in some form and there is no form which is not stylization. The whole person is expressed through the form. It is not partly person, partly form. The style is the person. We must not equate the style merely with kinds of embellishments, with terseness, prolixity, continued metaphor, insistent parallelism. It is not possible to separate completely form from content. Any attempts to give precedence to the message must be very delicate when the work is of any degree of sophistication. A literary form is not like the skin of an orange which one peels off to get at what really matters. In brief, then, it is neither the form nor the content that prevails. The meaning of the text emerges from a fine blending of both. And the person who speaks or writes, and the situation out of which the speech or writing comes, will regularly modify the form.

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JOHN J. SCULLION

GENEVA BIBLE. The Geneva Bible is the translation made by the Marian exiles in Geneva and issued in 1560 by Rouland Hall at the expense of the English Church in Geneva. The preface describes the work as requiring "two yeres and more day and night." William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, and Thomas Samson, influenced by the issuing of Pagninus' Latin Bible as well as by Oliveton's French, and the Italian version, corrected Tyndale's text by Beza's Latin NT. The OT is based on the Great Bible corrected from Hebrew and Greek compared with the Latin text of Leo Juda. The NT revised Whittingham's Testament of 1557.

The Geneva Bible (Herbert 1968: No. 107; all number references hereafter refer to Herbert 1968) printed in Roman letter borrowed the innovation of printing the verses within the chapters as separate paragraphs from Whittingham's NT. Words not in Greek, but necessary for English, were in italics. There were long prologues, chapter summaries, and copious marginal notes. There were woodcuts like those used in a French Bible published in Geneva the same year. The size was small quarto (28 × 20 cm).

Geneva Bibles printed after 1587 have a NT revised by Laurence Thomson who was secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham, and those after 1599 have the notes on the Apocalypse done by Junius, making three types of Geneva Bibles in all.

John Bodley received a patent for the exclusive right of printing the revision in England for seven years; Archbishop Parker in 1565 requested that a twelve year extension of Bodley's patent be granted. However, no Geneva Bibles were printed in England until after the death of Parker in 1575. The Barker family retained the printing rights for 130 years, when it passed to the Baskets for sixty years, and they sold it to John Eyre of Landford Wilts. The Geneva was the first Bible in English, printed in Scotland in 1579.

Though never authorized and never needing it, the Geneva Bible proved to be extremely popular. Between 1550 and 1644 there were an estimated one hundred and forty editions of the Bible and the NT. After 1611 when it could no longer be printed in England, editions printed in Amsterdam and Dort gave the date 1599 and the name of Christopher Barker as printer. It is estimated by Butterworth (1941: 231) that nineteen percent of the wording of the King James is due to the Geneva. It influenced the translators of the King James version in their revision more than any other English version.

Though the rendering had earlier appeared in Wycliffe, in Caxton's *Golden Legend*, and in Coverdale, the Geneva is known as the "Breeches Bible" from its translation of the clothing of Adam and Eve in Gen 3:7. While it has commonly been said that the Geneva was the Bible of the home in the Elizabethan period and the Bishops' was the Bible of the Church, there were many exceptions. There were quarto printings of the Bishops' Bibles and folio printings of the Geneva. Churchwarden's accounts of the period record the purchase of Geneva Bibles for some parishes. Even after the making of the Bishops' Bible, Andrews, Dillingham, and Overall continued using the Geneva in their sermons. The Geneva was used by William Shakespeare in his later plays and by John Bunyan. While it is known that the Puritans favored the Geneva, that it alone was allowed on the Mayflower seems disproved by John Alden's King James Version (on display at Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth, Massachusetts).

The notes of the Geneva are Calvinistic and anti-Catholic and are equal to a running commentary. In Junius' notes the images of the Apocalypse are applied to the church of Rome. Though popular with the people, the notes were described by Archbishop Parker as "prejudicall notis which might have ben also well spared." The Geneva was decried by King James at the Hampton Court Conference as the worst of all the translations, and its notes described as "partiall, untrue, seditious, and favouring too much of daungerous, and trayterous conceites." Nevertheless, there were printings of the King James Bible with Geneva notes in 1642 (No. 564), 1649 (No. 620), 1679 (Nos. 742, 743), 1863 (No. 782), 1708 (No. 987), and 1715 (No. 936).

Selections from the Geneva were used in the *Soldier's*

Pocket Bible of 1643 (No. 677). The Geneva was reprinted in facsimile by Bagster in 1842 (No. 1846), and the text in the *English Hexapla* of 1841 (No. 1840) and by Luther A. Weigle in his *The New Testament Octapla* in 1962. The text of Psalms was printed in the *Hexaplar Psalter* of 1911 (No. 2173) and the text of Genesis included in Weigle's *Genesis Octapla* of 1965. The Geneva Bible was again reissued in a facsimile reprint in 1969 by the University of Wisconsin Press. The making and influence of the Geneva Bible is the subject of a multivolume (in 1988 twenty volumes) study by Lewis Lupton.

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JACK P. LEWIS

GENITALIA. The Bible often employs euphemism when referring to the male and female sex organs. See BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.

GENIZAH, CAIRO. See DAMASCUS RULE.

GENNAEUS (PERSON) [Gk *Gennaios*]. Father of Apollonius, one of the five military governors of a district of Syria in the time of Antiochus V, 164–162 B.C.E. (2 Macc 12:2). The father of Apollonius is mentioned to distinguish him from another Apollonius, son of Menestheus, mentioned earlier (2 Macc 4:21). The five local governors would not let the Jews live quietly and in peace to go about their farming (2 Macc 12:1–2). It is not clear from the text whether the governors had orders or permission for the central government to oppress the Jews. This passage has no parallel in 1 Maccabees, but it may have been derived from a common source (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 432). The Jews did fight with neighboring peoples (1 Maccabees 5), but this reference seems to say that they fought with local Macedonian officials.

BETTY JANE LILLIE

GENNESARET (PLACE) [Gk *Gennesaret*]. **1.** A plain thirty stadia long and 20 stadia wide (3.5 × 1.5 miles) on the NW side of the Sea of Galilee between ancient Tiberias and Capernaum (*Ant* 3.521). As part of the rift valley, the plain is located 200 m (660 ft.) below sea level. Apparently, one of three branches of the Via Maris passed through the plain linking Megiddo and the coast with Hazor, Syria, and Mesopotamia (Negev 1972: 327); local roads connected it to important cities such as Sepphoris. The area is associated with Chinnereth of Jewish tradition (Deut 3:17; Josh 11:2; 12:3; 19:35).

Much of the early activity of Jesus and the Jesus movement apparently took place in or near this area. According to gospel tradition, Jesus and his disciples were blown off their journey to Bethsaida and landed instead in the region of Gennesaret (Matt 14:34 = Mark 6:53). A variant from D reads Gk *Genesar.* The basaltic red soil carried by three brooks, Nahal Ammud, Nahal Zalmon, and Nahal Arbel, made the plain fertile and allowed the growth of a variety of species including walnut, palm-trees, figs, and olives (*Ant* 3.515–18). According to Theophrastus, papyrus was planted and harvested by Egyptians near the lake (*HP* 4.8.4). Strabo mentions that balsam plants, a major export item, grew around the Lake, no doubt in this area (16.2.16). Hengel argues that the Romans may have extended balsam production to Galilee in order to increase profits (Hengel 1974: 45). The region was heavily populated during the Greco-Roman period and included the major urban centers of Tiberias and Tarichaeae/Magdala as well as the large village of Capernaum on its northern boundary.

2. City overlooking the fertile plain whose name became associated with the plain and the Sea of Galilee; see CHINNERETH.

3. An alternate name for the Sea of Galilee (Luke 5:1; 1 Macc 11:67).

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DOUGLAS R. EDWARDS

GENRE. See FORM CRITICISM.

GENTILES, COURT OF THE. A portion of Herod's temple square open to Jews and gentiles. An enclosure or barrier (Gk *druphaktos;* Heb *soreg*) surrounded the inner sanctuary beyond which gentiles were forbidden to go. Tablets written in Greek and Latin were apparently placed at thirteen entrances on the low parapet that marked the boundary to the area specifically reserved for Jews; the tablets warned non-Jews not to enter (Joseph. *JW* 5.5.3; 6.2.4; *Ant* 17.11.5; cf. *m. Mid.* 2.1–3). Two tablets with a Greek inscription have been found, a complete one in 1871 (Clermont-Ganneau) and a fragment in 1935 (Iliffe). The complete one reads "No foreigner is to enter within the forecourt and the balustrade around the sanctuary. Whoever is caught will have himself to blame for his subsequent death" (Schürer *HJP*^{2} 2:222, n. 85; cf. 285, n. 57). In Acts, Paul was accused of taking a gentile, Trophimus the Ephesian, into the temple, presumably meaning that they passed from the court of gentiles through the enclosure (Acts 21:28–29). Around the court's perimeter were porticoes; it was probably in one of these porticoes that, according to gospel tradition, Jesus overturned the money changers' tables (Matt 21:12; Mark 11:14; Luke 19:45; John 2:15). Josephus reports that Samaritans (ca. 6–9 C.E.) secretly scattered human bones in some of the porticoes and temple area, no doubt referring to this large area (*Ant* 18.30). The total area of the temple court could comfortably hold 75,000 people (Meyers and Strange 1981: 52).

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DOUGLAS R. EDWARDS

GENUBATH (PERSON) [Heb *gĕnubaṯ*]. Son of Hadad, an Edomite of the royal house who found favor in Egypt where he took refuge when David conquered Edom (1 Kgs 11:20). Genubath's mother is the sister of the queen, Tahpenes. That Genubath is weaned by the queen and raised with the sons of Pharaoh indicates the high esteem in which his father was held in Egypt. The name Genubath may be of N Arabic origin *(gnb)* or stem from an Egyptian name *(qnbt)*.

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PAULINE A. VIVIANO

GEOGRAPHY AND THE BIBLE. This entry consists of two very different types of articles. The first article surveys not only the physical geology and geomorphology of Palestine, but also the human geography, including land use and settlement patterns characteristic of the land. The second article examines how, in antiquity, biblical and early Jewish writers themselves configured the world and Israel's geographical relationship to it.

GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE

Geography is a spatial science which seeks to explain location and distributions on the earth's surface. Palestine expresses this geographical tradition rather well. For example, the region is located 31 degrees N of the equator. At such latitudes desert and Mediterranean climates converge. Palestine is also approximately midway between the Nile and Tigris/Euphrates River basins indicating a sense of centrality and geopolitical consequences between great civilizations of the past which emerged to the W and the E. These basic patterns, to a high degree, have directed human occupance and cultural activity of the diverse landscape.

The discipline of geography is also viewed as a bridge between social and physical sciences. The task of geographers is to interpret the meeting and the interrelationships between natural history and cultural history (Sauer 1972: 1–2). That is, they seek out interrelationships between land, humans, and time. The landscape is often dictated by geological forces and the structure of the earth's rocks in the subsurface. The physical forces such as weather and climate over eons of time break down the exposed rock to create soil and prepare the way for erosion by water. Such geological and climatically controlled processes and events began millions of years ago.

Superimposed on the geologic and climatic mosaic of Palestine is the much more recent imprint of people. Palestine is a long settled region and its peoples are heirs to old and culturally diverse civilizations. With each new skill humans seized opportunities and resources to improve their well-being. Human groups benefited from the natural resources such as springs for water, topography with defensive advantage, and lowland soils which could be cultivated with ease. Geography may be viewed as human ecology since interactions between human and physical processes do occur. Humans are not set apart from the natural landscape but are participants or even motivators in its changes. Since the recession of the glaciers which began some 20,000 years ago the most significant modifier of the landscape has been people—not physical processes. Within the short span of occupance the geography of Palestine has been transformed from a physical entity to a culturally modified environment.

In the brief survey of the geography of Palestine which follows, the physical elements including its geology, geomorphology, climate, soils, and water resources are discussed. This overview is followed by the human geography through biblical times. Included are subsections on land use, settlement patterns, rural and urban settings, and road networks.

A. A Geographic Perspective of Palestine
B. Physical Character
  1. Geology
  2. Geologic Structures and Plate Tectonics
  3. Geomorphology
    a. The Coastal Plain
    b. The Hill Country
    c. The Dead Sea Rift
    d. Transjordan
    e. The Negeb
    f. The Sinai Peninsula
  4. Climatic Setting of Palestine
    a. Weather and Climate
    b. Controls of Weather and Climate
    c. Water Requirements
    d. Climatic Variability and Settlement
  5. Soil Types and Salinity
  6. Water Resources and Water Systems
C. Human Geography
  1. Characteristics of Land Use in Palestine
  2. Settlement Patterns
  3. Settlements and Topographic Settings
  4. Landscape Modification
  5. Agriculture
  6. Towns
  7. Road Network

A. A Geographic Perspective of Palestine

Since ancient times Jerusalem was portrayed as the *omphalos*, that is, the earth's navel, from which order was established and diffused to "those who dwell at the earth's farthest bounds" (Ps 65:8). The preeminence of Palestine and particularly Jerusalem was cartographically expressed on O and T maps. The Cottonian map, a 10th-century

Anglo-Saxon predecessor to the traditional O and T maps which followed, depicts Europe to the left, Africa to the right and the Middle East and Asia at the top (i.e., east) (Elster 1970). The "O" of the map was represented by a universal ocean which circles the land masses. The "T" represented the Red Sea to the right and the Black Sea to the left. These two seas joined the Mediterranean Sea at approximate right angles which in turn, vertically bisected the map. The intent was, of course, to geographically highlight the importance of the Holy Land. When the map was oriented, E was naturally to the "top" of the map where it, figuratively speaking, belonged.

Although T and O maps are geographically expressions of the past they do illustrate the theological significance of the Holy Land. Other maps also reveal salient geographical characteristics about Palestine. The region is situated midway between the Nile and the Tigris and Euphrates River basins which were centers of exceptional civilizations. The routes which led from Asia to Africa and Europe funneled through the narrow sliver of arable land called the Fertile Crescent which terminated in Palestine.

In terms of geology, natural vegetation, and climate, Palestine is a meeting place. It is here that several crustal plates of the earth are pushing, pulling, and sliding past one another. The end product of these global subsurface forces are contorted land forms and inland seas created in the region which are manifested in the earthquakes and recent volcanic activity recorded in the exposed rocks.

Palestine is a botanical boundary where three major natural vegetation zones meet: Mediterranean, Saharo-Sindian and Irano-Turanian. Trees and xerophytic shrubs of the Mediterranean zone contrast sharply with the sparse plant cover of the arid Saharo-Sindian zone. The Irano-Turanian zone is an intermediate grass steppe land forming a transition between the other two zones. A combination of climatic conditions for plant growth as well as modification or deforestation of the vegetation due to long human occupance has left little of the original cover.

The land is also a place where arid and wet climates meet. Parod in Galilee annually receives 1,000 mm of precipitation whereas the Negeb 450 km to the south receives almost none. The boundary between the desert and the wetter zone is elusive and flexible which is illustrated by the repeated shifts of human settlements over time.

The region was a meeting place of tillers and urban dwells. Semblance of urban status appeared with Jericho in the 6th millennium B.C. The site covered an area of 32 hectares and was protected by a stone wall.

Curiously, the coastal plain and its shoreline were less significant to the people of Palestine than to others in the Mediterranean Basin such as the Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans. The occupants were oriented toward the land not the sea. The land was a meeting place for farmers and nomads. The farmers preferred stability and lived in secure villages whereas the nomads tended to the needs of their flocks. In both cases water was key to their economic pursuits. During periods of ample water supply both prospered.

B. Physical Character

1. Geology. Although the geology of Palestine and the Sinai, in terms of rock types, structures and history is complex, it is significant in terms of land forms, water resources, and human occupation of the landscape. The rocks which make up the region may be broadly divided into three sequential types. See Figs. GEO.01 and 02. The oldest rocks are of Precambrian age which chronologically are followed by a prolonged record of sedimentary deposits. The youngest earth materials are the most recent deposits occupying the lowlands.

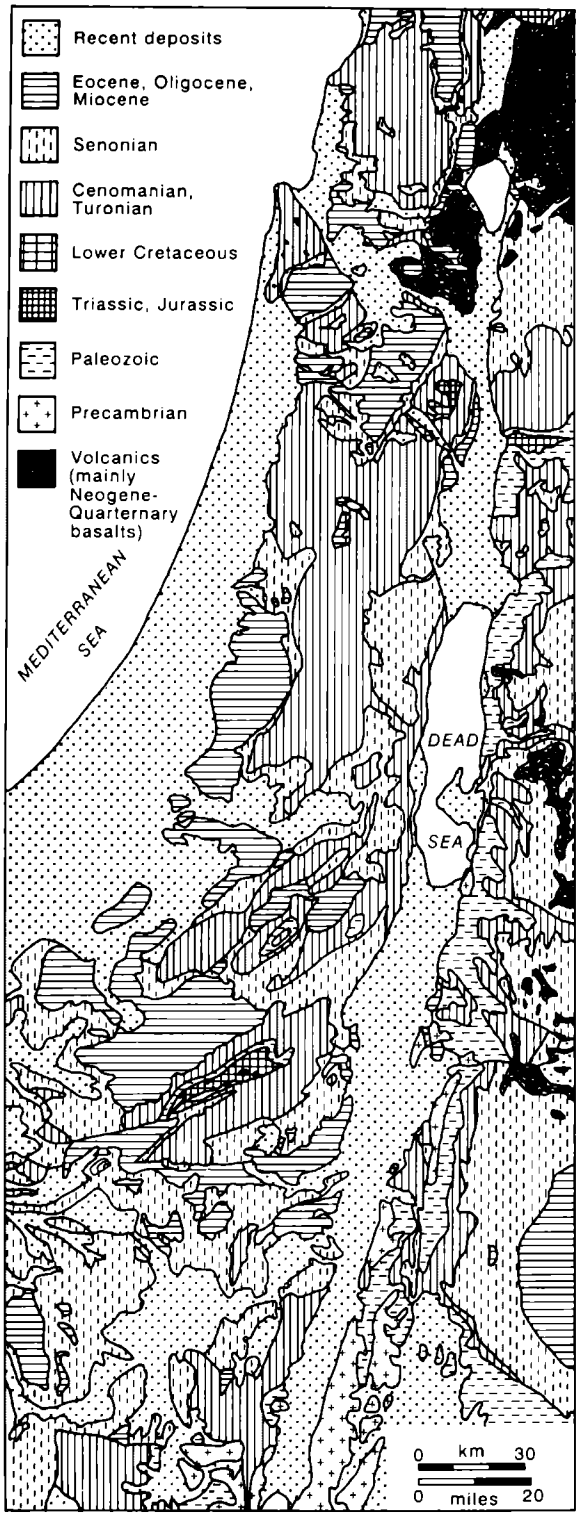
The most ancient rocks are some two to three billion years in age (Precambrian) and with the exception of the Sinai are of limited exposure. The rocks were derived from magmas which cooled in the subsurface to form calc-alkaine and alkaine magmatic rocks. These igneous rocks went through repeated folding to form high mountains in the S part of the region. The Sinai Peninsula, Arabia, E Egypt and the Sudan form the geologic core of the Middle East which is referred to as the Arabo-Nubian Massif. Over the millions of years the region was fractured and split by earthquakes. The ruptured zones were filled with younger crystalline rock and volcanic deposits which locally metamorphosed the existing rock. Today, the only aerially significant Precambrian exposures N of the Sinai occur NE of the Gulf of Elat.

The Precambrian Era was followed by Paleozoic, Meszoic and, most recently, the Cenozoic Eras which covered a span of 0.5 billion years. This period of geologic time was generally characterized by deposits of sedimentary rocks. The land mass rose and subsided many times causing repeated inundations and subsequent exposures by the ocean which geologists refer to as the Tethys. During a period of drowning by the Tethys Sea, marine deposits, primarily carbonates, were laid down as muds which gradually hardened into sedimentary strata. Limestone, chalk, marl, dolomite, and flint were the common depositional products. The limestones frequently were composed of marine fossils such as foraminifera and coral. When the land was exposed during the regression of the sea, terrestrial deposits such as sandstone and gravels were deposited and lithified. The widespread Nubian sandstones in Palestine and the Sinai are evidence of the terrestrial regime in the region.

On the basis of the geology, eight transgressions of the sea took place: five during the Paleozoic Era and three during the Mesozoic Era. The geographical distribution of the marine and terrestrial rocks reveal that the Transjordan to the E experienced greater periods of subaerial deposition. In contrast the Cisjordan to the W and N is predominantly characterized by marine deposits, suggesting that this region was submerged for a longer period of time and regression of the sea was a sporadic intermittent event.

The present era of geologic time (Quaternary Era) has witnessed terrestrial deposition in basins along the Mediterranean Sea and the trough from the Sea of Galilee (Lake Kinneret) southward beyond the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Aqaba. During the Early Quaternary, more familiar features such as sand dunes along the shoreline, loess of the N Negeb and red sands of the coastal plain were deposited by winds. Also the Terra Rossa of the hills of Judea (e.g., Hebron Hills, Bethel Hills) and the marls in the Jordan Valley were deposited during this time.

Although the glaciers of the "Ice Age" did not directly



GEO.01. Geological map of Palestine.

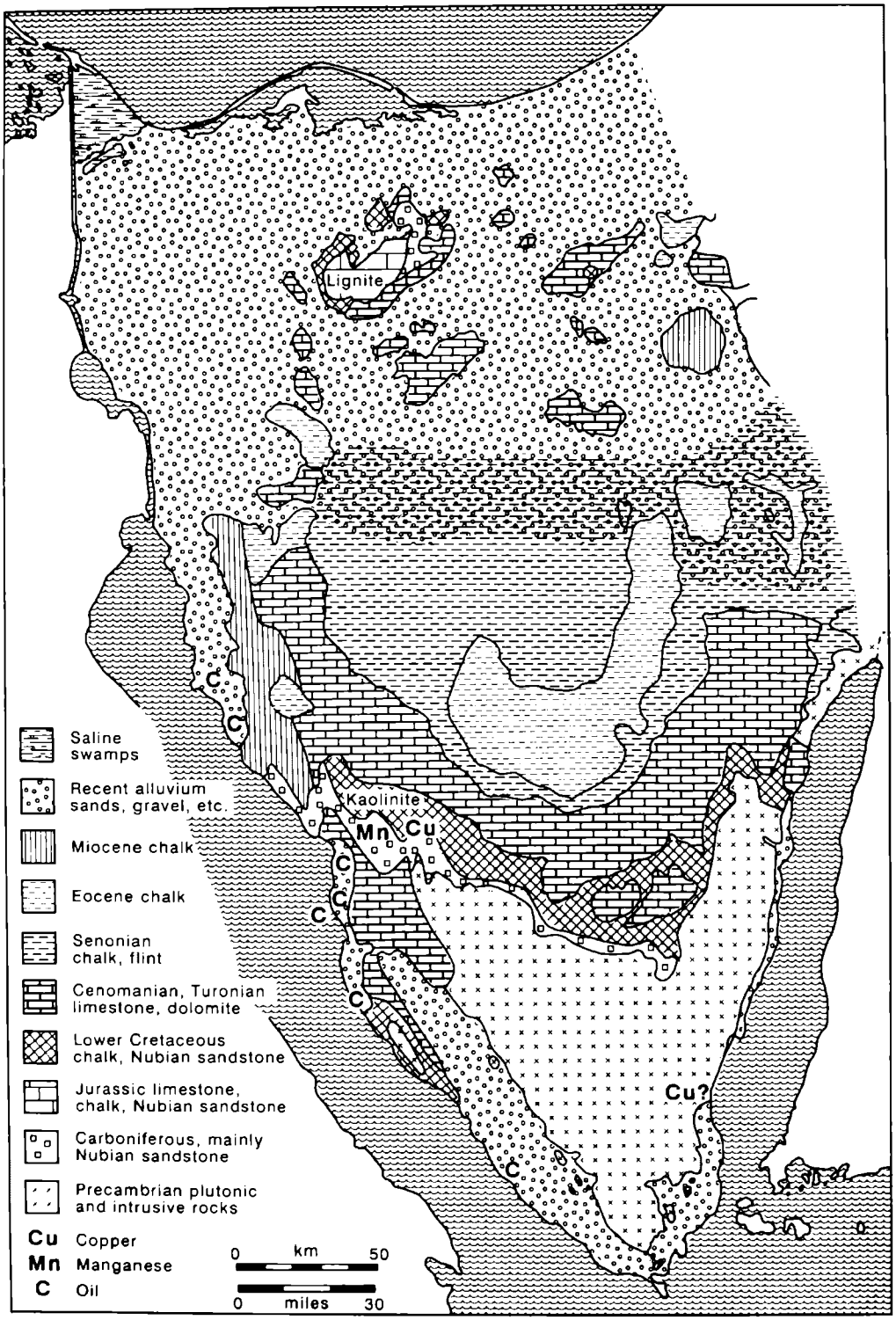
effect Palestine, the accompanying Pleistocene climatic change did. With its onset, cooler climatic conditions occurred between 600,000 and 30,000 years ago and are referred to as pluvials. The lower evaporation rates coupled with a probable increase in precipitation created lakes and wetlands in valleys and more intensive weathering of the exposed rocks. Streams with higher discharges carved canyons and deposited coarse debris in valley bottoms. Additional deposits included the Lissan marls of the Jordan Valley and a volcanic episode which poured lavas onto the Golan, E Galilee and Basan in Transjordan.

2. Geologic Structures and Plate Tectonics. During the long periods of geologic time, marine and terrestrial deposition dominated the scene. However, skeletal clues suggest mountain building occurred during Precambrian time. More recently, however, the more salient geologic structures were formed. During the middle Cenozoic Era (Lower Miocene Epoch), the region from Spain to the Middle East and beyond experienced a principal mountain building event which is continuing. Referred to as the Alpine-Himalayan revolution, simple folds were created in the sedimentary rocks of Palestine. Earthquakes accompanied the displacement of the land which were manifested as faults outlining the linear depression of the Jordan Valley. Over time, the rift deepened and tributary valleys formed. The rift valley which is one of the most outstanding geologic features on the surface of the earth is clearly visible as a linear trough occupied by the Sea of Galilee, the Jordan River, and the Dead Sea, and continuing southward to Elat, a total distance of some 360 km.

In overview, the structural changes occurring in Palestine are related to the concept of plate tectonics. The earth's crust is composed of several plates, like broken slabs of ice on a lake. Along their margins, the crustal plates are converging, diverging, or sliding laterally past each other. Since motion is occurring along the edges of the plates, earthquakes due to faulting, vulcanism and related geological displacements such as mountain building commonly take place along relatively narrow zones. A boundary separating the Arabo-Nubian Plate from the African Plate is located in the Red Sea where separation of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula is occurring. The plate boundary extends into the Gulf of Elat and farther N, creating the Dead Sea Rift. The plate boundary has the appropriate geological characteristics: volcanic activity, earthquakes and displacement of the earth's crust.

Seismological stations have been in place in the Middle East only since the 1930s. Therefore the seismic activity is historically not well documented. In spite of this, noninstrumental and instrumental observations indicate that between 1900 and 1980 over 50 earthquakes occurred adjacent to the Dead Sea Rift (Aryeh 1985). The seismic activity along the fault system is the result of the relative movement of the African and Arabo-Nubian plates which on the average have been one-half to one cm per year. Bowen and Jux (1987: 159) believe the total displacement was 105 km since the end of Mesozoic time.

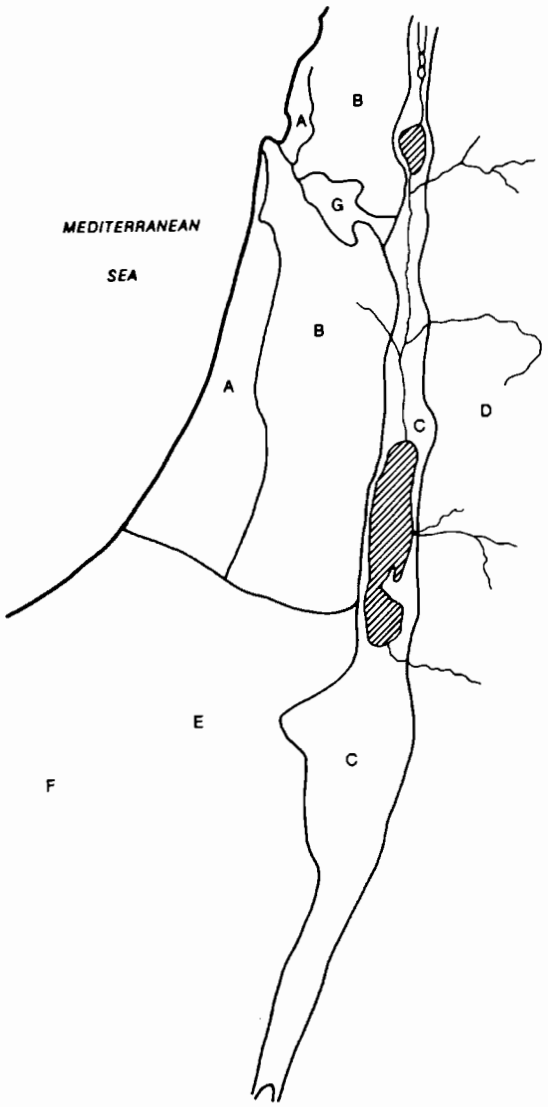
Recent investigations (Neev et al. 1987) based in part on Landsat satellite pictures suggest that vertical displacements are actively occurring along the E Mediterranean shoreline. Faulting has uplifted the land whereas the Mediterranean basin off the coast of Palestine has been sub-



GEO.02. Geological map of Sinai.

merged as blocks of the ocean crust subsided. "The sea looked and fled, Jordan turned back. The mountains skipped like rams, the hills like lambs" (Ps 114:3–4), poetically describes the geological instability of the region.

3. Geomorphology. The present-day topographic expression of Palestine began to evolve with the withdrawal of the Mesozoic seas and the Cenozoic uplifts and faulting. Orni and Efrat (1971) recognized six geomorphological provinces. See Fig. GEO.03. These are: the coastal plain; the hill country; the Dead Sea Rift and its branches; the Transjordan; the Negeb; and the Sinai Peninsula to the S and SW.



GEO.03. Six geomorphological regions of Palestine. *A*, coastal plain; *B*, hill country; *C*, Dead Sea Rift; *D*, Transjordan; *E*, Negeb; *F*, Sinai; *G*, Jezreel Valley.

a. The Coastal Plain. The coastal plain of the Palestine is a rather straight depositional surface extending along the Mediterranean shore. Topographically, the region is characterized by beaches and sand dunes occasionally interspersed with wetlands. There appears to be two source areas for the sediment. Currents moving northward supply quartzic sand-size particles to the shoreline from the Nile River. It has been suggested (Orni and Efrat 1971) that during the Pleistocene pluvials, which corresponded to periods of lower sea levels, the Nile River transported coarse sands from the Abyssinian highlands to the sea, which were then moved by coastal currents to the Palestinian coast. An alternative or supplemental source of sand is Wadi el-Arish which drains most of the Sinai and debouches into the Mediterranean 80 km W of Gaza. The siliceous sands are clearly derived from non-carbonate sources and are thus not local sediments. The deposits N of Haifa, however, are essentially composed of calcium carbonate and are derived locally from the weathered rocks of the interior of Palestine.

Much of the shoreline has precipitous rock cliffs 10 to 40 m high suggesting that the coast is erosional in nature. Sandstone outcrops locally called "kurkar ridges" parallel the shoreline. Kurkar are thought to be sand dunes deposited during the Pleistocene and cemented by calcareous solutions. However, recent investigations (Neev et al. 1987: 4–5) suggest that fault activity and earthquakes may account for the position and trends of the kurkar ridges.

b. The Hill Country. The hill country occupies most of the country between the coastal plain to the W and Jordan to the E. The hills were formed during the relatively recent Alpine-Himalayan mountain building period and are landforms of the Cenozoic age. With the exception of lower Galilee where volcanic basalts cover the surface, the rocks are sedimentary carbonates and include limestones, chalk, marl, and dolomite.

Morphologically, the hills in the S (Judea) tread in a general north-south direction. Breaching and erosion has exposed the interior of some of these features, thus forming anticlinal valleys with interior drainage. Northward in Samaria over a distance of 50 km, three northeast–southwest ridges paralleled one another to form Mount Carmel in the NW, the Irron Hills in the center and the Tevez Hills in the SE. Structurally, the ridges are anticlines separated by two downward synclinal valleys. The subregion to the N is abruptly terminated by faults set at approximate right angles to the Jordan Valley, making the lineation of the ridges less clear.

The geomorphic picture in the hills of Galilee is less clear because folding was complicated by faulting. It has been suggested (Orni and Efrat 1971: 74) that an anticlinal ridge striking N/S is paralleled by secondary folds on its flanks similar to the hill country to the S. However, faulting across the strike of the folds created tilted blocks. An additional element adding to the complexity of the topography was the more recent volcanic activity which has produced basalt plateaus. In summary, the topography consists of isolated narrow ridges, elevated plateaus, and dissected valleys and basins.

c. The Dead Sea Rift. The most striking topographical feature in Palestine is the elongated valley created by rifting between the Cisjordan and Transjordan. The rift is the N sector of a plate boundary which extends southward into the Red Sea. A branch of the rift extends into E Africa which is occupied by well known lakes such as Lake Tanganyika and Lake Rudolf of the African Rift Valley. In Palestine the width of the rift varies from 5 to 25 km. Three lakes occupy the rift. From N to S these are Lake Hula (el. +70 m), Sea of Galilee (el. −209 m) and the Dead Sea (el. −395 m). Both Lake Hula and the Sea of Galilee were created by lava dams which impounded the drainage to the S. Prior to the 1950s Lake Hula, which was a basin colonized with papyrus and other marsh plants, was converted to fertile farmland (Fisher 1978: 414). The difference in elevation between the rift floor and adjacent upland is explained in part by vertical faulting which intensified during Late Cenozoic time. However great thicknesses of sediment have also contributed to the subsidence of the rift. On the basis of geophysical evidence, (Orni and Efrat 1971) 7000 m of alluvium overlie the bedrock in the Dead Sea area. The river readjusted its gradient as the water level of the Dead Sea oscillated. During higher lake levels the Jordan River meandered within its valley depositing alluvium (Kallner and Rosenau 1939). As the level of the Dead Sea fell, the river incised the valley bottom, creating a lower floodplain and abandoning the formerly deposited older and higher surfaces which now stand as river terraces.

d. Transjordan. Transjordan includes the region east of the Dead Sea Rift. Geologically, in most areas, the Transjordan is the continuation of the hill country W of the rift. Its W boundary is sharply delineated by escarpments which face W, whereas the E slope has a gradual transitional zone to the Syrian Desert. With the exception of Cenozoic volcanics in the Golan region, most of the Transjordan is composed of uplifted carbonate rocks of Mesozoic age. The uplift was greater to the W adjacent to the rift. Thus the plateau surface dips gently eastward. The uplift of the plateau was gentle enough to allow the rivers in the Transjordan to cut downward and maintain their westward flowing courses. High, stream-eroded cuestas set perpendicular to the rift are well displayed E of the Dead Sea Rift. The most striking cuesta, Ras en-Naqb, has a local relief of 300 to 400 m. In front of the cuestas, prominent sedimentary hills mainly composed of Nubian sandstones have remained exposed. Where river dissection has been extreme, large alluvial fans have been deposited at the base of these escarpments.

e. The Negeb. The Negeb occupies an area of about 12,000 km^2 (4,600 mi^2). On the map, this geomorphic region has a shape of a near-isosoles triangle with its apex at the port city of Elat. Its remote location from the Mediterranean presents an area of extreme aridity. Geomorphologically the Negeb has a great diversity of land forms particularly from E to W. The E sector of the Negeb is well defined by the Arabah Valley which is the S most extension of the Dead Sea Rift. The rift valley averages 60 km in width. In spite of the aridity, flash flooding is rare but geomorphically significant in the Arabah Valley. Extensive alluvial fans derived from flood events have been deposited along the floor of the rift valley.

North and east of Elat the Arabo-Nubian Massif with its ancient crystalline rocks forms a rugged landscape. The Precambrian crystalline and metamorphic rocks break down rapidly, creating vertical fractures often resulting in high angle slopes. Flanking the Massif is the Paran Plateau. This surface attains elevations of 600 m and gently dips to the NW where it intersects the Arabah Valley at an elevation of 100 m. Most of the plateau is flat indicating that the carbonate bedrock has not been severely deformed over time. Wadi Paran exhibits a dendritic drainage pattern and has a channel width of up to three km, indicating that high river discharge conditions occasionally occur.

Midway between Elat and the Mediterranean, in the central Negeb, is a region of hills (Negeb Hills) commonly exceeding elevations of 1,000 m. Compressional forces on the strata during the Cenozoic Era created ridges and valleys generally conforming to anticlines and synclines. Comparatively little secondary deformation occurred to distort these primary structures. The anticlinal structures are in some localities breached, forming valleys within the anticlines. Makhtesh Qatan and Makhtesh Ramon are outstanding examples of these structural landforms.

Between the Negeb hills and the Mediterranean lies a plain centered on Beer-sheba. Compared to the E Negeb, this plain is a low subdued surface ranging in elevation from 50 m in the W to 500 m in the E. During early Cenozoic time the sea penetrated the region forming a shallow estuary in which chalk (calcium carbonate) precipitated. With the sea's regression the exposed area was blanketed with loess soil deposited by the wind. Sand dunes extending northward from the Sinai contribute to the landscape diversity of this area.

f. The Sinai Peninsula. On a map, the Sinai Peninsula has two outstanding attributes. It is some three times (60,000 km^2) the size of Israel prior to the Six Day War, and it has a long coastline encompassing much of its triangular shape. Sinai may be subdivided into four geomorphic subareas: the high mountains in the S; the a-Tih Plateau; the Northern Plain; and the coastal plain. Considering the size and the variability of rock types, the drainage network of the peninsula forms a rather simple pattern. Contrary to drainage patterns commonly observed in arid regions, very little of the peninsula drains inward. About two-thirds of the Sinai is drained northward by Wadi el-Arish which has a length of 250 km. This clearly suggests that higher topography occurs in the S. In the S area short wadis with steep gradients radiate from the uplands and debouch into the Gulf of Suez and Elat.

The mountain block of the S is composed of granites, porphyries as well as metamorphic rocks, and is part of the Arabo-Nubian Massif. The highest elevations of any geographic region discussed are located here. Gebil Umm Shaumer and Gebil Eth Shari are 2586 and 2438 m above mean sea level, respectively. This Precambrian surface is crossed by numerous lineaments. N of the ancient crystalline complex the Nubian sandstones are exposed forming a crescent-shaped band of rock which lies uncomfortably above the Precambrian basement.

The a-Tih Plateau is composed of resistant limestones

and carbonates and represents about 60 percent of the peninsula's land area. Since the carbonate rocks do not weather as rapidly as the softer Nubian sandstones they have been preserved as well defined topographical ridges. Several elevations exceed 1,000 m (e.g., Ras al-Ganeina, 1,626 m). To the N elevations are usually less than 400 m. The carbonates, although resistant, have been deeply dissected by N flowing drainage.

The a-Tih Plateau merges with the Northern Plain which is, in general, relatively flat. However, isolated, elongated ridges oriented NE-SW appear as a continuation of fold structures noted in the Negeb. The ridges occur as two sets parallel to one another, and attain elevations of several hundred meters. Jebel Yiallaq, which is the highest ridge, has an elevation of 1,094 m. The floor of the Northern Plain is occupied by sand dunes which are crescent-shaped and are composed of quartz sand. Over large areas they are oriented in parallel chains.

The coastal plain along the Mediterranean Sea is 230 km in length. An outstanding feature of the shoreline is a barrier spit which has enclosed a lagoon, Sabkhat el-Bardawil. The linear barrier is skewed eastward suggesting that the sediment source is to the W. It has been suggested that the Nile River supplies sediments to the shoreline of Palestine indicating that the longshore currents are from the W. The coastal zone of the Sinai joins the coastal plain of Palestine to form a northward sweeping arc.

4. Climatic Setting of Palestine. a. Weather and Climate. The day to day condition of the atmosphere, including air temperature, precipitation, and air pressure, is referred to as weather. With each passing hour these elements, which are interdependent, change. However the change in the weather in Palestine from one day to the next is not as great as that experienced in Europe or N North America. The average condition of the atmosphere, on a monthly basis for example, may be referred to as climate. Since climate is based on statistical averages over the year, variability from one year to the next is modest at best.

At the midlatitudes of the earth we most often think of seasonality in terms of temperature. Winters in North America and Europe are cold or cool whereas summers are hot or warm. Although temperature contrast in Palestine does occur, particularly in the interior of the region, it would be more appropriate to consider seasonality in terms of wet and dry seasons. Baly (1987: 21–23) not only recognizes a distinct wet and dry season, but two transitional seasons (from September 1 to mid-October and from mid-April to the end of May) each lasting about six weeks. Precipitation in terms of quantity, the period of occurrence, and its geographical distribution is perhaps the most significant physical element in directing human activity on the landscape of Palestine.

b. Controls of Weather and Climate. A combination of atmospheric, marine, and topographic factors provide the essential controls of the climate of Palestine. Much of Palestine has a modified Mediterranean climate with increasing aridity eastward and southward. The more salient climatic controls are outlined below.

The region is located between 30 and 33 degrees N latitude. During the period of high sun (summer) a subtropical high air pressure mass over N Africa expands. This condition creates hot and dry conditions over the Mediterranean basin. The wet season occurs when low pressure storm tracks over Europe are displaced more southward during the winter months. During this season, cyclonic storms move eastward through to the Mediterranean. Precipitation occurs mainly in the form of showers caused by the unstable air of the intruding cold fronts.

The precipitation bearing winds move from W to E in Palestine. However, the mountains and hills strike in a N–S alignment. As the unstable air rises over the topographical barriers, orographic precipitation occurs on the windward slopes of the hills. As the winds descend along the lee slopes in the interior, the air expands and is drier, bringing less precipitation to the interior of the region.

The proximity to the Mediterranean Sea plays a role in temperature modification. Air with higher humidity results in lower annual temperature ranges. The temperature contrast between summer and winter along the coastal plain of Palestine is 13 C degrees (Levi 1985: 20–21). However, in the isolated desert of the SE which is the lee side of hills, the difference in temperature between summer and winter is 18 degrees C (Levi 1985: 20–21).

c. Water Requirements. While precipitation data express the total intake of water in a given area, they do not reflect the amounts of needed or available water to sustain specified natural vegetation or agriculture. The amount of available moisture in a given area is determined by precipitation and by evaporation which is expressed as a water budget. Aridity is in a sense, the amount of moisture evaporated rather than the amount precipitated, and may be expressed as a mean annual potential evapotranspiration rate. Cressey (1960: 107–11) determined that the highest mean annual potential evapotranspiration occurs in the Dead Sea, an area of negative water balance or where potential evapotranspiration exceeds precipitation. More equitable conditions occur in the highlands in the N part of the region where altitudes are higher, temperatures are cooler, and precipitation is 1,000 mm annually.

d. Climatic Variability and Settlement. Climatic change in the E Mediterranean and specifically in Palestine continues to be researched. Although several approaches to the question are used, such as paleobotany and geoarchaeology (Hopkins 1985: 101), satisfactory conclusions are still evasive. Fisher (1978: 72–73) suggests the long continuity of human activity in the Middle East implies only modest if any environmental change. He notes that the distribution of trade routes and settlements in the interior have maintained their unchanging geography for hundreds of years. Butzer (1957), after sifting through a diversity of information, came up with the same general conclusions with minor stipulations. Conversely Vita-Finz (1969) examined river terrace deposits in several sites around the Mediterranean which suggested wetter climatic conditions during the post-Roman period.

The geographical pattern of aridity may in part, contribute to an understanding of human settlement in Palestine. Early village settlements occurred towards the end of the Natufian period (mid–late 9th millennium B.C.). The locations and associated artifacts revealed that the sites were next to permanent water sources (Miller 1980: 33). Throughout the centuries sites in upland regions appear to have had a relatively stable population compared to

lowland sites. In the lowlands however, human occupance shifted with the geographic extent of aridity. The temporal pattern of the distribution of settlement in the Negeb broadly defined by Schechter and Galai (1977: 263), on the basis of Butzer's data (1957), is as follows:

6000 B.C.	Settlements mostly in the Dead Sea Rift (Arabah Valley) with several in Negeb S of Dead Sea and Beer-sheba.
5000 to 4000 B.C.	Previous settlements abandoned; settlement does not occur S of Dead Sea; settlements in oasis N of Dead Sea and agriculturally favorable lands further N.
3500 to 3000 B.C.	Settlement again encroaches S mostly on loess areas around Beer-sheba; again abandoned about 3000 B.C.

The changing pattern of settlement, abandonment, and resettlement particularly in the S, may be due to recurring patterns of aridity. Amiran (1953) after examining more recent population pulsations (1875 to 1953) suggested that in the E (Dead Sea Rift) the line of aridity and settlement are relatively inflexible. Here desert conditions are largely a result of rain shadow conditions, and a broad zone of precipitation variability is lacking. Along the S in the Negeb proper, landforms are more subdued and the line of aridity is more flexible in part because rain shadow conditions do not occur. Here the belt of fluctuation is about 100 km wide compared to some five km for the E. To be sure, the security of the Negeb has played a role in human settlement. However, an alternative possibility may be the variable width of the arid zone in this region. As aridity expanded in the S, settlements were abandoned and as aridity lessened settlements increased. See also PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF.

5. Soil Types and Salinity. Although often overlooked, soil is one of the most vital biophysical resources of a region. Without it, agriculture is impossible and livestock herding is marginal at best. It has been suggested (Raikes 1966: 72) that Neolithic settlement at Beidha favored sites near fertile retentive soil rather than near water. It is a resource which has been intensely used and misused over time. Several factors are responsible for soil development. These include climate, parent material, or rock type upon which the soil forms, vegetation and microorganisms, slope and time. In general, climatic conditions and parent material are the two most significant factors in soil formation.

On the basis of climate and topography, Reifenberg (1947) delineated Palestine into four regions, and identified alluvial soils, Terra Rossa soils, and Mediterranean Steppe soils as the most significant in terms of agriculture. More recently, Dan and Koyumdjisky (1963) recognized soil types on the basis of three terrain types: a coastal region; a mountain and hill country; and thirdly, a valley, plains, and plateau regions. Each terrain type was further subdivided with regard to moisture conditions and parent material.

The coastal zone is composed primarily of sandy deposits. In the N where higher moisture conditions prevail, non-calcic brown soil is found. Further S in the semiarid regions, reddish chestnut soils occur. In the arid zone proper, calcareous coarse textured burezems (arid brown soils) have developed.

The hill country to the W is underlain by hard limestones, softer marls, and other carbonate rocks of Cenozoic age. Terra Rossa soils have developed on the harder carbonates with Brown Rendzinas on the marls. With increasing aridity to the SW, calcareous desert-steppe lithosols predominate.

The soils in valleys, plains, and plateaus are derived from sediments of varying consistency which have been broken down by weathering processes. In the moist areas, dark colored Grumusols are most common. In arid areas such as the Dead Sea Rift, soils referred to as hammadas predominate. These soils are characterized by hardened surface covers underlain by finer material, often with saline layers. Because of the high evaporation rates water moves up through the soil. As the water evaporates, carbonates remain behind which cement the alluvial surface and form a calachie or calcrete surface.

Lithosols cover a large portion of the S Sinai which is composed of ancient igneous and metamorphic rocks (Beaumont et al. 1976: 42–44). Limestone Lithic Ermolithosols cover the central third of the Sinai. These soils are immature, thinly weathered, products of limestone bedrock.

Salinity is a common problem in many soil types of Palestine. Climate, soil texture, and depth to ground water are some factors which contribute to the problem (Dan and Koyumdjisky 1987). Well drained sandy soils are nonsaline because their coarse texture permits salts to be leached. The salinity of soils in hill areas depends upon the rock type which is normally at or near the surface. Shallow soils such as Terra Rossas and Brown Rendzinas which are sited on harder rocks are more leached and less saline than soils formed on softer calcareous rocks. Soils with the highest salinity have been salinized by ground water and occur in poorly drained areas such as the lower Jordan Valley. Within a regional perspective, the least saline soils are in the N and W sectors of Palestine. Soils with moderately to extremely high salinities occur on the S and E frontiers where negative water balances occur.

6. Water Resources and Water Systems. In Palestine, a reliable source of water is a prerequisite for human survival and sustained economic activity. Nomadic migration patterns are often dictated by the seasonal occurrence and distribution of water in arid and semi-arid regions. Agriculture, including the types of crops and period of planting and harvesting was directed by precipitation. This was more pronounced during Natufian time in the Judean Hills, Galilee and Mt. Carmel where the wet (winter) and dry (summer) seasons display more regularity than in S Palestine.

Another significant aspect of water was its aesthetic value. It was a resource which was cherished during biblical times. Gardens were familiar landscape elements in Palestine (Semple 1931: 481) especially after Babylonian captivity when a new concept of horticulture was introduced. What could be more pleasant and serene than "gardens of flowers and fruit trees with pools of water therein" (Qoh 2:5–6) to greet a traveler? To such green retreats, water lent its beauty or it might serve for a bath as inferred from

the stories of Bathsheba (2 Sam 11:2–3) and the deuterocanonical story Susanna. The recreation and refuge value, especially on hot summer days must have been a significant dimension of life in Palestine.

Orni and Efrat (1971: 441) estimated that an average annual total of 6,000 million m^3 of precipitation falls within the drainage area of Palestine. Additionally another 10,000 million m^3 is contributed by valleys draining into Israel. Of the total, 60 to 70 percent is evaporated or lost through evapotranspiration by vegetation and another 5 percent runs off to the Mediterranean Sea, Red Sea, and Dead Sea. The remainder percolates into the soil and rocks. Even here, however, a percentage finds it way to the seas. Therefore ground water and to a lesser degree surface runoff are the two practical sources of available water.

Ground water is defined as water contained in void spaces of underground strata which are either bedrock, unconsolidated sediments, or soil. The water is originally precipitated at the ground surface and infiltrates downward into the underlying strata referred to as aquifers. If the water encounters impermeable rock it accumulates and produces a hydrostatic pressure. Since strata are often inclined, the water slowly flows down a gravitational slope of the aquifer.

In Palestine, aquifers occur in bedrock as well as in alluvial sediments. The most productive aquifers are in sedimentary rocks, not the igneous rocks because of more pore space—hence higher water holding capacity. The most significant aquifers are those chalks, limestones, and sandstones of Cretaceous and more recent Cenozoic periods (United Nations 1982) which form the hill country E of the coastal plain.

In N Palestine ground water is replenished by precipitation on the exposed and tilted rock outcrops of the various sedimentary aquifers and is thus being annually resupplied. In the Negeb, Sinai, and Arabah regions ground water is replenished only by infiltration due to intermittent thunderstorms or flash floods. Here, most of the ground water is fossil water which infiltrated into the reservoirs in the geologic past (probably Pleistocene time) when pluvial conditions existed. Therefore, water resources are not being replenished in the arid regions, a condition which has recently encouraged the Israeli government to undertake the National Water Carrier project (Beaumont et al. 1988: 101–5) to transfer water from the N (Galilee) for irrigation projects in the S (Negeb).

Alluvial aquifers occur along gravel floored valleys. Here, rivers bifurcate and water rapidly percolates into the unconsolidated sediments. Most of these aquifers are less extensive and productive than the deeper rock aquifers. However, they are recharged by high discharging streams in spring and early summer. Most streams conduct water only after a rain and are thus ephemeral or dry riverbeds most of the time. A few streams are perennial due to year around flow which is modest at best during the dry summer months (e.g., Yargon, Nahal, Hadera).

Considering the role of water in every day life during biblical times, its relationship to regional settlement geography is yet to be detailed. In earlier times, Neolithic inhabitants in the upper Jordan Valley apparently had as a prerequisite to settlement, the presence of a perennial spring and good bottom land for agriculture (Anati 1963: 229). Water distribution and reliability dictated settlement in the N as well as in the S. A map of the distribution of springs (Schmorak and Goldschmidt 1970: v/2) reveals that springs with the highest water discharge occur on the carbonate hills (Cenomanian or Upper Cretaceous limestone, dolomite or marls) or along significant faults. Springs on the coastal plain and Negeb are not as abundant. This geographical distribution may have a significant factor for settlement favoring the highlands over the coastal plains.

A number of water systems and methods were used to procure water for the day to day domestic and economic needs of the inhabitants. Included are ephermal and perennial wadis, springs, tunnels, and aqueducts. Kedar (1957a; 1957b) has outlined the utilization of water resources at Shivitah in the Negeb, which was inhabitated between the 2d century B.C. to about the 8th century A.D. The entire economy of the agricultural village was based on the collection and storage of runoff from episodic rainfall. The ancient fields which totalled 7,945 dunams (10 dunams equal one hectare; 4 dunams equal one acre), were located in wadi beds and demarcated by dams or were located on adjacent channel banks. The wadi was the main source of water which was channeled down the gradient of the floodplain. A supplementary source was runoff derived from adjacent mountain slopes which was channeled onto the cultivated fields. A third source was runoff collected in cisterns and storage near the agricultural plots.

The numerous place names in Palestine beginning with *En* or *Ain* meaning "spring," point to the water supply as the determining factor in locating a town or village such as En-gedi on the west side of the Dead Sea. The geology especially in the N favors the occurrence of springs. Limestone which has been fractured and tilted, and adequate annual precipitation provides a textbook setting for springs.

Springs occur where an aquifer is exposed and ground water flows onto the ground surface. The discharge may be a mere trickle or several liters per second. Undoubtedly springs were the focus of agricultural settlements which in many instances gradually evolved to urban centers. There was a preference of spring water for irrigation because it was cool and fresh, and because it brought no weed seed to the fields (Semple 1931: 439) as did water from streams. Also, wells dug near the coast of the Mediterranean or the Dead Sea were likely to yield brackish water. Initial occupance of Jerusalem was at Gihon (Ain Umm el Daraj), a spring which could provide 20 liters of water per person per day for 10,000 people (Wilkinson 1974: 33). Although the spring was difficult to defend against attack its productivity value outweighed the risk.

Larger, more permanent urban settlements came to rely upon external water sources to assure their water supply. While each dwelling had a cistern to store rain water from its own roof, the city provided public pools or reservoirs (Semple 1931: 563). Pools functioned as settling basins and were often linked with public baths that were often surrounded by porticos for lounging. The elaborate Pool of Siloam in Jerusalem, for example, had four such porticos.

Issar (1976) identified the technical evolution of the water supply to Jerusalem from natural springs to reser-

voirs. The improved procurement of water first began by enlarging and cleaning the water bearing rock layers of soil and rock debris. Over time the Gihon spring outside the city was connected to the Siloam spring. As the city expanded, the land was covered with buildings and the spring eventually dried up. Supplementary water sources included rain collecting pools in valleys above the city (Wilkinson 1974: 39–45) which improved the supply. Ben Sira boasts of the achievements of Simon the high priest (died ca. 198 B.C.): "In his days a cistern for water was quarried out, a reservoir like the sea in circumference" (Sir 50:3). The larger catchment areas were approximately one km^2. The collected rainwater was transported to Jerusalem via aqueducts and tunnels in most cases.

An alternative water supply system favored by the Romans was the aqueduct which transported water overland. The coastal city of Caesarea Maritima was supplied by two aqueducts (Mayerson 1986), referred to as the high level and low level aqueducts. The high level aqueduct supplied water from two springs some 8 km NE of the port town. The low level aqueduct took its water from the Zerga River some 5 km N of Caesarea. The system as described by Olami and Pelag (1977) included shafts and tunnels, and was built and improved upon into the Byzantine era. In Caesarea there was a decided preference for external water sources rather than local wells. Perhaps saltwater intrusion, the lack of bedrock outcrops, and steep runoff slopes on the coastal plain forced the inhabitants to seek reliable and adequate water supplies beyond the local terrain.

C. Human Geography

How the earth's surface is utilized by people is within the sphere of land use. With improved mapping techniques and monthly monitoring of terrain with aircraft and satellites the analysis of land has been the concern of diverse disciplines including geology, forestry, and urban and regional planners. Using the land also means modifying the land to serve one's needs. The changes in Palestine have significantly altered the natural landscape.

1. Characteristics of Land Use in Palestine. The land use of Palestine has unique characteristics and fundamental geographical traits. Here, modification of the natural landscape was initiated rather early. Whereas in the early stages humans lived in caves, by 35,000 B.C. they moved into more open environments. Hunting and fishing camps, now recognized as Natufian in age occupied sites along river banks and lakes as well as in hunting areas of the Negeb. Hunting and fishing were supplemented by some type of plant food since grinding stones and mortars as well as reaping knives were common artifacts of habitation sites. (Wagstaff 1985: 33). Near En Gav on the Sea of Galilee the discovery of a basalt mortar and pestle suggests that grains had been introduced by this time. The utilization of the land over the millennia implies that the distribution of natural vegetation is a mute topic except perhaps in deserts or remote highland reaches. It has been suggested (Baly 1987: 30) that by the early Bronze Age (ca. 2400 B.C.) the forests of the highlands were being harvested for timber.

A second land use characteristic is an abandonment and reoccupation rather than an evolving land utilization pattern. Domestication and farm villages were well established in Palestine by 6000 B.C. However, there is a 1,500 year gap following this time, suggesting abandonment (Wagstaff 1985: 38). The reason for the change is not clear. Emigration by the population to districts further N or the return to a seminomadic life involving pastoralism are possible explanations (Mellaart 1975: 68). During the Crusades, Palestine and the Transjordan appeared prosperous. However, during the period 1500 to 1880 while Europe was experiencing a renaissance, devastation and desertion dominated the Palestinian landscape. In fact, the only apparent area which saw a population density increase during this time was a coastal strip of the Mediterranean S of Tyre (Hütteroth 1969).

A third characteristic of the regional land use is the intimate association between people and the physical attributes of the land. Frick (1985: 119–22) reviewed Webley's (1972) concept of settlement and concluded that the distribution of archaeological sites of agrarian land use societies in Galilee are positively correlated with soil types. The most arable soils are the Terra Rossa, Mediterranean brown, and alluvial soils. More importantly, archaeological sites with long settlement chronologies are associated with a diversity of soil types rather than with only one type of soil. Diversity of soils provided a diversity of crops which minimized the risk of crop failure. To be sure, other physical and economic factors have been important but the significance of the soil has been a keystone to land use. Early settlements (of Natufian Age), of course, occurred on the coastal plain and Judean areas. However, there was a shift in preference for the Judean Hills, Galilee, and the highlands of Mt. Carmel. Although the sites are located on Terra Rossa or basaltic soils, the attractiveness of the highlands may have been the natural presence of wild edible vegetation (Hassan 1977). Likely candidates are two-row barley *(Hordeum spontaneum)* and emmer wheat *(Triticum dicoctoides)*. Initially, natural stands of these cereals represented a natural vegetation resource not unlike preferred soil types or the location of natural freshwater springs.

Finally, immigration is a valued source of innovation and the diffusion of ideas, as the recent agricultural changes in Palestine indicate. This characteristic underscores the significance of a cultural rather than a physical attribute in the development of the landscape. It may also make it quite clear that the physical attributes of the landscape such as soil and climate do not completely dictate habitation and land use patterns.

Both hills and arid lands attracted settlement and provided a livelihood. Agricultural terraces were probably in use by the MB I period. Their utilization provided a more efficient means of coping with the undulating topography of the highlands of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee and made agriculture possible (de Geus 1975: 70). A second cultural land use innovation was the management of water. Miller (1980: 331–32) suggests that irrigation may have been practiced in Jericho in the Pre-pottery Neolithic A settlement (late 9th to 8th millennium B.C.) within the rain shadow of the highlands. Between the 2d century B.C. and the 7th century A.D., periodic, yet elaborate irrigation networks were established around Ovdat (Aboda) in the Negeb. These examples suggest that the land use charac-

teristics of Palestine were a product of physical resources and cultural innovation.

2. Settlement Patterns. The location of settlement is determined by a variety of physical and cultural factors. Hostile environmental elements such as topography, lack of water, or poor drainage tend to be unattractive. Conversely, gentler slopes, springs with reliable flow throughout the year, and arable lands encourage settlement. Amiran (1953: 194–95) recognized contrasting viabilities between towns on the coastal plains and those on the highlands. All important highland towns of today have historical anticedence and are centuries old (Cressey 1960: 487). These settlements have had uninterrupted histories presumably because of their relatively defensible geography. In contrast, settlements on the coastal plains have experienced vacillating periods of growth and periods of demise as the political environment changed. Whenever conditions deteriorated, settlement in the coastal plain became marginal whereas highland settlements maintained or perhaps gained in importance.

The shifting of settlements was not only altitudinal between the coastal plain and adjacent hills but lateral as well. Gophna and Portugali (1988) examined the settlement geography from the "Ghassulian" Chalcolithic to the end of the MB from 4000 B.C. to 1600 B.C., a span of 2,400 years. Based on the location and size of archaeological sites, the core of Chalcolithic settlement was in S (Irano-Turanian S) Palestine and the peripheral zone was in the S sector of the plain. In contrast, the primary area of settlement during the MB was in the N or central part of the plain. A lateral settlement reversal had occurred on the plain. As noted elsewhere, prior lateral shifts due to the shifting boundary of aridity also occurred particularly in S Palestine.

The above analyses reveal the ephemeral nature of settlement in Palestine. Many analyses of settlement patterns, whether ancient or modern, underscore the disproportionately high frequency of abandoned sites. At the beginning of the 20th century there were 329 active villages in Galilee and 460 ruined sites (Schwobel 1904: 96). Randall (1955: 117–18), noting that in 1944 there were 1,051 inhabitated sites compared to 2,048 abandoned sites and 223 temporarily occupied sites, suggests that a possible explanation for the fluid settlement pattern is the location of Palestine between the more sedentary Mediterranean culture and the nomadic character of the Middle Eastern desert occupants.

The concern for safety in border areas to the S and E has been a potent factor in settlement patterns over time, as well as the demographic character of towns. Bedouin raids had created repeated occupation and abandonment of border settlements. The village of edh-Dhahitiyeh, the southernmost village on the road between Hebron and Beer-sheba in S Palestine, experienced several periods of occupation and decadence.

Albright (1943: 158–59) identified four periods of occupation ranging from 200 to 600 years between the 23rd century B.C. through 1277 A.D. Between each period of active settlement a hiatus occurred. Amiran (1953: 69) found a similar pattern of use and abandonment of this settlement which has continued up to the present day.

The number and size of border settlements were affected by raiding parties. The demographics of border villages suggest they were larger but fewer in number and had more land under cultivation. A comparison of village population of the Hebron area and Jerusalem to the N supports this view. In 1931, four percent of the villages in the Jerusalem area had 2,000 people (Amiran 1953: 71). Also 85 percent of the Hebron villages managed 10,000 to 25,000 dunam (1 dunam = 0.247 acres). In the Jerusalem area only 20 percent of the villages maintained a similar sized area. The border settlements were essentially a coalescence of many small villages which promoted security. During more peaceful conditions an increase occurred in the number of villages.

Periods of stability may be viewed not only in political terms but in physical conditions as well. The S and E border of Palestine (i.e., the Negeb and Transjordan) are what J. Gottmann referred to as the "pioneer fringe" of Palestine. As the term implies, the pioneer fringe is a region of marginal resources, especially physical. The frontier settlements discussed above are located in the pioneer fringe, a zone of unreliable precipitation. During periods of extended aridity, the security of villages and cropland are stressed by nomadic pastoral populations. If irrigation systems are not in place, villages, particularly larger villages, may have to be abandoned.

To summarize, settlement characteristics of Palestine present contrasting histories in the highlands and the coastal plains. The mountain villages feature more continuity and stability in spite of perhaps less favorable local physical circumstances such as agricultural land use and water resources. Such sites are less difficult to defend against aggressors. Amiran (1953: 193) suggests many mountain villages have had a continued occupancy dating back to the 2d millennium B.C., reflecting continued well-being and secure physical and social environment. The coastal plain villages experienced periods of instability causing periodic deterioration and a decrease in importance. During periods of economic well-being, however, the coastal towns did emerge as more economically viable population centers.

3. Settlements and Topographic Settings. Palestine offers a wide variety of topography and climatic regions for settlement. Contrary to a basic geographic concept, in Palestine the flatter coastal plains were not always favored for settlement compared to the hill country to the E (Karmon 1956). Historically, with irrigation extending southward the pioneer fringe has been pushed farther into the Negeb and the opportunity for settlement in more marginal lands has improved especially within the past few decades. However, as discussed above the extension of the fringe occurred many times in the past, and the present is, in essence, a reflection of the past.

In spite of the 20th-century cultural innovations, relationships between settlements and topography are evident. Amiran (1970: 11/2) noted in detail the topographical siting of settlements. Four morphologic settings are identified with several adaptations. Settlements may be in valleys, either on the floor or on an adjacent terrace or slope. A hilltop or acropolis-type site occupies ground which is as high as possible. In this second category villages on low hilltops are included. A third type of setting is a spur or an elongated ridge. In terms of elevation, it is located

between valleys and mountain tops. Settlements located on extensive flat ground is a fourth topographic setting.

The location of each setting has distinct advantages. Valley bottoms normally have deep soil and the best agricultural land in an area. Many of the larger basins and valleys originated through faulting. Such breaks created ground water springs such as Ramah in lower Galilee. Hilltop settlements and those on ridges have an obvious advantage with regard to security. The mountains and hills of Nazareth consist of semipervious chalk and marl. Through weathering, a substantial soil cover evolved and extended up the mountain slopes attracting settlers to higher elevations. Flat land normally ideal for agriculture may be susceptible to inundations following prolonged winter rains. Furthermore, settlements on flat plains also pose security problems. The location of an Arab village on flat, exposed ground, was not common. The deposition of extensive sand dunes, poor drainage, the lack of natural harbors (Karmon 1956: 35), and invading forces have made permanent and prolonged coastal plain settlements less tenable. Today however, the coastal plain is the area of the largest concentration of urban population (Amiran 1961) and has the largest number of towns. Jerusalem, located in the hills, was the primary city of Palestine for many centuries. However, since 1930 Tel Aviv on the coastal plain became the region's primary urban center.

4. Landscape Modification. Even a casual view of Palestine would quickly reveal the lack of natural landscape or a landscape which has been completely modified by people. Isolated exceptions may perhaps locally exist in the Negeb or in the Transjordan. Landscape changes are particularly pronounced in areas of poor drainage and in what had been forested areas. It is generally agreed that prevalent scrub vegetation is a degraded relict of the original wooded cover. Forest degradation probably began by Neolithic time and continued into the present century. When the armies of Judah and Israel invaded Moab "they felled all the good trees; till only its stones were left" (2 Kgs 3:25). Excavations at Jericho suggest serious sheet erosion resulted from forest clearing during the EB (2600–2300 B.C.) (Baly 1974: 116). Indeed as early as the MB the forested slopes were replaced with terraces to hold the soil and retard erosion. Perhaps due to the severity of deforestation in Palestine, timber was imported from present-day Lebanon (Mikesell 1969: 18). About 950 B.C., Solomon requested from the king of Tyre "as you dealt with David my father and sent him cedar to build himself a house to dwell in, so deal with me" (2 Chr 2:2—Eng 2:3).

A second modification of the natural landscape has been the drainage of swamps and marshes. Wetlands were viewed with tribulation and apprehension. The kurkar ridges paralleling the coastline have impeded the drainage from the adjacent uplands creating marshy lands. In earlier days the coastal plain was generally malarial, difficult to cross and lacking in stone for building. When Napoleon invaded Palestine the French army elected to take roads farther inland to avoid the wetlands of the Plain of Sharon (Amiran 1953: 198). The Hula Valley located N along the Rift Valley was another wetland area plagued with mosquitos as well as severe winter flooding and occasional Bedouin attacks. Wetlands were viewed as unfavorable natural habitats to be avoided rather than managed. Certainly, place names such as Crocodile River did not encourage settlement. In spite of the negative historical connotations associated with wetlands, the agricultural potential was realized early in this century. The land was flat and compatible to mechanized farming, and both subsurface water and drainage techniques were available. Thus, large drainage projects transformed the wetlands to agricultural land.

A third significant landscape transition has been a redistribution of water resources. Water retention and storage occurred in very early times but irrigation techniques developed and greatly improved in the Roman and Byzantine periods. These innovations are discussed elsewhere in detail (see above B.6).

5. Agriculture. The primary purpose of the physical landscape modification such as the clearing of the land, was directed towards farming. By 7000 B.C. emmer wheat *(Triticum dicocoides)* displayed morphological signs of domestication in Palestine. Farming villages became more numerous and spread beyond the limits of the present-day permanent dry-farming zone. The exploitation of seasonal flood waters and the construction of temporary dams may have been utilized at an early date (Miller 1980).

The Chalcolithic Period (ca. 4000–3000 B.C.) was a time of canals and dam construction. Crops of the 4th millennium included wheat, barley, durra millet, flax as well as familiar Mediterranean products such as olives, figs and grapes (Whyte 1965: 99). By the so-called Patriarchal Period in the 18th century B.C. agriculture must have attained a high standard. Canaanite settlements during the Early and Middle Iron Age (1200–586 B.C.) were mostly situated on foothills adjacent to fertile plains where springs and wells provided the necessary water. With few exceptions, the mountainous regions were not occupied by a sedentary population before the arrival of the Israelites (Whyte 1965: 99). A strong administration safeguarded the flourishing agricultural community and protected it against nomadic raids.

Farming was the keystone of Israelite society. The three major feasts—the feast of unleavened bread (April), the feast of harvest (May), and the feast of ingathering at the end of the year (i.e., the grape harvest) were all feasts related to farming (Exod 23: 14–17). These feasts represent principal products of Palestine farming. The natural grasslands were replaced with fields of wheat and barley, the scrub woodlands with the vine and olives on the pre-existing highland forests (Baly 1987: 30). The olive, wheat, and grape are traditional Mediterranean crops so vital to the Israelites that settlement occurred only where all three could be cultivated. Other common products included dates, figs, cucumbers, mint, cummin, almonds, and pomegranates (Baly 1987: 31–32). Sheep, goats, donkeys and camels were common livestock of the time.

The life of the Palestinian agriculturalist was difficult. The weather conditions to which shepherds were exposed displayed extremes. "By day the heat consumed me and the cold by night, and my sleep fled from my eyes" (Gen 31:40). Crops were threatened by locusts (Amos 7:1; Joel 1:2–10), hail (Ps 78:47), or by droughts and mildew (Hag 2:17). Constantly, the threat of famine due to droughts or the aftermath of an invading army was likely on the mind of the farmers in Palestine (2 Kgs 6:24–29; Jer 14:2–6).

Early farming was fundamentally directed to producing

a mixture of products. Such mixed farming guaranteed the agriculturalist a harvest during inclement times as well as during good times. Essentially, this rather uncomplicated activity occurred until the recent period except when settlements were abandoned. See AGRICULTURE.

6. Towns. Although urban settlements were reasonably well established in Palestine at least since the Early Bronze Age (ca. 3000 B.C.), an increase in settlements occurred during the 4th millennium, perhaps encouraged by canal and dam construction. Wagstaff (1985: 99) suggests this was followed by some concentration of population, the prelude to the emergence of "fortified cities with high walls, gates, and bars" (Deut 3:5) which, by the 2d millennium, became widespread.

Trade and commerce, albeit on a local scale at first, formed a principal economic function of towns. Farmers from surrounding areas brought products to sell and trade. On a more externalized scale in towns such as Hebron and Beer-sheba, hill-farming produce was exchanged for the goods of nomadic herders (Orni and Efrat 1971: 309).

Another function of towns was related to the administrative and political control of a region. Town residents often included regional landlords, nomadic chiefs, and religious and administrative officials. Solomon (ca. 961–922 B.C.) established "cities for his chariots, and cities for his horsemen" (1 Kgs 9:17–19) in his kingdom. Towns, the vestiges of which are often flat-topped hills or tells, physically encompassed a small area with relatively high densities. Several thousand inhabitants lived within a few hectares. Two important populous cities, Hazor and Jerusalem, barely covered 7 hectares (Orni and Efrat 1971: 315). The compactness within such towns was a result of the need to concentrate the human resources on the defense of the walled town. Space between dwellings was wide enough to allow passage of a donkey, and houses were integrated with the town wall (Josh 2:15).

7. Road Network. Although agriculture was the main activity in Palestine during biblical times, roads were a significant cultural feature in the landscape which allowed movement and trade from one place to another. Ancient roads were simple tracks, muddy in winter, dusty in summer, and often poorly maintained. Road construction was limited to removing boulders and levelling the surface—"build up, build up the highway, clear it of stone" (Isa 62:10)—not much more.

For an illustration of the distinct road pattern in Palestine during biblical times see ROADS AND HIGHWAYS (PRE-ROMAN). Two geographical factors emphasize the character of the road network in Palestine. In a geopolitical context, the region is situated midway between the two great river valleys in the Middle East. Both Egypt and Mesopotamia were centers of political influence. These powers often met in Palestine, mostly in strife, and the control of the road network was of strategic importance (Orni and Efrat 1971: 197).

In a physical context, the road network today generally follows the pattern established in the past. The network was dictated by topography and rock type. The coastal plain, hill country, and Dead Sea Rift which make up the main elements of the landscape are all oriented in an approximate N–S direction. Likewise, the principal flow of traffic was N–S in Palestine. In the hill country W of the Dead Sea Rift, folded ridges composed of soft porous chalk of upper Mesozoic age (Senonian chalk) are aligned N–S and favored for roads. The Senonian chalk has been worn down by pedestrians and vehicles into a hard smooth surface devoid of cumbersome boulders and with good drainage. Baly (1974: 22) notes that passes along the hills of Carmel all trace the narrow Senonian outcrops, and many N towns (e.g., Tirzah, Samaria) are sited at junctions of similar valleys.

Topographic controls also directed road patterns in the lowlands. In spite of the favorable topography of the Plain of Sharon the vitally important *Via Maris* connecting Egypt and the N Levant was located to the E on higher ground to avoid winter flooding which could inundate sections of the road for many days or even weeks. An equally important prerequisite was the availability of water for man and animals along the routes. Thus the roads had to go where springs and wells were to be found.

Roads along both sides of the Dead Sea Rift paralleled faults and rock exposures where numerous springs provided water for travelers. Some 2,000 years ago qanats tapped underground water in the Arabah valley (Issar 1985: 107) S of the Dead Sea for travelers and local users.

Two roads of interregional significance are "the way of the sea" (Isa 9:1) or *Via Maris*, and the King's Highway (Aharoni 1967: 39–57). The *Via Maris* was used during all historic periods by travelers including messengers, caravans, and armies. Coming eastward out of Egypt, the road paralleled the Mediterranean Sea, then continued northward along the Plain of Sharon. Here it turned northeastward and transversed the highlands to Damascus and along the Fertile Crescent to Mesopotamia. The King's Highway diverged from Damascus and ran southward along the length of the highlands of Transjordan E of the rift valley to the port of Elat. During the Israelite Monarchy the road provided an artery of commerce with Arabia (Aharoni 1967: 52).

Intraregional roads which joined various regions of Palestine generally were oriented E-W joining the main N-S road network. Contrary to this general pattern is the Hill Road which runs along the divide from Beer-sheba northward through Hebron and Jerusalem to Shechem. From Shechem it branches E and W. In overview, the complexity and density of the network in the uplands is greater than the areas to the S and W as well as the coastal plain, suggesting the traditional center of commerce and economic activity was in the central region.

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C. NICHOLAS RAPHAEL

EARLY JEWISH GEOGRAPHY

Authors of the biblical texts and early Jewish literature described their conceptions of the configuration of the world and the land of Israel in various ways. These descriptions often reflect the political and religious ideologies of the writers and their times.

A. Mental Maps and Models
B. Geographical Texts
C. "Maps" of the World
  1. Early Hebrew Cosmology
  2. The Rivers of Paradise
  3. The Table of Nations
  4. *Jubilees*
  5. Josephus
  6. Other Catalogues of Nations
  7. *1 Enoch*

D. "Maps" of the Holy Land
1. The Short Biblical Boundary Texts
2. The Biblical Borders of the Land of Canaan
3. *Genesis Apocryphon*
4. Targumim
5. Rabbinic Definitions

A. Mental Maps and Models

Much has been written about early Jewish concepts of time and history, and less has been written about early Jewish concepts of space and spatial organization, yet the latter topic is as important as the former for an understanding of the early Jewish mentality and worldview. Human beings appear to have a fundamental need to project order onto the space in which they live and move: they process spatial data received through the senses, relating one element to another and abstracting a mental map or model which functions as a constant frame of reference for all their activities (Gould and White 1986). Spatial data may be ordered in a variety of ways. Religious categories provide an old and powerful ordering system. Mountains, rivers, even countries, may be marked off as "holy," and maps constructed on a grid of holy places. *Degrees* of holiness may also function to differentiate space: e.g. a simple model of the world is generated by the notion that the Land of Israel is holy in contrast to the rest of the world; Jerusalem is holier than the rest of the Land; the Temple precinct in Jerusalem is holier than the rest of Jerusalem; and the holy of holies in the Temple is holier than the rest of the Temple. Geographers have become increasingly interested in these mental maps. They are less tied than they used to be to the idea that the only "real" map is one that results from careful surveying and mathematical projection. Geography is in part a behavioral science and geographers find it useful to project mental maps onto paper. Such maps, when compared with scientifically mapped space, may help to explain geographical data, e.g. population distribution or communication patterns (Abler and Adams 1971). Early Jewish geographical texts should be seen basically as exercises in cognitive mapping: they represent attempts to impose order on the chaos of spatial perception. The early Jews themselves probably occasionally drew out their own mental maps and models. The fact that none of these survive is not an irreparable loss. If we have sufficiently detailed verbal descriptions, which convey clear visual images (whether or not they were accompanied originally by drawn maps), we can translate these onto paper and compare them with "real" geographical space. It is important in this exercise not to denigrate too readily early geographical images, or to make too sharp a distinction between theological/mythological cartography on the one hand and real/scientific cartography on the other. *All* maps arguably express a worldview, some more explicitly than others. Even modern scientific maps, however objectively based on measurement and mathematics, are not always value-free, but can easily become the vehicles of ideology and propaganda.

B. Geographical Texts

The foundations of early Jewish geography lie in the Bible. Following Aharoni (1967: 73–83) the geographical texts of the Hebrew Bible may be classified according to their origin and function into three types: territorial administrative lists; itineraries of expeditions and conquests; historical geographical descriptions.

Territorial administrative lists are texts which, however used now in the biblical narrative, originated in the government and administration of ancient Israel. They are official documents which by their nature must directly reflect geographical reality. Two subtypes are involved: (a) boundary texts, probably derived from treaties between states and tribes (e.g. Num 34:1–12; Josh 15:1–12; 16:1–8; 17:7–9; 18:11–20; 19:10–14, 26–27, 29, 33–34); and (b) town lists, probably based on cadastral and population censuses (e.g. Josh 15:21–61; 18:21–27). Boundary texts and town lists differ in their representation of geographical space. In the case of the former, a series of border points is enumerated in consecutive geographical order. In the case of the latter, while points listed together probably belong to the same region, the principle of ordering may take into account other factors, e.g. town size.

As with territorial administrative lists, itineraries of expeditions and conquests directly reflect geographical reality. The ordering of the points is determined by the movement of the army or the caravan on the ground, but this may not always be dictated by simple topographical factors. Accounts of military campaigns or of expeditions were carefully preserved in royal or personal archives in the ancient world. They were of practical importance, since it might be necessary in the future to retrace the journey. Material possibly derived from such itineraries is preserved in 1 Kgs 15:20; 2 Kgs 15:29; 2 Chr 13:19; 26:6; 28:18. Noteworthy is the very ancient campaign itinerary in Gen 14:1–24.

Historical geographical descriptions, unlike texts in the other two categories, do not serve any obvious practical or administrative purpose. To that extent they can be seen as "pure" geography. However, as representations of geographical reality they have a serious drawback: in some cases they appear to have originated in attempts to organize the scattered geographical data contained in earlier narrative traditions, so they reflect first and foremost the world of the text, and only indirectly external geographical space. A number of them deal with such remote and inaccessible regions that they cannot be based on the firsthand experience of their compilers. Texts obviously belonging to this category are Gen 2:10–14 (the Rivers of Paradise) and Gen 10:1–31 (the Table of the Nations). Aharoni (1967: 76) also includes the roster of conquered Canaanite kings in Josh 12:1–24, and, controversially, the wilderness itinerary in Num 33:5–49 (see further Davies 1979).

These three categories apply equally well to most post-biblical Jewish geographical texts. The Bible played a central role in early Jewish education and scholarship, and much geographical information was conveyed in the form of commentary on the biblical geographical texts. Note, e.g., *Genesis Apocryphon*'s detailed and geographically well informed interpretation of Abram's campaign in Genesis 14 (1QapGen 21:23–22:26; see further Alexander 1988: 105–107). The Table of the Nations (Genesis 10) and the Borders of the Land of Israel (Numbers 34) were the basic "maps" of early Judaism, continually re-edited to meet changing historical circumstances. A geographical litera-

ture per se, comparable in any sense to the writings of Eratosthenes, Ptolemy or even to Pseudo-Aristotle, *De Mundo*, does not exist in early Judaism. The most comparable are early medieval texts such as *Midraš Konen* or *Seder Rabba' diBĕre'šit*, which belong to the rabbinic cosmographical *(ma'ăśēh bĕrē'šît)* tradition (Sed 1981). In these works theological ordering is so powerful that the images of the world have been virtually distorted out of any relation to geographical reality.

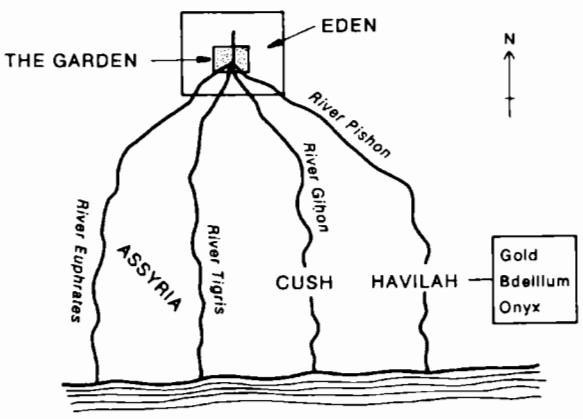
C. "Maps" of the World

1. Early Hebrew Cosmology. The cosmographical references scattered throughout the Hebrew Bible imply a remarkably consistent picture of the world. The universe is divided into three levels: the heavens above, the earth beneath, and the primeval waters and Sheol (the abode of the dead) under the earth (cf. Exod 20:4). The surface of the earth is of limited extent: if one travels in any direction one will come, sooner or later, to its edges or boundaries—the *qaṣwê 'ereṣ* (Ps 48:11; 65:6) or *qĕṣôt hā'āreṣ* (Isa 40:28; Job 28:24). Although the expression "the ends of the earth" is often used vaguely in the sense of "distant lands" its original, literal meaning was not entirely lost (Stadelmann 1970: 134–35). The sky too has its outer boundaries (the *qĕṣôt haššāmayîm*, Jer 49:36; Ps 19:6), beyond which lies perpetual darkness (Job 26:10). The plane of the habitable earth was probably conceived of as a roughly circular disc. This notion, widespread in antiquity, would have initially been suggested by observation of the horizon. Several passages in the Hebrew Bible refer to the circle of the horizon: Job 26:10, "He has drawn a circle upon the face of the waters at the boundary between light and darkness"; Prov 8:27, "When he established the heavens I was there, when he drew a circle upon the face of the deep" (cf. *ḥûg šāmayîm* ["circle of the heavens"] in Job 22:7 = *ḥûg hā'āreṣ* ["circle of the earth"] in Isa 40:22). The basic circularity of the earth may also be implied by the description of Jerusalem in a late passage in Ezekiel as the *ṭabbûr hā'āreṣ* (Ezek 38:12). The meaning of *ṭabbûr* here has been much disputed, but according to one early tradition it refers to the "*navel* [i.e., center] of the earth." The Septuagint translates it by *omphalos*, "navel." Cf. the Aramaic *ṭibbûr*, "navel, umbilicus." The surface of the earth is divided into seas and dry land; the dry land contains numerous topographical features—mountains, deserts, valleys, rivers, and springs which were apparently thought of as welling up from the waters under the earth (cf. Gen 7:11).

The ancient Hebrews divided the earth into four regions which were named according to two main systems. The first system related them to the observer's body. The observer was imagined as facing east: E was then "front" *(qedem:* Gen 2:8); N was "left" *(śĕmō'l:* Gen 14:15); W was "behind" *('āḥôr:* Job 23:8); and S was "right" *(yāmîn/têmān:* 1 Sam 23:24; Job 39:26). The second system named the cardinal points of the compass primarily in relation to the movement of the sun. E was the "place of sunrise" *(mizraḥ haššemeš/mizrāḥ:* Num 21:11; Isa 41:2) or the "place of the going out" *(môṣā')* of the sun (Ps 75:7); W the "place of the setting" *(ma'ărāb:* Isa 45:6) of the sun, or the "place of the going in of the sun" *(mĕbô' haššemeš:* Deut 11:30). The etymologies of the remaining two points on this system—*dārôm*, "south" (Job 37:17) and *ṣāpôn*, "north" (Jer 26:26)—are uncertain.

2. The Rivers of Paradise. The purpose of the description of the rivers of paradise in Gen 2:10–14 is to locate the Garden of Eden in which, according to the second account of creation, God placed the first parents of the human race. Most of the geographical names in this passage occur elsewhere in the Bible and some can be identified with reasonable certainty. The "map" described should not, therefore, be dismissed as fictional: it records a serious attempt to locate the Garden of Eden in real geographical space. The Garden of Eden is sited at the headwaters of four great rivers, the Pishon, the Giḥon, the Ḥiddeqel and the Perat. The "Perat" is unquestionably the Euphrates, and the "Ḥiddeqel" the Tigris. Since the enumeration of the rivers seems to be from E to W, the remaining two rivers must lie E of the Tigris. The Giḥon may be the Diyala (the land of Cush through which it runs being the territory of the Kassites: Akkadian *Kaššu* = *Kuššu* in the Nuzi texts), and the Pishon may be the Karkheh which flows out of the Zagros Mountains (Speiser 1959). These four rivers are said to diverge from a common source in the Garden which God planted in Eden (Gen 2:8)—the latter, apparently, being the broad area in which the Garden lies. See Fig. GEO.04. The alignment of the rivers is generally N-S, so the Garden of Eden must be located somewhere in the region of Armenia. The reference to Eden being "in the east" (Gen 2:8) should not be taken (as in later Jewish tradition) to mean that it lay on the E edge of the world. Rather it indicates a position E of where the author of Gen 2:10–14 lived.

Josephus (*Ant* 1.37–39) provides the only reasonably coherent post-biblical Jewish account of the rivers of paradise. He identifies the Pishon as the Ganges (the "land of Havilah" = India). The Giḥon is the Nile, presumably because the land of Cush, through which it flows, is taken in its normal biblical sense of Ethiopia. The other two rivers are the Tigris and the Euphrates. Josephus seems to imply that all four of these rivers originate in the waters of



GEO.04. The rivers of Paradise according to Genesis 2.

the Ocean, which he describes as "the one river which encircles the whole earth," and that this one river (Ocean) originates in the Garden of Eden, which he probably located in the extreme E of the world. Other early Jewish texts also identify the Gihon as the Nile (1QapGen 21:15 and LXX to Jer 2:18; cf. Ecclus 24:27). The Palestinian Targumim to Gen 2:11 (Codex Neofiti 1 and Pseudo-Jonathan) equate Havilah with India, though they do not go so far as to say which Indian river is the Pishon. Later rabbinic tradition maintained that the Pishon was the Nile. This view seems to have been based on deriving *pîšôn* from *pištān*, "flax" (an etymology proposed in *Gen.Rab.* 16:2, without mentioning the Nile). The Pishon is so called, writes Rashi, "because it grows flax, for it is said with regard to Egypt, 'The workers in combed flax will be in despair' (Isa 19:9)" (see also Saadya's Arabic translation and Naḥmanides to Gen 2:11).

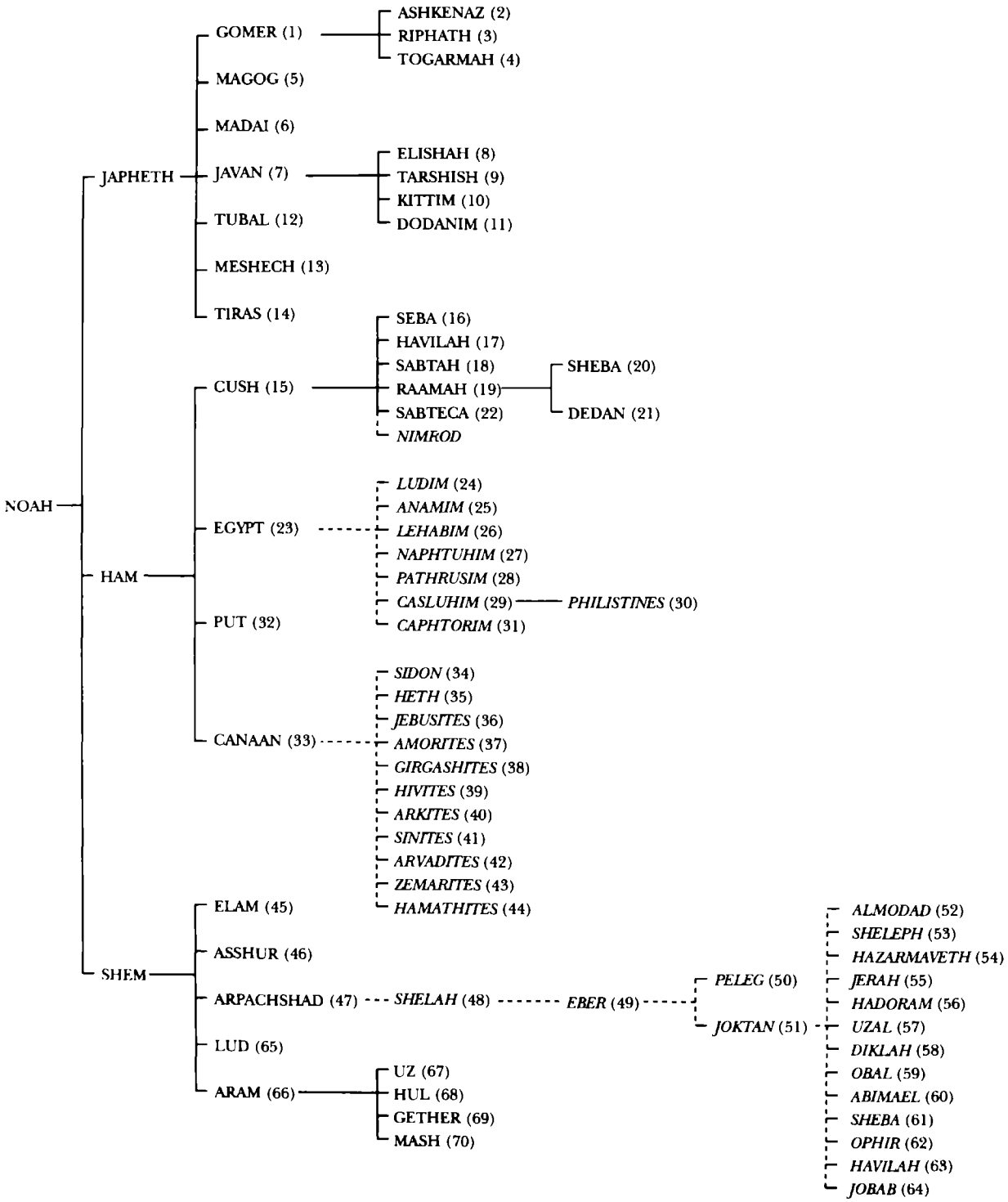
3. The Table of Nations. The Table of Nations in Genesis 10 gives the most comprehensive biblical account of the inhabited world. As it stands, the text combines both Priestly (P) and Yahwistic (J) material, the former being found in vv 1a, 2–7, 20, 22–23, 31–32, the latter in vv 1b, 8–19, 21, 24–30. Note the contradictions: according to P the Lydians are descended from Shem (v 22), but according to J they are descended from Ham (v 13); according to P Havilah is descended from Ham (v 7), but according to J he is descended from Shem (v 29). The P-source, which appears to be intact, forms the highly regular, stylized framework of the Table. Its compiler uses the principle of genealogy (derived from family and tribal history) to organize certain geographical data, viz., the nations of the world known to him. He arranges them in families, relates them in terms of descent from common ancestors, or from each other, and, by tracing them back to Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth, integrates them into the narrative of sacred history. See Fig. GEO.05. Though the organizing principle appears to stress ethnicity (note v 20, "by their families, their languages, their lands, and their nations"; cf. vv 5, 31), it is political realities that are often reflected in the Table. Thus the Canaanites, despite being for the most part ethnically Semites are said to be descended from Ham, not Shem (v 6), presumably because the land of Canaan was regarded by the compiler of the P-Table as related politically to Egypt, one of Ham's other sons. Similar political considerations (now rather obscure) may explain the curious descent of Lud (= Lydia) and Elam from Shem (v 22).

The P-Table probably originated in the 7th century B.C.E. Its geographical horizon extends from the Black Sea in the N to Nubia in the S; from the Iranian plateau in the E to Spain in the W. There is, however, nothing on the P-Table itself to locate the various nations on the earth's surface, to relate them to the reader's own position in space, or to orientate him geographically. It is assumed he already knows where at least some of them live. Von Rad (*Genesis* OTL, 139) speculates that the Table may have been accompanied originally by a drawn map, and notes that "the final form of this Priestly table may be contemporaneous with Anaximander's map of the world" (Anaximander of Miletus [ca. 610–540 B.C.E.] was, according to Eratosthenes [in Strabo *Geog.* I 1.11], the first Greek to produce a world map). This is very uncertain. However, the fact remains that in order to tie the genealogical schema down to geographical reality the reader must already know at a minimum where some of the nations in each of the three main groups are located relative to his own position in space. If he has this information he can then very roughly locate the other nations by assuming that the closer the nations are on the genealogical tree the closer they will be on the ground. A genealogical tree as a geographical device cannot cope as well as a drawn map with spatial relationships, but it can show, in a way that a primitive map cannot, the political, linguistic, and cultural connections between peoples.

A redactor filled out the P-Table of Nations with material drawn from a J-Table. The J-Table, which was older than the P-Table and probably more restricted in geographical horizon, presumably originally covered all three sons of Noah. Only fragments of it now survive in Genesis 10; nothing remains of its account of Japheth's offspring. The purpose of these J additions is broadly to link the P-Table more directly with Israel's history. The redactor uses the J-source to relate two peoples to the Table—the Babylonians and the Philistines—who played a major role in the sacred history. The Nimrod traditions (vv 8–12) deal with the Babylonians; the additional information about Egypt's descendants (vv 13–14) deals with the Philistines. The redactor also uses the J-source to rectify the rather startling fact that Israel's relation to the P-Table is unclear. The J-version indicates that he is descended from Arpachshad through Eber (vv 24–30). Unlike the P-Table, the J-Table does to some extent attempt to tie the genealogical schema to geographical space: note vv 19 and 30.

4. *Jubilees*. The Table of the Nations formed the basic "world map" of the Jews in the biblical and postbiblical periods, and it was constantly reinterpreted to fit the changing state of their geographical knowledge. The assumption was that, being Scripture, the Table must be an accurate and comprehensive picture of the world. As the political scene shifted and new peoples came within the Jewish horizon, they were related to the Table. It was inconceivable that they should not be there somewhere (the view that the Table of the Nations is a comprehensive account of the nations of the world was held by Christians as well as Jews, right down to modern times. After America was discovered a debate raged as to whether or not the American Indians were "Adamites," and if they were, how they could be linked to Genesis 10 [Bickerman 1952: passim and esp. 77]).

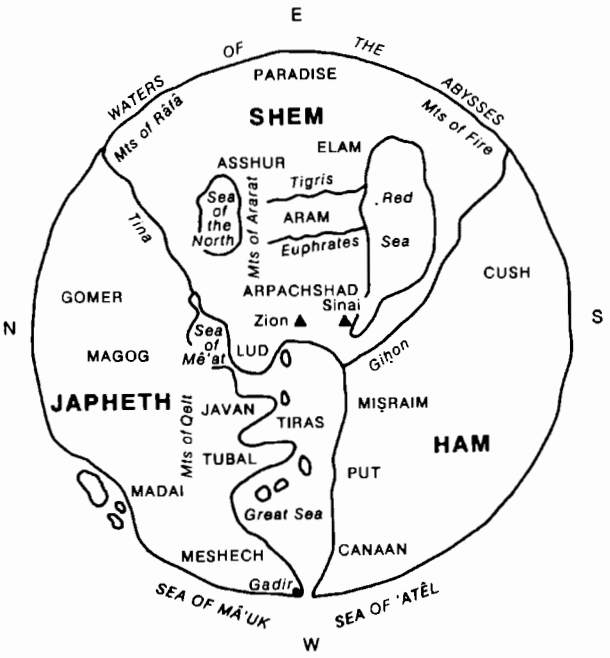
If we exclude its simple reuse in 1 Chr 1:4–27, the earliest and most significant interpretation of Genesis 10 is in *Jubilees* 8–10. *Jubilees* (which dates from the mid 2d century B.C.E.) attempts to project the genealogy of Genesis 10 onto a standard world map of its day. It has been suggested that the author of *Jubilees* actually drew a map, but (as often happens with complex diagrams in manuscripts) it has not survived. Whether he did or did not, he unquestionably had an image of the world that can be expressed in the form of a map (Hölscher 1949; Alexander 1982). His description of the N coastline of the Mediterranean (9:11–12), with its three "tongues" or bays (the Aegean, Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas), illustrates how sharply he visualized the world. *Jubilees'* "map" is basically the old Ionian world map accommodated to the Bible. It



GEO.05. The Table of the Nations according to Genesis 10. P-source in roman type; J-source in italic.

envisages the inhabited world as a roughly circular land mass surrounded by ocean. The center of the world—its "navel" *(omphalos)*—is Zion, not Delphi, as on the Ionian maps. A N-S median runs through Zion and Sinai; an E-W median through the Straits of Gibraltar, Zion and the Garden of Eden. The map is orientated with E at the top. The three continents of the Ionian geographers—Europe, Asia and Libya (= Africa)—are correlated with the three sons of Noah: Japheth = Europe; Shem = Asia; Ham = Libya. This is shown by the fact that the boundaries between the territories of the three sons correspond precisely to the boundaries between the three continents according to one school of Ionian geography. Between Europe/Japheth and Asia/Shem, the River Tina (= Tanais, i.e. the Don) marks the boundary; between Asia/Shem and Libya/Ham it is the River Giḥon (i.e. the Nile); between Europe/Japheth and Libya/Ham it is the Straits of Gibraltar. Having established this correlation the author of *Jubilees* then distributes the sons of Shem, Ham, and Japheth appropriately across their respective continents. See GEO.06.

The *Jubilees mappa mundi* is more than a piece of disinterested cartography which tries to reconcile the Bible with the science of its day. Like many other maps, it is a political statement. *Jubilees* stresses that the division of the world after the flood was solemnly agreed to by the sons of Noah: "So Noah divided their lands among their sons in the presence of their father Noah; and he bound them all by an oath, putting a curse on anyone that tried to seize what had not fallen to him by lot. And they all said, So be it, So be it, for themselves and their sons for ever" (*Jub.* 9:14). *Jubilees* notes that, according to his neat schema of continents, two nations were out of place on the map. Madai, not liking his allotted territory in the N-W of Europe, *negotiated* with Elam, Asshur and Arpachshad to be allowed to settle within the patrimony of Shem (10:35). Canaan also did not take up his allotted portion, which was in N Africa. Instead he *violently* seized "the land of Lebanon as far as the river of Egypt," which was within the patrimony of Shem, and was roundly cursed by his father and brothers for so doing (10:27–34). That land had been allotted to Arpachshad, the ancestor of Abraham (9:4). *Jubilees*' aim in all this is, presumably, to prove that the Jews have an ancient right to settle in the "land of Canaan" (it was the Canaanites, not themselves, who were usurpers), and to justify the territorial expansion of the Hasmonaean state. It has also been suggested that it is significant that the *Jubilees* map excludes Javan (the Greeks) from the middle east. They do not appear to be assigned territory even in Asia Minor, which is given as the patrimony of Lud, son of Shem (9:6, 10). This could be seen as an attack on Greek political hegemony and settlement in the Middle East (Schmidt 1988: 26f).



GEO.06. *Jubilees Mappa Mundi.*

The *Jubilees* world map is the earliest example of a type of world map that, despite the advances of scientific geographers such as Eratosthenes and Ptolemy, predominated in European culture down almost to the time of Columbus. Its essential features are reproduced in a series of Christian T-O maps, such as Richard of Haldingham's famous and elaborate Hereford Map (ca. 1290 C.E.) (Bagrow and Skelton 1964; Almagià and Destombes 1964). It is unclear whether the Christian T-O maps go back to the lost drawing of the *Jubilees* map, or whether they are derived from the written text of *Jubilees* alone. *Jubilees* was certainly known to some Christian authors in its Greek translation, and it seems to have influenced the patristic *Diamerismos* literature, which is concerned with dividing up the world among the sons of Noah (von Gutschmid 1894; Bauer 1906).

5. Josephus. Josephus' detailed interpretation of the Table of the Nations in *Ant* 1.122–47 resembles *Jubilees*' in a number of ways—e.g. Josephus, like *Jubilees*, outlines first the broad territories of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, before dealing in detail with their descendants (Franxman 1979: 101). However, in two important respects Josephus differs from *Jubilees*. First, he does not follow *Jubilees*' schema of correlating the three sons of Noah with the three Ionian continents. He tends to describe dispassionately the world as it is, not prescribe for how it should be. Thus he appears to see nothing wrong with the fact that Japheth's and Ham's sons spill over into Asia (*Ant* 1.122,130). Nor is there any hint of the accusation that Canaan usurped the land in which historically he settled, nor any attempt to exclude the Greeks from Asia Minor: Iauanos (= Javan) is identified as "Ionia and all the Greeks" (*Ant* 1.124), and Iauanos' son Tharsos (= Tarshish) is located in Cilicia (*Ant* 1.127). Second, Josephus has an essentially toponymical approach to the Table of the Nations. He is primarily concerned with discovering the modern equivalents of the biblical names, not with locating the various peoples and places on the surface of the earth. He seems to assume that once he has told the reader the modern equivalent the reader will be able to use his own knowledge to put the term in question on the map. *Jubilees*, by way of contrast, is

primarily concerned with locating the biblical nations on the world map. It uses only the biblical names, and it seems to assume that once they are located on the map the reader will be able to work out the modern equivalents.

Toponymy dominates Josephus' exposition, and in a number of interesting asides he makes clear the principles on which is identifications were made. He divides the names on the biblical Table of the Nations into three groups: (1) Names which refer to peoples or places which were destroyed long ago by natural disasters or wars and which, consequently, no longer have any equivalent in Josephus' world (*Ant* 1.137,139). (2) Names which have been heavily corrupted or changed. Josephus blames the Greeks for altering or replacing ancient names: *Ant* 1.125, "Theires [= Tiras] called those whom he ruled Theirians, but the Greeks changed the name to Thracians"; *Ant* 1.138, "Amathus founded Amathus which the inhabitants to this day call Amathe, though the Macedonians renamed it Epiphaneia after one of Alexander's successors." (3) Names which have been preserved essentially unchanged, so that identification is not problematic (*Ant* 1.131, 132). Identification of a name on the Table of Nations basically depends on whether the modern equivalent resembles in some recognizable way the ancient name. Such similarity may be either direct or indirect. In the former case the modern name directly reflects the ancient: e.g. *Ant* 1.124, biblical *Madaioi* [Madai] = modern *Medoi*. In the latter case the ancient name survives, not in the modern name itself, but in something connected with it. Josephus speaks of this link between the original name and the modern equivalent as a "sign" *(sēmeîon)*: e.g. *Ant* 1.125, "The Meschenians, founded by Meschos [= Meschech], are today called Cappadocians, but a clear trace *(sēmeîon)* of their ancient designation survives; for they still have a city of the name of Mazaca, indicating to the expert that such was formerly the name of the whole race." Josephus' principles of toponymy are standard for the Greek historians and antiquarians. They also explain many of the identifications of biblical peoples and places found in rabbinic and in other early Jewish texts.

6. Other Catalogues of Nations. Pseudo-Philo, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* 4:1–10 (1st century C.E.) gives a version of the biblical Table of Nations notable for its profusion of exotic names. It lists numerous descendants of the sons of Noah not mentioned in the Bible. Most of the names are unintelligible. If they ever had any real geographical reference, it must be assumed that they have become hopelessly garbled in the transmission of the text from Hebrew, through Greek, into its present Latin form.

Acts 2:9–11 catalogues the nations residing in Jerusalem when the Spirit was poured out at Pentecost. It is puzzling how this short list of nations can be taken as representing "every nation under heaven" (Acts 2:5). One solution proposes that an astrological schema correlating the various nations of the world with the signs of the zodiac (cf. the 4th century C.E. *Rudiments of Paulus Alexandrinus*) lies behind the list. The list is comprehensive because it gives one nation for each of the twelve signs of the zodiac (Weinstock 1948; Metzger 1980). However, if the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost is seen in Acts as a reversal of God's confusion of tongues after the Flood (Gen 11:7), then the catalogue of nations is most obviously related to Genesis 10. The brief list in Acts is only an allusion to the longer Table in Genesis. Acts' geographical horizon is fairly limited: it stretches from Persia in the E to Italy in the W, from the Black Sea in the N to Egypt in the S.

Later Jewish literature contains various interpretations of the Table of Nations. *Genesis Rabba* (redacted 4th century C.E.) is most concrete and geographical in its commentary on the N nations, the sons of Japheth (*Gen.Rab.* 37:1–8). The Jerusalem Talmud (redacted ca. 400 C.E.), commenting on *m. Meg.* 1.8, "Scripture may be written in any language," discusses the languages of the world in terms of a commentary on the Table of Nations (*j. Meg.* 71b). The Babylonian Talmud (redacted ca. 500 C.E.) presents an exposition of the Table of Nations in order to answer the question, "From where do we know that the Persians are derived from Japheth?" Three recensions of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch, Codex Neofiti 1, Fragmentary Targum, and Pseudo-Jonathan (redacted between 4th and 8th centuries C.E.) offer numerous identifications of the names on the Table of Nations. Targum 1 Chronicles 1 contains also many equivalents, drawn mainly from the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch (Alexander 1974: 72ff.). Saadya's Arabic version of the Pentateuch (10th century C.E.) reproduces many of the Targumic equivalents, but introduces some of its own which involve an adjustment of the Table to his historico-geographical horizon. *Seper Josippon* (10th century C.E.) opens with a very detailed exposition of the sons of Japheth on the Table of Nations as a preface to its account of the antiquities of Italy and the rise of Rome (the Romans are said to be descended from the Kittim mentioned in Gen 10:4). It is quite common in medieval chronicles to begin with a *Diamerismos* (Flusser 1980: 1, 3; cf. 2, 98ff.). Josippon displays a detailed knowledge of early medieval Europe: it refers to the Franks, Bretons, Hungarians, Saxons, Russians, Lombards, Danes and Slavs. Its horizon is consonant with a geographical standpoint for its author in Italy. Rabbinic literature often refers to the 70 (or sometimes 72) nations/languages of the world, without going into detail as to who they are. This figure is derived from counting the names on the Table of Nations (Ginzberg 1968: 194 n. 72).

7. *1 Enoch*. *1 Enoch*, the bulk of which can be dated no later than the end of the 1st century C.E., is a thesaurus of early Jewish lore on astronomy, meteorology, botany and geography. Two passages are important for its image of the world: *1 Enoch* 76–77 and *1 Enoch* 17–36. The Ethiopic manuscripts are in considerable confusion, and even with the help of the Aramaic fragments from Qumran, it is extremely difficult to reduce the text to order, or project its cosmographical ideas in the form of a map. Grelot (1958) and Milik (1976: 15–19, 34–41), however, have derived maps from the data of the text which, despite being highly speculative in parts, appear basically to be valid. Enoch's geography is often referred to as "mythological" (Grelot 1958), or even as "mystical" (Neugebauer 1985: 407), because it is full of fantasy, but such descriptions should not disguise the fact that *1 Enoch* has a model of the world which is meant to organize phenomena and explain how they work. Parts of that model are clearly visualized and must have constituted for their author(s), a *mental*, if not a *drawn* map.

a. *1 Enoch* 76–77. *1 En.* 76:1–14 describes a wind-rose, consisting of twelve winds (four bringing prosperity and eight disaster) that blow from twelve points of the compass. The rose is orientated with E at the top: note how N is said to be on the left and S on the right (76:2). The winds are imagined as blowing into the world through twelve gates spaced at regular intervals round the world's rim. Chapter 76 apportions three of these gates to each of the four quarters of the world; chap. 77 opens with an explanation of the names of these four quarters, which it enumerates in a clockwise direction—E, S, W, N (77:1–3a). Two of its explanations convey cosmographical information. "North" *(ṣippûnā')* is so called because "in it all the heavenly bodies hide [*ṣāpĕnîn*], gather, go round and proceed to the E of the heavens." The idea is that the heavenly bodies after setting in the W go round the N rim of the world (presumably behind the N mountains) to rise again in the E. "South" *(dārômā')* is so called "because the Great One dwells *(dā'ēr rabbā')* there." If the allusion here is to Sinai, as many suppose, then it suggests that *1 En.* 77 locates the Mountain of God in the S quarter of the world, whereas *1 En.* 17–36 appears to locate in the NW. *1 En.* 77 next divides the earth into three parts: the 1st part is for human habitation, the 2d is for seas and rivers, and the 3d is for deserts and for the Paradise of righteousness (77:3b). Milik (1976: 15) is probably correct in seeing these three parts as concentric circles: the 1st, the *oikoumenē,* is in the center; the 2d is the encircling Ocean; the 3d is the wasteland beyond the Ocean, in which Paradise is located. Milik's restoration of the Aramaic text so that it refers to seven regions in this transoceanic zone (one of them Paradise), though bold, may well be correct (Milik 1976: 15). The remainder of *1 En.* 77 (vv 4–8) gives a highly schematic description of the *oikoumenē.* It mentions the Great Sea (= the Mediterranean) and the Red Sea (= the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the present-day Red Sea). These were probably envisaged as great bays protruding from the surrounding Ocean into the circular *oikoumenē. 1 En.* 77 refers, without any toponymical detail, to the seven highest mountains, the seven greatest rivers, and the seven largest islands of the world. The mountains are not located, though their tops are said to be covered with snow (77:4). They are probably to be found among the ten mountains listed on the *Jubilees* map. One of them may be Hermon, the "Mountain of Snow" (Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Num 34:11; *Sifre Num* §131). Another may be Sinai. Three of the rivers can be located with reasonable certainty. The two flowing from the N into the Red Sea must be the Tigris and Euphrates. The one flowing from the W into the Great Sea is presumably the Nile. The westerly alignment of the Nile is found in some Greek geographers. "The remaining four rivers," says *1 En.* 77:7, "come from the N side towards the sea, two to the Red Sea, and two empty into the Great Sea." This second mention of the Red Sea is rather puzzling: why not simply say at 77:6, "*four* of them come from the N and shed their waters into the Red Sea?" *1 En.* 77:7 is best taken as a description of four rivers in the N half of the world, counterbalancing the three in the S half (77:5–6). If this is so, then "Red Sea" at 77:7 has possibly displaced the name of a N sea, e.g. the Black Sea (= Sea of Me'at on the *Jubilees* map). The two rivers flowing into the Black Sea might be the Don (= the Tina of *Jubilees*) and the Danube. The two flowing from the N into the Great Sea could be any of the major rivers debouching into the Mediterranean on its N shores. As for the seven islands, five are said to be in the Great Sea and two "on land" (77:8). The former statement makes obvious sense: the *Jubilees* map probably had five major islands in the Mediterranean. The latter statement is problematic. The text may originally have read "two in the Red Sea." The reference might be to Bahrain, the Dilmun of the Babylonians.

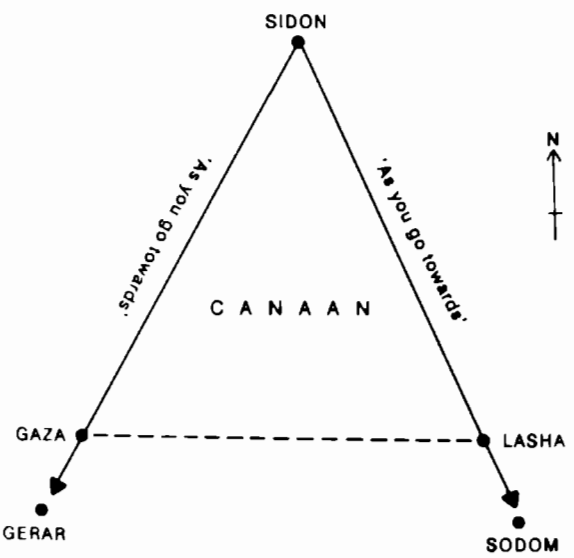
b. *1 Enoch* 17–36. Despite some differences, *1 Enoch* 17–36 appears to presuppose a similar image of the world to that in *1 Enoch* 76–77: the habitable earth is a circular landmass surrounded by Ocean, beyond which lies a region of outer darkness and chaos. The earth is described in terms of a series of journeys which Enoch makes in the company of angelic guides. First he travels to the W (17–25), then back to the center of the world (Jerusalem) (26–27), then eastwards to the end of the world (28–32). Finally, he goes around the extremities of the world in an anticlockwise direction, starting in the E and ending in the S (33–36). Because these journeys are so much concerned with the outer rim of the world (they include a visit to the underworld), the descriptions tend to involve fantastic features which cannot easily be related to real geographical space. The W is covered in greatest detail, partly because it is described twice over (once in 17–19, and again in 21–25). Some have supposed that this double description implies two separate journeys. It is more likely, however, that parallel accounts of the same journey have been combined. Notable features located in the W are: (a) the Mountain of God, with its summit shaped like a throne. This is "the throne on which the great Holy One sits . . . when he descends to the earth in blessing" (25:3; cf. 18:8). (b) The River of Fire flowing into Ocean (17:5). The reference here could be to the Greek Pyriphlegethon, or to the River of Fire in Dan 7:10, or to both. The heavenly bodies, when they set in the W, replenish their fires from this fiery river (23:4). (c) The storehouses of winds, thunder, lightning and other meteorological phenomena, and the chambers of the stars and other heavenly bodies (17:3). (d) Sheol, with its four hollows for different categories of souls. The description of the "middle of the earth" (26–27), as Milik has shown, fits well the topography of the Jerusalem area (Milik 1976: 36). He has also argued that the journey to the E through the spice-lands (28–31) reflects real topographical knowledge (Milik 1958). The most notable feature in the E of the world is Paradise. *1 En.* 32:2–3 appears to locate the Paradise of righteousness in the region of outer darkness beyond the encircling Ocean, on the NE edge of the world.

Some have detected Greek influence on *1 Enoch*'s image of the world (notably in the description of the W in *1 Enoch* 17–36). The major influence, however, appears to have been Babylonian. Grelot (1958: 64–66) and Milik (1976: 17) compare the famous Babylonian *mappa mundi* in the British Museum (the copy of which dates from around 600 B.C.E.). The Greek influence on the *Jubilees* map is unmistakable, and in general (though their accounts of the *oikoumenē* are compatible) the "spirit" of the *Jubilees* map is very different from that in *1 Enoch.* It is possible that these two texts represent two broad "schools"

of early Jewish geography—the one oriental, looking for inspiration to the old centers of learning in the E; the other Hellenistic, receptive of the new ideas coming from the W.

D. "Maps" of the Holy Land

1. The Short Biblical Boundary Texts. The short boundary texts in the Bible define the Land by using a small number of salient border points. According to the most basic formula the Land extends "from X to Y." The simplest and best known example of this formula is 2 Sam 24:2, "from Dan to Beer-sheba." Note also Gen 15:18, "from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates;" Num 13:21, "from the desert of Zin to Rehob, near Lebo-Hamath." These two-point definitions all appear to be on a N-S axis. Certain four-point definitions add a second axis for greater precision: e.g., Exod 23:31, "from the Red Sea *(yam sûp)* to the Sea of the Philistines, and from the desert [in the south] to the Euphrates;" Deut 11:24, "from the desert [in the S] to [emending to *wĕʿad*] the Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, to the Hinder Sea [= the Mediterranean]." One would expect the second axis to be roughly E-W, but this does not appear to be the case, unless geographical reality has been very severely distorted. Genesis 10:19 offers a curious three-point definition of the Land: "The border of the Canaanite was from Sidon as you go towards Gerar as far as Gaza, (and) as you go toward Sodom [omit: and Gomorrah and Admah and Zeboiim] as far as Lasha." To make sense of this it must be assumed that Gerar lay *beyond* Gaza and Sodom *beyond* Lasha as one moves S from Sidon. The Sidon-Gerar line is marked off at Gaza, and the Sidon-Sodom line at Lasha. The Land is defined by the Sidon-Gaza-Lasha triangle. See Fig. GEO.07. Ezekiel 47:15–20 contains a further elaboration of the "from X to Y" formula. It envisages the Land basically as a rectangle with four sides (N, E, S, W). The rectangle is defined by four corner points: NE corner = Hazar-enon; SE corner = Tamar; SW corner = the mouth of the Brook of Egypt (= Wadi el-Arish), where it enters the Great Sea; NW corner = a point on the coast of the Great Sea opposite Lebo-Hamath. The picture is complicated a little, and greater precision attained, by introducing a number of intermediate border points and geographical features, between the primary corner points.



GEO.07. Three-point definition of the Land of Israel in Gen 10:19.

2. The Biblical Borders of the Land of Canaan. Numbers 34:3–12, which purports to be a definition of the land of Canaan given by God to Moses on the eve of the Conquest, offers the most detailed biblical delineation of the Land. It enumerates a series of border points, starting at the SE extremity of the Dead Sea and going round in a clockwise direction (S-W-N-E) back to the starting point. The S boundary of the Land corresponds with the S boundary of the allotment of the tribe of Judah as defined in Josh 15:1–4 (cf. Ezek 47:15–20; 48:1,28). Comparison of these texts reveals that while the border points are constant, the connecting verbs and phrases differ. This suggests that the linking elements are secondary, and that the source of this description of the boundaries of Canaan, which may have been a late 13th century B.C.E. document in Egyptian or Akkadian defining the Egyptian district of Canaan (Aharoni 1967: 68f.), contained simply a list of border points connected by "and." It is unclear whether the different connecting verbs used—the border "shall turn" *(wĕnāsab)*, "go out" *(wĕyāṣāʾ)*, "cross over" *(wĕʿābar)*, "go up" *(wĕʿālāh)*, "go down" *(wĕyārad)*—have any precise geographical significance. The fact that one such verb—*tāʾar* "to turn"—is used in the Hebrew Bible only in the delineations of the tribal allotments in Joshua (e.g. Josh 15:9) suggests it was a technical term in border descriptions. These connecting elements probably go back to the original redactors who incorporated the lists into the biblical narrative. Their general purpose was to indicate clearly that one had to imagine a continuous line drawn through the points mentioned. It was necessary to stress this in the case of the tribal allotments in order to distinguish the border delineations from the town lists for the various tribes. The points enumerated on the town lists are *not* to be imagined as points on a continuous line.

The borders of Canaan as defined in Num 34:3–12, form the framework of two other geographical texts in the Hebrew Bible: (1) the definitions of the tribal allotments in Josh 15–19; and (2) the description of the land that remained to be conquered in Josh 13:1–7. Both these documents seem to presuppose Num 34:3–12: the areas they define fit quite snugly into the area defined there. The description of the land that remains is constructed on the basic formula: "all the land/districts of X, from *p* to *q*." Both documents are best seen as coming from the period of the Judges. They represent, not the territory actually occupied by the Israelites then but the territory to which they laid claim, via "the land of Canaan in its full extent" (Num 34:2), as it had been defined earlier under Egyptian administration. The originals of these texts were probably documents preserved at Shiloh, the covenant center of the tribes. (For a discussion of the historical problems associ-

ated with tribal allotments and related texts see Alt 1953; Noth 1935; and Kallai 1986.)

3. *Genesis Apocryphon.* *Genesis Apocryphon* (early 1st century B.C.E.) gives two accounts of the borders of the land of Israel. The first is based on God's command to Abram in Gen 13:14f. to view the promised land: "The next day I [Abram] climbed to the top of Ramath Ḥaṣor, and I viewed the land from this height, from the River of Egypt to Lebanon and Senir, and from the Great Sea to Ḥauran, and all the land of Gebal as far as Qadesh, and all the great desert which is E of Ḥauran and Senir as far as the Euphrates" (1QapGen 21:10–12). This is clearly based on the biblical Nile-to-Euphrates type of short boundary description, but the author has blocked in skillfully some of the main geographical features between the N and S extremities of the land. *Genesis Apocryphon*'s second account of the borders is based on God's command to Abram in Gen 13:17, "Arise, walk through the Land in the length of it and in the breadth of it, for to you will I give it." In 1QapGen 21:15–19 Abram walks round the outer edges of his patrimony in a symbolic act of claiming it as his own. He starts out from the River Giḥon (= the Nile), moves northward along the shore of the Mediterranean till he comes to the Mount of the Bull *(ṭûr tôrā')* = the Taurus Mountains which some Greek geographers envisaged as a spine of mountains running W-E across N Syria. He turns eastward along the Taurus range until he comes to the Euphrates. He then follows the course of the Euphrates in a southerly direction down to the "Red Sea" *(yammā' śimmôqā')*, the Erythrean Sea of the Greeks, i.e., the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. He turns westward and proceeds until he reaches the tongue of the "Reed Sea" *(yam sûp)* "which goes out from the Red Sea" = the present-day Red Sea. He follows this till he comes back to his starting point at the Nile. *Genesis Apocryphon*'s image of the Land is very coherent and easily related to geographical reality. Its "map" corresponds very closely to the corresponding section of the *Jubilees* "map," and may be based on it. Neither at Gen 13:14f. nor at Gen 13:17 does the underlying biblical text mention any geographical names. 1QapGen has derived its names from both the short and the long boundary descriptions of the land. It is notable that it takes the maximal definition of the borders, as indicated in some of the short boundary texts. This suggests that it took the short texts as primary and accommodated the longer texts to them.

4. The Targumim. Three recensions of the Palestinian Targum (= PT)—Codex Neofiti 1, Fragmentary Targum, and Pseudo-Jonathan—identify many of the places mentioned in the definition of the borders of the land of Israel in Num 34:3–12. All the texts represent the same tradition and give the same picture, but Ps-J has the fullest account and identifies virtually every name which is not self-evident. The base stratum of the PT to Numbers 34 gives a broad Nile-to-Euphrates definition of the borders of the Land. An addition at Num 34:12, found only in Ps-J, uses four of the points from the complete border list to summarize the Targumic picture: "Reqem Geʿa [= Petra] in the south; Taurus Amanus in the north; the Great Sea in the west; the Salt Sea in the east." The PT definition agrees well with 1QapGen's borders and probably reflects pre-70 tradition. Like 1QapGen the PT has harmonized the long and short boundary texts of the Bible, using the latter as the framework for its identifications.

Num 34:13–15 makes it clear that the borders defined in Num 34:3–12 relate to the territory of only nine and a half tribes. Although the two and a half tribes that settled E of the Jordan are mentioned, the Bible at this point does not attempt to define their territory. PT rectifies this omission by constructing a border definition for the two and a half tribes similar to that contained in Num 34:3–12. Codex Neofiti 1 and Fragmentary Targum insert this definition at Num 34:15. Pseudo-Jonathan inserts most of it at the same point, but scatters part of it confusingly through its definition of the borders of the nine and a half tribes. Thus PT offers a comprehensive account of the territories of all *twelve* tribes, of the whole land of Israel. It derives its border points for the two and a half tribes from Num 32:33–42, Deut 3:1–17, and similar texts which describe the allotments of the two and a half tribes. Certain elements in the Targumic definition of the two and a half tribes appear to be related to the Tannaitic Boundary List (see below). It is probable that an attempt was made to rework the very broad Targumic boundaries of the Land to make them conform to the narrower rabbinic definition. This has resulted in some geographical incoherence in the Targumic texts.

The PT at Num 34:6, exploiting the redundant *ûgēbûl* ["and (the) border (thereof)"] in the biblical text, defines the territorial waters of the land of Israel: "For the western border you shall have the Great Sea, Ocean, and the border thereof, that is the waters of creation, with the primaeval waters that are in the midst of it" (Ps-J). The sense appears to be that the Targum carries the territorial waters of the Land all the way westwards to the Ocean (i.e. the Atlantic!). The text goes on to claim the "airspace" (*'byr* = Greek *aēr*) above this territory as part of the land of Israel.

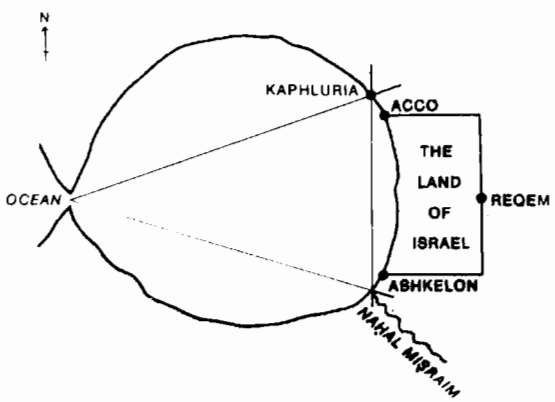
5. Rabbinic Definitions. Prompted by the need to decide what towns and regions were subject to the "commandments pertaining to the Land," such as tithes and the sabbatical year, rabbinic literature gives a number of definitions of the borders of the land of Israel. Rabbinic thinking on the borders of Israel changed as rabbinic halakhah became more accepted by the Jewish communities of Palestine. The earliest traditions use very simple formulae, which set the borders very wide and follow basically the Nile-to-Euphrates short boundary texts of the Bible. Gradually, however, the formulae become fuller and more precise, and the territory defined as land of Israel more restricted and realistic.

a. The "Taurus Amanus" Formula. This, the earliest border definition, states that "all that runs from Taurus Amanus and inwards is the Land of Israel; from Taurus Amanus and outwards is outside the Land" (*t. Ter.* 2:12; *t. Ḥall.* 2:11; *y. Ḥall.* 60a; *y. Šeb.* 32d). "Taurus Amanus" (with which the PT identifies "Mt. Hor" in Num 34:7) refers to the range of mountains just N of Antioch on the Orontes, so this formula includes the Syria within the Land.

b. The "Three Regions Formula:" *"There are three regions with regard to the* Seventh Year Produce: All that they occupied who came from Babylon, *from the Land of Israel as far as Kezib,* Seventh Year Produce may not be eaten nor

may the soil be cultivated; all that they occupied who came up from Egypt, *from Kezib as far as the River and Amanah,* Seventh Year Produce may be eaten, but the soil may not be cultivated; *from the River and from Amanah outwards* [reading *laḥûṣ* for *lipĕnîm*], Seventh Year Produce may be eaten and the soil cultivated" (*m. Šeb.* 6:1). The basic formula is indicated by italics. A glossator has supposed, wrongly, that Kezib marks the N limit of the land occupied by those who returned from Babylon, and the Amanus-Euphrates line the N limit of the land occupied by those who came up from Egypt, at the time of the Conquest (perhaps he is thinking in the latter case of the borders of David's kingdom). Contrast *m. Ḥall.* 4.8 where this gloss is absent. With this formula, Syria does not qualify as the land of Israel in the full sense of the term. Its status is weakening, but it is still not wholly outside the Land.

c. Judah ben Ilai's Boundary Formula. "Reqem and the country east of Reqem count as the east; Ashkelon and the country south of Ashkelon count as the south; Acco and the country north of Acco count as the north" (*m. Giṭṭ.* 1:2). The western border is not stated here but emerges at *j. Ḥall.* 60a (cf. *t. Ḥall.* 2.11; *t. Ter.* 2:12; *j. Šeb.* 36d; *b. Giṭṭ.* 8a): "As for the islands that are in the sea, you are to imagine a line drawn from Taurus Amanus [emend to "Kaphluria"; see below] to Naḥal Miṣraim [here = Wadi el-Arish]. From the line inward is the Land of Israel; from the line and outward is outside the Land." R. Judah says: All that is opposite the Land of Israel belongs to the Land of Israel, as it is written, "And for the western border, you shall have the Great Sea, and the border thereof: this shall be your western border" (Num 34:6). As for the status of the islands that are on the sides, you are to imagine a line drawn from Kaphluria to Ocean, and from Naḥal Miṣraim to Ocean. From the line and inwards is the Land of Israel; from the line and outward is outside the Land. The definition, though still schematic, is more precise than the other formulae. The Land is now defined on all four sides, and Syria is quite definitely excluded. See Fig. GEO.08. The definition of territorial waters on the W is noteworthy.



GEO.08. Judah ben Ilai's definition of the borders of Israel.

Rabbi Judah's ideas here correspond to those found in the PT to Num 34:6.

d. The Tannaitic Boundary List. This, the most complex and complete definition of the Boundaries of the land in rabbinic literature, is extant in five main recensions: (1) *Sifre Deut.* §51; (2) *t. Šeb.* 4:11, Codex Vienna; (3) *t. Šeb.* 4:11, Codex Erfurt; (4) *j. Šeb.* 36c; (5) lines 13–18 of the 7th century synagogue inscription from Tel-Reḥov near Beth-shean (Sussmann 1973–74). The borders are defined basically in the manner of Numbers 34: a series of border points is given, going around (like Numbers 34) in a clockwise direction, and the border is constructed by joining the points up with lines. The area included is similar to that marked off in Judah ben Ilai's formula, and Syria is definitely outside the Land (see further Klein 1928, Neaman 1978, and Sussmann 1975–76).

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PHILIP S. ALEXANDER

GEOMETRY. See MATHEMATICS, ALGEBRA, AND GEOMETRY.

GEORGIAN VERSIONS. See VERSIONS, ANCIENT (GEORGIAN).

GER [Heb *gēr*]. See SOJOURNER.

GERA (PERSON) [Heb *gērāʾ*]. Although Gera is a common NW Semitic name (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 373), in the Bible the name is restricted to members of the tribe of Benjamin. Aside from the patronymic Gera which appears in prose accounts (see nos. 5 & 6 below), the identity of the other Geras is bound up in the genealogical tree of Benjamin. In two similar lists of sons (Gen 46:21 = *Jub.* 44:25; Num 26:38–41—LXX 26:42–45), Gera appears only in Gen 46:21, as the fourth of ten sons of Benjamin. However, according to the scheme of the LXX, the ten sons are spread over a three-generational genealogy, which includes: Benjamin → Bela → Gera → Ard. Interestingly, whereas Gera is lacking in Num 26:38–41, this two-generational genealogy of five sons of Benjamin ascribes Bela as father of Ard (and Naaman).

Within the Chronicler's framework of genealogies (1 Chronicles 1–9), the name appears three times in but one of the two multigenerational Benjamin genealogies (1 Chr 7:6–12; 1 Chr 8:1–40). According to MT, Benjamin's firstborn son, Bela, is father of two Geras (1 Chr 8:3, 5), and Ehud is the father of another Gera who is father of Uzza and Ahihud (1 Chr 8:7). The sequence of generations is similar in the LXX of Gen 46:21, and in the MT and the LXX of Num 26:38–41 (—LXX 26:42–45) and 1 Chr 8:1–7; Gera, Ard (or Addar), and Naaman appear in each list. The problem of having two sons of Bela named Gera is solved variously. Based on the repetition of the name, and its absence in the Syriac text, the second occurrence can be regarded as no more than a dittography. Another suggestion is that the MT *wĕgērāʾ waʾăbîhûd* ("Gera, Abihud") in v 3 should be read *wĕgērāʾ waʾăbî ʾēhûd* "and Gera, that is, the father of Ehud" (Rudolf *Chronikbücher* HAT, 76; Williamson *1, 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 83; Baker 1980: 133). This would distinguish the first Gera from the second, and following Rudolf's reconstruction of vv 3–7 (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 76), the second Gera would be a son of Ehud. The third Gera, along with Naaman and Ahijah in v 7, would then be a repeat occurrence of the second Gera (with Naaman and Ahoah, vv 4–5). This identification assumes that MT *wĕgērāʾ hûʾ heglām* means "and Gera, he is the one who carried them into exile" (Williamson *1 & 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 84) or its negative, based on the emended text *lôʾ heglūm* "however, Naaman and Ahijah and Gera did not lead anyone into exile" (Rudolf *Chronikbücher* HAT, 76). Another possibility is to treat the *hûʾ* in v 7 like the "waw explicativum" of v 3, as does the RSV "and Gera, that is, Heglam." Following the logic that the three Geras are distinguished by other associations or identifying features, we find one Gera, the son of Ehud, and another Gera, who was also named Heglam. If Heglam is not taken as a personal name, then it is taken as a verb and this Gera is linked with the relocation of the tribe from Geba to Manahath. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 125) argues that this movement need not be understood as violent, and that the period of the judges is a likely date for this event (see also Williamson *1 & 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 83–84). The Chronicler's seemingly convoluted genealogy of Bela may be treated as a straightforward family lineage including Bela → Gera → Ehud → Gera, and it is easy to see that Gen 46:16 and Num 26:38–41 utilize the same names, but in different ways.

1. The fourth of Benjamin's ten sons (Gen 46:21; see also *Jub.* 44:25). See the foregoing discussion for a treatment of the differences between the MT and the LXX genealogies here.

2. The second son of Bela and grandson of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:3). In 1 Chr 7:6–12, where Bela is one of Benjamin's three sons, Gera is not among the five named sons of Bela. If we accept the translation "Gera, that is, the father of Ehud" (1 Chr 8:3, see discussion above), this Gera could perhaps be identified with Gera no. 4 below.

3. The seventh son of Bela and grandson of Benjamin according to the MT of 1 Chr 8:5. As discussed above, textual considerations lead us either to delete this occurrence, or to identify this Gera as the son of Ehud, and therefore the great-grandson of Bela.

4. A son of Ehud the Benjaminite, and father of Uzza and Ahihud (1 Chr 8:7). He may either be identified with

Gera no. 3 above, or simply as another Gera who was also called Heglam (see discussion above).

5. The father of Ehud the judge (Judg 3:15). This is perhaps also asserted in 1 Chr 8:3 (see Gera no. 2 above). Whether "father of Ehud" (Heb *ʾābî ʾēhûd*) should be regarded as a clan designation (Boling *Judges* AB, 86) or a direct statement of parentage (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 373) is not clear.

6. A Benjaminite, a member of Saul's family and father of Shimei, the man who pronounced a curse on King David during the revolt of Absalom (2 Sam 16:5; 19:16—MT 19:17; 19:19; 1 Kgs 2:8). Shimei is repeatedly identified as coming from Bahurim, a Benjaminite town, which presumably was the home of Gera. Since Saul's clan is identified as Matrite in 1 Sam 10:27, it is best not to understand "son of Gera" as the designation of Shimei's clan (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 373).

RICHARD W. NYSSE

GERAH [Heb *gērâ*]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

GERAR (PLACE) [Heb *gĕrār*]. A town in the W Negeb which is associated with the lives of the Patriarchs. In the Table of Nations, Gerar is used as a geographical landmark for the S border of Canaan (Gen 10:19), probably because of its proximity to, and political association with, Gaza. Gerar figured prominently in the lives of Abraham and Isaac, who settled here at the invitation of its king, Abimelech (Genesis 20, 26). The reference to Philistine Gerar reflects a situation during the early Iron Age when the region known as "Negeb of the Cretans" was under the political patronage of Gaza and later of Philistine Gath. During the period of the monarchy (Hezekiah?), families of Simeon settled here and the land of Gerar became part of their tribal inheritance (1 Chr 4:39–41; assuming "Gedor" of the MT [and RSV] should read "Gerar" according to the LXX). Following the invasion of S Judah by Zerah the Ethiopian, the Egyptian military expedition was defeated by King Asa and pursued "as far as Gerar" resulting in the destruction of all the cities around (2 Chr 14:9–15). Gerar is not mentioned in extrabiblical sources (Gerar in 2 Macc 13:24 appears to be another site; cf. Goldstein, *2 Macc* AB, 468–69). In the Roman-Byzantine period the name Gerar is preserved in the imperial estate *Saltus Geraritícus* and a monastery was established in the "brook of Gerar." According to Eusebius (*Onomast.* 60.7), it was located 25 roman miles S of Eleutheropolis (Beit Govrin), making the identification of Gerar with Tel Haror (M.R. 112087) most likely.

A. Site and Identification

Tel Haror is located on the N bank of Nahal Gerar about 20 km W of Beer-sheba and near the main road from Gaza to Beer-sheba. The ancient mound comprised a lower tel or trapezoidal-shaped compound that covers about 40 acres and descends to the deep gorge of Nahal Gerar. In the NE corner rises the 4 acre, oval-shaped, upper tel which is 130 m above sea level and ca. 10 m above the surface of the lower tel.

Earlier identifications of Haror with cities in the territory of Simeon, relied upon assumptions that the site was uninhabited prior to the Iron Age. Surface surveys by D. Allon and Y. Aharoni (1954) in the 1950s indicated, however, that Tel Haror has been inhabited during the Bronze and Iron Ages, and this enhanced its identification with the Canaanite-Philistine Gerar, the city of Abimelech. Mazar (1974: 123, 136; 1975: 114) maintained that Gerar was not a city, but the name of a region to be equated with the Roman-Byzantine imperial domain *Saltus Geraritícus*.

B. Excavations

Five seasons of excavations (1982–88) at Tel Haror under the direction of E. D. Oren indicated that the site has been occupied since the Chalcolithic period. The major periods of occupation were (all dates B.C.E.):

Iron Age IIB–Persian	8th–4th centuries	Areas D, E, G, K
Iron Age I	12th–11th centuries	Areas B, D, K, L
LB II	15th–14th centuries	Areas K, L
MB II–III	18th–16th centuries	Areas B, K, L

1. Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Surveys and excavations demonstrated that Tel Haror was one of the largest MB settlement sites in S Canaan, covering an area of ca. 40 acres. Preliminary investigations ascertained that the city was fortified by an elaborate system of earthen ramparts and defense walls like the fortification systems at neighboring Tell el-Ajjul and Tell el-Fara (S).

Excavations in area K yielded the architectural remains of a well-preserved temple complex. In the NW section of area K a thick mudbrick wall on stone foundations enclosed a spacious open courtyard and various structures and installations. A small chamber was built against the enclosure wall and included a number of low benches, niches, and stands for offerings. Nearby stood a partition wall with niched recesses and a mudbrick block that served as an offering table or altar, as well as some cup marks around it. Two refuse pits (*favissae*) were encountered just outside the enclosure wall. The floor was covered by a thick layer of ashes and charcoal, animal bones, and broken cult vessels. Around the altar were hearths, ash pockets, and large collections of animal bones and pottery vessels, implying that certain ceremonies such as burning of offerings were performed in this part of the temple. The ceramics included many miniature (votive) vessels, decorated stands topped with wide bowls, and vessels applied with bull heads and snakes. See Fig. GER.01. The collection of animal bones is represented largely by sheep and goats (50 percent) and birds (44 percent) though a few dog puppies were also recorded. The study of animal bones supports the conclusion that sacrificial slaughter, mainly of young sheep and goats, took place in the temple area. Excavations under this building exposed some architectural remains of what seems to have been an earlier MB II cult building. The temple site at Tel Haror was abandoned, but not destroyed, in the late MB.

The evidence retrieved thus far indicates that the LB settlement was considerably smaller than that of the MB, totaling no more than a few acres. The LB site was restricted to area L in the NE corner of the lower tel and overlooking the springs of Nahal Gerar. It is represented by at least four phases of occupation that overlie perhaps

GER.01. Handle of jug with serpent from Tel Haror, Gerar—MB. *(Courtesy of E. Oren)*

the disused MB fortification system. The uppermost remains, including thick walls and a large pebbled courtyard, probably belonged to a patrician house or a small fort that guarded the nearby springs. Tell el-Ajjul provides a close analogy whereby the enormous MB city shrank in the succeeding LB to a single palace or citadel structure. Area L yielded an exceptionally rich assemblage of imported Cypriote ceramics. Also, a refuse pit that was dug into the remains of the MB temple in area K produced among other LB finds, fragments of cult vessels that perhaps originated from a cult place nearby.

2. Iron Age and Persian Period. The early Iron Age settlement at Tel Haror, perhaps the "city" of Philistine, is on the NW corner of the lower tel and covers an area of about one acre in area B. The four strata of occupation were built over the remains of the MB settlement. The eroded remains of the uppermost stratum of the late 11th century B.C.E. belong to a fortified settlement enclosed by a 6 m thick mudbrick wall, complete with structural compartments. Earlier occupational strata in the 12th–11th centuries B.C.E. included sections of structures, plastered floors, a stone-lined grain silo, and refuse pits. The ceramic assemblage included masses of early and late types of beautifully decorated Philistine pottery. One of the 11th-century refuse pits produced a large collection of scrap iron tools and vessels, implying some processing of iron implements. The rich early Iron Age settlement at Tel Haror testifies to the dynamic eastward expansion of Philistine culture from the S coast into the Judean Shephelah.

Excavations on the upper tel uncovered impressive evidence of a well organized town with its elaborate fortifications and carefully designed public architecture. The fortification system—rampart, defense wall, and glacis—determined the overall shape of the upper tel.

The defense wall was exposed for some 60 m; it is 4 m thick, plastered on both faces and preserved about 4 m in height. In area D a massive tower projects from the wall and a complimentary buttress was added inside against it. Nearby, a massive mudbrick platform, over 150 m^2, was constructed probably to support a corner tower.

A trench was cut in area E to examine the fortification system and establish the sequence of construction. The system was founded on massive earth and *kurkar* ramparts and anchored by a belt of large *kurkar* fieldstones which was topped by thick deposits of ash and brick material. The mudbrick wall was then erected in a foundation trench on top of the rampart and its base was supported by an enormous mass of bricks, brick material, and soil. Against the city wall was built a glacis which was faced with *kurkar* stones affixed in, and coated with, gray clay. The glacis underwent a major repair, perhaps during the last phase of the Iron Age city. Systematic excavations inside the walled area encountered a series of floors, fill material, and buildings that were constructed against the city wall. The earliest floor abutting the wall and on top of the earthen rampart is associated with characteristically 8th-century ceramic types. The major destruction phase which was on one of the upper floors dates to the 7th century B.C.E. above which were remains of the Persian period. It is thus evident that this enormous defense system was constructed in the late Iron Age, ca. 8th century B.C.E. and destroyed in a great conflagration in the 7th century B.C.E.

Excavations in area G uncovered a complex of public buildings-storehouses with symmetrically disposed long halled units that were constructed against the defense wall and erected on mudbrick platforms. At some stage in the late Iron Age the fortification system and buildings inside underwent a major renovation that involved raising the floors some 2 m, blocking the windows and entrances to accommodate a tremendous fill, as well as adding new sections of glacis. The town was destroyed in a major conflagration that was evident in the upper floors of the storehouses. The storehouses yielded large collections of artifacts including a broken clay weight inscribed in ink with the letters *pym,* and a storage jar inscribed with the word *lbgd* ("belonging to Bagad") alongside an Egyptian *ankh* sign and the hieratic number "8" incised four times. The development of Tel Haror was part of an overall military and economic organization of the Assyrian administration in S Philistia and on the border of Egypt. Evidently the well-planned fortified town was established as an administrative center in the late 8th century B.C.E. (Sargon II?) and destroyed in the second half of the 7th century B.C.E., apparently by an Egyptian military expedition of the Saite kings.

Following the destruction of the fortified Iron Age town, the site was occupied during the Persian period in the 5th–4th centuries B.C.E. by one or two phases of settlement which are represented in area G by a large building, paved floors, as well as grain and refuse pits. One of the probe squares in area K yielded a badly preserved burial associated with Egyptian pottery and a Greek fibula. The settlement at Tel Haror falls in line with the densely populated map of the W Negeb in the Persian period.

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ELIEZER D. OREN

GERASENES [Gk *Gerasēnos*]. The name of people in whose country Jesus encountered two demoniacs (cf. Matt 8:28), and where he exorcised the demons, allowing them to enter a herd of about 2,000 pigs which "rushed down the steep bank into the sea and were drowned" (Luke 8:26; Mark 5:1). The location of this miracle is disputed in the NT manuscripts. The best current Greek text (Nestle-Aland, 26th edition) reads Gadara in the text of Matthew but Gerasa in the texts of Mark and Luke. See also GADARENES. All three texts have variant readings which contain the other two alternatives (Gergesa is added as a third). Part of the reason for the confusion is that all three words are spelled similarly in Greek and there are three locations on the E side of the Jordan that may be identified by these names. The name "Gerasenes" is to be associated with the modern city of Jerash, located in Transjordan, 22 miles N of Amman. Josephus located it on the E borders of Peraea (*JW* 3.3.3) and its present identification is based on several inscriptions found in Jerash which refer to its inhabitants as "formerly the Gerasenes." The modern Arabic name is similar to the ancient one, which it perpetuates. Coins and inscriptions allude to it as "the city of the Antiochenes on the River Chrysorrhoas, formerly of the people of Gerasa . . ." The name Antioch, which it wore for a time, was given in honor of either Antiochus III or IV, after Transjordan was taken from Egypt by the Syrian Seleucids.

Archaeological remains indicate that a settlement of some kind stood here in the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages. However, the NT city, whose walls enclosed about 200 acres, stood from Hellenistic times on its present location. Situated on the international N-S King's Highway, it was one of the most important cities E of the Jordan River. The Romans included it among the ten cities of the E frontier which were organized into a DECAPOLIS.

Gerasa, modern Jerash, can hardly be the location of the miracle story because it is 37 miles SE of the Sea of Galilee—too much of a run for the pigs. Gadara, which is to be identified with modern Um Qeis, is also too far away, 5 miles SE of the sea. This leaves Gergesa, modern El Koursi, on the E bank of the sea as the only reasonable possibility, if any credence is to be given to the geographical statements of the gospels. The fact that this is stated to have happened in the "country" or "territory" of these cities cannot mitigate the clear assertion that the pigs ran down a *steep cliff* into the sea. The only place fitting this description on the entire E side of the sea ("the other side" according to Matthew and Luke) is adjacent to El Kursi.

Eusebius, in the 4th century, located the event here: "Gergesa where the Lord healed the demons. A village is even now situated on the mountain beside the sea of Tiberias into which also the swine were cast headlong." (*Onomast.* 74.13; author's translation). Nothing has been found at Gerasa which would indicate early Christian interest in the city as a holy place. However, at El Kursi, a lavish church was built in the 5th century, which was found in 1970 and has been excavated. It contained beautiful mosaic floors, indicating considerable expenditure and thus a site of some importance. According to Cyril of Scythopolis, St. Saba visited the holy places across the Sea of Galilee in A.D. 491 and prayed in the church at Chorsia (Koursi).

Halfway up the steep hill behind the monastic compound containing the church is a two-part building containing a small mosaic paved chapel with an apse in one part and the base of a tower-like structure in the other. The latter structure encloses a huge boulder, 22 feet high, which it may have been erected to preserve. V. Tzaferis, the excavator, thinks the memorial tower and chapel, as well as the monastery compound below, were constructed in the late 5th or early 6th century to mark the spot as the place of the miracle.

Although Gerasa cannot have been the place of this story, it is interesting in its own right. According to an early tradition, Alexander the Great founded the Hellenistic city for his veterans. An inscription mentions Macedonians among the earliest settlers of the city. It was captured by Alexander Jannaeus around 85 B.C. (*JW* 1.4.8), and subsequently taken by Pompey for the Romans in 63 B.C. About this time it was included in the Decapolis as a city-state. During the first revolt against Rome (A.D. 66–70), this city, along with others in Syria, was sacked by Jews in retaliation for the Roman massacre of Jews at Caesarea Maritima (*JW* 2.18.1) but was later brutally retaken by order of Vespasian (*JW* 4.9.1).

By about A.D. 75, the city was arranged on the Hippodamian plan, with its streets running in checkerboard fashion. Portions of the main N-S street and two main E-W streets are still well preserved. The 1st century A.D. also saw the construction of the unusual, elliptically shaped forum, built in Ionic style and opening to the S. The *Cardo Maximus* (N-S street) ran N out of it. A 3000 seat theater was constructed sometime after the mid-1st century, just inside the S walls of the city. A later inscription (Domitian) was found at the front of the stage. A Temple of Zeus Olympius was built between A.D. 22 and 43 next to the S theater. Outside the S city walls a hippodrome was constructed, either in the 1st or 2d century, which was 800 ft long and would seat 15,000 spectators.

Gerasa reached its zenith in the 2d century, when colonnades were added to the main streets and perhaps the tetrapylons as well. The *Cardo Maximus* was named the Via Antoniniana after the Antonine Emperors of the time. The walls of the city in the imperial period were 10 ft thick and embraced a two-mile circle with a diameter of 3,500 ft. A triumphal arch was erected 1300 ft S of the city, dated by an inscription to A.D. 130, when Hadrian visited the city. The N tetrapylon, built at the intersection of the *Cardo Maximus* and the N *Cardo Decumanus*, was constructed under the Severans. Around A.D. 150, the huge Temple of Artemis was constructed on the W side of the main street, in the heart of the city. The temple was built on a podium, entered from the E, and was surrounded by columns—11 E and W, and 6 N and S. Another smaller theater was built in the N part of the city, between A.D. 162

and 165, and a large bath complex was erected about the same time just E of the N theater. A thousand-seat festival theater, built to celebrate a special Syrian gala in honor of Artemis, was put up less than a half-mile N of the city walls in the Severan period.

Gerasa was graced with many Christian churches in the Byzantine Period, most of them in the 6th century (Church of Procopius, of Saints Peter and Paul, of Saint John the Baptist, of Saint George, of Damian, and the "Synagogue Church," which had remains of a synagogue beneath it). Earlier churches were constructed as well: the 5th century (Church of the Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs), and the oldest church in Gerasa, the Cathedral, built around A.D. 400. The latter stood just W of the *Cardo Maximus* on the S side of the Artemis Temple. The Church of Bishop Genesius was built in A.D. 611.

Gerasa was first discovered in 1806 by U. J. Seetzen and subsequently explored by J. L. Burkhardt in 1812, J. Buckingham in 1816, G. Schumacher and others between 1871 and 1902, and O. Puchstein in 1902. From 1925 till 1956, extensive excavation and restoration was carried out by numerous British and American archaeologists including G. Horsfield, J. W. Crowfoot, C. S. Fisher, N. Glueck, and L. Harding.

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JOHN MCRAY

GERGESITE [Gk *Gergesaios*]. See GIRGASHITE.

GERISA, TEL (M.R. 132166). A large mound (2.6 hectares) located on a *kurkar* hill at the fork of the Yarkon and Aijalon Rivers. Because of its location, it was very likely the major harbor of the central coastal plain during the Bronze and Iron Ages. The site was first excavated by E. L. Sukenik, who conducted five seasons over a period of 25 years (between 1927–1951). The name of the site was adopted from a nearby Arab village, Jerisheh.

Excavations, directed by Z. Herzog, were renewed in 1981, and so far, four seasons have been conducted (1981–83, 1986).

The site was apparently first occupied in the EB III, but the only remains encountered are scattered sherds in later fills; the excavations since have not yet reached the lower levels.

The MB remains present a more complex stratigraphic picture than was assumed by Sukenik (and published by S. Geva), who attributed them solely to the MB II. Not one, but three fortification systems were identified in the renewed excavations, dating to the MB I–II.

The lowest MB I wall is 1.70 m wide. A thick layer of debris containing bricks from collapsed walls and burnt destruction material is deposited against its inner face, but the floor has not yet been reached. A second floor was laid over this debris.

The second MB I wall (2.20 m wide) was erected on a higher level, about 0.90 m further inside the city. Two floors abutted its inner face, while on the outer side a formidable glacis covered the slope of the mound. At this spot the glacis was composed of about a dozen sloping brick layers, coated with a covering of crushed *kurkar.*

The third fortification system, unearthed just below the surface, was a 3-m-wide brick wall. A series of large rooms and courtyards were constructed against this wall in Middle Bronze Age II.

The high elevation of this sector of the site indicates that it accommodated the socio-political elite of the city, who built and rebuilt their royal palaces throughout the MB. A decline in LB I is apparent from the small size of the rooms of this period and the poor standard of their construction (Stratum AII). No later building remains are preserved at this spot, but there are two phases of pits (for storage or refuse) from LB II and Iron Age I.

Evidence for LB occupation came mainly from Area C at the center of the mound, where a monumental brick-walled structure with stone pavement was erected. Political and administrative functions may have been transferred to this part of the city, perhaps because it was closer to the city gate (not yet uncovered). In the area S of the conjectured gate location, an open space with a white plastered paving is interpreted as the local marketplace. This function is inferred from the relatively large quantities of imported pottery, scarabs, and weights found on and around the pavement. Since there were no later occupational levels in this sector, the LB remains suffered from continuous erosion and plowing.

In Iron Age I, there were two separate settlements, one at the N and one at the S end of the mound. The N one seems to have been of shorter duration, since two phases of occupation in stone and brick houses were followed by two phases of pits, probably used to store grains. These could have been harvested from cultivation of most of the mound by the settlers of the contemporary small village at the S end.

The settlement at the S end was excavated by Sukenik, and much of the data is lost. In the renewed excavations, the remains of two houses were found nearby. Both were partitioned internally by rows of wooden columns, whose stone bases were preserved; both had been destroyed by fire. The rich ceramic assemblage collected from the houses indicates that this was a small village of the Philistines, contemporary with the larger Philistine settlement at neighboring Tel Qasile.

The final Iron Age occupation was a small farmstead of the 10th century B.C.E. on the SW end of the mound, followed by two millennia of desertion.

In addition to trade, probably much of it maritime, the economy of the site was supported by cultivation of the fertile land in the Yarkon valley, animal husbandry, fishing and limited hunting.

The poor remains of Iron Age II do not support the identification of Tel Gerisa with the Levitical city of Gathrimmon (Josh 21:24; 1 Chr 6:69), as some have suggested (cf. Aharoni, *LBHG,* 434).

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ZE'EV HERZOG

GERIZIM, MOUNT (PLACE) [Heb *har gĕrizzîm*]. A place known today as Jebel et-Tor (M.R. 176179) located just SW of the ancient city of Shechem. It lies on the S side of the Nablus valley, with Mt. Ebal standing opposite it on the N. Its valley became an important E-W pass and road. The summit's elevation reaches 2,849 ft, 228 ft less than Mt. Ebal. The mountain is made up of three summits. The Samaritan high place (still in use), a Muslim weli, the Christian ruins of the Theotokos church, and other fortification remains from the time of Emperor Justinian lay on the highest peak. It overlooks the nearby N-S highway, which gave it an important strategic position. Early in Mt. Gerizim's history it was the site of Abram's first altar after arriving in Canaan from Mesopotamia (Gen 12:6) and Jacob's well lies NE in the valley (Gen 33:18–20; John 4:5, 6).

Mt. Gerizim holds religious importance even though it is only mentioned directly four times (John 4:20–21 referred to it as "this mountain"). Deut 11:29 and 27:12, as well as Josh 8:33 show the liturgical significance assigned this location. The texts tell of the huge mass of Israelites who assembled on the sides of Mts. Gerizim and Ebal, with the ark of the covenant and the levitical caretakers between them in the valley. There the law was read and the blessings and curses were announced. Moses specified Mt. Gerizim as the spot for the declaration of blessings and Mt. Ebal for the curses.

In Judg 9:7, Jotham broadcasted his unusual parable from an uncertain location on the mountain. Some have proposed that the Tananir ruins is this spot, with its projecting crag recognized as a natural platform. Archaeological excavations in this area found what is thought to be a temple from various phases of the MB Age (Boling, *Judges* AB, 172).

Interestingly, Judg 9:37 has a reference to Mt. Gerizim described as in the Heb *tabbur hā'āreṣ*, which may be translated as "center of the land." The LXX renders it as *omphalos tēs gēs*, "navel of the earth," giving the phrase more significance. It reveals the "axis mundi" of the territory that surrounds it. The mountain is understood to be a connection between heaven and earth, therefore consecrating the area for those who live and worship near it. This idea is widespread coming from the Mesopotamia conceptualization, also found in Iranian, Greek, Roman, and even Chinese thought.

Josephus (*Ant* 11.8.2, 4) tells of the construction of the Samaritan temple on top the mountain by Sanballat, at the time of the great confrontation between the Jews and Samaritans. This division eventually led to the destruction of the Samaritan temple in 128 B.C. by John Hyrcanus, the Jewish King (*Ant* 13.9.1; *War* 1.2.6).

The writer of 2 Macc (5:23; 6:2) mentions both the Jerusalem temple and Samaritan temple as spots of desecration in a context that reveals no hostility and may in fact give the Samaritan temple some legitimacy (Goldstein, *2 Maccabees* AB, 261). The temple on Mt. Gerizim was renamed for Zeus, the patron of strangers, by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in the 2d century B.C.; the text of 2 Macc 6:2 recounts that Mt. Gerizim's inhabitants requested the renaming. Although there is some controversy about this text, Josephus (*Ant* 11.5.5 §§257–64) presents the petition from the Samaritans for exemption from persecution and the renaming of their temple on Mt. Gerizim.

It may have been that to some of the Jews and the Samaritans the renaming was inconsequential. Naming it after Zeus may have been considered justified by using the common usage of the name, that of "God." The deity's residence "Olympios" related to the ethereal location of heaven. Also, the understanding of the appellative "Xenios" as only the "protector of the rights of strangers" gave the community an acceptable arrangement with the Greeks (Goldstein, *2 Maccabees* AB, 272–74).

Another indication of the Samaritan's casual attitude with respect to the renaming was that the alternate form of Zeus was Gk *Zēna* (Josephus, *Ant* 11.2.2) and Gk *Xenos* (stranger) had a Heb equivalent *gēr;* the combination of *gēr* and *zēna* would reflect the name of the mountain, Gerizim.

Around 70 A.D., 11,600 Samaritans were slaughtered on top of the mountain when the Romans surrounded and finally attacked the mount (*JW* 3.7.32). In the 2d century A.D. the Emperor Hadrian rebuilt the temple of Zeus over the Samaritan ruins. During the 5th century A.D. the Christian emperor Zeno forced out the Samaritans from their sacred mountain and built a church dedicated to Mary as the mother of God. The Samaritans retaliated and destroyed the church, but later the emperor Justinian reconstructed and fortified it (ca. 530). Finally, the Arab invasion of the 7th century A.D. totally demolished the structure.

The archaeological evidence includes the ruins of Justinian's octagonal Theotokos church, excavated by A. M. Schneider in 1928. R. J. Bull of Drew University uncovered the remains of the temple of Zeus, including an inscription "to Zeus Olympius" at the N slope in 1964 and 1966. A massive structure, it measured 14 by 20 m and had a monumental stairway leading up to the temple. Under this temple were found the remains of a Hellenistic structure that is thought to be the temple that the Maccabean revolt destroyed. It was constructed of unhewn stone and mud mortar resting on bedrock.

To this day, the Samaritan community near Nablus supports a synagogue and continues to celebrate the annual feasts on Mt. Gerizim.

JEFFREY K. LOTT

GERON [Gk *Gerōn*]. See SENATOR.

GERSHOM (PERSON) [Heb *gēršōm; geršôn*]. Var. GERSHON. GERSHOMITE. **1.** The son of Moses and Zipporah (Exod 2:22). Gershom's birth serves as an etymological reminder of Moses' sojourn in Midian and his favorable relations with Ruel, a priest of Midian, and his daughter, Zipporah (Exod 2:15b–22). Gershom does not appear again by name in the Pentateuch outside of this reference, commonly assigned to the "Yahwist" stratum of the Pentateuchal tradition. The Yahwistic stratum also records Zipporah's ad hoc circumcision of her son, unnamed but presumably Gershom, in order to save Moses' life from the murderous intent of Yahweh (Exod 4:24–26). Gershom seems ultimately to reflect a Levitical family

associated with the priesthood and shrine at Dan (Judg 18:30). Therefore, Gershom represents "the only instance of a demonstrable element of distinctively northern tradition in the Pentateuchal narrative" (Noth *HPT*, 184). 1 Chronicles adapts Gershom and his family within the Levitical genealogical structure for the operation of the Jerusalem Temple (1 Chr 23:15–16), and even retrojects a son of Gershom, Shebuel, into the time of David as the prince (*nagîd*) over the Temple treasuries (1 Chr 26:24).

2. A son of Levi and the father of one of the three Levitical families (1 Chr 6:1—Eng 6:16). Chronicles usually replaces "Gershon" from the Levitical lists in the Pentateuch (e.g., Gen 46:11; Exod 6:16) with "Gershom." Thus, Gershom becomes one of the three sons of Levi (1 Chr 6:1—Eng 6:16) and his family receives thirteen cities for their occupation (1 Chr 6:47—Eng 6:62). Gershomites even are appointed to Levitical roles in the operation of the Temple (1 Chr 23:7). Yet the Chronicles also recognizes the Levitical standing of "Gershonites" (e.g., 1 Chr 26:21; 2 Chr 29:12). This confusion has produced several explanations. The LXX of Chronicles translated Gershom as Gedson (Gk *gedson*), the same name that Gershon received in the Greek Pentateuch. Where this equivalence was made difficult by the context in Chronicles, the LXX altered the translation of Gershom further (e.g., Parosom Gk *parosōm*, 1 Chr 23:7). Modern scholars have interpreted this inconsistency as evidence for secondary additions to the lists of Chronicles (*Chronicles* HAT, 51–57). The slight variation between Gershom and Gershon, as well as the clear identity of the two names within the narrative of Chronicles, may simply reflect onomastic variation at the time of the composition of Chronicles. See GERSHON.

3. A descendant of Phineas who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezra 8:2). Gershom occupies the first position in the list of those who accompanied Ezra in his return to Jerusalem. Significantly, he receives the first position in the list, even before the descendants of Judah's royal line (Ezra 8:2b–3). His priestly lineage via the family of Phineas may explain this fact. Gershom, therefore, was a distant relative of Ezra, who himself traced his priestly heritage through Phineas (Ezra 7:5). The list in which Gershom appears seems to provide an authentic source from the time of Ezra's return (*Ezra Nehemiah* WBC, 108–10), although important dissent from this view has existed (Mowinkel 1964: 118–22).

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JOHN W. WRIGHT

GERSHON (PERSON) [Heb *geršôn*]. Var. GERSHOM. GERSHONITE. First son of Levi or the Levitic clan of which he is the eponymous ancestor (Gen 46:11; Exod 6:16; Num 3:17). Chronicles sometimes calls him GERSHOM (1 Chr 6:1, 2, 5, 28, 47, 56; 15:7). The origin of these names is somewhat obscure. The Bible suggests that the latter form was parsed as *gēr šām*, "a sojourner there" (Exod 2:22; Judg 17:7), but this is probably popular etymology. The root is ostensibly *grš* plus the suffix *ôn/ôm* (GKC §85t, u). Noth (*IPN*, 38, 223) points out that in Arabic *jaras(un)* means "bell," but this is without example as a name, and *grš* is not known to have this sense in Hebrew. The root seems rather to be *grš*, "expel," which might form a clan name meaning "the Exile" (perhaps hinted at in Exod 2:22). There is also a noun *gereš* (Deut 33:14), which by context must mean approximately "harvest, produce," the connection to *grš* perhaps being "that which comes forth"; this could form a regional name, perhaps. A final possibility is that Gershom is the original, Gershon having arisen by assimilation with the many *-ôn* suffixed nouns, and that the root is *gšm* plus infixed *resh* (GKC §85w). That root, attested in the name of Geshem/Gashmu the king of Kedar (Neh 2:19; 6:1, 6; see Dumbrell 1971 on an extra-biblical allusion), means "body" or perhaps "big." The name *gršn* may also be attested in Punic (Slouschz 1942: 348).

According to the Zadokite genealogies of P and Chronicles, Gershon is the first of the three Levitic clans Gershon, Kohath and Merari (Gen 46:11; Exod 6:16; Num 3:17; 26:57; 1 Chr 5:27—Eng 6:1; 6:1—Eng 6:16; 23:6). Gershon is divided into the clans Libni/Ladan and Shimei (Exod 6:17; Num 3:18, 21; 1 Chr 6:2—Eng 6:17; 23:7; 1 Chr 6:27–28—Eng 6:42–43) anomalously and perhaps erroneously makes Shimei the son of Jahath the son of Gershom. In the desert, the Gershonites are entrusted with two wagons (Num 7:7) for transporting the textile and skin components of the tabernacle (Num 3:25–26; 4:24–26) under the supervision of the family of Aaron, in particular Ithamar (Num 4:27–28). The number of male Gershonites is 7,500 (Num 3:22), 2,630 between the ages of thirty and fifty (Num 4:40). They camp on the E side of the tabernacle (Num 3:23). The prince of Gershon is Eliasaph the son of Lael (Num 3:24).

The register of Levitical cities, probably dating from the 8th century (Peterson 1977, Boling *Joshua* AB, 492–97), is imperfectly preserved in Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6. The Gershonites are assigned to Golan and Ashtharoth in Transjordanian Manasseh; Kishion/Kedesh, Daberath, Jarmuth/Ramoth and Ein Gannim/Anem in Issachar; Mishal/Mashal, Abdon, Helkath/Hukok and Rehob in Asher; and Kedesh of Galilee; Hammoth Dor/Hammon and Kartan/Kiriathaim in Naphtali (Josh 21:28–32; 1 Chr 6:56–61—Eng 6:71–76).

The Chronicler says that Jehiel the Ladanite of the clan of Gershon (1 Chr 26:21; 29:8) supervised the collection of (precious? dressed?) stones donated in David's reign in preparation for Solomon's building the temple. In this period two hundred Gershonites were led by Joel (1 Chr 15:7; cf. 23:8; 26:22). Chronicles also mentions one Joah, the son of Zimmah and Eden (probably to be read Iddo as in 1 Chr 6:6—Eng 6:21 or Adaiah as in 1 Chr 6:26—Eng 6:41) the son of Joah, Levites who participated in Hezekiah's purification of the temple (2 Chr 29:12).

What are we to make of the similarity of the names Gershon and Gershom? In Chronicles, especially chap. 6, the two are confused. Biblical clan and personal names often appear in more than one lineage, a situation which reflects varying social and political alignments. It might seem, therefore, that some of the clan of Gershon/m claimed Mosaic descent while others did not.

A further, more speculative, analysis is possible, however. To those who assign a major role to an early Mosaic priesthood, terming it Mushite (Cross *CMHE*, 195–215), it

is a problem that the Zadokite genealogies make Mushi the last of the grandsons of Levi, i.e., the least significant, detaching him from Moses, the son of Amram, the son of Kohath. Presumably the displacement of Mushi would be the result of polemic, while the hero Moses graces the genealogy of Aaron. By identifying Mushites and Gershonites, Halpern (1974; 1976) restores this house to its place of pride, since Gershon is the first of the Levitic clans. It remains puzzling, however, that P would demote Mushi but not Gershon and leave Gershom as Moses' son. Perhaps we see a compromise: Gershonites who renounced Mosaic descent were given priority in the Levitic genealogy (but note the preeminence of Kohath in Num 4:34–45; 1 Chr 15:5–7; 2 Chr 29:12), while Gershom and Mushi were allocated less distinguished places in the genealogy.

If Gershom and Gershon were one, there were Gershonite priests at Dan (Judg 18:30), in addition to the cities listed above. Halpern (1974) notes that the tribal territories assigned under Solomon to Gershon were on the border, subject to Aramean depredations or annexation by Phoenicia, since three or four Gershonite cities were in the Cabul (1 Kgs 9:10–13). Such an assignment would, by Halpern's theory, be in effect a banishment of rivals as the houses of Zadok and David consolidated their position. And it would seem the strategy worked: Gershonites had little role in Judah, despite their prominence in Israel at Dan. After the Exile, we do not hear of their participation in the Restoration.

Much uncertainty remains, but the position of Gershon in the Levitic genealogy and Gershom's status as the elder son of Moses surely reflect the crucial role of this clan in early Israel.

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WILLIAM H. PROPP

GERUTH-CHIMHAM (PLACE) [Heb *gērût kimhām*]. Name of a location near Bethlehem (Jer 41:17). It is mentioned as the stopping place of Johanan son of Kareah and his force, when fleeing to Egypt after the assassination of Gedaliah, a Babylonian appointed ruler of Judah. The name probably derives from the person, Chimham (note Heb Q *kimhām*, K *kēmôhām*), who was honored by David in the place of Barzillai the Gileadite (2 Sam 19:38—Eng 19:37). See CHIMHAM. Since Chimham received a royal pension (1 Kgs 2:7), it has been inferred that he also received a portion of land from David's patrimony in Bethlehem, which became known as Geruth-Chimham. The word "Geruth" is a *hapax legomenon*, and probably means "habitation," "fief," or "lodging place." This rare word caused different understandings in the versions. It is read as a name in the LXX (A = "land of Beiroth" *gei Beirōth;* B = *Gabeirōth* [Heb letters *gbrt*]). It is read as "threshing floors" [Heb *gornôt*] in the Syriac and "sheepfolds" [*gidrôt*] by Aquila and Josephus (*Ant* 10.9.5).

STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

GESHAN (PERSON) [Heb *gêšān*]. Son of Jahdai, apparently of the family of Caleb (1 Chr 2:47). The name probably means "firm" or "strong." In the LXX it appears as *gērsōm*. How Jahdai relates to Caleb is not clear. Perhaps he is a descendant of Caleb, perhaps even a concubine of Caleb. On the difficulties of the genealogy in 1 Chr 2:42–50a see Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC. The name Geshan occurs nowhere else in biblical literature.

CRAIG A. EVANS

GESHEM (PERSON) [Heb *gešem*]. The "Arabian" who opposed Nehemiah's plans for rebuilding the Jerusalem wall (Neh 2:19). The gentilic following his name (*hāʿarbî* "the Arabian") indicated his position of authority under Persian rule, specifically, the region over which he had governance. Sanballat and Tobiah, the governors of Samaria and Ammon, joined him in his opposition, and the three derided Nehemiah's project (2:19) and repeatedly asked to meet with him while conspiring to do him harm (Neh 6:1–4). When these ploys failed, Sanballat threatened to tell the king that Geshem believed rebellious intentions to underlie Nehemiah's reconstruction (Neh 6:6). Obviously, Geshem was a figure of substantial influence if quoting him before the Persian king bore such weight.

Gashmu, a more original form of the Hebraized name Geshem, appears in Neh 6:6 (RSV Geshem, Heb *gašmû*). The meaning may be "big man" or "important man" (cf. the common Arabic verb *jasuma*, "be large").

From Nabataean, Safaitic, Thamudic, and Lihyanite epigraphic evidence, we know this name to be widely attested in the Arabian region of N Arabia. There are two inscriptions which are believed to refer to the Geshem of the Bible. The more important of these, a 5th-century Aramaic inscription on a silver vessel found at Tell el-Maskhuta in Lower Egypt, refers to "Qaynu, the son of Gashmu, the king of Kedar" (Dumbrell 1971), a powerful people who appear preeminent among the Arabian groups of the time. The second, a contemporary Lihyanite inscription found at el-ʿUla (biblical Dedan) also mentions Geshem (Rabinowitz 1956) and another Gashmu appears in a 3d-century Lihyanite king list.

Geshem was likely a Kedarite ruler and a figure of authority for neighboring peoples. Although somewhat overseen by the Persian Empire, his influence extended S and E from Judah and W across the Sinai into Egypt.

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NORA A. WILLIAMS

GESHUR (PLACE) [Heb *gešûr*]. GESHURITE. A small, semi-independent kingdom left unconquered W of the half-tribe of Manasseh in the Bashan (Deut 3:14; Josh 12:5; 13:11). According to Mazar (1986) Geshur is identical to the "Land of Ga<su>ru" mentioned in a letter from El-Amarna (EA, 256). It seems that Ga<su>ri was, in the 14th century B.C.E., a league of seven cities bordering the kingdom of Pihilu (Pehal—Hellenistic–Roman Pella) and the kingdom of As-tar-ti (Ashtaroth) in Bashan, found on the S and E of Geshur respectively. In EA 256: 18 two cities at the border between Geshur and Pihilu were taken by Pihilu: Ha-iu-ni that was identified at ʿAyun in the S Golan Heights (Schumacher 1888: 97; Albright 1943: 14; also mentioned as ʿAyin in the description of the border of Canaan [Num 34:11] and as ʾAyyanu in the Execration Texts, E18; also ʿIyyon in the territory of Hippos-Susita [*t. Šeb.* 4.10]); and Ia-bi-li-ma identified with Abel—classical Abila S of the Yarmuk River (Schürer, *HJP*^{2} 2, 136; also mentioned in the Execration Texts E43).

It seems likely that the land of Geshur is therefore the geographical-administrative unit forming the S part of the Golan Heights: that is the territory of Hippos in Hellenistic–Roman times, surviving into Ottoman and recent times as Nahia Jaulan Gharbi (Hütteroth and Abdulfatah 1977: 196–97) and as Zawiyah Ghurbiyeh/Fiq (Schumacher 1888: 10).

This area covers some 350 km^2 of the most fertile part of the Golan Heights abounding in rich soils and springs. Its natural and administrative borders are: Nahal Samakh in the N, Nahal Yarmouk in the S, Nahal Raqqad in the E, and the Sea of Galilee in the W.

According to the archaeological surveys conducted in the Golan Heights since 1967 (Epstein and Gutman 1972; Maʿoz 1986), this area is the heartland of the settlement in the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Golan. Some of the seven Geshurite cities mentioned in EA 256 can now be identified with sites in the area: *U-du-mu* with ʿEin Umm el-Adam (Epstein and Gutman 1972: 290, No. 105), the town itself is probably buried under the modern village of Kfar Haruv. *A-du-ri* may be tentatively located at tell Abu Mdwawar in Nahal Samakh (Epstein and Gutman 1972: 290, No. 170). *A-ra-ru* at the tell above ʿEin el Hariri (Epstein and Gutman 1972: 290, No. 109). *Me-es-qi* may be identified with Mashrafawi/Shukayyif, S of N Kanaf, an impressive tell surrounded by a Cyclopean Wall occupied from the MB through all periods to modern times (Epstein and Gutman 1972: 290, No. 137). *Ma-ag-da-li* is one of the MB-LB sites close to Mejdeliyah (Schumacher 1888: 134) such as Bjuriyye (Epstein and Gutman 1972: No. 135) or el-Qusayyibe (Epstein and Gutman 1972: 290, No. 130). *Heni-a-na-bi* seems to be Tell Nab above a spring (ein-Nab; Epstein and Gutman 1972: No. 162; Schumacher 1888: 134; Albright 1943: 14) and *Za-ar-qi* may perhaps be the tell above ʿein et-Taruq (Epstein and Gutman 1972: No. 177; where Mazar 1986: 116 n. 14 places Heni-anabi).

The archaeological survey has located some twenty-seven sites occupied in the MB II, 8 in the LB, and 18 in the Iron Age I. These sites seem to represent the occupational history of the Land of Geshur. As in other regions of Canaan, there is a marked decline in the settlement density from the MB towards the LB with a revival of occupation in the early Iron Age I (the 11th century B.C.E.).

Geshur remained independent within the Israelite conquered territories. Ruled by a dynasty of kings, the names of two of whom are known, Ammihud (Ammihur, *kethib*) and his son Talmai. Both names seem to be of Hurrite origin. David made an alliance with Geshur by marrying Maacah, daughter of Talmai, who became the mother of Absalom (2 Sam 3:3). While the kingdom(?) of Maacah, located presumably N of Geshur, joined forces with Aram Damascus against David (2 Sam 10:6; 1 Chr 19:7), it was to Geshur that Absalom fled after killing Amnon (2 Sam 13:37; 14:23). Later during the reign of Solomon, Geshur became subordinate to the kingdom of Israel.

After the division of the Israelite united kingdom, Geshur joined Aram in raiding the area of Manasseh in the Bashan, called Argob, capturing the cities of Jair from the Israelites (1 Chr 2:22–23; around 886 B.C.E. Mazar 1986: 121). Geshur seems later to have been incorporated into the kingdom of Aram Damascus (mid–9th century B.C.E.) with the reorganization of the latter (cf. 1 Kgs 20:2–4).

The battle between Ahab and Ben-hadad II (ca. 852 B.C.E.) took place on Geshur territory, close to the city called Aphek (1 Kgs 20:26–30). Aphek was recently located on a small tell in Nahal En-Gev (W. Fiq), 1 km W of Fiq. "Tell Aphek" is 2–3 dunams in size and is surrounded by walls. The site produced ceramic evidence of occupation from the EB IV–MB I period through MB II, LB, and Iron Age to the Hellenistic period.

Geshur shared the fate of the capture of Aram Damascus in 734 B.C.E. by Tiglath-pileser III (2 Kgs 16:29). The archaeological surveys show an occupational gap following the Conquest during the later Iron Age and Persian period throughout the Golan Heights.

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Zvi U. Maʿoz

GESHUR BNOT YAACOV. See JISR BANAT YAʿAQUB.

GESHURITES [Heb *gĕšûrî*]. **1.** The inhabitants of an area SE of Philistia, between Philistia and Sinai (Josh 13:2). When Joshua was aged and the wars of the occupation of

Canaan were subsiding, they were yet unsubdued; Israel had not yet possessed the area they inhabited. When David fled from Saul and resided in Philistia by permission of Achish, he executed forays against the Geshurites and despoiled them thoroughly (1 Sam 27:8–9).

2. The inhabitants of a district, Geshur, bounded by Gilead on the S, Bashan on the E, and Mt. Hermon on the N (Josh 13:11). They were Arameans who, with the Maacathites, remained Israel's neighbors on Israel's NE extremity. The reciprocal relationship between the Israelites and the Geshurites appears to have been ambivalent. When the Israelites occupied Canaan they neither expelled nor subdued the Geshurites, and Josh 13:13 suggests the Geshurites may have not only remained as a neighbor on Israel's border but may have intermingled with the Israelites. Whatever the relationship was between the Israelites and the Geshurites, it included periods of hostility. When Manasseh settled E of the Jordan, the judge, Jair, a Manassite leader, captured prominent Geshurite cities and numerous towns (Deut 3:14; Josh 13:30; Num 32:41). The Geshurites, in turn, recaptured some of those cities (1 Chr 2:22–23), a feat which must have evinced impressive military force and occasioned intense conflict. One of David's wives, Maacah, was a Geshurite, a daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur. This marriage certainly presupposed, included, or entailed some treaty between Talmai and David, and thus between the Geshurites and the Israelites. David's union with Maacah produced Absalom who was thus part Geshurite by blood if not by nationality. The Geshurites became Absalom's host when he fled from Israel after killing his brother Amnon (2 Sam 13:37–39).

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GERALD J. PETTER

GETHER (PERSON) [Heb *geter*]. According to the Table of Nations (Gen 10:23), Gether is the son of Aram, the forefather of the Arameans or Syrians, who himself was the son of Shem, son of Noah. He and his descendants are thus Semitic. The corresponding genealogy in 1 Chr 1:17 places Gether as a son of Shem and brother of Aram. This is probably due to a simple copying error by an early scribe. His eye slipped from the first to the second of two lines which ended with the same word, "Aram," leading to the loss of the original line "the sons of Aram (are)" which is still found in Genesis. Little else is known about the identity or geographical location of Gether, although the association with Aram would suggest an Aramean city.

DAVID W. BAKER

GETHSEMANE (PLACE) [Gk *Gethsēmani*]. Garden located E of the Kidron Valley from Jerusalem (John 18:1), on the slopes of the Mount of Olives (Matt 26:30; Luke 22:39). Jesus often went to Gethsemane in order to rest, pray, and find fellowship with his disciples (Luke 21:37, 22:39; John 18:2). After celebrating the Passover with his disciples for the last time, Jesus went to pray in Gethsemane, where he was later betrayed by Judas Iscariot (Matt 26:36–56; Mark 14:32–52; Luke 22:39–53; John 18:1–12).

The name Gethsemane derives from Hebrew and Aramaic words for "oil press." Presumably Gethsemane consisted of an olive orchard and an oil press to squeeze oil from the olives, both of which were common on the Mount of Olives. Matthew and Mark depict Gethsemane as a parcel of land (*chorion*) on the Mount of Olives (Matt 26:30; Mark 14:32). Luke does not mention Gethsemane, implying that the events of Matthew and Mark occurred at a place (*topos*) on the mount itself (Luke 22:39). Only John describes it as a garden or enclosure (*kepos*), though he does not refer to Gethsemane by name (John 18:1). It may have been a walled garden since John describes Jesus and the disciples as having entered it. From John's account we derive the traditional name of the "garden of Gethsemane." The garden must have been fairly large because Jesus led Peter, James, and John away from the rest of the disciples (Matt 26:36–38; Mark 14:32–34), and later Jesus withdrew further in order to pray alone (Matt 26:39; Mark 14:35).

In Gethsemane, Jesus warned his disciples several times to watch and pray against entering into temptation (Matt 26:41; Mark 14:38; Luke 22:40, 46). Jesus understood his own agonizing time of prayer as a time of temptation from completing the sacrificial will of God (Matt 26:42; Mark 14:36; Luke 22:40, 46). He prayed three times for deliverance (Mark 14:32–42). Some ancient manuscripts of Luke include the physical account of how Jesus' sweat became like great drops of blood falling down upon the ground (Luke 22:44). Jesus won the spiritual battle and faithfully met his betrayer in the garden (John 18:1–11). Some now consider the garden of Gethsemane sacred because it represents the location of Jesus' obedience to God and self-sacrificial love. Reminiscent of Gethsemane, Heb 5:7–8 reflects upon the prayers and supplications Jesus made with loud cries and tears. As a result of his godly fear and obedience, Jesus was made perfect and became the source of eternal salvation to all who obey him.

Today four rival locations claim to be the authentic site of Gethsemane, though none can trace their authenticity prior to the 4th century. Although scholars doubt the accuracy of traditions which try to locate Gethsemane, all admit that the real site cannot be far from one of the traditional ones. In general, Gethsemane was located on the hillside of the Mount of Olives above the road between Jerusalem and Bethany. The traditional Latin (Roman Catholic) site lies nearest the roadway and contains olive trees hundreds of years old, carefully preserved by Franciscans. Despite claims to the contrary, the olive trees do not date back to the time of Jesus. Even if the trees could have lived that long, Josephus records that the Roman Titus cut down all of the trees in the vicinity during the seige of Jerusalem (see *JW* 6.1 §1). Other traditional sites of Gethsemane are maintained by Russian, Armenian, and Greek Orthodox church authorities.

Early Christians conceived of Gethsemane as analogous to the garden of Eden in the divine plan for human redemption. The sinful actions of the first Adam are contrasted with the prayerful obedience of the second

Adam—Jesus Christ. Other Christians claim that Jesus' example in Gethsemane gave rise to the custom of kneeling for prayer (Luke 22:41).

DONALD A. D. THORSEN

GEUEL (PERSON) [Heb *gĕʾûʾēl*]. One of the twelve individuals sent from Kadesh in the wilderness of Paran to spy out the land of Canaan (Num 13:15). Referred to only in this list of scouts, Geuel was the son of Machi and a representative of the tribe of Gad. He is numbered among the ten who returned from their adventure with a negative report. In translating *gĕʾûʾēl* (possibly "majesty of God"), the LXX reads *Goudiēl*. Although attempts have been made to preserve this rendering on the basis of various original forms, *Goudiēl* appears more suitably as a transliteration of the Heb *gaddîʾēl* in Num 13:10.

TERRY L. BRENSINGER

GEZER (PLACE) [Heb *gezer*]. A site in the foothills of the Judean range. The king of Gezer is said to have participated with the S coalition of cities against the incursions of the Israelites (Josh 10:33). While Joshua is described as having killed the king of Gezer (Josh 10:33; 12:12), the Israelites were unable to capture the city and it remained in Canaanite hands (Josh 16:10; Judg 1:29). The biblical texts hint that the Philistines later occupied the site (2 Sam 5:25) corroborating the finds of the archaeological excavations. Gezer finally came into the orbit of Israelite rule when the Egyptian pharaoh conquered the city and gave it to Solomon upon Solomon's marriage to his daughter (1 Kgs 9:16). Afterward Solomon fortified the city along with special projects at Jerusalem, Hazor, and Megiddo (1 Kgs 9:15–17).

Ancient Gezer has been located at Tell Jezer (Tell el-Jazari), a 33-acre mound 5 miles SSE of Ramleh (M.R. 142140), since C. Clermont-Ganneau first made the identification in 1870. Gezer is situated about 750 feet above sea level, on the last of the foothills of the Judean range where it slopes down to meet the N Shephelah. It guards one of the most important crossroads in ancient Palestine, where the trunk road leading to Jerusalem and sites in the hills branches off from the *Via Maris* at the approach of the Valley of Aijalon. It is mentioned not only in the Bible, but in several Egyptian and Assyrian texts (see Lance 1967; Ross 1967; and Dever fc.).

A. History of Excavations
B. Results of Excavations
1. Chalcolithic Period
2. Early Bronze Age
3. Middle Bronze Age
4. Late Bronze Age
5. Iron Age
6. Persian Period
7. Hellenistic Period
8. Herodian Period
9. Byzantine to Modern Periods

A. History of Excavations

The first excavations at Gezer were conducted between 1902 and 1909 by R. A. S. Macalister for the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the findings were published in three substantial volumes as *The Excavation of Gezer* (1912). Although his notion of stratification was primitive—even judged by the standards of the day—he was able to recognize as many as eight strata (cf. the twenty-six strata of the Hebrew Union College excavations). The pottery was grouped according to seven general periods, some covering as much as eight hundred years: "Pre-Semitic," "First" through "Fourth Semitic," "Hellenistic," and "Roman–Byzantine." The remaining material was published by categories rather than by chronological periods—all the burials together, all the domestic architecture, all the cult objects, all the metal and lithic objects—and scarcely a single item can be related to the general strata, let alone to specific buildings.

What was to have been the beginning of a second series of excavations was sponsored at Gezer by the Palestine Exploration Fund in the summer of 1934 under the direction of A. Rowe (1934). Bedrock was reached in a short time, however, and the excavations were abandoned. G. E. Wright attempted a history of Gezer in 1937, but he was forced by the inadequacy of the published material to confine himself to an article on some of the earliest periods. In 1964, Wright initiated a new ten-year project at Gezer, sponsored by the Hebrew Union College Biblical and Archaeological School (now the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology) in Jerusalem and supported chiefly by grants from the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, with some assistance from the Harvard Semitic Museum. The project was directed in 1964–65 by Wright (thereafter, he was advisor), from 1966–1971 by W. G. Dever (again in 1984); and in 1972–74 by J. D. Seger. Gezer was the largest and longest-running American excavation of the time in Israel, and pioneered many of the stratigraphic and interdisciplinary methods in widespread use today, as well as the exclusive use of student volunteers for labor.

B. Results of Excavations

The following brief reconstruction uses the latest excavations as a framework, but it incorporates the earlier excavations as well as the literary sources where these can be utilized (for semipopular summaries see Dever 1967; fc.; Dever et al. 1971).

1. Chalcolithic Period. The earliest occupation in stratum XXVI is represented by Macalister's "Cream Ware," which was found in crevices in the bedrock and was evidently deposited by primitive campsites. More of the material was recovered in the latest excavations in field I, again from hearths and thin deposits on the surface of the bedrock. Both the ceramic and the lithic industries are similar to those of the Ghassul-Beersheba horizon and are to be dated toward the end of the Chalcolithic period, about 3400–3300 B.C.

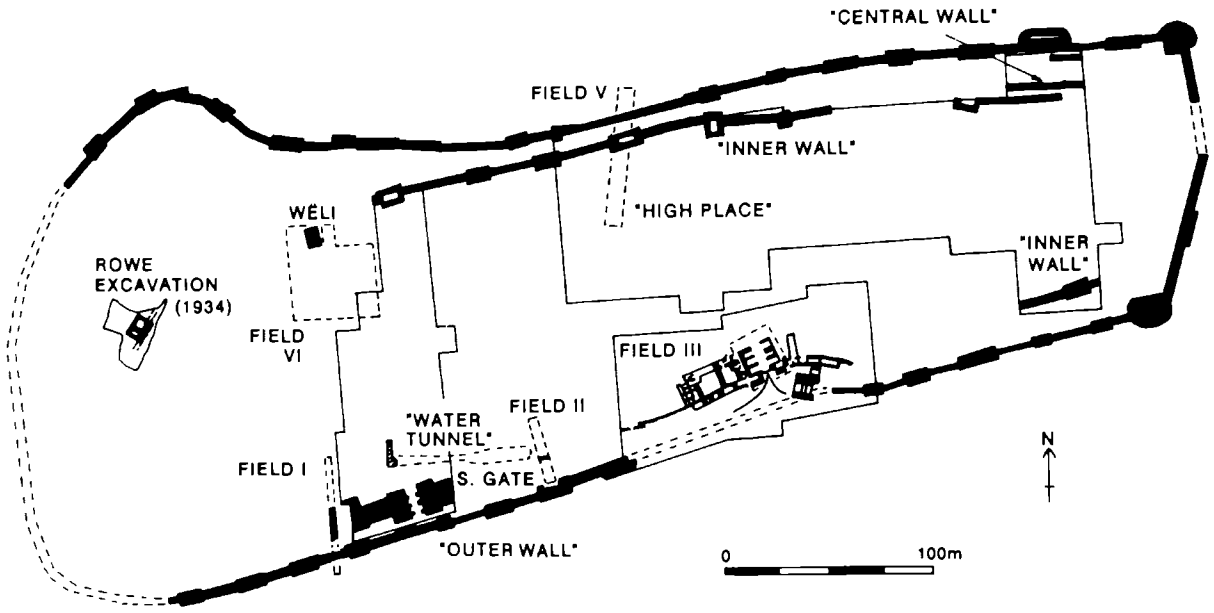
2. Early Bronze Age. The beginning of the EB is fairly well represented, although domestic occupation was not substantial, and there is no evidence that the site was fortified at this time. Most of the EB material published by Macalister (mixed in his "Pre-Semitic" and "First Semitic"

periods) came from the "Troglodyte Dwellings"—caves in bedrock that were initially used for habitation and storage and were later reused as burial places. The recent excavations cleared another of these enlarged and modified caves in the rock, Cave I.3A, from which came a variety of storejars filled with grain, some stone vessels, and several grindstones and other implements (Seger 1989). We may designate this stratum XXV, belonging to EB IA, about 3300–3100 B.C.

EB II (about 3100–2650 B.C.) is represented by rather meager evidence, principally in fields I and V, with their unimpressive domestic constructions. There are at least two building periods (str. XXIV–XXIII), and if most of the elements of the town plan of Macalister's "First Semitic" belong here, as seems likely, occupation may well have spread over most of the mound. However, the pottery and small objects of this period from the latest excavations were scant and rather poor, as they were from Macalister's excavations. Further evidence for the relative obscurity of Gezer in EB II is the fact that among the large, strategically located sites known from this period, it is the only one which remained unfortified. Whether the site was destroyed or simply deserted, occupation seems to have come to an end by EB IIIA at the latest. The gap in occupation continues throughout EB IV ca. 2400–2000 B.C.

3. Middle Bronze Age. It was in the MB that Gezer enjoyed its greatest expansion and prosperity, with the main developments already underway before the end of MB I (str. XXI, about 1900 B.C.). Although the city was not yet fortified, fairly elaborate domestic installations were found in field VI on the acropolis. Houses and courtyards were well planned and constructed, with fine plaster floors. Rock-hewn cisterns were filled by runoff water carried from catchment areas by plastered and stone-capped drains. A partly subterranean granary was extremely well built, with substantial stone foundations, a mudbrick superstructure, and walls and floors sealed against moisture and rodents by a thick coat of plaster. Cist tombs of this period were found by Macalister, and there were also several intramural infant jar burials found by the recent excavations (Dever et al. 1986).

Gezer reached the zenith of its power in the MB II–III periods (ca. 1800–1500 B.C., str. XXI–XVIII). To this phase belong the first fortifications of the city (str. XIX–XVIII). Macalister traced the "Inner Wall" for nearly 450 yards, or one-third of the way around the mound. Eight rectangular towers were located by Macalister and one by Rowe in 1934, so the wall may have had twenty-five or more such towers. The only known gate is Macalister's "South Gate," a typical three-entryway MB city gate, reexcavated as field IV. On the W, it is flanked by Tower 5017, a citadel fifty-three feet wide and the largest single-phase MB defense work known in Syria–Palestine. See Fig. GEZ.01. The wall itself was constructed of large, roughly-dressed stones, some of them almost cyclopean, with a mudbrick superstructure. It averaged 12–14 feet in width and is still preserved as much as 15 feet in height. It was set into a deep foundation trench reaching almost to bedrock. Pottery from this trench as well as from associated structures dates the Inner Wall in both its phases to the MB III



GEZ.01. Site plan of Gezer. *(Redrawn from W. G. Dever, BA [1971]: 96, fig. 2)*

period, ca. 1650–1500 B.C. Outside the wall is Glacis 8012, made up of alternating, closely packed fills of debris from the mound and freshly quarried chalk, topped with a thick plaster coating. It sloped up for about 35 feet at a 30 degree angle, leveling off in places to form a horizontal platform before abutting the "Inner Wall" (Dever et al. 1970; 1974).

Another piece of monumental architecture belonging to this period (str. XIX–XVII) is the famous "High Place" discovered by Macalister. See Fig. GEZ.02. It consists of a row of ten monoliths, some over 10-feet high, erected in a N–S line just inside the "Inner Wall" in the north-central area of the mound. To the W of the alignment is a large stone block, perhaps a basin or a socket for a now-missing monolith. The surface over the area is plastered and is surrounded by a low stone curb wall. Macalister dated the main installation to his "Second Semitic" period (MB–LB) and compared it with later biblical "high places," interpreting the steles as typical Canaanite *ʾasherôth* and construing burial jars in the vicinity (now known to be earlier) as evidence for child sacrifice. While most of Macalister's theories must now be discarded as fanciful, renewed investigation of the "High Place" in 1968 (field V) demonstrated that it was constructed in MB III, with a possible reuse phase in the LB. A cultic interpretation still seems best, perhaps in connection with the covenant renewal ceremony of a tribal or city–state league (cf. Exod 24:1–11; Dever 1973).

Domestic structures of MB II–III show continuity with MB I levels, especially in field VI, where there is an unbroken sequence. The prosperity and artistic development of the period is attested by several rich tombs found by Macalister, especially Tomb 28 with its alabasters, scarabs, and gold jewelry.

The MB city was brought to an end by a destruction that left three feet or more of burned bricks in every field investigated. Along the inner face of the city wall, just W of the "South Gate," there was found a row of hovels and storerooms containing quantities of grain-filled store-jars and other vessels, crushed under an accumulation of burned beams, ashes, fallen mudbricks, and debris from the collapsed wall. Imported Monochrome and local Bichrome, as well as other transitional MB–LB pottery, suggest a date as late as possible for this destruction. Provisionally, it may be correlated with the first campaign of Thutmose III (ca. 1482 B.C.), when he claims to have destroyed Gezer in his well-known inscription on the walls of the Temple of Amon at Karnak (Dever et al. 1970; 1974).

4. Late Bronze Age. Apart from a few hints in Macalister's material, the LB IA (early 15th century B.C.) is scarcely represented, so a partial desertion may have taken place following the Thutmose III destruction. Stratum XVII of LB IB (late 15th century) is also poorly known, except for Cave I.10A of field I, cut into the bedrock outside the "Inner Wall." Most of the several dozen burials deposited in the lower level of this cave during a generation or so show signs of advanced arthritis, probably from stoop labor, which may be an indication of the hardships of life during this period. However, imported Cypriot pottery, Egyptian glass, alabaster, ivory vessels, and a unique terracotta sarcophagus of Mycenaean inspiration, all indicate international trade (Seger 1989).

A renascence was underway by the beginning of LB IIA, undoubtedly associated with the well-known Amarna period when Palestine was under Egyptian domination. Stratum XVI, which should provide the context for the ten known Amarna letters from Gezer (Lance 1967; Ross 1967) was exposed extensively only in field VI, where unfortunately it had been almost entirely disturbed by later pits. Mere hints were preserved of what must once have been an impressive material culture. "Palace 14120" had walls as much as 6 feet thick that were exceptionally well constructed. Thick plaster surfaces ran across floors and outdoor courtyards and sealed stone-capped drains. Among the small objects were quantities of Egyptian imports, especially fragments of Amarna Age faience bowls, glass beads, faience pendants, scarabs, fragments of gold

GEZ.02. "High Place" at Gezer. *(Courtesy of W. Dever)*

foil, and a statuette base bearing the name of "Sobeknefru-ankh." Local objects included a clay crucible for copper smelting and a perfectly preserved bronze serpent about 6 inches long (Dever et al. 1986).

To this period, in all likelihood, belongs the construction and first-phase use of the "Outer Wall," which Macalister traced for some 1300 yards, or four-fifths of the way around the perimeter of the mound (attributed to his "Third Semitic" period, or roughly our LB Age). It supplanted the ruined MB "Inner Wall," following a line farther down the slopes and enclosing perhaps one-fourth more area, particularly on the NW. See Fig. GEZ.01. In most places, the wall was set into a deep trench reaching bedrock and destroying the earlier *glacis*. It averaged 12–14 feet in width and is still preserved as much as 15 feet high. A rather crude *glacis* was added to the exterior. The gateway has not been located, but it almost certainly lies below the Solomonic Gate on the S slopes (field III). If our date is correct, this city wall is unique in being the country's only defense system *originally* constructed in the LB and not reused from an earlier period (Dever 1986 and references there to other views).

It has been suggested that Macalister's Water Tunnel (see Fig. GEZ.01) may have been dug in this period, but the shaft was cut off from its context by Macalister and cannot now be dated. It may belong instead, like those at Hazor, Megiddo, and Gibeon, to the Iron Age II.

The LB IIB period may have witnessed something of a decline at Gezer, as elsewhere in the post-Amarna age. No large-scale destruction had taken place at the end of stratum XVI, but some disturbance may be evident in the fact that in both fields I and VI almost no element of the architecture survived to be reused in stratum XV, and the rather unimpressive buildings which succeeded were built on a new orientation.

The end of stratum XV toward the late 13th century B.C. presents a problem. In field II, domestic occupation was interrupted by a destruction that left quantities of smashed pottery and other objects lying about a heavily burned courtyard. It would be tempting to relate this to the destruction claimed by Pharaoh Merneptah on the famous "Israel Stele," about 1210 B.C.; among Macalister's finds was a pectoral bearing the cartouche of Merneptah. Stratum XIV is attested only by a partial hiatus, marked by extensive trenching. These may explain the curious fact that nowhere did the excavations encounter a real destruction accompanying the arrival of the Philistines or "Sea Peoples" in the early 12th century B.C. The site may already have been partially destroyed and deserted. An alternative would be to attribute the disturbance to an Israelite destruction and brief occupation, but the literary tradition in the Bible is explicit that Gezer was not taken in the conquest (Josh 16:10; Judg 1:29).

5. Iron Age. Early Iron I, or the Philistine period at Gezer, is especially well attested, with strata XIII–XI all belonging to this horizon. On the acropolis several subphases are characteristic of the energetic but stormy cultural history of the era. Although there is continuity in basic architectural elements, and certainly in the typical local painted pottery, no less than three major destructions are evident. In the first, sometime in the early 12th century, a large public granary was destroyed and then rebuilt. After the second destruction in the mid-12th century, it was abandoned, and the adjacent threshing floor was converted into an area of fine private houses. Two large courtyard houses on the upper terrace have been excavated. Both were destroyed by fire toward the end of the 12th century, then rebuilt, destroyed again, and finally rebuilt very poorly, before being abandoned in the mid-11th century B.C. Elsewhere, in fields I and II, two or three Philistine phases are also evident, though with less dramatic demarcations. Macalister's Tombs 9 Upper, 58 Upper, and 59 Upper may all be ascribed to this period. The pottery of this horizon, particularly in the 12th century, is a mixture of local traditions of the degenerate LB Age, plus the sudden appearance of the characteristic Philistine Bichrome wares. The distinctive Philistine painted wares are relatively scarce (perhaps less than 5 percent), and they decline in both number and quality toward the end of the period (Dever et al. 1986).

In fields II and VI, two ephemeral "post-Philistine/pre-Solomonic" phases were discerned, strata X–IX (late 11th–mid-10th centuries B.C.). These phases were marked by a distinctive pottery that was no longer painted but was merely treated with an unburnished, thin, red slip, especially on small bowls. The architecture following the Philistine strata was poor. Everywhere they were investigated, these levels came to an end in a violent destruction, which may be correlated with the campaigns of the Egyptian pharaoh who according to 1 Kgs 9:15–17 had "captured Gezer and burnt it with fire" before ceding it to Solomon, probably around 950 B.C. (It has been suggested that this pharaoh was Siamun, of the ill-fated 21st Dyn., but this is uncertain on present evidence; cf. Lance 1967).

The first Israelite level is stratum VIII, to which belongs Macalister's "Maccabean Castle." This structure, only partially excavated, was first recognized by Y. Yadin (1958) as a typical Solomonic four-entryway city gate, almost identical to those previously published from Megiddo and Hazor. The recent excavations in field III have fully confirmed the date and have filled in many details concerning the plan and construction. See Fig. GEZ.01. The inner gate was exceptionally well built, with foundations in the guardrooms going some 6–8 feet below the surface and with fine ashlar masonry at the jambs. Plastered benches skirted the three walls of each of the inner chambers, a feature considered so essential that each time floor levels were raised the benches were also raised and replastered. Roofs over these inner chambers are indicated by a plastered downspout drain at the rear corner of the gate structure. Shortly after its construction about the mid-10th century B.C., the gate was altered by the raising of the street level and the addition of a large drain, over 3-feet wide, running down the middle of the street and under the threshold. An outer two-entryway gate and short stretch of wall connecting with the "Outer Wall" were recleared in 1984 (Dever 1986).

The casemate wall connected with the upper gate has been investigated in field II as well, and it is also Solomonic in date. See Fig. GEZ.01. In all probability, the towers of ashlar masonry, which Macalister demonstrated as being an addition to the "Outer Wall," are of this period. Apparently, Solomon simply repaired and reused the LB fortifications wherever possible, adding his own distinctive type

of city wall and gateway only in the area where we conjecture that the ruined LB gate had been situated, connecting the gate with the casemate wall upslope and the reused "Outer Wall" downslope (Dever 1986). See Fig. GEZ.01. The 1984 season revealed part of a large barracks/administrative complex just to the W of the upper gate, "Palace 10,000," perhaps comparable to "Palace 6000" at Megiddo (Dever 1985, 1986).

The domestic architecture of stratum VIII was unimpressive, indicating perhaps that Gezer under Solomonic control was little more than a token administrative center. In field VI, large ashlars identical to those in the gate were found in secondary use in a citadel wall of about the Assyrian period—virtually all that survives here of the post-Philistine period—so it is possible that there was a Solomonic fortress or palace on the acropolis. No tombs were found in the recent excavations, but Tombs 84–85 Middle, 96, and 138 of Macalister's excavations have good mid-10th century material. The pottery is typical of the period, with the red-slipped wares of the previous period now hand-burnished. Among the small objects, one may note a small limestone incense altar inscribed with a stick figure who resembles the Canaanite storm god Baʿal, with an uplifted arm grasping a bundle of lightning bolts.

A destruction, particularly heavy in the vicinity of the gateway, brought stratum VIII to an end in the late-10th century B.C. This was probably the work of Shishak about 924 B.C., as part of his well-known raid in Palestine (cf. 1 Kgs 14:25).

Macalister's arbitrary selection and publication of the material of the Iron Age II (mixed in his "Fourth Semitic" period) had led most scholars, including Albright, to assume that the site was virtually abandoned in the 9th–7th centuries B.C. However, Macalister's Tombs 28, 31, 84–85 Upper, and 142 certainly belong to Iron Age II, and the "gap" has been closed by strata VII–V of the recent excavations. Nevertheless, it is evident that occupation was rather sparse, and the site seems to have declined in importance following the Shishak destruction.

In stratum VII (9th century B.C.), the Solomonic gate was rebuilt as a three-entryway gate, identical to that of Megiddo IV-A. Field VII produced several fine pillared-courtyard houses of strata VII–VI. The gate survived until stratum VI was destroyed, probably by Tiglath-pileser III in the Assyrian campaigns of 734/33 B.C., which are depicted in a well-known relief found long ago at Nimrud (Calah). "Palace 8,000," above the ruins of "Palace 10,000" W of the upper gate, was also destroyed at this time. A chamber of the adjacent casemate wall was filled with destruction debris, including iron arrowheads (Dever 1985). Domestic levels elsewhere were also brought to an end, these in a conflagration that has left dramatic evidence in field II.

Stratum V (7th century B.C.) is of little importance, except that it provides a context for Macalister's Neo-Asyrian tablets and the several royal-stamped jar handles found. Although little evidence survives, the gate apparently was converted at this time into a two-entryway gate like that of Megiddo III. Shortly after, it was destroyed so badly, probably in the Babylonian invasion of the 6th century, that it was never rebuilt as a chambered gate. In fields II and VIII, stratum V domestic levels were also found badly destroyed. In the casemate of the city wall in field II, there was found a quantity of smashed pottery, some of the sherds marked by firebrands, and a spill of calcined limestone.

6. Persian Period. A gap follows the end of stratum V, which stratum IV of the Persian period (5th–4th centuries) only partially fills. Macalister's "Philistine Tombs," with their rich deposits of silver vessels, belong here. The recent excavations produced very scant material, although typical Persian pottery was found in small quantities in stratum IV. Otherwise, only a few pits and some flimsy walls of the Persian period survive.

7. Hellenistic Period. Strata III–II are Hellenistic, spanning the 3d and nearly all of the 2d centuries B.C. but representing for the most part the Maccabean era, as the literary sources lead one to expect (esp. 1–2 Maccabees). From the Ptolemaic period, to which stratum III seems to belong, there is little material from the recent excavations, although Macalister's *Yehûd* and *Yerushalayim* stamp impressions attest to occupation. Somewhat later, the gate in field III was rebuilt, perhaps by the Syrian general Bacchides. For the Hasmonaean period, a fairly extensive exposure in fields II and VII has produced several fine courtyard houses. From the ruins of the last phase came a coin of Demetrius II (ca. 144 B.C.). In fills beneath the floors was a coin of Antiochus VII (ca. 138–129 B.C.). Rhodian jar handles, lead weights, and a mass of iron tools were also found. The gate of field III was rather hastily repaired, the threshold being narrowed nearly a meter, and only parts of the interior structure reused (Macalister's "Maccabean Castle"). It seems certain that the "Outer Wall" was retrenched and reused, Macalister's semicircular bastions being added around the towers at this time. With the destruction of stratum II sometime toward the end of the 2d century B.C., Gezer's long history as an important city in Palestine came to a virtual end.

8. Herodian Period. Stratum I belongs to about the Herodian era (late 1st century B.C.–1st century A.D.), as shown by material from both the earlier and the more recent excavations. The site was virtually deserted, and most of the known material comes from Macalister's *kokhim* tombs in the vicinity. The well-known Gezer boundary inscriptions, found in an arc some distance from the mound, are further evidence that in the Herodian period Gezer was no longer an independent city but merely part of a large private estate, thinly occupied and no longer of consequence. The owner or administrator, whose Greek name "Alkios" is given on the inscriptions, may have been Jewish, but that is uncertain. Macalister's "Syrian Bath" probably belongs to this period and may be a *mikveh*.

9. Byzantine to Modern Periods. The only later material consists of tombs excavated by Macalister, most of which are Byzantine (4th–6th centuries A.D.), and faint traces of occupation in the vicinity of the mound. Two coins attributed to Chosroes II (about A.D. 614–628) attest to the era of the Persian conquest in 7th century A.D. Gezer was identified by Clermont-Ganneau with *Mont Gisart* of the Crusaders, but this identification is without supporting evidence. A few coins and some vessels of the Mameluke period in reused Byzantine tombs are evidence of an occupation in the 13th century A.D. A small *wêli* (Muslim shrine of a holy man) was built on the acropolis in the 16th

century but is now destroyed, as is the modern village of Abu Shusheh on the W slopes, which was founded in the late 18th or early 19th century. Nearby, Kibbutz Gezer perpetuates the name.

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WILLIAM G. DEVER

GHASSUL, TULEILAT EL- (M.R. 207135). Tuleilat, the diminutive plural form of Arabic "tell," describes a series of small low mounds in the lower Jordan Valley, mounds once covered with a thick growth of a brushwood plant from which a washing (Ghassul) soda was extracted. The name literally means "the small hills of the washing soda plant."

The site is situated at the NE corner of the Dead Sea, approximately 5 km to the E of the river Jordan and between 290 and 300 m below sea level. In modern times the area is hot (summer temperatures often in excess of 50° C [ca. 120° F]) and dry; but with recent irrigation from the East Valley Canal the soil has proven suitable for market garden produce.

The ancient settlement was large, about 20 hectares, and, at the time of its initial settlement, founded on sandbars in the midst of slow moving fresh water. This swampy environment supported a luxuriant natural growth of sedge, alder, reeds, and mosses (Webley 1969).

The importance of Tuleilat (or often Teleilat) Ghassul was first recognized by Pere Mallon of the Pontifical Biblical Institute and excavations were conducted on two occasions; initially from 1929–1938 (Mallon, Koeppel, and Neuville 1934; Koeppel, et al. 1940) and again in 1960 under the direction of Robert North (North 1961). In 1967, a further series of excavations were instituted; however, the program was interrupted by the war of 1967, but it resumed in four more seasons between 1975 and 1978 (Hennessy 1969; 1982).

The stratification of the site has been complicated by the action of successive earthquakes, some which undoubtedly account for the destruction of the prehistoric settlements; but more recent seismic activity since the Chalcolithic period has continued to split the site, a result which has been accentuated by the soft, sandy base of the ancient settlement.

There are about 5.6 m of accumulated settlement remains, representing almost 1000 years of occupation. Carbon 14 analyses suggest an original Late Neolithic settlement at about 4600 B.C. and a final desertion of the Chalcolithic town ca. 3600 B.C. Both figures are Libby half-life and uncalibrated.

The initial Neolithic occupation consisted of half-sunken rounded houses or pits. Evidence of the settlement was found at the bottom of areas A and E and the dwellings were dug into natural sand. The flaked-stone industry and ceramics of these first settlers are similar to those of Jericho Pottery Neolithic A and B.

Above the Neolithic settlement in area A there is about 5 m of deposit containing eight major building phases, separated from each other by camp floors. Throughout the deposit the architecture is uniform. The buildings appear to be domestic and consist of large rectangular rooms with dimensions up to 15 × 5 m, though the average is somewhat less.

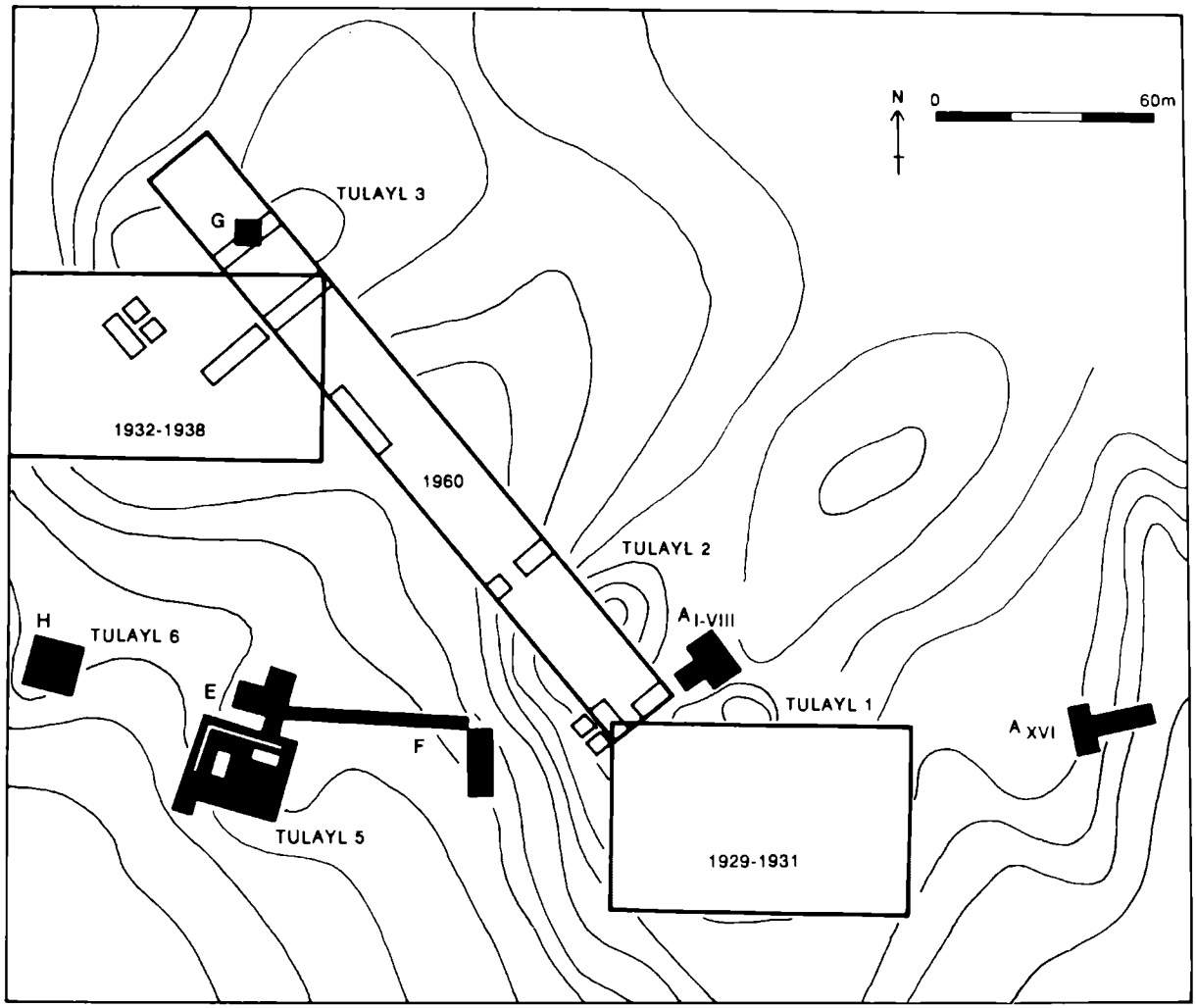
The normal method of construction was a single foundation course of heavy river stones, probably from the nearby Wadi Djarafa, and a superstructure of mudbrick. The bricks were bun-shaped, about 25–30 cm in diameter, sun-dried, and were laid in a mud mortar. Entrance to the building was through a single doorway, usually in one of the long sides. Roofs appear to have been pitched and constructed of reeds and a mud capping over a heavy timber frame. In some of the larger buildings central timber posts appear to have been used to support the roof.

Floors were usually of packed mud or earth, though pebble floors were sometimes used and occasionally finished with a coating of thick lime plaster. The same plaster was used to line inner-wall surfaces and the faces of pits and silos cut into house and courtyard floors.

In many instances the plaster-coated walls were painted with scenes of geometric and naturalistic patterns. The wide variety of colors, red, green, black, white, and yellow, in varying shades, appear to have been mineral based. Walls were recoated and painted; in some instances more than twenty replasterings have been counted. The painted buildings occur in all phases of the rectangular architecture. One of the earliest was lifted and conserved. It shows a human procession of richly garbed figures approaching what appears to be a building—perhaps the cult center of area E. A comparable construction appears in the background of the famous "star fresco" found in 1933 (Mallon, Koeppel, and Neuville 1934: 135–40). Stone-lined hearths and storage pits were found both inside houses and in courtyards.

Two of the rectangular buildings (area E) were enclosed by a mudbrick wall on stone foundations. Although the E and S sides of the enclosure wall had been eroded, the general plan immediately calls to mind the cult area at En Gedi, and the contents of the two buildings at Ghassul supports the suggestion that the area was a cult center.

No adult human skeletons have been found; but well-preserved remains of newly born children are quite com-



GHA.01. Site plan of Tuleilat Ghassul.

mon beneath the floors of houses. They occur in a corner of the room, either inside jars or covered by large pithos sherds, and may be evidence of foundation sacrifices.

Throughout the occupation of Ghassul, the economy appears to have been based on agriculture and pastoralism, though some hunting is evidenced.

In brief, the archaeological significance of an sequence at the site is as follows:

1. The site was a large one, without any real evidence of technological specialization in any area of the settlement. The only isolated region appears to have been the sanctuary area.
2. There is no evidence of any temporal significance to the various mounds—all areas tested show the same general sequence.
3. The site was occupied for about 1000 years, ca. 4600–3600 B.C. There is strong evidence in some areas that at least one building phase had been eroded from the top of the site.
4. The basic culture assemblage shows changes throughout the 1000 years of occupation, but nothing which could not be explained as simple internal change or development.

The changes which do take place in the 1000 year history of Tuleilat Ghassul are most clearly seen in the ceramic industry. In general terms, the changes were in shape and decoration; the fabric and firing of the pottery remained fairly uniform.

Buff wares tend to be more common in the earlier strata, but even there the majority of the pottery is red to gray ware with gritty inclusions, but well-fired. A notable feature of the developed Ghassulian ceramics is the technological skill of its manufacture. Many sherds show evidence of having been taken to a point of vitrification and held

there. No wasters have been found on the site, and it is presumed that the firing took place outside the settlement area, probably nearer the foothills of the E range where timber for the kilns could have been more readily available.

However, three major periods can be seen in the ceramic phases. In phase 1, the earliest pottery (cf. Hennessy 1982: fig. 2) belonging to the period of the sunken round houses and earliest rectangular architecture, had simple and plain rims, with shallow bowls and jars; the ware was dark-faced and coarse, but with a notable percentage of buff clays. The surfaces occasionally had matte red slips (burnishing was rare) or were grass wiped, textured, incised, or with stabbed decoration. Painted decoration was extremely rare and when it did occur it was limited to a red band painted around the rim of shallow bowls. The bases were usually flat and often splayed, but ring bases did occur; round-weave mat impressions are clear on the bases.

The middle phase 2 (cf. Hennessy 1977: figs. 7–8) was represented by an elaboration of rim shapes and the common appearance of the cornet with a uniform hard-fired red to gray ware (buff wares were less common). The appearance of simple geometric painted ornamentation became more common, but was still rare; chevrons, solid triangles, and loops also occur; mat impressions change from a round weave to a square weave.

In the upper levels (cf. Hennessy 1977: figs. 5–6) the wares were often smear washed and painted; the cornet became more common and lighter and was commonly decorated. A large variety of deep and shallow bowls, jars, and jugs with the common appearance of small multiple lug handles appeared.

Distinctions within the flaked-stone industry are less well marked, apart from a solid Neolithic content in the earliest phases, where there are: (1) blades with broad denticulation—but also fine denticulates; (2) notched blades; (3) serial flaked blades.

These three elements disappear with the appearance of rectangular architecture. Axes, chisels, points, burins, steep and flat scrapers (round or fan) are common in all periods, and chisels tend to become longer and more slender as time advances. Certainly, on our evidence, hollow ground and polished cutting edges are a late feature.

There is no obsidian and all flaked stonework was on local chert and flint. A number of blanks were found and a knapper's workshop in area A demonstrates that the flaked-stone industry was a local one. Arrowheads, with or without tangs, do occur.

As yet, the study of the faunal and floral evidence is incomplete, but from observations in the course of excavation, there appears to be no major change. Varieties of wheat, barley, peas, olives, and flax are common and often found in large storage jars. Remains of pig, goat, sheep, deer, and cattle are present at all levels. The suggestion of a mixed pastoral, agricultural, and hunting economy would suit the evidence at Tuleilat Ghassul well.

A developing metal industry is attested in the upper levels (Mallon, Koeppel, and Neuville 1934: 75–77) and malachite was traded for beads—presumably with the area of the Wadi Feinan to the S of the Dead Sea.

The bone and ground-stone industries remained uniform throughout the site.

The C_{14} dates, the Neolithic flaked-stone types, and the earliest pottery would certainly suggest connections with the Pottery Neolithic cultures of Jericho and the upper phases at Ard Tlaili, Middle and Late Neolithic Byblos, and the S Neolithic sites of the Beqaʿ, but nowhere, so far, are the connections sufficiently close to allow one to fit the earliest Ghassul sequence into a certain slot in the Late Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic cultures of the Levant.

Most of the normally accepted criteria for Late Neolithic—burnished wares, bow rims, herringbone incisions, and burnished red-on-cream wares are either missing or rare in the lower levels at Ghassul.

With a few notable exceptions (javelin and projectile heads and tanged arrowheads), the flaked-stone industry is close to those Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic sites mentioned above, and right from the beginning, chisels are a dominant feature. They occur by the hundreds and fit well into Copeland/Perrot's suggestion of an increased dependence on wood and woodwork from the beginning of the Middle Neolithic.

At the other end of the scale, the relationship with the Beer-sheba sites are fairly clear; but there are a few points we should note. Cornets, which have an early origin at Ghassul are more common than they are on the W sites. On the other hand, churns which are comparatively common on the W sites are rare at Ghassul. The smeared-washed wares of Ghassul are again comparatively rare outside Ghassul.

It seems that the relationships between the W sites and Ghassul, are confined to those features which are common at Ghassul only in phases A and B, the very final stages of occupation at the site.

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JOHN B. HENNESSY

GHAZZA, KHIRBET. See ʿUZA, HORVAT.

GHOSH (PLACE). See ABU GHOSH (M.R. 160134).

GHOST. See MAGIC (OT).

GHRAREH (M.R. 191956). Ghrareh is an Edomite site of the 7th–6th centuries B.C. It has not thus far been equated with any biblical site.

Ghrareh is located in S Edom at the head of the Wadi Delaghah, one of the few practical routes to the Wadi Arabah and the W from this point on the plateau. It is situated on a projecting spur which slopes steeply to the N, W, and S and is approximately one km from the nearest source of water—the perennial spring at ʿAin Reseis.

Ghrareh was first discovered by the Edom Survey Project in 1984 (Hart and Falkner 1985). It was sounded during the 1985 season (Hart 1987a and 1987b) and in 1986 a full season of excavation was undertaken (Hart 1988). The top of the hill is enclosed by a substantial defensive stone wall, part of which may have been of casemate construction. In the center of the enclosure (area A) is a single courtyard house with a cistern and associated structures attached to the S. The main gate to the fortress was not found but was probably located at the E end of the site which has suffered badly from Nabatean stone-robbing and recent ploughing. It would appear from surface remains that most of the enclosure was open or contained makeshift structures.

The central building (area A) is built of the local limestone using large blocks (up to 1.5 m long) with some snecking. Bedrock, with plaster in places to smooth out irregularities, forms the only floor. In plan the building consists of a central courtyard divided by a line of pillars. Rooms adjoin to the W and S. On the N side there is no room but rather a "verandah" raised on overlaid stones. Towers occupy the corners of the building and project on either side of the front doorway (the E).

Pottery is standard Edomite 7th–6th centuries B.C. with many parallels in the Buseirah and Tawilan corpora.

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STEPHEN HART

GIAH (PLACE) [Heb *gîaḥ*]. An unknown site close to which Joab and Abishai rallied supportive Benjaminites in their pursuit of Abner (2 Sam 2:24). The text is difficult, if not corrupt. Neither the name Giah nor the hill of Ammah, which it is said to be near, are otherwise attested. LXX reads Gai, a transliteration of *gay*ʿ (meaning valley), but that does not help us since, by itself, it is also completely unknown as the name of a particular place. The identity of the location is further complicated by the fact that the men are said to have been moving towards the desert of Gibeon. Since Gibeon is not in a wilderness or desert region, we are probably justified in accepting S. R. Driver's (*NHT*, 244) suggestion that Geba be read in place of Gibeon. Geba stands near the desert region leading down to Jericho. While the exact location of the site is indeterminate, we can say with some assurance that it is in the tribal district of Benjamin.

ELMER H. DYCK

GIANTS, GIGANTISM. See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

GIBBAR (PERSON) [Heb *gibbār*]. Name of a family returning to Palestine with Zerubbabel shortly after 538 B.C.E., the end of the Babylonian exile. Ezra 2:20 includes the "sons of Gibbar" in a list of the "men of the people of Israel" (Ezra 2:2b–35), distinguishing them from the priests, Levites, and temple-servants. Since the parallel list of returning exiles in Neh 7:7b–38 records the "sons of Gibeon" (7:25) in the place corresponding to the Gibbar entry in the Ezra 2 list, it has been conjectured that Gibbar is a corruption of the place-name Gibeon. This idea is further strengthened by the observation that many other place-names begin to appear in the Ezra 2 list, especially in 2:21–35 (immediately after the Gibbar entry). However, there is no additional evidence to support any connection between Gibbar and Gibeon; it is also uncertain as to which form is the more original.

STEVEN R. SWANSON

GIBBETHON (PLACE) [Heb *gibbĕtôn*]. A Levitical city belonging to the tribe of Dan (Josh 21:23). In the parallel list in 1 Chronicles, Gibbethon is omitted. Gibbethon was assigned to the tribe of Dan as a part of its inheritance (Josh 19:44) before the tribe migrated to the N. The city is also mentioned in two narratives concerning the Philistines and Israel. Baasha made a conspiracy against Nadab, king of Israel, and killed him while his army was attacking Gibbethon (1 Kgs 15:27). Some twenty-six years later, when Elah, son of Baasha, and all his descendants were assassinated by Zimri, Gibbethon belonged to the Philistines. Zimri had not taken into consideration his rival to the throne, Omri, who was proclaimed king over Israel by his troops. Omri's army encamped against Gibbethon, and when Zimri saw that the city had been taken by Omri, he went into the citadel of the king's house, set it on fire, and died in the blaze (1 Kgs 16:15–18). These two events point out the importance of this city on the W edge of the Judean hills (*LBHG*, 45).

Outside the Bible, Gibbethon appears in two major campaign lists. Thutmose III led an important campaign into Palestine and secured a decisive victory in 1468 B.C.; one of the cities on his city list (#103) is identified as Gibbethon (*LBHG*, 151). The second extrabiblical reference to Gibbethon appears in the description of the campaign of Sargon II against Azuri (713 B.C.) and Iamani (712 B.C.), kings of Ashdod (Tadmor 1958). Although this battle is reported in 2 Kgs 17:3–6 and Isaiah 20, Gibbethon is not mentioned there. When Sargon's army invaded Palestine, he conquered Gath, Ekron, and Gibbethon on the way to capturing Ashdod and establishing it as part of an Assyrian province.

Two sites have been associated with biblical Gibbethon. The first, Tell Malat (M.R. 137140), was first proposed by von Rad (1933: 30–42). Tell Malat is located near the E boundary of the coastal plain only 20 km E of the Mediterranean, 5 km SE of Rehovot and 7 km S of Ramla. Tell Gezer sits boldly and alone on the horizon to its E. When looking at Gezer from Tell Malat one is impressed by the size of Gezer and by the close proximity that would almost certainly force a close relationship between the two sites. Surveys and trial probes at Tell Malat have yielded EB, MB II, LB, Iron I, Iron II, Persian, Roman, Byzantine, and Arabic artifacts. During the Iron II period there was a strong concentration of 9th/8th century occupation.

The second proposed site for Gibbethon is Ras Abu Hamid (M.R. 139145), located 3 km SE of Ramla and 6 km NW of Gezer. The tell is a low, oblong mound lying in the fertile coastal plain, situated at the fork of the old and new roads to Jerusalem. Like Tell Malat, Ras Abu Hamid is on the E branch of the Via Maris, which in itself would emphasize the special importance of the site, particularly in its relationship to Gezer. In 1951 a group of Mazar's students conducted a survey of the Dan region. As a result of this survey, Kallai suggested that Ras Abu Hamid be identified with Gibbethon. Prior to the survey in 1951, the early geographers who visited Ras Abu Hamid identified Iron I, Iron II, Roman (2d and 3d centuries), Byzantine, and Arab periods. Mazar's students confirmed this occupational history that the early geographers had indicated and noted Persian remains as well. Missing from all reports was evidence of LB occupation which, of course, raises questions about the Thutmose III campaign.

The most important factor in determining which tell should be associated with Gibbethon is the reference in 1 Kgs 16:17–18. Here Gibbethon is referred to as a fortified city and citadel. Ras Abu Hamid is not fortified and does not have a citadel. On the other hand, Tell Malat is a prominent fortified tell, dominating the whole region. When one looks at the history of biblical Gibbethon, including the records of Sargon, it must be concluded that biblical Gibbethon is more likely to be identified with Tell Malat.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

GIBEA (PERSON) [Heb *gib^{c}ā^{2}*]. Son of Sheva and grandson of Caleb's concubine Maacah (1 Chr 2:49, cf. v 48). The name probably means "highlander." In the LXX it appears as *gaibaa*. There is some speculation (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 42) that this name might relate to the place name Gibeah (see Josh 15:57). It is possible that other names in the genealogy of 1 Chr 2:42–50a may also refer to cities.

CRAIG A. EVANS

GIBEAH (PLACE) [Heb *gib^{c}ah*]. Four places in the Hebrew Bible use this name, which simply means "hill."

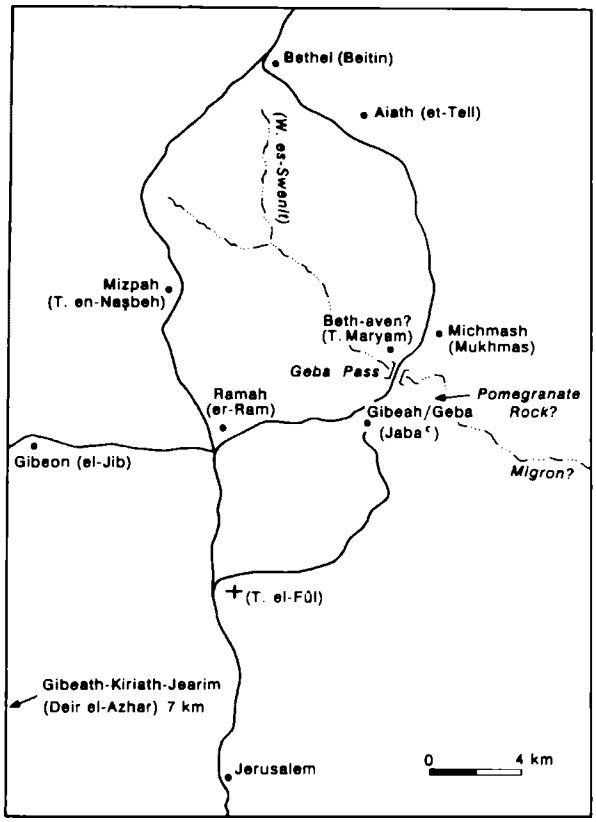
1. A town listed in a group of ten cities in the hill country of Judah (Josh 15:57) and among the cities belonging to the sons of Caleb (1 Chr 2:49). Each list associates Gibeah of Judah with towns in the region S of Hebron, otherwise its precise location is unknown.

2. Ephraimite burial place of Eleazar, son of Aaron (Josh 24:33). It is unclear whether the Hebrew here indicates an appellative ("in a hill") or a proper toponym ("in Gibeah"). If the reference indicates a city, the lack of additional biblical information makes its location impossible to determine. Eusebius mentions a "Geba" in Ephraim five miles N of Gophna (Jifna). Suggested modern candidates for this site have included Jibia (M.R. 165156), 5 km NW of Bir Zeit, and et-Tell (M.R. 174158), 1 km S of Sinjil.

3. The MT toponym "Gibeath-Kiriath" (LXX: "Gibeath-Jearim") in the Benjaminite town-list (Josh 18:28) is probably a textually truncated form of an original "hill of Kiriath-Jearim" (Miller 1975: 147–50), a site known from 1 Sam 7:1–2 and 2 Sam 6:2–4 as the resting place of the ark of the covenant until it was removed to Jerusalem by David. Kiriath-Jearim is commonly identified with modern Deir el-Azhar (M.R. 159135), near Abu Ghosh, and its "hill" was probably a "high place" in this vicinity.

4. An important city in Benjamin whose name appears in a wide variety of forms; e.g., "Gibeah" (Judg 19:13), "Gibeah which belongs to Benjamin" (Judg 19:14), "Gibeah of Benjamin" (1 Sam 13:2), "Gibeah of the Benjaminites" (2 Sam 23:9), "Gibeah of Saul" (Isa 10:29), "Gibeah of God" (1 Sam 10:5), and possibly "Geba" (1 Sam 13:3).

The location and modern identification of Gibeah is a long-disputed issue. In 1841, E. Robinson first proposed that "Gibeah" and "Geba" were variant toponyms referring to the same city which once existed at the site of modern Jaba^{c} (M.R. 175140), 9 km NE of Jerusalem. See Fig. GIB.01. Later, Robinson emended this opinion on the basis of Judg 19:13, which supposedly located a distinct city of Gibeah on the watershed highway between Jerusalem and Ramah (er-Ram). Robinson therefore chose the prominent hill of Tell el-Ful, 5 km N of Jerusalem, as the site of ancient Gibeah, while he continued to identify Jaba^{c} as Geba (1841: 6.440–42). Yet scholarly debate over Gi-



GIB.01. Area map of proposed sites for Gibeah.

beah's location continued until W. F. Albright's excavations at Tell el-Fûl in 1922–23 and 1933 revealed early Iron Age remains, which were associated with the "Gibeah" of Judg 19–20, and the foundations of an Iron Age tower, which Albright identified as the fortress of Saul (1 Sam 11–15), the first king of Israel (1924: 7–17; 1933: 6–12). Most scholars found these connections conclusive, and virtually every biblical atlas thereafter has identified Tell el-Ful as Gibeah.

However, P. Lapp's excavations at Tell el-Fûl in 1964, which ostensibly refined and confirmed Albright's hypothesis (1965: 2–10), actually tended to raise new questions about Tell el-Fûl. First, the remains from the so-called Iron I (Judg 19–20) village were meager and of questionable provenance (Franken 1963: 82), while "Saul's Fortress" (the base of a tower) could not be dated more precisely than ca. 1025–950 B.C., which includes the reigns of David and Solomon. Secondly, Lapp shifted Tell el-Fûl's Iron II occupation to the "late 7th–early 6th century B.C. horizon rather than the 8th–7th century B.C." (1965: 3) which implies that the site was unoccupied at precisely the time in the late 8th century B.C. when "Gibeah" clearly appears in the oracles of the contemporary prophets Hosea (5:8) and Isaiah (10:29).

In view of these discrepancies, J. M. Miller's literary-critical studies suggested that Robinson's original placement of Gibeah/Geba at Jabaʿ was probably correct (1975: 151–62). Such an identification is consonant with biblical information which consistently associates Gibeah closely with the area near the Geba/Michmash Pass (Arnold 1987: 101–8). A preliminary archaeological survey of Jabaʿ (Kochavi 1972: 183) indicated Iron Age and Persian remains at the site, though more precise archaeological investigations are needed.

If it was located at Jabaʿ, ancient Gibeah was perched high on a hill above a deep, cave-pocked canyon (Wadi es-Swenit) on the N fringes of Benjaminite territory. Judges 20 contains vestiges of a tradition which described an elaborate ambush of the city by neighboring Ephraimite warriors who sprang out of hiding-places in the Geba Pass and massacred Gibeah's civilians after its defenders had been lured from the city. The surviving Gibeahite soldiers then reportedly fled to the nearby "Pomegranate Rock" (see RIMMON) where they remained four months (Judg 20:47). This tradition behind the presently edited text probably reflects historical intertribal conflicts between Benjamin and Ephraim early in Israel's history; the editorial additions to the chapter rendered the event as a pan-tribal attack on Gibeah by the entire cultic confederacy of united Israel.

The putative cause of the Gibeah massacre, the rape-murder of a Levite's wife (Judg 19), is apparently a later fictional literary addition to the tradition for the purposes of legitimizing Ephraim's participation in the slaughter.

Gibeah is also prominent in stories relating the rise of Saul as king of Israel. 1 Sam 9–14 seems to contain an ancient pro-Saul narrative, now rearranged and edited (Miller 1974), which once described how young Saul was sent on a mysterious mission to "Gibeah of God" (10:5; see GIBEATH-ELOHIM) where he struck down a Philistine official (13:4). The Philistines responded by fortifying neighboring Michmash while Saul established his base across the valley in the village of Gibeah (13:15), or in the nearby "Pomegranate" cave (14:2) in the valley itself (see MIGRON).

The original conclusion to this Saul narrative seems to have been replaced by a Judean narrative in 14:1–46 (Blenkinsopp 1964) which describes how Jonathan single-handedly defeated the Philistines at Michmash from his base at "Geba," probably a later Judean toponym for the site known in earlier Benjaminite lore as "Gibeah." This narrative probably arose in pro-Davidic circles intending to discredit Saul's accomplishments (Arnold 1987: 184–218).

The successful expulsion of the Philistines from the Benjaminite hill country enabled Saul to establish his headquarters at the city, so that it acquired the epithet "Gibeah of Saul" (1 Sam 11:4; 15:34; 2 Sam 21:6; Isa 10:29). There is no evidence that Gibeah served as Israel's "capital" in the modern sense, but only as Saul's base-camp for his campaigns against surrounding enemies (1 Sam 22:6; 23:19). Yet Gibeah evidently remained the home of Saul's progeny after his death, for seven Saulides were executed there by Gibeonites at the behest of David (2 Sam

21:6), ostensibly in atonement for an otherwise unrecorded massacre at Gibeon.

After the mention of David's hero "Ittai, son of Ribai of Gibeah" (2 Sam 23:29 = 1 Chr 11:31), references to Gibeah disappear permanently from Judean literature (except for the archaism in Isa 10:29). Anti-Saulide hostility may have occasioned a slight change in the city's name: according to 1 Kgs 15:22, King Asa of Judah constructed new border fortresses at Mizpah (Tell en-Naṣbeh) and "Geba"—modern Jabaʿ. After this period, references to "Geba" in Judean literature exist through the post-exilic era. See GEBA.

The last references to Gibeah both seem to refer to the same event: the Syro-Ephraimite invasion of Judah, ca. 735 B.C. Around this time, the Israelite prophet Hosea warned the N Benjaminite cities of Gibeah, Ramah, and Beth-aven of an imminent attack (5:8). Hosea seems to have regarded this approaching invasion of Judah as symptomatic of Israel's treachery "since the days of Gibeah" (9:9; 10:9), a probable allusion to the tradition of Ephraim's ancient ambush of Gibeah contained in Judges 20.

Shortly after Hosea's warnings, the Judean prophet Isaiah described the actual Syro-Ephraimite invasion force as it passed through Aiath and Michmash and crossed the Geba Pass, causing "Gibeah of Saul" to flee (10:27–29); the prophet probably uses the old term as a poetic archaism for the border fortress of Geba.

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PATRICK M. ARNOLD

GIBEATH-ELOHIM (PLACE) [Heb *gibʿat haʾĕlōhîm*]. A site, meaning "hill of God," in the Benjaminite hill country to which Samuel directed Saul in fulfillment of a third prophetic sign confirming his anointment as prince over Israel (1 Sam 10:5). The Hebrew place name, in conjunction with the report of Saul's predicted prophetic rapture in the company of celebrating prophets, indicates that the site was a cultic "high place." Evidently the shrine was temporarily under occupation in Saul's time, since a Philistine *neṣib* (perhaps meaning "governor" or "garrison") is explicitly mentioned at this location.

Since the toponym Gibeath-elohim occurs only in 10:5, most scholars agree that the site was not a completely distinct city in Benjamin, but was an alternate name, or perhaps a special precinct, associated with some well-known city. A. Demsky suggested that "the hill of God" was actually the famous shrine at Gibeon, the most likely city in Benjamin to have been occupied by Philistines (1973: 27–28). This theory is undermined not only by the lack of textual evidence to point to such a conclusion, but also by the absence of any Philistine remains from the el-Jib excavations. See GIBEON. Similar problems plague W. F. Albright's proposal to find Gibeath-elohim at Burj Beitin (1924: 28–43).

Several textual clues suggest that Gibeath-elohim ought to be identified with Gibeah/Geba of Benjamin. Samuel's third prediction that Saul would undergo prophetic rapture on reaching Gibeath-elohim (10:5) appears to be fulfilled in 10:10 when he is reported to have reached ecstacy on arrival at "Gibeah." Though Samuel ordered Saul then "to do whatever his hand found to do," the story presently lacks any fulfillment of this command. J. M. Miller, therefore, proposed that the original Saul folktale once described how Saul then struck down the Philistine *neṣib* in Gibeah (cf. 13:4), thus precipitating the Hebrew revolt (1974: 157–63). A later Judean gloss, however, also credited Jonathan with the same deed in Geba (13:3), the Judean toponym for Gibeah. This report probably arose in Davidic circles with the intention of eclipsing Saul's responsibility for leading the revolt against the Philistines (Arnold 1987: 73–77).

Gibeath-elohim should, therefore, be regarded as the cultic name for the "high place" in or near Gibeah/Geba of Benjamin, located at modern Jabaʿ (M.R. 175140) 9 km NE of Jerusalem. No excavations have yet been undertaken at this site.

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PATRICK M. ARNOLD

GIBEATH-HAARALOTH (PLACE) [Heb *gibʿat hāʿărālôt*]. A place within the tribal territory of Benjamin near Gilgal, where the Israelites were circumcised after crossing the Jordan River (Josh 5:3). The name literally means "hill of the foreskins." The KJV understood the reference to the place *gibʿat* in the list of Benjaminite towns (Josh 18:28) also to be a reference to Gibeath-haaraloth, although RSV understands it as a reference to Gibeah. Because the location of Gilgal is unknown, the location of Gibeath-haaraloth is unknown; both may have

been campsites rather than inhabited towns (see Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 185, 192).

Two aspects of the narrative are interesting. The first is the reference to the primitive flint knives used in the ceremony (Josh 5:3), reflecting the antiquity of the custom of circumcision. The second is the fact that this circumcision is, in fact, a *second* circumcision or *re*-circumcision (5:2; see Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 188–89, 193–94, for a discussion of this enigmatic passage).

Bright (*IB* 2: 573) considered Gibeath-haaraloth to be a spot where in later years the Israelite rite of circumcision was carried out in relation to the great shrine at Gilgal. Boling, however, sees it as a pre-Yahwist name associated with one of the little tells near Kh. el-Mefjir (M.R. 193143), 1.2 miles NE of Jericho. It may have been associated with a pagan ritual of circumcision—a rite of passage for marriage or war—before the Israelites took it over and reformed it along more orthodox Yahwist lines (*Joshua* AB, 189). Because circumcision in time became, along with Passover, one of the main features of continuing Jewish faith, the circumcision at Gibeath-haaraloth—symbolizing entrance into the Promised Land and into the covenant with Yahweh as well as purification for Holy War and conquest—is much more important than its single reference in the text would suggest.

HENRY O. THOMPSON

GIBEON (PLACE) [Heb *gibʿôn*]. An important city of Benjamin, now identified with modern el-Jib (M.R. 167139), 8 km NW of Jerusalem. See Fig. GIB.01. The village is located on a small limestone hill surrounded by agricultural fields at an altitude of some 750 m above sea level. Eight nearby springs provide an abundant water supply.

A. History

The earliest narrative involving Gibeon (Josh 9:3–10:15) relates that Joshua's invading army was tricked into a solemn peace treaty with Gibeon's Hivite people, who had disguised themselves as foreigners requiring Israel's protection. As punishment for this successful ruse, the Gibeonites were reportedly forced to become "wood-cutters and water-carriers" for the Israelites, who, for their part, felt contractually obliged to rescue Gibeon from a retaliatory attack by five neighboring kingdoms. In the ensuing battle, Joshua's warriors drove the Canaanites from Gibeon down into the Beth-horon Valley while God "hurled huge hailstones from heaven" (cf. Isa 28:21) on them as the sun and moon stood still in their courses.

This famous story probably preserves etiological traditions explaining the historical subservient relationship of the Hivite citizens of Gibeon to the Israelites, an arrangement which may have been ratified at one point in some form of a vassal treaty—cf. 2 Sam 21:2 (Blenkinsopp 1972: 32–36). However, the present literary placement of these traditions in the account of Joshua's invasion of Canaan is problematic for biblical historians, since archaeologists have found no occupational remains at Gibeon in the LB Age in which the conquest stories are set; only a few burials from this period were uncovered (Pritchard 1961: 22–23).

Archaeological remains at el-Jib show that Gibeon was reconstructed in the early Iron Age (1200–900 B.C.); the city is mentioned prominently in narratives relating to the rise and establishment of the Israelite monarchy, which occurred during this period. Some scholars (e.g., Blenkinsopp 1974: 1–7) have proposed that Saul established his capital city at Gibeon after the successful Hebrew uprising against the Philistines. Textual support for this argument (the occasional confusion of the toponyms "Gibeon" and "Gibeah") is rather weak. Moreover, 2 Sam 21:1 reports that Saul, in violation of the Joshua treaty, massacred the Gibeonites during his reign. This report might simply indicate that Saul attempted at one point to eliminate Gibeon as an ethnic Hivite enclave lodged in the midst of his growing Israelite kingdom.

David's forces under Joab reportedly defeated Abner's Saulide warriors at "the pool of Gibeon" in what appears to have been a ritual military contest (2 Sam 2:12–17; 3:30). This "pool" undoubtedly refers to the impressive water system uncovered at el-Jib during recent archaeological excavations (Pritchard 1962: 64–74; Cole 1980: 21–29). See Fig. GIB.02. The bottom of the main cistern, a rock-hewn shaft 11.3 m in diameter and 10.6 m deep, is connected to a groundwater chamber by a 13.7 m sloping tunnel. See Fig. GIB.03. Constructed in the late 12th or early 11th century B.C., this pool apparently remained in use until the early 6th century B.C., when it was again mentioned in the Bible (Jer 41:12). The slaughter of Abner's forces there in the early 10th century caused the area around the pool thereafter to be called the "Field of Blades" (2 Sam 2:16).

Gibeon again witnessed bloodshed as Joab murdered the renegade Amasa there at the "great stone" (2 Sam 20:8–13). This term again suggests ritual battle, since it seemingly refers to a kind of massive cultic rock that is occasionally found in Palestine. No such object has yet been uncovered at el-Jib, for only a small portion the site has been excavated.

The account of the Gibeonites' execution of seven descendants of Saul (2 Sam 21:1–9) attributes a three-year famine in David's reign to Saul's otherwise unrecorded slaughter of Gibeonites. Supposedly in retribution for this massacre, David allowed the men of Gibeon to kill Saul's progeny at Gibeah (LXX: Gibeon). This narrative apparently literarily justifies David's attempt to exterminate the surviving Saulide claimants to the throne of Israel (except Mephibosheth, kept in virtual house arrest in Jerusalem). In any case, the story underscores the impression that the Gibeonites were somehow considered a legally protected ethnic group within Israel.

Gibeon achieved prominence as a cultic site during this early monarchical period. 1 Chr 16:39; 21:29; and 2 Chr 1:3, 13, respectively, place the Tabernacle of Moses and the Tent of Meeting at Gibeon during David's reign. Though these objects are often regarded as imaginary or as late cultic projections into the past, their location at Gibeon seems to signify its holiness in this era. 1 Kgs 3:4–5 (= 2 Chr 1:5–13) similarly places Solomon's famous inaugural dream at the Gibeon high place, at which the king reportedly sacrificed 1000 whole offerings at the altar.

The fact that no sanctuary was excavated at el-Jib has led some commentators to speculate that the high place

GIB.02. "Great Pool" of Gibeon, ancient cistern at el-Jib. *(Photograph by J. Huesman, courtesy of P. M. Arnold)*

GIB.03. Tunnel of water system at Gibeon (el-Jib). *(Photograph by J. Huesman, courtesy of P. M. Arnold)*

might have existed, not in Gibeon itself, but atop towering Nebi Samwil, nearly 2 km S of el-Jib. In this view, Gibeon took its name from the impressive nearby "hill," while its populace served as "wood-cutters and water-carriers" for the famous hill shrine (Blenkinsopp 1972: 7).

This important sanctuary, and its cultic personnel, might also explain Gibeon's inclusion in the list of the Levitical cities (Josh 21:17). Though set in Joshua's time, this document is widely regarded as a list of Levitical priestly communities dating to monarchic or even post-exilic times which was artificially placed within the Conquest narratives. Similarly, Gibeon's mention in the list of towns granted by Joshua to the tribe of Benjamin (Josh 18:25) probably derives from official town-list documents of the Judean monarchy or even the Persian colonial administration.

Egyptian Pharaoh Sheshonk I (biblical Shishak—cf. 1 Kgs 14:25) included Gibeon in a list of cities either visited or captured in his late 10th century B.C. campaign into Palestine (*ANET,* 242). This entry is the earliest extrabiblical reference to Gibeon.

Gibeon is not mentioned again in the biblical narrative until the events surrounding the fall of Jerusalem to Babylonian forces in 586 B.C. The prophet Jeremiah's antagonist, Hananiah, who mistakenly assured Jerusalem of safety from attack, hailed from Gibeon (Jer 28:1). After the Babylonian invasion, Gibeon again became the site of bloody combat. The loyal Johanan unsuccessfully attacked Ishmael, Gedaliah's assassin, at the "great pool" of Gibeon (Jer 41:12). Ishmael managed to escape.

Post-exilic references to Gibeon are decidedly more mundane than the earlier stories about the city. Neh 7:25 reports that 95 Gibeonites accompanied those returning to Judah from exile in Babylon; many of these may have assisted in the repairs to the city wall of Jerusalem reported in Neh 3:7. The genealogies in 1 Chr 8:29 (cf. 9:35) also may have originated during the Persian era.

Gibeon was to figure one final time in historical events of the biblical period. Josephus reports that, in the course of the Roman attempt to quell the Jewish Revolt, a force under General Cestius Gallus ascended the Beth-horon Valley from the coastal plain in October of 66 A.D. and camped for the night at Gibeon. The army then continued unmolested the next day in its drive toward the capital city of Jerusalem (*JW* 2.19.1).

B. Site Identification

E. Robinson was the first modern scholar to present reasons for identifying Gibeon with el-Jib (1874: 455). Robinson argued that the site of el-Jib not only matched biblical topographical descriptions, but that the modern Arabic name of the village preserved the Hebrew toponym from antiquity as well. Robinson's identification was widely accepted by scholars throughout the ensuing decades. The few remaining scholarly doubts regarding this identification were allayed after J. B. Pritchard's excavations at el-Jib in 1956, 1957, 1959, and 1960. Included among the finds were thirty-one jar handles inscribed with the name "Gibeon" (*gbʿn*) in ancient Hebrew script (Cross 1962: 18–23).

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PATRICK M. ARNOLD

GIDDALTI (PERSON) [Heb *giddaltî*]. One of the fourteen sons of Heman who were appointed to prophesy with musical instruments under the direction of their father and the king (1 Chr 25:4). Giddalti received the twenty-second lot cast to determine duties (1 Chr 25:29). The name has the form of a *Pi'el* perf. verb, "I have magnified." Scholars have long suggested that the final nine names in 1 Chr 25:4 can be read as a liturgical prayer. For a reconstruction and translation of the prayer, a summary of interpretative possibilities, and bibliography, see ELIATHAH.

J. CLINTON MCCANN, JR.

GIDDEL (PERSON) [Heb *giddēl*]. The name of two individuals present in the postexilic writings.

1. A temple servant who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:47 = Neh 7:49). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear in the parallel passage 1 Esdr 5:30. Instead the name Cathua appears in that sequence. Such differences raise questions about the sources of and literary relationships among 1 Esdras, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

2. A servant of Solomon who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:56 = Neh 7:58 = 1 Esdr 5:33). Although the NEB follows a portion of the manuscript tradition in its use of the textual variant "Isdael" for translating 1 Esdr 5:33, Hanhart (1974) prefers "Giddel" (Gk *giddel*) in his critical edition of 1 Esdras.

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MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

GIDEON (PERSON) [Heb *gid'ôn*]. One of the great tribal leaders in the era of the book of Judges (chaps. 6–8). He is also called Jerubba'al, for which a popular etymology is given in 6:25–32 (see below). Although his story is told at length, Gideon is not said to have "judged" (Heb *špṭ*) Israel, unlike most of the worthies in the book. Nor is it directly claimed by narrator or compiler that he "saved" (Heb *yš'*) Israel, as is claimed for several others: Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, and Tola. What did Gideon do?

He was remembered for mobilizing a force which at last put an end to annual raids at harvest time, from across the Jordan into the broad Jezreel–Esdraelon plain and down the coast. The raiders were camel-riding Midianites and other "Easterners." There were also, concurrently, the annual plunderings by Cisjordan nomads (Amalekites).

Gideon was also remembered for having an exceptional penchant for oracle-seeking and divinatory inquiry, but with finally unhappy results.

It is not clear that the Midianites in these stories are merely direct descendants from the Midianite power center of the N Hejaz in the era of Moses and the wilderness wanderings, since domesticated camels were not generally known in the area until ca. 1200 B.C.E. The stories may reflect a recent wave of Midianite immigration down the N–S desert routes, which introduced the military use of domesticated camels (most likely from E Anatolia) to both Hejaz and the wider biblical scene (Mendenhall 1973: 163–73). These domesticated camels made possible vastly extended patterns of seasonal transhumance, as well as long distance raids from oases in the eastern desert. If, as generally concluded, the stories relate to the early- or mid-11th century B.C.E., we may have events contemporary with the Edomite King Hadad's victory over Midian in S Transjordan (Gen 26:35).

While the raiding in Gideon's day extended as far S as the coastal town of Gaza, the major threat was posed for Manasseh and Ephraim.

The Israelite settlements of Manasseh and Ephraim were mostly concentrated in the Cisjordan hill country, where inhabitants lived in unwalled villages, subsisting mainly by terrace farming and small cattle husbandry (*IDBSup,* 11–13; Stager 1985). Scattered settlements out in the fertile plain of Jezreel were confronted with a new and unprecedented form of terror (Judg 6:2–6). It is difficult to imagine a more serious plight for village farmers who do not have the protection of standing armies, which early Israelites had repudiated precisely because of the high economic and social cost of such protection. The Midianites were like "a plague of locusts" (6:5; 7:12), causing harassed farmers to hide in caves or retreat to high country, leaving fields unguarded.

According to the narrative, there was also an inner-Israelite threat. The name Gideon means, roughly, "hewer, slasher, hacker." He was son of Joash (a Yahwist name), whose clan or regional village association, within the territory of Manasseh, was Abiezer. Joash and family lived at Ophrah (probably at or near 'Affuleh, a very exposed position out in the center of Jezreel valley). Joash was apostate, being the proprietor of a cult place at Ophrah where there was a sacred tree and where worship honored Baal. The place was also known for its Asherah. Thus was posed the inner threat to Israelite integrity and unity, "gods of the Amorites" ("westerners") as specified in 6:10.

The narrative of Gideon's career begins with a visit from Yahweh's recruiting angel. Like Abraham in Genesis 18, Gideon entertained God unawares. Unlike those who have fled, young Gideon is at home in Ophrah threshing wheat, not with oxen and sledge on an open elevation, but in the cramped space of a wine press, for fear of discovery by Midianites. Responding modestly to the messenger's announcement of a commission, couched in terms of Gideon's physical prowess, Gideon is partly reassured by the declaration that God is, in truth, with him—a clear echo of the call of Moses in Exodus 3 (Boling *Judges* AB, 128–37). Yet Gideon holds out for an authenticating sign, while hastening to meet the obligation of hospitality to the stranger. He prepares a banquet which becomes a sacrificial offering when the messenger, who has been resting in the shade of the sacred tree, brings forth fire from the rock (cf. the angelic audience with Samson's parents in

chap. 13). Gideon promptly builds an altar and names it: Yahweh shalom.

The story which comes next, where Yahweh speaks directly to Gideon (6:25–32), accounts differently for an altar which Gideon built at Ophrah. It also accounts for more, but it was necessary to learn first about Gideon's recruitment. In this story Gideon receives Yahweh's instructions to dismantle his father's altar, chop down the Asherah, replace them with an altar to Yahweh, and sacrifice to Yahweh his father's finest bull (Emerton 1978). He does this, but for fear of family and townsfolk, he does it under the cover of darkness. When the townsmen discover what has happened and demand the life of Gideon, Joash comes to his son's defense, having decided it will be better to let Baal, if he is a god, defend himself. With this account of his activity as reformer, the narrator legitimates by means of popular etymology the name Jerubbaʿal: "Let Baal Prosecute" (6:25–32).

The recently excavated 12th century "Bull Site," in the territory of Manasseh, may (Mazar 1983) or may not (Coogan 1987) have been Israelite. In any case it illustrates religious options which continued to be available after the reformation of Israel, in the post-Moses era.

Similarly, original significance of the element *baʿal* (semantic core "lord" or "master") in the name Jerubbaʿal is unclear. There are other examples of Israelites bearing names compounded with *baʿal,* presumably in reference to Yahweh, with no clear indication of religious syncretism. Within this narrative, however, given the description of Joash's place, the issue is Yahwism versus the old style fertility cult, in the productive plain of Jezreel. The story explains how Gideon the Yahwist reformer could properly wear a *baʿal* name. On the other hand, it was the manner in which he carried out the reform, and other deeds in the stories which follow, which earned for him the nickname "Hacker."

Gideon's reluctance and insistence upon divine assurance beforehand is also the theme of the fleece-test story. Gideon holds out for a private miracle and God complies (6:36–40).

The roles are reversed in the next two units. In the first, "the spirit of Yahweh clothed Gideon" (6:34), with the result that he rallies from the tribes of Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali (in addition to his own Manasseh) an army far too large for the occasion. Yahweh thus resorts to his own form of testing, so that all those who are afraid of war are allowed to go home. The force is reduced to a mere three hundred Abiezrites, those who lapped water like dogs. Is there any special significance to the way they drank? Does it imply some association or allusion to the clan of Caleb ("Dog")? It is most often interpreted as showing how Yahweh intentionally chose the less alert (7:2–8) to magnify the proportions of Yahweh's achievement in activating Gideon and the three hundred. It appears that two cycles of Gideon stories, one remembering Gideon with three hundred Abiezrites and the other involving those tribes whose claims and interests impinged directly on the Jezreel plain, have been brought together by a compiler to make a theological point.

A new set of orders next instructs Gideon to conduct a nighttime reconnaissance, from which Gideon learns that Yahweh has already inspired adequate fear of Gideon in the Midianite camp. There follows the sound and light demonstration—clay storage jars breaking to reveal blazing torches all around the camp. Terrified Midianites, unable to distinguish between friend and foe, slay many of their own before taking scattered flight with Gideon's force in pursuit (7:1–22).

At the beginning of chap. 7, the leader is introduced as "Jerubbaʿal" and the identity promptly clarified, "really Gideon" (7:1, again in a concluding framework verse, 8:35). Otherwise, in chaps. 7–8 the nickname is used exclusively, except in 8:29 and 35. Those verses, in turn, belong to a connective with the story of Abimelech in chap. 9, which identifies Jotham repeatedly (9:2, 5, 16, 19) as son of "Jerubbaʿal" (the name is Jerubbaʿal also in 1 Sam 2:11, but *yerubbešet* in 2 Sam 11:21).

While it is possible that the names Gideon and Jerubbaʿal should be interpreted as belonging originally to different individuals, it is more likely that two or more streams of tradition, each favoring one name or the other, have contributed to one continuous but sometimes disjointed story (Emerton 1976). There are other indications that this is so.

The story line continues with Gideon sending messengers throughout Ephraim, whose territory opposite the mouth of the Jabbok is in the path of Midianite retreat. Troops from Ephraim capture two Midianite princes, Oreb ("Raven") and Zeeb ("Wolf"), at sites where their execution fixed the names of Oreb's Rock and Zeeb's Winepress. Taking the heads of Oreb and Zeeb as evidence, the Ephraimites continue E and catch up with Gideon in Transjordan. They complain to Gideon about not being included in the initial muster, but are pacified by Gideon's admission that their achievement is the greater (7:24–8:3).

In the next narrative unit (8:4–28), Gideon is prowling the E Jordan valley in search of two Midianite Kings, Zebah and Zalmunna. To the towns of Succoth (probably Tell Deir ʿAlla) and Penuel (Tulul edh-Dhahab?), when they refuse to provision his troops, Gideon promises retaliatory vengeance. Place names appearing in the description of the pursuit (Karkor, Nobah, Jogbehah) suggest that the Midianites were headed for the protective reaches of the vast Wadi Sirhan in the E desert. Not all of them made it to safety. When Zebah and Zalmunna are captured and interrogated by Gideon, we learn that Gideon has been using the people's militia in pursuit of private blood vengeance (8:19). Is that why Succoth and Penuel were not persuaded to provide supplies and so, subsequently, were destroyed by Gideon? Is that also, perhaps, why, in telling the exploits of this one who was in fact a savior of Israel, Gideon is severely caricatured?

While the narrative's interest lies primarily in theological and characterological matters, there is nothing implausible about the deployment and strategy, reconnaissance and timing, pursuit and search in chaps. 7 and 8. These have been lauded by military experts as admirably credible (Malamat 1953).

The final story in the sequence recounts Israelites' appeal to Gideon to be the one who will "rule" (Heb *mšl*) over them. Without using the *mlk* words, it looks nonetheless like an offer of dynastic kingship. Gideon properly declines, where Yahweh is acknowledged sovereign, while requesting instead that the troops give him all the gold

rings that they had taken as booty. With the gold he makes an ephod, an object of hallucinatory aid in oracle-seeking (cf. story of Micah in Judges 17). That is, while piously declining the right to "rule," he eagerly accepted the power of oracular authority. The result was that "all Israel played the harlot" at Gideon's ephod, with dire consequences for Gideon's family (8:22–28). It is entirely possible, but not demonstrable, that at some point Gideon did bear the title of *melek* ("King"), in view of the name that he gave to the son of his Shechemite concubine: Abimelech, "My Father is King."

According to the compiler, Gideon's legacy to Israel was "forty years" (meaning perhaps "a generation") of "quiet," undisturbed by Midianite and other raiders from Transjordan. It was no doubt thanks to Gideon that "the day of Midian" became a standard way of saying "Israelite victory" (Isa 9:4 [Heb 9:3]; cf. Ps 83:11 [Heb 83:12] and Isa 10:26). Much later, Gideon is named in a NT roster of worthies who through faith had "conquered kingdoms" (Heb 11:32).

Gideon's wealth and prominence are also recalled in the tradition of his many wives and seventy sons, "his own offspring." The number seventy, which includes neither Jotham nor Abimelech, probably reflects a combination of genealogical and political relationship. There was a sonship which could be acquired by negotiation and demonstration of loyalty. Thus, at Gideon's death there would be a dissipation of leadership; this formed the basis for Abimelech's pursuit of kingship at Shechem, liquidation of the seventy, and Jotham's denunciation in Judges 9.

Gideon's career belongs to the mid-12th century, to judge from the massive destruction level at Shechem in Iron I, which is surely to be correlated with the Abimelech story.

Thus, Gideon/Jerubbaʿal was a military deliverer who, perhaps, for a period became "King" over a segment of the Israelite populace. Holding out for the exercise of highest authority, with or without the old labels, he had settled for something short of commendable faith in the view of the storytellers and their compilers.

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ROBERT G. BOLING

GIDEONI (PERSON) [Heb *gidʿōnî*]. Father of the chief (*nāśî*, Num 2:22) Abidan of the tribe of Benjamin. Each of the five references to Gideoni in the OT occurs in a tribal list where his mark of distinction is his status as the father of Abidan. Under the leadership of Gideoni's son Abidan, the tribe of Benjamin participated in the census of Israelite men able to go to war conducted by Moses (Num 1:11, 36–37), presented its offerings on the ninth day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (Num 7:60, 65), took its proper place on the W side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (Num 2:22), and assumed its position in the order of march at the Israelites' departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:24). The name Gideoni may mean: (1) "one with a disabled hand" (Noth *IPN*, 227), (2) "a youth" (*HALAT* 173), or (3) "one who cuts down trees" (*IDB* 4: 395).

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

GIDOM (PLACE) [Heb *gidʿōm*]. According to the RSV (Judg 20:45), the name of a place near the rock of Rimmon where the Israelites slew the last two thousand Benjaminites (more likely the last "two contingents [Heb *ʾalpayim*] of men") in the civil war that followed the rape of the Levite's concubine (Judges 19–20, esp. 20:4). The context suggests that Gidom was located in the wilderness E of Gibeah, although it is possible that the phrase *ʿad gidʿōm* does not delimit the geographical extent of this final battle ("as far as Gidom") but rather its duration ("until they had been cut down"), reading *gidʿōm* as an infinitive construct with a 3 masc. pl. suffix (so NEB and Boling, *Joshua* AB).

GARY A. HERION

GIFTS, SPIRITUAL [Gk *pneumatika, charismata*]. Special gifts bestowed by God on individual members of the Christian community for the edification of the whole community.

A. Background
B. Lexical Matters
C. Paul
   1. The Service of the Church
   2. The Assembly

A. Background

Biblical religion witnesses to the activity of the divine spirit (whether in the OT as *rûaḥ Yahweh* or in the NT as the HOLY SPIRIT) which infuses the human person in worship, service, and religious ecstasy. Examples in the OT range from the visitation of *ruaḥ* upon characters as diverse as Samson, Saul, Micah, and Ezekiel (Judg 14:6, 19; 1 Sam 10:10; Mic 3:8; Ezek 1:2) to the cultivating of natural skills and abilities in the case of Bezalel (Exod 35:30, 31) and the oracles of the prophets and sages of Israel (Wis 7:25–27; 9:17). The possession of "spiritual gifts," however, looks forward to the messianic age when Isa 11:2 was to be fulfilled and the spirit of Yahweh was believed to rest upon and endue God's anointed one. The latter event is associated with Jesus' baptism and ministry (according to the multistrand NT tradition, e.g., Luke 4:18–19) and epitomized in Acts 2:22; 10:38. After Pentecost, the birth of the Church was attested by apostolic "signs of power" as a mark of the new age of messianic fulfillment which had arrived with the exaltation of Jesus the Messiah and the gift of the divine Spirit (Acts 2:17–39). One phrase which sums up the manifestation of the

Spirit in the experience of NT Christians is "spiritual gifts," and the setting of the term in the new age, as part of the conquering, newborn elation the first believers felt, is an important factor in its understanding.

B. Lexical Matters

The general sense of the term "spiritual gifts" covers all endowments of the Spirit found in Christian experience and designed to be of service to the Church. Two Greek words are used in the NT: *pneumatika* (employed in the sense of "spiritual gifts" in e.g., 1 Cor 14:1, 12; and most likely 2:13; 12:1 and best translated with Sullivan as "gifts of inspiration") and *charismata* which is the more important term, found only in the Pauline corpus (sixteen times) and 1 Pet 4:10. *Charisma* means literally a "gift-in-grace," deriving from *charis*, "grace." At the heart of the word is God's free favor which rules out all notion of merit (Rom 4:4) or reward (Rom 6:23). It is, therefore, a term suited to express God's initiative in restoring humankind to wholeness and harmony with the divine purpose and could stand as a synonym for "eternal life," the supreme *charisma* (Rom 5:15; 6:23; 11:29). Paul's ministry is closely bound with the experience of this gift-in-grace (2 Cor 1:11), an idea found also in 1 Pet 4:10 where *charisma* is one of service which speaks and embodies the word of "grace." The intimate association of God's grace which justifies the godless (Rom 4:5) with *charisma* is emphasized by Käsemann who regards Paul's teaching on "spiritual gifts" as "the projection into ecclesiology of the doctrine of Justification by faith" (Käsemann 1964: 75–76).

Charisma, then, is bound up with *charis*. This link is attested in Philo (*leg All* III.78) but the use of *charisma* is rare, not found in non-Christian Greek writers or Josephus. The LXX evidence is uncertain (Sir 7:33 has *charis* in one manuscript tradition with *charisma* in Codex S; 38:30 has *to chrisma* with *charisma* as a textual variant in Codex B*). Theodotion uses *charisma* once to render the Heb *ḥesed*, covenant love (Ps 30[31]: 22[21]). The NT data have to be considered on their own, without much assistance from parallel sources; and the lexical distribution shows that both *pneumatika* and *charismata* are words preeminently belonging to the Pauline vocabulary.

C. Paul

From the wording of 1 Cor 12:1–11 it is clear that the issue of "manifestations of spirit" was a heated topic at Corinth. Paul pays tribute to the rich—if exotic—endowments of spiritual life found in that congregation (1 Cor 1:7). Evidently, the Corinthians had inquired of Paul how these gifts were to be exercised; hence the formula "I would not have you ignorant" (12:1) is meant to address the phenomena of enthusiasm and ecstatic utterances that were prominent features of Corinthian church life. The question raised has to do with *ta pneumatika*, best taken in the neuter sense of gifts exercised in public worship. Paul concedes that such signs of enthusiastic "spirit-power" (*pneumatika* may well be the Corinthians' own designation, conceded in 1 Cor 14:12; Schulz 1976: 454–56) are expressions of the Spirit's activity, but he proceeds to set them within a larger framework of God's *charismata*, a broader term referring to all manifestations of God's favor, finding particular and concrete expression in service of whatever kind. In so doing Paul has introduced a new set of criteria for evaluating spiritual gifts by setting them in an order of precedence and importance, and thereby he has corrected the Corinthians' value judgments.

1. The Service of the Church. "Spiritual gifts" *(charismata)* in the wider application which Paul prefers relates to the service of the Church and is set within the apostolic teaching of Christian calling. The chief criterion is not the display of some supernatural or paranormal activity but the use that is made of it. "The criterion of a genuine charisma lies not in the mere fact of its existence but in the use to which it is put" (Käsemann 1964: 71). Specifically, this implies that Christians recognize the *charisma* as the Lord's gift-in-grace, and employ it as a way of expressing obedience to his call and requirement. Seen in this total way, many facets of life are brought under the rubric of *charismata* (Rom 12:6). The Pauline categories are (a) kerygmatic, the means by which the Gospel is proclaimed and applied by apostles, prophets, evangelists, and teachers (1 Cor 12:28–31; 14:3–5, 29–32; cf. Eph 4:11; 1 Tim 4:14; 2 Tim 1:6 for later development into "office"); (b) diaconal, gifts of service (1 Cor 12:5: "acts of service") involving deacons, deaconesses, administrators, those who give assistance to others in distress, including almsgiving, hospitality, and care of the sick and widows (Rom 12:7–8, 13; 1 Cor 12:28; Phil 1:1; cf. 1 Tim 5:9–10, 16–17; Titus 1:8); (c) miracle-working and healing ministries covered by the term in 1 Cor 12:6 which takes in the role of those who practice healing with prayer, laying on of hands and exorcism (1 Cor 12:10, 28); (d) the endurance of suffering for the Gospel's sake (2 Cor 1:5–7; 4:7–12; 12:9–10; Col 1:24–25; and especially Phil 1:27–30 where both apostle and congregation are "gifted" [1:29] with the privilege of suffering on behalf of Christ); (e) special vocational giftedness which includes such general references as Rom 1:11 ("some spiritual gift"); 1 Cor 1:7 ("you do not lack and *charisma*") and more particular callings like that of celibacy or self-restraint within the married state (1 Cor 7:7). The fact that Paul can regard such abstinence from sex as a concession and as applicable for only a limited time (7:5) suggests that the *charisma* of continence within marriage is a special case and may not be available to those who practice normal marital relations. His eye is possibly on an unusual Corinthian practice of sexless marriage (1 Cor 7:36–38).

It is evident that Paul as himself an apostle of Christ (Rom 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1) appealed to the witness of his "mighty works" (Rom 15:17–20) as tokens of divine power which accompanied his ministry, though he is careful to hedge about these statements by never appealing to such signs as validating proofs and by qualifying his assertions with his stress on "Christ working through him" (Rom 15:18). In a polemical passage (2 Cor 12:11–13), he insists that what counted for him was fidelity to his apostolic call, not the "signs, wonders and miracles" which his opponents evidently laid claim to (2 Cor 12:12). Also to be considered here is Paul's own ecstatic or transcendental experience as "a man in Christ" (2 Cor 12:1–10). He was the recipient of "visions and revelations" and heard heavenly messages (12:4) which may be the same as what he elsewhere (1 Cor 2:9-10) refers to an unmediated contact with God by the Spirit. The "journey to paradise" motif (2 Cor 12:2) is

based on Jewish apocalyptic idiom (Revelation 4) which is mentioned in connection with favored Jewish heroes and holy people who were raptured to God's presence. In view of the special nature of this "mystical" experience for Paul—he summoned it from the past over fourteen years ago (2 Cor 12:2)—it is significant that he never built his case for apostolic authority on what was seen and heard, and has set the experience within a double frame (2 Cor 11:30–33 the flight from Damascus as he was lowered in a basket; 2 Cor 12:7–10 the dialogue with the Lord who did not grant his request for the removal of his thorn in the flesh) that emphasizes vividly his frailty and continuing weaknesses. His critics at Corinth charge him with being deficient in spiritual ecstasies (2 Cor 10:10; 13:9). In reply Paul makes it clear that such dissociative experiences as he has known (2 Cor 5:13; 1 Cor 14:18) have not brought him nearer to God than at other times. They have been marked by an intimacy too precious to reveal, and too exceptional for any case of apostolic validation to be built upon them. Paul gloried in his weakness. The failure on the part of the Corinthians to appreciate this led to serious consequence. As Lang (1986: 18) puts it, overrating the *charismata* misled the Corinthians into devaluing the cross of Christ.

2. The Assembly. Because of problems within the Corinthian community and in particular its services of worship Paul devotes considerable attention to spiritual gifts in a liturgical setting. In the section of 1 Cor 7:7 "each person has his *charisma* from God," Paul elaborates the rule expressed as to each person his or her own gift. Each person in the assembly is gifted with some *charisma*, though not all have the same gift. The setting here is seen in the dialogue-analogy of 12:14–21 (reflecting the unity of the human anatomy): the foot has no reason to object that because it is not the hand it is not part of the body; conversely the eye must not say to the hand, I have no need of you. God has designed the ecclesial body to be one, yet composed of many members (12:12, 20, 27). He has fashioned *charismata* to express unity-in-diversity, with no division within the body (12:25: *schisma* looks back to 1 Cor 1:10), no rivalry between the parts since all the members share a common life-in-the-Spirit (12:12, 13), and no justifiable sense of superiority since the stronger parts (those gifted with a more active faith based on "knowledge" and "wisdom," 12:8–9) have need of the weaker elements in the Church (those possessing only limited endowment). In fact, there should be a mutual interchange (12:25) and a complementarity based on the way all the *charismata* cohere to fit with the divine scheme (12:18).

The fact that the Spirit imparts *charismata* "as he determines" (12:11) and each gifted part of the ecclesial body is to occupy a place "as God chooses" (12:18) sounds the death knell to inordinate pride on the one side, and low self-esteem on the other. All the members have a special *charisma*, but one does not have all the *charismata;* and some *charismata* are not universally available (12:29–30; these rhetorical questions expect the answer no).

The second criterion laid down by Paul is that all the *charismata* serve one purpose, stated as the "good of all" (2 Cor 12:7). This axiom will be elaborated in chap. 14 where the apostolic directive is that all the gifts on display in congregational assembly should be directed to the upbuilding *(oikodomē)* of the entire company (14:5, 12, 26). In the list of nine gifts in 12:4–10 a representative number are itemized, probably in descending order of Pauline evaluation. There are three groups, each with a distinctive aim: (a) pedagogical ministries in the utterances of "wisdom" and "knowledge" twin capacities highly prized at Corinth and needing to be brought under the control of the Spirit lest they should minister to pride and speculation (1 Cor 8:1), and reliance on a private gnosis which benefits only the possessor. "Wisdom of this age" (1 Cor 1:20–25; 2:5–6; 3:19) does not serve to build up the congregation; but wisdom as a God-given insight into divine mysteries (2:7: cf. Eph 3:10–11; Col 1:9) does; (b) supernatural powers exemplified in deeds of faith, miracle-working abilities, and effective healings (12:9, 28, 30) suggest the presence of divine activity in relation to human weakness, sickness, and distress, though the Paul of Acts (Acts 14:8–10; 16:16–18; 19:11–12; 28:3–6, 7–10) is given a reputation as a wonderworker that is only marginally represented in the epistles (by contrast 2 Cor 12:1–10; cf. 2 Tim 4:20). (c) gifts of communication are expressed in the following terms—prophecy linked to the ability to evaluate the inspired utterances (of the prophets? 1 Cor 14:29–31); glossolalic speech, often simply called "tongues" (1 Cor 12:10, 28; 12:30; 13:1, 8; 14:5–6, 22–23, 39) or a "tongue" (14:2, 4, 9, 13–14, 26–27), best understood as an ecstatic cry or type of prayer-speech thought to articulate the language of heaven (*T. Job* 48–50) as a vehicle of praise and communication. So, because Paul will have the "tongue" express meaning for others and not simply serve to build up the glossolalic (14:2, 4a), he insists on the need for "interpretation of tongues" (1 Cor 12:10; 14:26), and the presence of an "interpreter" (14:28) who will exercise this *charisma* (12:30; 14:5, 13, 27). Only thus—in Paul's pastoral counsel—will the church be edified and worship be brought under the aegis of the rational in tandem with the affective. See I Cor 14:6 for Paul's preference for the more noetic gifts of "revelation" (uncovering the will of God for his people perhaps as directives and commands); "knowledge" of God's salvific plan in all its ramifications for the Church; "prophecy," inspired utterances which, unlike glossolalia, are marked by intelligibility and comprehensibility in the minds of the hearers; and "teaching," perhaps scriptural expositions based on the OT. Glossolalia, on the other hand, is to be understood as "speaking" and "praying" when the mind is inactive (14:14). For Paul this is less desirable on the ground that the congregation is not built up by this exercise (14:11); rather the individual glossolalic serves only to build up himself (14:4). Prophecy, to the contrary, involves the interplay of spirit and mind, and aims to edify the hearers, whether one's fellow-believers (14:3, 16–17) or outsiders (14:24–26).

This last reference introduces yet another criterion for the right and profitable use of *charismata* in the Pauline churches. It may be stated as a concern for good order and seemly behavior among the worshippers not only because other types of corporate practice—such as the confusion of all speaking in a strange tongue (14:11) or all speaking together—lead to disarray (1 Cor 14:17–28) but because Paul looks to the character of God as setting the

standard. He is not a God of disorder but of peace (harmony) (14:32), and any tendency that promotes the abandonment of control and produces the onset of uninhibited and unrestrained outpourings in glossolalic speech suggests that the worshippers are "possessed" by a demonic spirit (14:23). Thereby, they betray the nature of worship under the lordship of Christ (12:1–3). So the apostolic call is to permit glossolalia, with the necessary safeguards; to give priority to intelligible prophecy and revelation (14:30); and above all to promote good order and decorous conduct (14:40).

Another way of putting these three criteria—the unity to be safeguarded amid competing interests at Corinth, the concern for upbuilding of the entire company at worship, and the restraints needed to retain a semblance of good order—is to make love the indispensable accompaniment of whatever *charismata* are found in the Church. "Love" *(agapē)* is not one of the *charismata;* it is rather the Spirit's fruit (Gal 5:22). As such, it is the test of all the *charismata,* for if love is absent, all the gifts, however valued and heroic they may appear, lose their value (1 Cor 13:1–3). Only love, best defined as a determination to seek and apply the interests of God in other people, can act to ensure that the true meaning of a spiritual gift may be properly achieved. That implies that its function is controlled and channeled along those lines which promote the intention of God whose nature for Paul as for the other NT writers is most adequately described as love. Even gifts that Paul otherwise would applaud, such as "knowledge" and "prophecy," have their true function within a relationship of love; and even so they are limited to this age, in Paul's eschatology (1 Cor 13:8–13). Love which is as eternal as God's nature endures.

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RALPH P. MARTIN

GIHON (PLACE) [Heb *gîḥôn*]. The name of two sources of water; though it is possible that they are not independent of one another.

1. According to three connected communications, an important spring in Jerusalem, presented as the place where Solomon is said to have been anointed king (cf. 1 Kgs 1:33, 38, 45). The communication about a sacred tent from which the priest Zadok took the horn of oil for anointing (1:39) leads to the suggestion that the sacred ark had its place at the spring. There is no reason, however, to identify the tent for the ark pitched by David (2 Sam 6:17) with an institute outside the walls and never qualified as a sanctuary elsewhere. So the historical value may be doubtful. If instead of Gihon a better-known sanctuary (such as Gibeon) had been named here originally (Görg 1967: 129, but cf. Schmitt 1972: 191–93) or if the communication about the tent is based on a metaphorical use of the term *ʾōhel* meaning a temple building in Jerusalem (Rupprecht 1977: 84) or on a literary interpolation (Langlamet 1981: 88), is open to further discussions. According to 2 Chr 32:30, the spring had been blocked by king Hezekiah, who channeled the water down to the W side of the city. This information would be sustained if the so-called Inscription of Siloam (now in Istanbul) would refer to Hezekiah's activity giving a report about the last phase of the work possibly connected with the defense system against the Assyrians (but see Shiloh 1984: 23 who claims for a difference between an earlier "Siloam Channel" and "Hezekiah's Tunnel").

King Manasseh is said to have rebuilt an outer wall W of the spring (2 Chr 33:14), a communication without parallel within the report about Manasseh's reign in 2 Kings 21, and therefore of limited historical value.

Archaeological work at the spring of Gihon, now identical with ʿEn Sittī Maryam (Arabic ʿEn Umm ed-Dereğ), leads to identifying the spring as the "basic factor in the existence of the earliest Jerusalem" (Kenyon 1974: 39). The spring itself, "quite different in hydrological character from the ordinary sources on other sites, which generally are fed by regular sources or by the water table" (Shiloh 1984: 23), had been accessible by a shaft from the higher slope of the hill. This shaft, first identified by Warren in 1867 and reexamined by Vincent in 1911, has been regarded by Kenyon as the earliest access used for military purposes already by the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Jerusalem. According to Shiloh (1984: 24) Warren's Shaft belongs together with the "Siloam Tunnel" to a water system from the 10th–9th century B.C. connecting "the northern part of the city of David (and perhaps even its citadel) with the water source." The entrance area excavated in 1984 under the direction of Shiloh is now part of the "City of David Archaeological Garden."

2. According to Gen 2:13 the second mentioned river of the four headwaters separated from the main stream watering the paradise of Eden. The river is said to wind through the entire land of Cush. For identifying the water many attempts had been made (see Westermann *Genesis* BKAT, 297f.) The equation with the Nile River sustained by the African Cush (Ethiopia) and by translation in Jer 2:18 (LXX) lacks philological evidence, as is the attempt to identify the Gihon with the Nubian (Sudanese) part of the Nile. Further proposals regarding the later named Tigris and Euphrates point to a Mesopotamian river running to one of these main streams (cf. Lemaire 1981); but there is no name comparable with Gihon under the well-documented Mesopotamian geographical names. So should it be the best solution to identify the Gihon with the above-cited watering as the most important river for Jerusalem, and Zion itself as the center of the world (cf. Eising *TWAT* 1: 1010). Moreover, if the Pishon should be the Nile in mythical connection with the extending primordial ocean (cf. Görg 1987: 11–13), Gihon may be the next important river from the view of a Judean author being well acquainted with Egyptian ideas of primordial waterings. The

so-called geography of the paradise offers a kind of cartography, setting Jerusalem into the midst of the world and regarding Cush as a country in the S encircled by the river, possibly an allusion to the special contact of Jerusalem under Hezekiah to the Egyptian neighbor dominated by the 25th (Ethiopian) Dynasty.

This view may be strengthened by considering the prophetic vision of a spring gushing forth from under the Temple (cf. Ezekiel 47) as a utopic description of a river growing up to a stream of universal relevance. Such an aspect may correspond to the metaphorical reception of the Gihon together with the other rivers of paradise and the Jordan River by Sirach (24:23–33) in order to praise the growing of the Torah (cf. Eising *TWAT* 1: 1011).

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M. GÖRG

GIL'ADI, KEFAR. See KEFAR GIL'ADI.

GILALAI (PERSON) [Heb *gilālay*]. The son of a priest who participated in the Great Procession as one of the musicians during the dedication of the Wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12:36). He lived during the time of Ezra and Nehemiah in the 5th century B.C.

GARY C. AUGUSTIN

GILBOA, MOUNT (PLACE) [Heb *gilbōa'*]. One of a pair of mountains overlooking the Valley of Jezreel. The other is the Hill of Moreh. It was in this area that Saul fought the Philistines in the battle in which he lost his life. (1 Sam 31:1, 8; 1 Chr 10:1, 8). The Philistines gathered for battle at Shunem (M.R. 181223 modern Sôlem on the S slope of Mount Gilboa [McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 420]), while the Israelites mustered at Gilboa (1 Sam 28:4, the latter perhaps with reference to a town rather than the mountain as a whole since the MT lacks the full name "*Mount* Gilboa" at this point, cf. 1 Sam 31:1; so Reed *IDB* 2: 396). Mount Gilboa is modern Jebel Fuqu'ah, in the hills to the W of the Jordan valley midway between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea.

The difficulty in the account of the battle of Gilboa (1 Samuel 28–31 and its aftermath in 2 Samuel 1) has to do with the order of the narrative. As many commentators have noted (Driver *Samuel* ICC, 213–14; Hertzberg *1 and 2 Samuel* OTL, 217; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 422–23), 1 Samuel 28, which begins the account of the battle, appears to be interrupted by chaps. 29–30, which narrate David's rescue of Ziklag and his defeat of the Amalekites. In 1 Sam 29:1 the Philistines are said to be gathering at Aphek, which is N of the gathering-place (Shunem) mentioned in 1 Sam 28:4 and so logically prior to Shunem according to what would be their normal line of march (Driver *Samuel* ICC, 213–14; cf. Koizumi 1976: 63–64 who also reads the order of events this way). 1 Samuel 28 (the story of Saul and the witch of Endor on the evening of the battle of Gilboa) flows more naturally into 1 Samuel 31 (the account of the battle itself). Similarly, 1 Samuel 27 (David in the service of the Philistine Achish) flows naturally into 1 Samuel 29–30 (David released from Achish's service and the rescue of Ziklag). It is likely then that in terms of the order of events, 1 Samuel 29–30 are displaced.

Additionally, Samuel's speech (as a ghost) in 1 Sam 28:17–18 reminds the reader of Saul's failure to destroy the defeated Amalekites (1 Samuel 15), an episode which the prophetic editor of the books of Samuel understands as leading to YHWH's rejection of Saul. This material is likely an interjection which prepares the way for the story of David's defeat of the Amalekites at Ziklag (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 422–23).

The other references to Mount Gilboa refer back to the battle in which Saul dies (i.e., 2 Sam 1:6, 21; 2 Sam 21:12).

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JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

GILEAD (PERSON) [Heb *gil'ād*]. Three individuals in the Hebrew Bible bear this name.

1. The son of Machir and grandson of Manasseh (Num 26:29; 36:1; 2 Chr 2:21, 23). His six sons, whose descendants became significant tribal clans, were Iezer (Abiezer in Josh 17:2), Helek, Asriel, Shechem, Shemida, and Hepher (Num 26:30–32; Josh 17:2). The Manassite genealogy in 1 Chr 7:14–19 also names Gilead as the son of Machir but presents the other family relations in a way that is substantially different from that in Numbers 26. The text of 1 Chronicles 7 is corrupt at this point, and a number of different proposals have been made to correct it (Albright 1925: 28; Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 68–71; Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 110–12).

Elsewhere, Gilead's name is used to designate his descendants or their land as a whole (cf. Judg 5:17; 10:18; 1 Sam 13:7; 2 Sam 2:9), and it is often difficult to know which is intended. According to the folk etymology in Gen 31:47–48, "Gilead" derives from "Galeed" (*gal 'ēd*, "mound of witness") and originally designated the pile of stones that commemorated Jacob's covenant with Laban (Gen 31:43–50). A more recent suggestion, though, proposes that the name "Gilead" originally meant "rugged country" (cf. Ar *jalîd*, "rough," "rugged"), describing the terrain of Gilead in contrast to Bashan (Cohen *IDB* 2: 397).

2. The father of Jephthah, who lived in the land of Gilead and begot his famous son by a prostitute (Judg 11:1–2). Gilead had other sons by his wife, and these sons

expelled Jephthah from the family home in order to keep the inheritance for themselves.

3. A Gadite mentioned only in 1 Chr 5:14. He was an ancestor of Abihail, the father of the eleven (or ten; see SHAPHAT) sons listed in 1 Chr 5:12–13. Neither Gilead nor the others named in the Chronicler's genealogy for Gad (1 Chr 5:11–17) appear in other lists of Gadites (Gen 46:16; Num 26:15–18; 1 Chr 12:9–16—Eng 12:8–15) or elsewhere in the Bible.

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M. PATRICK GRAHAM

GILEAD (PLACE) [Heb *gilʿād*]. GILEADITE. An area on the E side of the Jordan River that became part of the Israelite inheritance.

A. Etymology and Usage

The name *gilʿād* is difficult to explain both as regards etymology and original usage. It is established in the OT forty-seven times as indeterminate and fifty-three times as determinate. The OT derivation of the word is found in Gen 31:48, from *galʿed* "witness cairn," reminiscent of popular etymology. The name survives in Arabic in the form *gelʿad*. It has been considered that the word incorporates a consonantal dissimilation. The root should be *gʿd*, meaning "curly (of hair), difficult (of terrain)." Since there are parallel examples of naming an area after the nature of the ground and Gilead was also forested (2 Sam cf. Jer 22:6), the meanings correspond to the structure of the landscape E of the Jordan. The word is both masculine and feminine. The indeterminate form has mostly the character of a *nomen gentile* or *nomen tribus* instead of the appellative designation of an area, but this is not always the case (cf. 1 Chr 2:21, 23; 7:14; and Josh 17:1).

Outside the OT the word is found in Ugaritic, Text 170 as a *nomen loci*, in Text 301 as a personal name, and in a royal Assyrian inscription from Nimrud, K 2649/III R 10, 2 "the town of *ga-al-ʾa-a-(za)*," possibly identical with Ramoth-gilead.

Whatever usage the name Gilead may have in the OT—as *heros eponymos* of a tribe (Num 26:29; Judg 11:1) to whom Machir was the father (Josh 17:1; 1 Chr 2:21, 23; 7:14), as the designation of a "tribe" (Judg 5:17; Hos 6:8), or as the name of a territory (Gen 37:25)—it is always connected with the region to the E of the Jordan. The inhabitants are often called Gileadites (Num 26:30; Judg 12:4–5).

B. Geography

In its widest extent Gilead covers the area from the Arnon in the S to Bashan in the N. The N limit is very vaguely expressed in the OT. The Yarmuk is never mentioned. To the E, the area is bounded by the desert. The Jordan in the W has never played the role of a historical border but is more of ideological character (Josh 22:19). The Jordan has several fords and although the valley is very deep, on both sides of the Jordan is an easily traversable plain several kilometers wide extending N from the Dead Sea. The Jordan River meanders from the Sea of Galilee (ca. 212 m below sea level) to the Dead Sea (ca. 394 m below sea level). The Jordan Valley is cut by numerous wadis which empty into the Jordan or the Dead Sea. The most outstanding wadis are Yarmuk, el-Jabes, Nahr ez-Zerqa, and the Jabbok in the N and wadis Kufrein, Wala, Mojib, and the Arnon in the S. Nahr ez-Zerqa is the main divider of Gilead and is regarded as the border of the Ammonites (Deut 3:16; Josh 12:2). N of this wadi, the landscape rises sharply to a height of nearly 1500 m forming the Ajlun mountains. The hill country S of the Jabbok is called Belqa and continues to the area just E of the Dead Sea with the Abarim summits including Mt. Nebo and Mt. Pisgah, which form the W limit of the plains of Moab (also named Mishor in the OT). A general description of the area is found in Deut 2:36–37. Sometimes the designation "half of Gilead" is used both of the area N of the Jabbok (Josh 12:5; 13:31) and S of the same cleft (Deut 3:12; Josh 12:2). This designation could have its origin in the topography or in the early history. Gilead together with Bashan is said to have been governed by two Amorite kings, Sihon in the S and Og in the N (Num 21; etc).

One topographical designation in the OT is *har gilʿād* (Cant 4:1) or *har haggilʿād* (Gen 31:21, 25; Deut 3:12; Judg 7:3) which refers to the mountain district of Gilead, otherwise *ʾereṣ gilʿad* (five times) and *ʾereṣ haggilʿad* (ten times), "the land of Gilead," are used. "The cities of Gilead" (mentioned in Num 32:3, 26; Deut 3:12; Josh 13:25; and Judg 12:7) refers to the cities of Reuben and Gad. Havvoth-jair is placed in N Gilead according to Num 32:41 and Judg 10:4 (cf. Deut 3:4). Very few city names occur in the N, but lists count several cities in the S (Num 32:3, 34–38; Josh 13:16–20; Isa 15–16). Most of the same names are also found on the Moabite stone.

One of the products which made Gilead famous and reappears in the book of Jeremiah (8:22; 46:11), was balm, a drug which was evidently exported to Egypt (Gen 37:25). According to Pliny (*HN* 12.117) balm was very rare and in the days of Alexander the Great only a spoonful of balm could be collected on a summer day. Vespasian took balm plants to Rome and Pompey boasts of carrying them in his triumph (Pliny *HN*, 12.111).

From the Dead Sea bitumen or asphalt was brought and used as insulation or packing material, e.g. in tombs (Tell es-Saʿidiyeh).

C. History

Gilead is mentioned for the first time in Gen 31:23 in relation to Jacob's settlement with Laban in the mountains of Gilead. Ideologically it is not by mere accident that Jacob consents to a contract with Laban in this area. We are told about a treaty which tends to show Jacob as the dominant party. He succeeded in shaking off the Aramean yoke, would have another settlement with his brother Esau/Edom, and after his enigmatic wrestling at the ford of the Jabbok, the name Israel was given to him (Gen 32:29). Jacob, *heros eponymos* of the N kingdom, thus legitimated the area on the other side of the Jordan as Israelite property. When conquering Gilead, Moses had to defeat the two Amorite kings, Sihon and Og, who together governed all Gilead and Bashan (Deut 4:47–49). The tribes of Reuben and Gad asked for and got their inheritances in

the S, (cf. Num 32 and Josh 13) and the E branch of Manasseh settled in the N. The E Jordan Valley fell to Gad.

The history of Machir is enigmatic. He is named "the father of Gilead" (Num 26:29; Josh 17:1). Machir took Gilead (Num 32:39) and Moses gave him Gilead (Deut 3:15). Machir was certainly a Cisjordanian tribe (Judg 5:14) until he settled in the E. There are also other sub-clans as Jair and Nobah. Gilead as a tribal name is mentioned together with Reuben in Judg 5:17 and seems to represent the N part of the area. These tribes did not take part in the Cisjordanian war. There was marked dissension between the Israelite groups in the W and in the E. Ephraim's impatience over the statements of independence among the Gileadites under Jephthah (Judg 12:1–6), points to a W self-confidence of domination over Gilead. The ideological and tribal connection between E and W also involved the question of political power.

Saul built up his kingdom by winning loyalty in the E by rescuing Jabesh-gilead (1 Sam 11) when the city was besieged by the Ammonites. And from Gilead he could then attack the Philistines in the W. After Saul's death, his son, Ishbaal, tried to create a center of power in Mahanaim to reconquer the Cisjordan (2 Sam 2). It failed as the history worked for David. When the latter had taken "the reins of the land" in the W (2 Sam 8:1), he established his hegemony over the area E of the Jordan, and through his victories over the Arameans and the Ammonites he got definite control of Gilead, where David himself had to retreat when his son Absalom revolted against him (2 Sam 15–18).

The reasons for the severe battles for sovereignty over Gilead were not only militarily strategic, but also commercially so. When David broke the power of the Philistines in Cisjordan and signed a treaty with Hiram of Tyre, he controlled the W trade route between Egypt and Damascus, the *Via Maris*, and by his take-over of Gilead he was in a position to control trade along the King's Highway (Numbers 21). The census which concludes 2 Samuel and which forms the epilogue to David's powerful reign includes the land E of the Jordan, which Israel had claimed since the period of the Conquest.

For Solomon, Gilead was a matter of domestic politics (1 Kgs 4:7–19) and three of his administrative districts covered Transjordan. The information on Solomon's building projects (1 Kgs 9:15–22) does not mention a single town in the E but there are indications that copper was refined in the Jordan Valley (1 Kgs 7:46).

After the division of Solomon's empire, Gilead in its widest aspect was joined to the N kingdom although Rehoboam was of Ammonite blood on his mother's side (1 Kgs 14:31). It is possible to discern in Jeroboam's activities a strategic tendency in the organization of the new N kingdom. He fortified Shechem and Tirzah in the W and Penuel in the area of the Jabbok. It may have been an ideological complement to Mahanaim in line with the revival of the Bethel cult (Gen 32:24–32). Shoshonq's invasion of Palestine (1 Kgs 14:25–26), yields in the Karnak inscription reference to at least four towns, Adama, Succoth(?), Penuel, and Mahanaim, which were pillaged in the E, on which the OT is silent.

During the divided kingdom, control of Gilead was an essential element in the policy of the N Israelite kings. But they had to fight the Arameans in the N, especially at Ramoth-gilead and the Moabites in the S. The effort of the Omride kings to keep a strong hand on Gilead may be regarded in terms of economic policy. The state of tension between E and W which sometimes arose became the demise of King Jehu. He was killed by Shallum, the son of Jabesh, a Gileadite (2 Kgs 15:10). Israel's chances of freeing itself from the Arameans depended on Assyria and Adad-nirari III who finally crushed Aram, who had "threshed Gilead with threshing sledges of iron" (Amos 1:3).

Jehoash and Jeroboam II recovered all the region, but Israel's star began to wane during the later years of Jeroboam's reign and after him there was one palace revolution after another. Pekahiah was murdered by Pekah who was supported by the Gileadites (2 Kgs 15:25). Pekah also entered a coalition with Rezin of Damascus and according to 2 Kgs 16:6, a campaign materialized E of the Jordan in which the Arameans forced their way through Gilead as far S as Elath. Pekah was then overthrown by a pro-Assyrian phalanx led by Hoshea. Gilead became just an Assyrian province (Isa 8:23) and was conquered by Tiglath-pileser (2 Kgs 15:29). We do not know if Josiah had any special interest in Gilead. Ishmael, the murderer of Gedaliah, had support from the Ammonite king Baalis and he was possibly the last important usurper from the E (Jer 41).

In the OT, the history of Gilead is written from a Cisjordanian point of view. Since the tribes Reuben, Gad, and half-of-Manasseh (and with them related clans) are said to have settled there, the land of Gilead was regarded as a part of the land of Israel. Gad is mentioned in the Mesha Inscription, but in the so-called P ideology, Gilead is excluded and the river Jordan is regarded as frontier (Num 34:12; Ezek 47:18) and in Josh 22:19, Transjordan is considered unclean (cf. Num 32). There were three Levitical cities E of the Jordan (Deut 4:41–43). Psalms 60 and 108 speak of Gilead as belonging to God's patrimony and in the prophetic talk of restoration, Gilead is specially mentioned (Jer 50:19; Mic 7:14; Zech 10:10; Ob 19).

D. Archaeology

The warm climate of the Jordan Valley gave possibilities for very early civilizations and Jericho, together with Beidha, had communities more than 10,000 years ago. Archaeological surveys show that humans lived there from the beginning of the Old Stone Age around 450,000 years ago. Remains of a Neolithic culture are also found in the Wadi Yarmuk. Excavations have been carried out since 1930 at Tuleilat el-Ghassul where remains from an outstanding Chalcolithic culture have been found. Houses were decorated with painted frescoes in polychrome. Some of the hundreds of dolmens spread over the area seem to have been erected in this period. The EB is represented, and at Bab ed-Dhra in the Lisan a very extensive cemetery from this period has been found. No major MB sites have been excavated so far, but the typical fortification of the period, the *glacis*, has been found. The theory that Transjordan was a nomadic area between 1900–1300 B.C. can no longer be accepted. Surveys and excavations show that the area continued to flourish during the LB (1550–1200 B.C.). Sites as Tabaqat Fahil (Pella), Deir Alla, Tell el-Mazar, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, Madaba, Jalul, etc. and cave tombs in the

Baqʿah Valley show a large wealth of objects and pottery typical for this period. The Square Temple at the Amman airport is dated to the LB as is possibly the building found at El Mabrak. The first written records appear now at Tell Deir Alla and at Baluʿa.

During the Iron Age (1200–586 B.C.), Gilead was governed sometimes by the Israelites, sometimes by the Arameans, and sometimes by the Ammonites and the Moabites. Architectural remains from several sites indicate that the Iron Age cultures E of the Jordan attained a high degree of prosperity. There were large cities, well planned with magnificent water installations. Finds of glass beads of very high iron content (50 percent) in burial caves in the Baqʿah Valley suggest an iron industry in the area already in Iron Age IA (ca. 1200–1050 B.C.). There are iron mines in the Ajlun area. Numerous megalithic forts were positioned along the trade routes. Several inscriptions and ostraca provide many interesting details of the history. The Moabite Stone, found in 1868 at Dhiban, gives the E opinion of the Israelite hegemony in the area N of the Arnon in the 9th century B.C. At Tell Deir Alla was found (in 1967) a remarkable inscription on cement. On paleographic grounds, it is dated to the 8th century B.C. and tells about the nightly visions of "the seer of the gods, Balaam, Beor's son" (cf. Num 22–24).

At Tell Mazar in the Jordan Valley ostraca have been found, which date to the 7th–6th century B.C. Hebrew, and especially Ammonite, influences are evident in the texts (cf. the inscriptions from Tell Siran, the Amman Citadel, and the Amman Theatre). From the Persian period (ca. 539–332 B.C.), little is known except that citadels were built along the routes (Tell es-Saʿidiyeh). The Hellenistic period (ca. 332–63 B.C.) offers especially one place of biblical interest, namely Araq el-Emir situated W of Amman. There the Tobiad family resided until Hyrcanos was overwhelmed by the Seleucids in ca. 175 B.C. A great Qasr surrounded by an artificial moat was built, and in a short inscription on stone the square letters of the Hebrew alphabet appear for the first time (ca. 190 B.C.).

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M. OTTOSSON

GILEAD, BALM OF. See BALM.

GILGAL (PLACE) [Heb *gilgāl*]. A common place name in the OT. In all but two cases (Josh 5:9; Josh 12:23), it is prefixed with the definite article *(haggilgāl),* or the definite article and preposition (*baggigāl,* as in Josh 4:19). The name appears to mean "circle (of stones)," apparently based on a duplication of the root *gll* "to roll" or "roll away." The MT refers to at least three, and perhaps as many as five, distinct locations by this name.

1. A place near Jericho where the Israelites established their first encampment after crossing the Jordan River (Josh 4:19). As a memorial of passing over the Jordan on dry land, the Israelites set up at Gilgal twelve stones taken out of the dry river bed (Josh 4:20). It was here that the generation born during the wilderness wanderings was circumcised (Josh 5:2–9). The connection of the name Gilgal with the verb form "I have rolled away" *(gallôtî)* is perhaps better seen as a word play rather than a folk etymology. The Israelites celebrated their first Passover in the promised land at Gilgal (Josh 5:10–11), at the conclusion of which the provision of manna ceased (Josh 5:12). During their encampment at Gilgal, the Israelites were approached by emissaries of Gibeon, who "tricked" them into agreeing to a nonaggression pact (Josh 9:6). In fulfillment of this agreement, the Israelites used Gilgal as a base for their attack on the anti-Gibeonite coalition (Josh 10:6–7, 9, 15), and it was to Gilgal that they returned after their victorious sweep through S Canaan (Josh 10:43). It was also here that Joshua granted Hebron to Caleb as a reward for faithfulness during the wilderness wanderings (Josh 14:6). The allotment of tribal territories recorded in Joshua 15–19 is also implicitly associated with Gilgal. Judg 2:1 records the movement of the angel of the Lord from Gilgal, where he had previously appeared to Joshua (Josh 5:13–15), to BOCHIM, apparently signaling a downturn in Gilgal's significance. It is possible that this downturn resulted from the capture of Gilgal by the Moabites, for it is in the vicinity of Gilgal (Judg 3:19) that EHUD assassinates Eglon, king of Moab.

In the time of Samuel, Gilgal appears to have undergone a renaissance, becoming an important cultic center. It was one of the three places where Samuel sat during his yearly judicial cycle (1 Sam 7:16). Following their initial encounter, Samuel asked SAUL to await him at Gilgal (1 Sam 10:8). It is here that Samuel makes Saul king (1 Sam 11:14–15), and here where Saul rallied the Israelites after Jonathan's victory over the Philistine garrison at GEBA (1 Sam 13:3–4). Impatient because Samuel was late, Saul

presumptuously made burnt offerings at Gilgal, resulting in a stinging rebuke from Samuel (1 Sam 14:8–15). That such offerings were considered appropriate at Gilgal under certain circumstances is demonstrated by the reference to peace offerings performed when Saul was made king (1 Sam 11:15). After his victory over the Amalekites, Saul met Samuel at Gilgal (1 Sam 15:12–13), where his failure to destroy the flocks of the Amalekites called forth another rebuke from Samuel (1 Sam 15:22–30), resulting in Saul's rejection as king. Saul's unacceptable excuse, that he was saving the flocks for sacrifice at Gilgal, is further indication of the cultic significance of the site at this time. A few years later, the men of Judah gathered at Gilgal to greet David on his return from exile following the death of Absalom (2 Sam 19:15).

Gilgal fades into obscurity until the 8th century, when in the thought and words of Amos and Hosea it becomes a symbol of apostacy. In the book of Amos, Gilgal appears in parallel with Bethel as a symbol of transgression and illegitimate sacrifice (Amos 4:4), and the people are encouraged to seek Yahweh instead of Bethel and Gilgal (Amos 5:5). Hosea warns the sons of Ephraim against entering into Gilgal (Hos 4:15), tells them that they have been rejected because of the evil they have done in Gilgal (Hos 9:15), and informs them that sacrifices in Gilgal are useless (Hos 12:11). Only Micah presents a positive image of Gilgal when, as part of Yahweh's legal case against his people because of their violation of the covenant, he asks them to "remember what happened from Shittim to Gilgal" (Mic 6:5).

Some scholars (e.g., Kraus 1951) have argued that the description in Joshua 3–6 of the events surrounding the crossing of the river Jordan reflect an annual cultic celebration in which these events were reenacted. This is a provocative, but also highly speculative, theory. It is difficult to believe that such a celebration would have been entirely ignored in other portions of the OT, especially if it were associated with one of the other major feasts of the cultic calendar.

The only OT clue to the exact location of ancient Gilgal occurs in Josh 4:19, where it is located "on the east border of Jericho," meaning, of course, the territory of Jericho and not the city itself. Although Tell en-Nitla, about 3.5 km E of Jericho, seems to provide the best fit for this description, excavations have yielded no evidence for occupation before the Byzantine period (Muilenberg 1955: 19–20). Two more promising candidates are to be found in the vicinity of Khirbet Mefjir (M.R. 193143), about 3 km NE of Jericho. Archaeological soundings at one of these sites, a little N of Khirbet el-Mefjir, yielded characteristic Iron Age pottery (Muilenberg 1955), while work at the other site, slightly W of Khirbet el-Mefjir, left the question unanswered (Bennett 1972; Landes 1975). Although it seems quite possible that ancient Gilgal is to be found somewhere nearby, its exact location remains enigmatic.

2. A location in the S hill country of Samaria, near Bethel. It was here that Elijah and Elisha began their final journey to Transjordan (2 Kgs 2:1). Although some have identified this place with Gilgal near Jericho, the context clearly refers to a location from which one "went down" to Bethel (2 Kgs 2:2). This seems to indicate a place higher in altitude and perhaps to the N of Bethel. It has most commonly been identified with modern Jiljulieh (Muilenberg *IDB* 2: 398), which occupies the summit of a hill approximately 12 km N of Bethel (M.R. 171159). Despite the clear reflection of the ancient name, it is not yet known whether the site was occupied during the Iron Age. It is possible that the miracle in which Elisha purified a bowl of accidentally poisoned pottage (2 Kgs 4:38–41) is to be associated with this hill country Gilgal, although it could just as well be connected with Gilgal near Jericho.

3. A station on the N border of the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:7). Alt (1953) has persuasively argued that the border list of Joshua 15 is derived from an ancient legal document delineating the territorial claims of the tribes during the period of the Judges. In the parallel passage (Josh 18:17) describing the S border of Benjamin, the name Geliloth appears in place of Gilgal. Given the fact that both words are derived from the same root *(gll)*, these are obviously variants referring to the same border station. There are no objective criteria that allow us to choose one variant over the other. Although some scholars have sought to identify this border point with Gilgal near Jericho, the context clearly indicates a location much closer to the ascent of Adummim, convincingly identified with a ridge approximately half-way on the road between Jerusalem and Jericho whose red color is reflected in its modern Arabic name, Talat ed-Damm (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 367–68). The nearby ruins at Khan el-Ahmar (M.R. 181133), traditional location of the Inn of the Good Samaritan, have often been identified with the ancient border station. However, recent archaeological survey has produced no evidence of Iron Age occupation at Khan el-Ahmar, leading to a suggestion to identify ancient Gilgal/Geliloth with Araq ed-Deir (M.R. 180133), an area of ruins approximately 1.5 km W of Khan el-Ahmar where some indication of Iron Age occupation has been found (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 367).

4. In the MT, the list of kings defeated by Joshua includes reference to a "king of Goiim at Gilgal" (Josh 12:23). The RSV, following the LXX, reads Galilee in place of Gilgal. This suggests a possible identification with the Galilean site of Haroseth-ha-goiim mentioned as the home of Sisera in Judg 4:2. However, if we prefer to follow the MT, then we must assume the existence of a Canaanite city by the name of Gilgal. Unfortunately, clues to its location are minimal. If we assume that the list of defeated kings proceeds in geographical order, which is not entirely untenable, the king of Gilgal's appearance between Dor and Tirzah suggests a location somewhere on the E edge of Sharon Plain. If this is acceptable, then the ancient name may well be preserved in the modern town of Jiljuliyeh (*GP*, 327), approximately 5 km N of Aphek (M.R. 145173).

5. The reference to Gilgal in Deut 11:30 remains enigmatic. The preceding verse gives the distinct impression that reference is being made to a location somewhere in the vicinity of Mount Ebal and Mount Gerazim, that is, near ancient Shechem. This is further strengthened by the reference to the Oak of Moreh, which Gen 12:6 clearly locates at Shechem. Thus, it seems that an as yet unidentified location somewhere in the vicinity of Shechem also bore the name Gilgal. Perhaps this is the same Gilgal as that known to Elijah and Elisha (see #2 above). However,

many scholars feel that the overall context of this verse, referring as it does to entrance into the promised land, requires that Gilgal near Jericho (#1 above) be the point of reference. One provocative idea relates these verses in Deuteronomy to a rabbinic tradition suggesting that the Israelites utilized artificial heaps of stone as replicas of Ebal and Gerazim as part of a cultic celebration at the more famous Gilgal (Brownlee *ISBE* 2: 471).

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WADE R. KOTTER

GILGAL (PREHISTORIC SITES). Six prehistoric sites were uncovered in 1973–74 on a low ridge and in a flat valley nearby, which were formed by the lisan bed in the lower Jordan Valley about 12 km N of Jericho. This ridge stands on the E part of the Salabiya Valley and is 220 m below sea level. Three sites were found on the ridge: Gilgal I (Pre-Pottery Neolithic A), and Gilgal II and VI (attributed to the Natufian Culture). In the valley are sites III and IV which are PPNA and site V, also attributed to the Natufian. In the past they may have been one unit while in a later period erosion activity cut the ridge and separated most of the sites by gullies.

This entire area lies between the Irano-Turanian and the Saudi Arabia plant belt with around 150 mm of rain, very mild winters and very hot summers. Only in Natufian times did humans arrive in this area, when the salty lisan lake which covered most of the Jordan Valley dried and a sweet water spring was exposed. Traces of a large deep swamp were also left on the W side of the Gilgal ridge. The PPNA people followed the Natufian people in this area, making the span of human occupation in this area ca. 9000–7600 B.C.E. Beyond this period, very little is known about the exploitation of the area. The water sources probably ran out, and it has remained barren and neglected almost until modern times.

A section has been dug in most of the sites mentioned, but only in Gilgal I has systematic excavation continued since 1974. The site is about 3–4 dunams and is located on the ridge and its W slope. On the surface, traces of stone walls of about 15 oval structures were seen, some of which have been examined. Although very close to the surface, the house floors were still very rich in finds. On most of the house floors which were white, a flat stone with cup-holes was found, sometimes along with a grinding stone. The arrowheads were of El Khiam points type with some variations; there also were long sickle blades, borers and a few axes, all made from flint. Polished axes were made of limestone and basalt and there were also upper grinding stones and some polishers from basalt.

In the heart of the site, almost on top of the ridge, a wide section was dug and two major levels have been identified. Level 1, (the upper one) has lighter soil material, similar to mudbrick, and the lower Level 2, has walls of dark grayish soil. The lowest house uncovered (No. 11) is ovoid, its daub walls remain to a height of 50 cms. The house floor was laid on a very compact pebble foundation; similar pebbles were seen on sites III and IV. This house contained large quantities of carbonized seeds of oats and barley and a handful of acorns and pistachioes, which were probably stored in small containers. In a different corner of the same house some very significant objects were found, such as three human figurines made of clay (perhaps burnt), and a bird figurine carved from limestone, as well as large pieces of asphalt that had coated baskets, which still bore the basketry and showed quite high quality craftmanship. Another human figurine carved from limestone and carrying signs of a skirt was found on a floor of building No. 10. The combination of the store of seeds and the above-mentioned objects indicates a new symbolic thought and behavior of the people of that time.

The economy of the people was based on gathering wild plants and hunting, mainly birds, fowl, crabs and gazelles. The carbon dating taken from the seeds yielded dates ranging from 7900–7800 B.C.E.

The rich finds in the Jordan Valley sites correspond to the specific environment and location of this area: the spring environment which allowed special exploitation, the relatively short distance to the Dead Sea, a source of asphalt, which was so frequently used by these people. The clayish soil was conducive to varied usages—for use in bricks, and later on for pottery.

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TAMAR NOY

GILGAMESH EPIC. A masterpiece of ANE literature, the Gilgamesh Epic (GE) is composed in Akkadian. It features the adventures of Gilgamesh, a king said to rule the S Mesopotamian city of Uruk around 2600 B.C.E. Since Gilgamesh has left us no contemporaneous monuments, scholars debate whether he really existed. Gilgamesh's exploits in the GE, however, are mostly beyond historical evaluation. In other traditions and in omen literature, Gilgamesh is invoked as a mighty builder, but also as an infernal deity.

A. Sources
B. Versions

C. Contents of Two Versions
D. Gilgamesh and Biblical Studies

A. Sources

The GE is a long narrative with multiple episodes, allocated to at least 10, but no more than 12 tablets, each averaging about 300 lines (an afternoon's listening). One native tradition simply refers to the series by its opening line, "He who saw all." Sources for the epic's various episodes may have circulated in Sumerian as early as the Ur III Dynasty (2100–2000 B.C.E.). Written or copied as much as half a millennium after the fall of Ur, these narratives may well be the products of learned Semitic scribes. Of the following self-contained Sumerian compositions, the first three have echoes within the GE: Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living; Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven; Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld; Gilgamesh and Agga; The Death of Gilgamesh. A Sumerian flood story which does not feature Gilgamesh is eventually redrafted for inclusion in the GE.

B. Versions

We do not yet know when and how the independent narratives about Gilgamesh were first woven into a whole; a very late tradition, which is beyond present confirmation, has assigned the composition of the epic to a Gilgamesh contemporary, a diviner named Sin-leqi-unninni. By the LB Age, Gilgamesh's adventures had come into full vogue in the Near East so that major Mesopotamian sites continue to yield GE copies and fragments (some as yet unpublished). Emar in Upper Syria and Megiddo in Canaan have contributed Akkadian fragments as has Hattušaš, capital of the Hittite empire. Additionally, Hattušaš has produced Hittite and Hurrian adaptations of Gilgamesh's exploits.

Because no complete edition of the epic has survived from a single site, scholarship has created a composite using tablets originally belonging to diverse renditions (or recensions) of two major versions of the GE: one stemming from the latter half of the Old Babylonian (OB) period (1750–1600 B.C.E.), the other influenced by Neo-Assyrian (NA) scholarship (750–612 B.C.E.), but refined over the next four centuries. A third edition, of which we have but fragments, may have been completed during the Middle Babylonian (MB) period (around 1250 B.C.E.). Some scholars attribute one of the later versions to the legendary Sin-leqi-unninni. The various versions of the GE share major characters as well as specific episodes. They differ appreciably, however, in how they begin or end, and in the way they manipulate individual scenes. They also diverge in their perspectives on life, their controlling metaphors, and the themes which give integrity to the whole narrative. A comparison may be made with the various editions of the Tristan narratives which shared characters and episodes, but addressed differing audiences.

C. Contents of Two Versions

The NA version of the GE opens with the poet's invocation and "argument" about a man who has seen and accomplished everything possible; who has learned much from common experience as well as from hidden sources (the netherworld?); who has knowledge of a pre-diluvian past inaccessible to ordinary mortals; who chooses to record everything about his exhausting journey. Nothing of the tale, therefore, is invented, and lest anyone doubts its authenticity or accuracy, the poet takes the audience on a tour of Uruk. The listeners draw closer to its walls, enter its Eanna temple, and inspect the fortifications built by the protagonist. They are guided to a corner where, upon extracting a lapis lazuli tablet from a copper box, they can read a most beautiful hymn to the hero, Gilgamesh: an awesome king, offspring of the goddess Ninsun and of the mighty Lugalbanda. This hymn, in fact, inaugurates the OB version of the GE.

Nothing in ancient literature matches the generative and integrative powers of this poem, as it prepares the audience to expect the extraordinary: deeds eliciting pain and suffering, but also conferring illumination and wisdom, abound, and mysteries about the Flood and the Netherworld are resolved. The poet's exercise is not just pedagogic, however, for in disclosing Gilgamesh's ultimate achievement—the building of Uruk's defenses—is within human ability, the poet accords the audience a standard by which to measure Gilgamesh's triumphs or failures and instills in it an ironic vision by which to evaluate flaws when he acts beyond human capacity.

The tale quickly establishes its setting, opening on an obstreperous king who will not grant his urban subjects their dignity. Upon appeal, the gods ask Aruru to produce a "double"—the Akkadian here is difficult—of Gilgamesh, equally aggressive, so that the two can absorb each other's energy. Aruru, however, creates a double of the god Anu, thereby changing the future of that relationship. Enkidu's formation reverses the virtues of cultured folk: he cannot groom, feeds like animals, and prefers their company. Enkidu, therefore, compares to Gilgamesh, not in physical stature (although the OB version is literal here), but in his ability to thwart nonurban dwellers who live by snaring animals. A frustrated hunter solicits Gilgamesh who sends a harlot to tame Enkidu. The NA is psychological in recounting the ensuing transformation. Even after a week of mating, Enkidu establishes no emotional bonds with the woman. When he eventually discovers his humanity, sexuality is not the teacher; rather, the human odor he absorbs frightens the animals into abandoning him to the lass's comfort. The harlot moves him from his now empty world to that of Gilgamesh. There, the goddess Ninsun readies her son Gilgamesh for Enkidu's arrival by interpreting powerfully foretelling dreams.

In the OB version, however, the animals' rejection does not cause Enkidu's illumination, instead, the harlot becomes maternal and pedagogic immediately after their sexual bout. She shares her clothing with Enkidu and leads him, "like a child," to a gathering of shepherds. The scene turns comic as Enkidu serially reverses those habits which separate him from humankind, making him hunt what he once protected. In the OB the role of Ninsun is minimized as a shorter dream sequence is placed before the harlot comes to Enkidu.

The story in tablet 2 is carried best by the OB version. Enkidu enters Uruk and blocks Gilgamesh's entrance into the nuptial hall (where presumably Gilgamesh is abusing his power). The two lock into a terrible fight from which Gilgamesh emerges victorious. However, recognizing each other's strength, they become fast friends.

Tablet 3 is likewise damaged, but much less so in the OB than in the NA version. Gilgamesh seeks glory beyond Uruk, despite Enkidu's premonitions about sinister ends. The NA retains Ninsun's maternal role: she frets over her son's restlessness, places him under the protection of the Sun-god Shamash, and binds Enkidu to his service. The OB, however, focuses on Gilgamesh's plans and, in a remarkable passage, has Gilgamesh admit to human limitations, "Who my friend can scale heaven? Only the gods live forever under the sun. As for mankind, numbered are their days; whatever they achieve is but wind." Gilgamesh's aspirations are not yet beyond human achievements, for although he expects to die battling Huwawa (NA: Humbaba), his deed will long be remembered. In this version, as the town forges powerful weapons for the heroes, it is Gilgamesh who seeks Shamash's help.

The struggle against Humbaba/Huwawa occupies two badly preserved tablets. The 4th tablet of the NA version finds Gilgamesh and Enkidu quickly reaching their destination ("the distance of a month and fifteen day they *traversed* in three days") and egging each other to enter their foe's lair. Tablet 5 is set within the Cedar Forest, which in the OB version includes Mt. Hermon and the Lebanon. The two receive cautionary dreams which they perversely misinterpret. Humbaba attacks and is nearly victorious. Shamash interferes, and the monster begs for mercy. Enkidu, however, urges Humbaba's death, which comes after a brief gap. OB fragments, however, credit Enkidu with the mortal blow and have him discover the secret dwelling of the gods.

Successful beyond their wildest hopes, the heroes acquire perilous hubris. In Tablet 6, known almost completely from NA sources, Ishtar, the divine manifestation of human passions, wants to grant Gilgamesh her favor. He refuses her, but is needlessly insulting as he uses coarse language to catalog her previous indulgences. Angry, Ishtar forces the god Anu to release his bull against the two heroes. Gilgamesh is matador to Enkidu as picador as they dispatch the animal and further anger Ishtar by misusing its carcass. The tablet ends brilliantly, with another of Enkidu's premonitions, "[In my dream,] my friend, why are the great gods in council?"

The gods are in council—we learn from tablet 7—to punish the insolent pair. Shamash directs their anger toward Enkidu and, as he lay dying, the poet arrests the narrative to reflect on the human condition. Enkidu curses first the harlot, then the hunter who brought him to such an end, imposing upon them a life of want and misery. Upon Shamash's interference, however, Enkidu recants, converting his words into blessings. Tablet 7 continues the NA poet's assimilation of other myths. Enkidu has enough breath to report on the Netherworld, resorting to a vocabulary duplicated in Ishtar's descent to the Netherworld.

Preparing to bury his friend, Gilgamesh reconsiders his former perspective on life. He now protests a death which comes suddenly, stealthily, and prematurely. As tablet 8 (NA) obsessively rehearses Gilgamesh's outrage, the epic emulates Gilgamesh's overheated mind; it turns surrealistic, favoring marvelous settings and fantastic characters.

Disheveled and wasting away, Gilgamesh embodies his friend's unpromising beginnings. He roams the countryside, seeking Utnapishtim. Tablet 9 (NA) intimates that Gilgamesh's wanderings are also inward. Gilgamesh begs for a dream, but in a cryptic scene whose ambiguity and centrality evoke Jacob's Jabbok struggle, Gilgamesh rises to battle unknown enemies (his own fears?). It is conceivable that the epic's remaining activities are but one night's hallucinations.

Gilgamesh arrives at Mashu, twin-mountain fulcrum for Heaven, Earth, and Netherworld whose deadly guardians, scorpion-creatures, direct him to Utnapishtim through an immense, pitch-dark tunnel. At its end, Gilgamesh finds a garden of precious stones. The OB version, apparently lacking these details, has a scene not available to the NA wherein Shamash discourages Gilgamesh's foolish search for immortality.

Of the OB tablet 10, we have but two scenes. In one, Siduri, the gods' tavern keeper, delivers Akkadian literature's most quoted verses ("Gilgamesh, whither rovest thou? . . ." In the other, Gilgamesh meets Surshanabi who can ferry him to Utnapishtim. Henceforth, we lose track of the OB version and can only guess how it ends. That Gilgamesh meets Utnapishtim is certain; that the latter dissuades him from his impossible goal is also certain; how he does so, however, is unknown.

Tablet 10 of the NA cultivates the comic. Siduri bolts her door, thinking Gilgamesh a murderer. Appropriating threats Ishtar used to summon the Bull of Heaven (above, tablet 6), Gilgamesh threatens Siduri. She regretfully guides him toward a boatman (here called Urshanabi) who can cross him to Utnapishtim. The cryptic violence of tablet 9 is replayed, but this time Gilgamesh destroys implements ("Stone items") necessary for crossing the Water of Death. Gilgamesh uses easily decaying substitutes which can leave him stranded at immortal Utnapishtim's island. "The distance of a month and fifteen day" is effected in three days (see tablet 4, and the two carry on a powerful dialogue wherein Utnapishtim affirms truths the OB assigns to Siduri.

Stunned by Utnapishtim's unheroic bearing, Gilgamesh can hope to similarly realize immortality. Utnapishtim, however, stifles Gilgamesh's expectations; his own translation to eternal life proves to be exceptional in circumstance, for the gods will no longer send a devastating flood against humanity. The flood episode, adapted for inclusion into the GE from the NA (rather than the OB) *Atrahasis*, crowns the NA 11th tablet and fulfills the poet's introductory promise to divulge impossible knowledge.

Gilgamesh's commonplace evaluation of the heroic also proves superficial. Albeit ordinary looking, the divinized Utnapishtim needs no sleep and cleverly proves that it is otherwise for the mortal Gilgamesh who needs a seven-day slumber. As Utnapishtim entrusts to Urshanabi Gilgamesh's preparation for reentry into the human world, the poet brilliantly replays steps Enkidu had taken toward civilization. The two steer their boat toward that direction.

The OB version of the GE, which probably had no flood story to tell, may well have ended on this or on a similar proof of Gilgamesh's mortality. The NA rendition, however, shifts suddenly into another test scene. Gilgamesh is summoned back and told of a rejuvenating plant, deep in the waters. He retrieves it, but fearing its powers Gilgamesh decides to test it first on an elderly person from Uruk. When a snake eats the plant and sheds its skin, Gilgamesh

recognizes the loss of opportunity. Sadder but wiser, Gilgamesh returns home, accompanied by Urshanabi. The epic wheels upon itself as Gilgamesh quotes the poem's paean to Uruk's mighty structure and in assuming the poet's voice, Gilgamesh breaks out from his narrative confines to guide all those searching his autobiography for wisdom.

Gilgamesh discovers his limitations as a mortal. His fears of death, however, may yet be with him. The NA version, therefore, closely reproduces in its 12th tablet portions of Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld, a Sumerian tale which may be linked to the cult of Gilgamesh as an infernal deity. Gilgamesh interviews the ghost of Enkidu, who amplifies on themes delivered already in tablet 7: Men with many sons, who die in bed or in battle and who retain the love of bereaved are more likely to find peace in the beyond. Enkidu's instructions may thus give comfort to Gilgamesh, freeing him from morbid anxiety about death.

D. Gilgamesh and Biblical Studies

When first published, the GE's flood narrative shocked Europe no less than any of Darwin's theories, for it placed into question the uniqueness and authenticity of the Hebrew experience. Links between the GE and Hebrew Scripture are more responsibly evaluated nowadays than during previous generations when Gilgamesh was grist for the *Babel/Bibel* controversy. While scholars still compare the flood accounts in the GE and in Genesis, there is an appreciation that both have adapted traditional narratives to suit their own contexts. Moreover, scholars now generally avoid making judgmental contrasts among the accounts (e.g., which one has a better blueprint for a seaworthy ark or communicates a more spiritual description of the deity). There is also continuing interest in the harlot scene, since it reminds us of Adam's loss of innocence. The GE is often mined for its information on death and the afterlife whenever similar topics are entertained for the Hebrew world.

The most useful studies of the GE and the Hebrew Bible develop from recognition that even in its fragmentary shape the GE is a superb literary accomplishment whose artistry is worthy of comparison with the most accomplished pages of Scripture; that resolving how the GE's versions achieved their intricate structures can enhance our understanding of Hebrew narrative techniques; that so rich a storehouse of words, characters, metaphors, themes, and scenes can only make us better aware of the heritage the Hebrews could adopt, adapt, or even reject.

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J. M. Sasson

GILOH (PLACE) [Heb *gilo*]. Var. GILO. GILONITE. One of eleven towns in the hill country of Judah, located in the general vicinity of Debir (Josh 15:51). It was also the hometown of Ahithophel, one of David's counselors (2 Sam 15:12; 23:34) who played a key role in Absalom's revolt against David. The town is often identified with Khirbet Jala, about 5 miles N-NW of Hebron, an identification that is problematic in that it locates Giloh more in the vicinity of Beth-zur (Josh 15:58) than of Debir (15:49; *IDB* 2: 399). It is more likely to be found somewhere S and W of Hebron near Kh. Rabud (M.R. 151093). See *MBA*, map 130.

Gary A. Herion

GILOH (M.R. 167126). An Iron Age site located in (and named after) a S suburb of modern Jerusalem, on the W side of the watershed and main road leading from Jerusalem to Hebron. Excavations at the site, directed by A. Mazar between 1978–82, revealed an Iron Age I village, which may be identified as one of the earliest Israelite settlement sites in the region of Jerusalem.

The site covers about 2 acres and is situated on top of a high summit, overlooking the Valley of Rephaim on the N, and Bethlehem on the S. The summit is rocky and no water sources or fertile land are nearby. The village was established on bedrock early in the 12th century B.C. and existed for only a short time. It was probably abandoned before the end of the 12th century.

The S part of the site was protected by a defensive wall. Inside, the area was divided by long walls into several units. One unit contained a large animal pen. The building technique was very rough and the walls were uneven and poorly constructed. The house contained a courtyard divided by rough stone pillars into roofed and unroofed areas. A rectangular room and two square rooms bordered the yard on two sides. This house is one of the earliest examples of a "pillared building" (including the "Four Room House") which became common during the entire Iron Age.

In the N end of the site a foundation of a square tower was revealed, measuring 11.7 × 11.7 m. Its foundation was well built of large stones. This might have been a fortified tower, a feature unknown in other settlement sites of this period.

The finds in the excavation are typical of the settlements in the mountain region—few pottery types were in use, mainly large "collar rim" pithoi, smaller portable jars, cooking pots, and a few other undecorated bowls and kraters. A bronze spearhead of well-known Canaanite shape was found, which probably originated in a Canaanite workshop. This site is one of the few excavated sites which may throw light on Israelite material culture in its earliest phases. The village apparently accommodated only a few families who lived mainly on animal breeding and some agriculture. It was abandoned sometime during the period of the Judges, probably because its location did not allow further development into an agricultural village.

In the 8th or 7th century B.C., a square tower (ca. 10 × 10 m) was constructed on the site. Its walls were 2 m thick, and it was probably a tall and massive structure. It probably served as a watchtower, part of a system of similar small

forts which protected the approaches to Jerusalem. It could have played a role in the system of forts used to transfer fire signals to Jerusalem. See also ABU ET-TWEIN, KHIRBET.

The site may tentatively be identified with Baal Perazim, where David defeated the Philistines in the battle at the Valley of Rephaim (2 Sam 5:20; 1 Chr 14:11). Though the settlement village probably was not reoccupied during the time of David, the name may have been preserved from the earlier period. The reference to "Mount Perazim" in Isa 28:21 may refer to the same ridge, where in Isaiah's time the watchtower may have been in use.

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AMIHAY MAZAR

GIMEL. The third letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

GIMZO (PLACE) [Heb *gimzô*]. A town in the Shephelah captured by the Philistines from Judah around the time of the Syro-Ephraimite war (ca. 734 B.C.E., see Thompson 1982, esp. pp. 104–114; 2 Chr 28:18). Presumably the town had originally come under Judean control at the time of Uzziah's incursions into Philistine territory (2 Chr 26:6–7; but see Rainey 1983: 15 who believes that Gimzo had originally been in Israel's territory). Taking advantage of Judah's weak position in the face of political and military pressure from Aram and Israel, the Edomites and the Philistines sought to reextend their borders at Judah's expense (2 Chr 28:17–18). The Philistines encroached upon the Negeb and the Shephelah, capturing the towns of Beth-Shemesh, Aijalon, Gederoth, Soco, Timnah, and Gimzo. Most would identify the site of Gimzo with modern Gimzo (Jimzu; M.R. 145148) in the Aijalon Valley, 3 miles SE of Lod (Lydda) and 4 miles E of Ramla (see *GP* 2: 338; *LBHG*, 435). Doermann (1987: 142, 144) however has suggested locating Gimzo at Tel Ḥesi (Tell el-Hesi; M.R. 124106) in the Philistine coastal plain. At a later period, Gimzo was known as the home of Rabbi Nahum.

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CARL S. EHRLICH

GINATH (PERSON) [Heb *gînat*]. Father of Tibni, whose claim to the Israelite throne was supported by half of the people over against that of Omri (1 Kgs 16:21–22). The feminine ending of Ginath suggests that the term is the name of a tribe or place-name, but in 1 Kings it refers to a person. (See Gray *Kings* OTL; Jones Vol. 1 of *Kings* NCBC; Noth *IPN*, 240.)

PAULINE A. VIVIANO

GINNETHON (PERSON) [Heb *ginnĕtôn*]. **1.** A priest and signatory to the covenant established by Ezra (Neh 10:6).

2. Head of a priestly family serving during the reign of Joiakim (Neh 12:16). If, as some argue however, it is an ancestral name, then both references may be to the same family (Ward *IDB* 2: 399).

FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

GIRDLE. See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

GIRGASHITE [Heb *girgāšî*]. One of the peoples comprising the Canaanites, who descended from Noah's son Ham (Gen 10:15–16; 1 Chr 1:13–14). They were indigenous to the land when Joshua led the Israelites across the Jordan River in the Conquest, along with the Amorites, Canaanites, Hittites, Hivites (missing from Neh 9:8), Jebusites, and Perizzites (Deut 7:1; Josh 3:10; 24:11; Neh 9:8).

Reference to a similar name, *grgš* and *bn grgš* "son of Grgs," has been found in the Ugaritic texts (*UT* 3:381, no. 619), showing that the name form existed in Canaanite territory early in the period of the Israelites. Two suggested identifications have been made, but neither is convincing. A location in Asia Minor, based on Karkisa in Hittite and *krḳs* in Egyptian texts, places the people too far N. An identification with the Gergesenes (Gerasenes, Gadarenes; Matt 8:28; Mark 5:1; Luke 8:26, 37), who were in Transjordan, places them on the wrong side of the Jordan River, since Israel is explicitly said to have encountered them on the W side of the Jordan (Josh 24:11).

DAVID W. BAKER

GIRZITES [Heb *girzî*]. One of the peoples against which David and his troops ventured forth from their base at Ziklag (1 Sam 27:8). Mentioned along with the Geshurites and the Amalekites, their area of settlement would have been somewhere in the region between Philistia and Egypt (see Edelman 1988: 254). However, the scholarly consensus is that the Girzites, unknown from any other source, most probably did not exist. Already the MT corrected the Ketib reading *girzî* to the Qere reading *gizrî* "Gezrites," meaning inhabitants of Gezer. Gezer, however, lies much too far to the N to fit the context of this passage. Evidence from the LXX would indicate that the MT reading either represents a conflate text presenting two variants in Geshurites and Girzites/Gezrites (Driver *NHT*, 211; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 413) or is a result of a dittography of Geshurites (Aharoni *EncMiqr* 2: 554).

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CARL S. EHRLICH

GISCALA (M.R. 191270). The Greek name of a site located some 5 km N off Meiron in Upper Galilee. Its fame is due in part to the reputation of John ben Levi of Giscala who became an important leader of the First Jewish War against Rome in 68 C.E. (Josephus, *Life* 70–76; *JW* 2.590–92) and who challenged Josephus' command in Galilee. Its Arabic name is el-Jish (= Heb Gush Halav). The site, in the wadi E of the contemporary village, attracted the attention of modern explorers such as Renan, Wilson, Conder and Kitchener, Guérin, and Kohl and Watzinger. Medieval visitors probably visited the archaeological ruins in the upper village where sepulchral remains were known and some remains of synagogues were believed to exist. The relationship between the upper and lower cities is not clear but the two quarters apparently existed side by side since antiquity.

The only archaeological work that has been conducted at the site has focused on two tomb complexes in the upper city (Makhouly 1938; Vitto and Edelstein 1974) and the synagogue in the lower city (Meyers, Strange, Meyers 1979). The tombs and rather large monumental structure resembling a mausoleum date to the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods. The simple tomb gives some evidence of being Christian while the mausoleum seems to be Jewish largely due to the absence of Christian decoration. In neither the upper or lower cities have any significant remains of the time of John of Giscala been found, though there is abundant ceramic material of the 1st century in both places. A similar problem is posed by the Mishnaic reference which says that Gush Halav was fortified in the time of Joshua (*ʿArak* 9.6); limited sherds of the early Iron Age have been found, but nothing at all that might be construed as walls. Although Jerome twice mentions that Paul the Apostle was born in Gush Halav, there is no data whatsoever to support or contradict such a notion.

Major excavations in the lower synagogue site were undertaken in 1977–78, and the chronological results of these excavations may be summarized as follows: the building history of the synagogues consisted of Period I (ca. 250–306 C.E., Middle to Late Roman), Period II (ca. 306–363 C.E., Late Roman), Period III (ca. 363–460 C.E., Byzantine 1), and Period IV (ca. 460–551 C.E., Byzantine 2a). Other periods represented at the site are: the LB–Iron Age I, Iron Age II, Hellenistic 1–2, Early Roman, Byzantine 2b, and the Early and Late Arabic periods. The extraordinary feature of this site is that the large accumulation of debris occurred without the creation of a tell or artificial mound above ground. All of the pre-synagogue materials, however, give evidence of an important village in late First Temple times and throughout the Second Temple period (515 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.) and the century and a half after the destruction of the temple.

The synagogue that was erected in the mid-3d century is a basilical structure with two rows of four columns running N-S, dividing the internal space of the building into a central nave and two side aisles. The dimensions of this internal space are 13.75 m long and 10.6–11.00 m wide. The only monumental entrance to the building lies in the center of the S, ashlar wall which is oriented toward Jerusalem. Another entrance may be located in the NW corner at the top of a small stairway in a small corridor. The underside of the lintel which adorns the entryway in the S wall is decorated with an eagle. In addition, the rectangular building is surrounded by a corridor or storage area on the W, a gallery or additional seating area on the N, and one or more rooms on the E, thereby extending the overall space to 17.5 m N-S, by 17.5–18.00 m E-W. The German team of Kohl and Watzinger (1916) which surveyed the site in 1905 was unable to locate the interior walls on the E and W, hence their ground plan reveals a nearly square building.

A relatively large *bema*—a platform on which Scripture was read—rectangular and finely executed, on the SW section of the S facade wall may be associated with the Period I building. It appears to have been badly damaged in the earthquake of 306 C.E., but a similar, less elegant one, is executed for the Period II building.

The devastation created by the 306 earthquake led to other changes in the building also. A floor of white mosaic was laid at this time and possibly one or more of the rooms on the NE were added. The first column in the SE row of columns was reerected at this time and donated by Jose bar Nahum. Either after 306 or just after the 363 earthquake the heart-shaped columns associated with the gallery on the N were added. Benches along the three sides, N, E, and W, were used for limited seating. In general, people sat on the floors.

The floor plan of the Period III and IV building remained the same except for the *bema* which was rebuilt after 363 in a smaller, far more modest fashion in the same spot on the SW S wall. There was a slow deterioration in the building that culminated in the mid-6th century when the building and site began to decline. The change in fortune of the building may in general be related to the decline in fortunes of Jews in Palestine on the eve of the Persian and Moslem conquests.

Some scholars have suggested, however, that not all the ancient inhabitants of Gush Halav were Jewish and that the settlement in the upper city might have been Christian or Jewish–Christian and the one in the wadi, Jewish (Saunders 1977). Whatever the reasons, both synagogue and site were in major decline by the end of the Byzantine era and only patches of settlement remained for the newcomers of the 7th century.

The Gush Halav synagogues are important also because they present an unusual series of basilicas that do not adhere to the older view of the evolution of Galilean synagogues (see SYNAGOGUE) but instead demonstrate the inventiveness of local architects adapting to local conditions. Sacred orientation toward Jerusalem, the holy city, remains the most distinctive aspect of the synagogues at Gush Halav and the S wall, the only one executed in fine ashlar masonry, is fitting testimony to that dominant idea. Despite pressures from many quarters and increasing legislation which limited the mobility of Jews in the empire, the existence of such a grand building over so long a period attests to the tenacity of Jews and their ability to persevere in difficult times.

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ERIC M. MEYERS

GISHPA (PERSON) [Heb *gišpā'*]. An overseer of the Nethinim, the temple officers (Neh 11:21). It has been noted (BDB, 177–78) that Gishpa may be a corruption of Hasupha. Myer (*Ezra, Nehemiah* AB) suggests this verse was a late edition and is dubious of a parallel between Gishpa and Hasupha. His argument notes that Ziha, another overseer, is used in all three passages listing the Nethinim (Ezra 42:43; Neh 7:46; 11:21), but Gishpa is only found in Neh 11:21. See NETHINIM.

GARY C. AUGUSTIN

GITTAIM (PLACE) [Heb *gittāyîm*]. Town in which the Canaanite population of Beeroth took permanent refuge for reasons unstated (2 Sam 4:3). It may be that as members of the Gibeonite federation (Josh 9:17) the people of Beeroth had also become victims of Saul's hostilities against the Gibeonites (2 Sam 21:2; Blenkinsopp 1972: 8–9, 100). In Neh 11:33, Gittaim appears in the list of towns inhabited by the Benjaminites during the period of the restoration. The meaning of Gittaim is "Double Gath" or "Double Winepress." Considering Gittaim's historical association with the Benjaminites, one could possibly identify it with the town of Gath which in 1 Chr 8:13 appears to be near Benjaminite territory at Aijalon, and in 1 Chr 7:21, near Ephraimite territory. This Gath must not be confused with Gath of the Philistine pentapolis (1 Sam 5:8). Perhaps Gittaim may be located at Ras Abu Ḥumeid (M.R. 140145).

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WESLEY I. TOEWS

GIZONITE [Heb *gizônî*]. A gentilic adjective applied to Hashem, one of the Mighty Men of David (1 Chr 11:34). See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS. By comparison with similar usage elsewhere (e.g., 2 Sam 15:12, "Ahithophel the Gilonite . . . from his city Giloh") this should refer to a place named "Gizo"; but such a place is unknown in the Bible. The parallel passage in MT of 2 Sam 23:32 omits this word, reading only the proper name, Jashen.

Many scholars propose a geographical solution to the problem: some follow Elliger's (1935: 31, 53) conjecture and read "Gimzo," a place situated SE of Lydda (2 Chr 28:18), near Shaalbim, the previous place mentioned in this list (1 Chr 11:33). Ben Zbi (1948: 606), however, considered Gimzo as too far W to be the origin of one of David's Mighty Men; and since it was not mentioned in the list of Solomon's cities (1 Kgs 4:9) he conjectured "Beit Jiz, southwest of Latrun"; but this site lacks confirmation.

Textual variants abound in the LXX for Hashem and its parallel in 2 Sam 23:32. The Lucianic texts of the LXX clarify 2 Sam 23:32 by adding *ho gounai*, reflecting Heb *haggûnî* (Num 26:48), "the Gunite." For 1 Chr 11:34 LXX reads *Osom ho Gennouni*, probably reflecting a proposed Heb, **hāšēm haggĕnûnî*, "Hashem the Gunite." Text-critical study of important variant readings thus points to "Gunite" as the best reading. Linguistic study, however, suggests that Heb *hgwny* is more likely to have derived from *hgzny* than the reverse; thus the difficult term "Gizonite" might be the older reading (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 492–93).

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JOHN C. ENDRES

GLACIS. See FORTIFICATIONS (LEVANT).

GLAD TIDINGS. The starting point for a discussion of "glad tidings" must be the KJV, for this translation established the phrase as one way to speak of the proclamation of the Gospel. "To declare, bring, or show glad tidings" occurs four times in the KJV: Luke 1:19; 8:1; Acts 13:32; Rom 10:15. In each instance the phrase translates the verb *euangelizomai*. Closely related to this phrase is the expression "to bring good tidings," which translates both *euangelizomai* (e.g., Luke 2:10) and Heb *bāśar* (e.g., 2 Sam 4:10; Isa 40:9; 52:7). The significance of the words "glad (good) tidings" for the study of proclamation in the biblical tradition far exceeds their presence as a translation in the KJV, however. "Glad (good) tidings" explicitly locates the rootage of proclamation in the announcement of (good) news.

The earliest uses in the Hebrew Bible of the verb *bāśar* (regularly translated in the LXX as *euangelizomai*) concern the announcement of battle results. The word *bāśar* is used to announce news of defeat (1 Sam 4:17), but primarily announces news of victory (1 Sam 31:9). The most concentrated and dramatic cluster of *baśar* is in 2 Samuel 18, where David awaits news from the battlefront about the fate of Absalom and his revolt. This scene is rich with irony, all of which hinges upon the announcement and reception of news (18:19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 31). This densely textured narrative conveys the power inherent in the announcement of news, for it is only in the moment of the announcement of the tidings from the battlefront that Absalom's death becomes real for David.

The word *bāśar* is given a cultic function in its use in the

Psalms. In Pss 40:10 and 96:2 *bāśar* is used to announce Yahweh's salvation and sovereignty. In Psalm 40 the announcement is made to the "great congregation"; in Psalm 96 to "the nations." The shift from battlefield to cult is important. The announcement of news is linked to Israel's identity and vocation as the people of Yahweh.

The most important development in the use of *bāśar* in the Hebrew Bible occurs in Second Isaiah. In Second Isaiah, *bāśar* becomes a distinctively theological term (*TDNT* 2: 708). In Isa 40:9; 41:27; and 52:7 *bāśar* is used to announce the beginning of God's reign and a time of eschatological newness. What is most significant about the use of *bāśar* in Second Isaiah, however, is not simply the content that is announced, but that the words of the announcement itself make God's new reign a reality for those who hear. That is, the announcement, the "tidings," are themselves the consolation for which Israel yearns. This highly intentional theological use of *bāśar* continues in Third Isaiah (Isa 60:6; 61:1) where the word that is announced clearly is an embodiment of comfort and salvation.

In pre-Christian Greek literature (apart from the LXX), the verb *euangelizomai* can be traced as far back as the writings of Aristophanes (*Eq.* 643). As in the Hebrew Bible, the verb is used primarily to announce news. The announcement of news ranges from victory in battle (Plut. *Pomp.* 66) to the birth of a child (Theophr. *Char.* 17.7) to the death of an acquaintance (Heliod. 2.10). *Euangelizomai* takes on a religious significance in the Greek literature (*TDNT* 2: 711) when it is paired with *sōtēria* and *eutuchēma* or *eutuchia* (e.g. Heliod. 10.1f.). The pairing with *sōtēria* has parallels in the NT, but the pairing with *eutuchia* is foreign to NT usage.

The NT notion of good news (glad tidings) builds directly upon the theological developments in Second and Third Isaiah. Paul's use of Isa 52:7 in Rom 10:15 is a good example. Paul uses Isa 52:7 to depict the role of the preacher, the one who announces glad tidings, in leading people to faith in Jesus Christ. The spoken word is itself a critical element in the inbreaking of God's new age. See Stuhlmacher 1968: 109–206.

In Isaiah and the NT, the word that announces glad tidings is not simply a vehicle for conveying important news. Rather, the word itself is now the news. The spoken word of the announcement makes God present and life new. To hear the spoken announcement of glad tidings is to participate in the offer of salvation.

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GAIL R. O'DAY

GLAPHYRA (PERSON). Two women named Glaphyra appear in the record of Cappadocian and then Judean dynastic politics late in the 1st century B.C. The second married two Judean princes and a N African king, leaving a line of well-known descendants, active in the later house of Herod.

1. The first Glaphyra attracted the attention of Antony as an *hetaera,* "courtesan." The story went that her beauty led Antony to bestow the kingdom of Cappadocia on her son, Archelaus. Whatever the truth of the matter, King Archelaus ruled for 50 years after this (Dio Cass. 49.32.3; App. *BCiv* 5.7). Martial could not resist a scurrilous reference to this (*Spect.* 11.20.3).

2. The second Glaphyra (*PIR*^{2} G 176) was the granddaughter of #1 above, and daughter of Archelaus, perhaps by an Armenian princess, because her own son is later described by Augustus (*Res Gestae* 27) as "from the royal house of the Armenians." Glaphyra herself claimed descent from Darius the Great of Persia (*JW* 1.476) and this claim could be made by a descendant of the Armenian dynasty.

Glaphyra's first marriage took her to Judea where she wed Herod's son Alexander about 18 B.C. She soon found trouble, partly through the beauty she had inherited from her grandmother, for Herod himself felt a passion "difficult to control" toward her. This annoyed Herod's sister Salome, as did Glaphyra's behavior toward Salome's daughter Bernice, who had married Aristobulus, brother of Glaphyra's husband. Glaphyra left no doubt that she perceived herself superior to Bernice and in fact to all the other ladies at court, of whom she considered herself "mistress" (*despotis*) on the grounds of more noble descent (*Ant* 16.11, 193, 206; *JW* 1.476).

Glaphyra's popularity worsened as her father began to intervene in Judean domestic politics, even to the point of assisting Herod's two sons against his wishes. In 7 or 6 B.C., Herod finally executed Glaphyra's husband and returned the woman with her dowry to King Archelaus.

Glaphyra then went in marriage to King Juba (*PIR*^{2} J 65) of Mauretania. The marriage is attested not only by Josephus but also by an inscription in Athens calling her "Queen Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus and wife of Juba." It soon ended, however, apparently in divorce; Josephus (*JW* 2.115) mistakenly regards her as widowed, but Juba ruled on until at least A.D. 23, subsequently married to Cleopatra Selene, daughter of the famous Cleopatra VII of Egypt.

Glaphyra's life ended strangely. She married another son of Herod, Herodes Archelaus (*PIR*^{2} A 1025). He had become so enamored of her that he divorced his wife, Mariamme (*PIR* M 204), despite the fact that marriage to his brother's wife transgressed Jewish law (Jos. *Ant* 17.341). Once more at the Judean court, Glaphyra had a dream in which her first husband, Alexander, reproached her for the marriage to Juba and especially for this third marriage to his brother, calling it "unfitting" and "shameless." Glaphyra reported the dream and then died shortly afterward.

She left an important legacy. To Alexander she had borne two sons. One became the later King Tigranes V (*PIR* T 149) of Armenia, installed there by Romans relying on his claims through her of local descent. A second son, Alexander (*PIR*^{2} A 499), sired another King of Armenia, Tigranes VI (*PIR* T 150), who attempted to rule there from A.D. 60 to 62. He in turn left a son, King Alexander (*PIR*^{2} A 500 = J 136), who became under Vespasian the final king in Cilicia. (For details on all of the above, see Sullivan ANRW 2/7/2: 1161–66; PW 7: 1381).

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RICHARD D. SULLIVAN

GLASSY SEA. See SEA OF GLASS.

GLEANING. See HARVESTS, HARVESTING; AGRICULTURE.

GLOSSES, TEXTUAL. Additions of extraneous notations or comments to a text made by a scribe or copyist. Glosses are generally brief, consisting of one or two words, a short phrase, or even a sentence. They may be made deliberately by a scribe who added his own notations or comments, or those found in the margins of his exemplar or other sources, in order to clarify an ambiguous text. In other cases, they may have been added by a scribe or copyist who believed that a marginal notation from the exemplar was an omission from the original text which he then corrected in his own copy. It is also possible that such additions were made inadvertently by a copyist who accidentally incorporated marginal notations or comments from his exemplar into the text.

General discussions of glosses appear in text-critical handbooks including Metzger (1968: 27), Deist (1978: 44–46), Würthwein (1979: 110), Weingreen (*IDBSup,* 437–38; 1982: 79–90), and McCarter (1986: 32–36). Examples of explanatory or exegetical glosses in the MT include Gen 7:6, where *mayim,* "water," has been added to explain the rare *mabbûl,* "flood," (McCarter 1986: 32–33) or Zeph 1:3 where *wēhammakšēlôt ʾet hārēšāʿîm,* "and those who cause the wicked to stumble," was added to redirect a universal condemnation against all the earth to those responsible for wickedness. Glosses also preserve variant readings as in 1 Sam 12:13 where two relative clauses concerning the choice of Saul as king, *ʾăšer bĕḥartem,* "whom you chose," and *ʾăšer šĕʾeltem,* "whom you requested," preserve alternative readings with differing views of the party responsible for Saul's selection (Weingreen 1982: 84–85). An example of the interjection of a scribe's assent to the sentiments of a passage appears in Isa 40:7 where *ʾāḵēn ḥāṣîr hāʿām,* "indeed the people is grass," is clearly intrusive in its context (Deist 1978: 45).

Although glosses have played a very influential role in the interpretation of biblical texts throughout the history of modern critical scholarship, there has been relatively little systematic study of the phenomenon. The earliest stages of scholarship focused on variant readings in manuscripts and versions as the primary means for identifying glosses in order to eliminate them and thereby recover the "original" text. Waterman's early attempt (1937) to define secure criteria for identifying glosses when no manuscript evidence was available to validate the identification is likewise based on an interest in recovering the original text. His criteria concentrates on inconsistencies in the text and includes disruptions of grammar, incongruity of ideas, and the extraneous nature of a statement, the elimination of which would not damage the context.

Fohrer's groundbreaking study of the glosses in Ezekiel (1951) produced the first systematic classification of the phenomenon in the Hebrew Bible. In addition to his identification of six basic categories of glosses, an important aspect of his study is his attempt to describe the means by which glosses might enter a text based on the principles of rabbinic exegesis.

The most comprehensive study to date is that by G. R. Driver (1957) who attempts to define principles for recognizing glosses, to classify them according to their characteristic signs or forms, and to identify the purposes which they are intended to serve. Driver's study establishes various characteristic marks of glosses including Hebrew pronouns (*hûʾ, zeh,* etc.), particles (*ʾăšer, ʾet*), prepositions (*bĕ-, lĕ-*), copulas (*wĕ-, û-*), interrogative particles (*hă-, hălōʾ*), Aramaisms, syntactical and grammatical disruptions, and disruptions of meter or rhythm. The most important criteria, however, is the absence of the suspected word or phrase from the older versions. Their primary purpose is to obviate difficulties, such as interpreting unknown or obscure words and sentence constructions. Other purposes include presenting variant readings or parallel passages, explaining historical allusions, enhancing or mitigating the force of the original text, expressing feelings or theological opinions, and inserting liturgical features such as the enigmatic *selâ* found in many psalms.

Weingreen's studies (1957; 1963; 1964; 1976; 1982; *IDBSup,* 436–38) have added several important refinements to scholarly understanding of the phenomenon. For one, he emphasizes the rabbinical character of glosses insofar as they represent an early form of biblical interpretation which stands at the beginning of the evolution of rabbinic interpretation. At the same time, he is careful to distinguish glosses from editorial additions. Editorial additions are deliberate insertions made by a scribe (Heb *sōpēr*) and are intended to be an integral part of the text. Glosses are the result of the activity of a copyist (Heb *liblār*) who copies extraneous words or phrases, either deliberately or inadvertently, from the margins of his exemplar into the Biblical text. Consequently, the identifying characteristics of glosses include their intrusive nature, their succinctness, and their clarifying function. It is doubtful whether glosses and editorial additions can be separated so neatly, but Weingreen's work does emphasize the need to consider the interpretative function of glosses and their place in the development of Jewish biblical interpretation.

With the increasing interest in the interpretative character of glosses, it is clear that the phenomenon must be considered in relation to recent advances in canonical hermeneutics, text critical methodology, and the interpretative character of other scribal practices (e.g., Masoretic notations and treatises, Qere/Ketib, Tiqqune Soferim, Scholia, etc.), which focus on the variety of text traditions and their function and interpretation within their respective communities (Sanders 1979). Consequently, a systematic reinvestigation of the phenomenon of glosses will be necessary to define the generic character of glosses and their function in text transmission and interpretation.

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MARVIN A. SWEENEY

GLUTTONY. See VIRTUE/VICE LISTS.

GNAT. See ZOOLOGY.

GNOSTICISM. The term "gnosticism" (from the Gk word for "knowledge," *gnōsis*) was first used in the 18th century to refer to a current in the religious life of late antiquity which had direct bearing on the development of the belief and practice of the early church. The term has traditionally functioned in a pejorative sense.

A. Definition and Nature
B. Sources: Primary and Secondary
C. History of Research
D. History of Gnosticism
  1. Origins
  2. Early Gnostic "Schools" and Systems
  3. Great Gnostic "Schools" and Systems of the 2d Century
  4. Later Developments

A. Definition and Nature

The term "gnosis," referring to a phenomenon from the early church and its religious and philosophical contexts, was introduced into a broad array of modern academic disciplines by church historians, especially those in the field of NT scholarship. Early Christian writers already used the term as a general name for various social groups which were not content with orthodox practices and beliefs otherwise widely accepted. The first certain early Christian reference to the term, and this in an orthodox text, is 1 Tim 6:20. In reflecting on the theological problem of the origin, development, and continued existence of evil, these gnostic groups were at odds with developing orthodoxy. Radical dualism was a prime factor in the gnostic conceptual framework. Dualistic views were already found, to varying degrees, in Platonism and in Iranian and Zoroastrian religious thought, and by the Hellenistic period had entered into early Judaism as is evidenced by various writings from Qumran and in a broad array of apocalyptic texts. Such polarizing concepts provided a philosophical and religious solution to the human predicament, including the experience of difficult political situations which were believed to have had their ultimate origin in prehistory (*Urzeit*) when the cosmos was first created. The experience of the conquered peoples of the Near East enabled them to perceive such ultimate issues behind the tumultuous political events from the time of Alexander the Great (d. 323 B.C.E.) and later with the political occupation of the East by the Romans.

To be sure, such a dualistic view was not new, but it was conceived by the gnostics in a unique fashion. Beginning with the Genesis account of creation and the element of belief in an absolute, transcendent God, many strove to attain and develop the knowledge (*gnōsis*) that this world is the product of a foolish creator (demiurge) who set to work without the permission of the highest and therefore "Unknown" God. This foolish creator was assisted in the creation process by a lower angel or planetary being. In order to put an end to the monstrous process of physical (nonspiritual) creation, the highest God had only one choice: to avail himself of cunning countermoves which he initiated among human beings, understood to be the apex of the physical creation. Without the knowledge or consent of the foolish creator, the highest God provided humankind with an otherworldly, divine substance variously called "spirit," "soul," and "spark." This substance enabled humanity (called the ideal Adam) to see through the monstrous physical work of the lower creator and to perceive as the true goal of humanity a return to the spiritual realm of the highest God, which was often depicted as the "Kingdom of Light."

In the gnostic view, the end (*telos*) of history was the ultimate dissolution of the cosmos and the return of the human "sparks of light" to the Kingdom of Light. The knowledge (*gnōsis*) of these cosmological and anthropological connections is, of course, a special and supernatural knowledge which is mediated to the gnostics ("the knowers") through special revelation. This revelation was made available either through various messengers, who acted on the instructions of the highest God, or through the traditional form of the myth, the sacred narrative which recounted the events which occurred in the primitive period when the mistake of the physical creation first took place, events which were understood to be the ultimate causes for the problematic present state of humanity.

The gnostics understood themselves to be the elite "chosen people" who, in distinction from the "worldly-minded," were able to perceive the delicate connection between world (cosmology), humanity (anthropology), and salvation (soteriology). The goal of gnostic teaching was that with the help of insight (*gnōsis*), the elect could be freed from the fetters of this world (spirit from matter, light from darkness) and so return to their true home in

the Kingdom of Light—for that alone is the meaning of "salvation." It is not a matter of deliverance from sin and guilt, as in orthodoxy, but of the freeing of the spirit from matter (*hyle*), in particular, the material human body. In the course of time, gnostics developed a coherent conceptual framework from both their myths and their practice in behavior and cultus. Their mythology consisted of an "exegetical protest" against the older and widely accepted traditions. This involved a reinterpretation of the older traditions in a manner which was opposed to their original sense. The field of practice, on the other hand, included both their prevalent, world-rejecting ascetic ethos and a curtailing (at least an ideologically-demanded curtailing) of traditional sacramental ritual in favor of a salvation achieved only through insight (*gnōsis*). The supposed libertine traits, which arose from the ascetic desire to overcome the world, are as yet attested only in biased heresiological reports and not in the writings of actual gnostics. Their critical attitude towards traditional sacramental ritual may have included the continuation, reinterpretation, or reestablishing of even older cultic ceremonies. It is to be emphasized that Gnosis was not devoid of cult. That the gnostic "community" was established in the loose social structure of a "school of doctrine" or a "mystery club," with at most only a rudimentary hierarchical organization (the Manichaeans were exceptions) was formally derived from the ancient social mode of the philosophical or religious association.

B. Sources: Primary and Secondary

Up to modern times, very little original source material was available. Quotations found in the heresiologists comprised no more than fifty or sixty pages. The so-called *Corpus Hermeticum*, the origin of which is still largely unexplained, contains a few Greek tractates whose tenor is gnostic, even if they have been strongly influenced by Hellenistic–Egyptian (Alexandrian) traits. An example is the first text in the collection, which has been known in Europe since the 15th century as *Poimandres* (Shepherd of Men). The only extensive original works were two Coptic manuscripts brought to England in the 18th century but not published until the end of the 19th. They contain the so-called *Pistis Sophia* (Faith [and] Wisdom), the *Two Books of Jeu*, and four fragmentary texts. Another gnostic Coptic codex was discovered in 1896 by the Berlin church historian C. Schmidt (Papyrus Berolinensis 8502), first published in 1955 and which contains, among other things, two writings which are essential to research on gnosis: the *Apocryphon of John* and the *Sophia Jesu Christi*. Finally, to the texts which claim to be gnostic belong the *Odes of Solomon* (Coptic and Syriac) and the so-called *Song of the Pearl* (= *Hymn of the Pearl* or *Hymn of the Soul*) from the apocryphal *Acts of the Apostle Thomas*. The most extensive amount of gnostic literature has been transmitted through the small baptismal community of the Mandaeans, still located in the region of the lower Tigris and Euphrates rivers and in Iranian Karun (Khuzistan). However, this continuing community has only become known in detail since the end of the 19th century. See MANDAEISM.

A decisive event was the discovery in 1945 of thirteen Coptic gnostic books called the Nag Hammadi codices in upper Egypt near the modern village of Nag Hammadi. See NAG HAMMADI (CODICES). This discovery is one of the most extensive manuscript finds of recent times. The long and difficult process of editing, translating into modern languages (English, German, and French), and commenting began very early in the case of Nag Hammadi texts which were available to individuals (J. Doresse, H.-C. Puech, A. Böhlig, M. Krause, J. Leipoldt, P. Nagel, H.-M. Schenke). Diglot editions are now appearing in Coptic-English and Coptic-French. (For a useful English translation of all texts, see *NHL*.)

The great significance of these new primary sources is readily apparent. Even if until now no precise explanation has been given to how this collection came to be and in what circles particular writings were handed down, the greatest part is still of gnostic origin—at least 40 of 51 writings. In any case, the entire complex seems to have been collected and used by Christian gnostics. From the documents, which were in book form and between leather covers for protection, we can establish that the place where they were found is not far from the place where they were originally prepared in antiquity, that is, in the area of the Egyptian monastic settlements of Chenoboskion: Diospolis Magna (Thebes) and Parva. We can also establish that the age of the documents' preparation, as evidenced by palaeography and the somewhat datable cartonnage (scrap paper used to stiffen the leather bindings), dates them to no earlier than the middle of the 4th century C.E.

In the Nag Hammadi texts, we have a collection of writings made by heretical monks, against whom were directed the orthodox polemics from Alexandria, the spiritual center of orthodox Egyptian Christianity at the time. The common and dominant ascetic and encratic character of the texts makes this thesis even more tenable. Upper Egypt was a very frequent place of refuge for heretical groups, such as the Manichaeans, and also the location of the Coptic language dialect regularly known as "the heretics' dialect" (*Ketzerdialekt*). After Alexandria lost some of its importance under Roman rule, the native cultural life moved to Middle and Upper (i.e., S) Egypt. Evidence for this diffusion is provided not only by the discoveries of gnostic and Manichaean texts but also of classical Greek texts in the same area (e.g., Menander). The Neoplatonist Plotinus (d. ca. 270 C.E.) also comes from Upper Egypt.

Thus the collection of original gnostic texts has been considerably broadened and scholarship has taken the initiative provided by the new materials. Since the texts are almost all translations from Greek originals, though several ultimately derive from Syriac originals, the time of composition, naturally, can be estimated to be earlier than the date when the texts were prepared. On the whole, the composition of the majority of the writings is now dated to the 2d and 3d centuries, and the literary sources of some may date to the 1st century.

Apart from their basically gnostic content, the Nag Hammadi texts are not uniform in their approach but can be organized according to several categories established by the heresiologists. They present us with a rather broad spectrum of gnostic positions. Aside from the Hermetic and decidedly Valentinian texts, the so-called "Barbelognostic" and "Sethian" schools are most prominent. The multiplicity of gnostic modes of thought and action are very clear, and so researchers are provided with the pri-

mary materials needed to reconstruct the nature, diversity, and development of gnostic systems of belief and practice.

It is of great importance that the discovery presents us with both Christian and non-Christian gnostic writings. The latter have been occasionally edited, but only secondarily, by Christian editors. That is, the writings confirm the independence of gnostic from Christian writers, and so corroborate the thesis of the non-Christian origin of gnostic teaching. At the same time, a strong connection with Jewish traditions, especially apocalyptic and extrabiblical, is visible. Thus, the view frequently advocated earlier, that Gnosis germinated on the margins of early Judaism, can no longer be easily dismissed.

On the other hand, in the intertwining of gnostic and early-Christian ideas in the Christian-gnostic texts we can now see the principal background for the polemic of the church's heresiologists. They apparently recognized the real danger that a foreign conceptual world might initiate a popular abandonment of orthodox Christianity. Nevertheless, the gnostics, as creative theologians in their own right, often contributed to Christological, trinitarian, and cosmological teachings. They were occasionally the first to raise such problems for discussion, and they caused the larger church to take a stand on a variety of subjects. Their activity in this regard was of positive value for the development of Christian doctrine. In addition, the new texts occasionally display the role of Greek philosophy in gnostic conceptions, and they also help with the question of the role of Gnosis in the formation of Neoplatonism. Thus, the discovery of the Nag Hammadi codices has already provided us with many new insights and has set an unexpectedly rich agenda for future research on Gnosis.

Before the discovery of the Nag Hammadi texts in 1945, the Church Fathers of the 2d to the 4th centuries provided, naturally in polemical guise, several reports including abstracts from actual gnostic texts (e.g., the *Book of Baruch* by Justin the Gnostic, the *Great Exposition* ascribed to Simon Magus, the *Naassene Homily* and the *Letter to Flora* by Ptolemy). Among these Church Fathers are Justin Martyr (d. ca. 165), Irenaeus of Lyons (ca. 140–200), Hippolytus of Rome (d. ca. 235), Tertullian (ca. 150–223/5), Clement of Alexandria (ca. 140/150–211/215), Origen (d. ca. 253/54), and Epiphanius of Salamis (315–403).

The difficulties in using the heresiological literature are twofold. The first difficulty is the biased heresiological point of view, for they saw in gnostic teaching only deviations from pure teaching, deviations which were spawned by the devil. The second difficulty is based in the interdependence of the gnostic sources, since the later gnostic authors naturally developed the gnostic conceptions they had received, but rarely added to them more than a few new bits of information. Moreover, the heresiologists had different theories about the historical origin of Gnosis, and these theories determined the way they presented the gnostic materials. Justin and Irenaeus prefer an origin from Judaism, and Hippolytus and Clement prefer an origin from Greek philosophy, while Epiphanius tries to trace back, in a purely schematic way (according to the *Song of Songs* 6:8), eighty heresies to Greek and Jewish schools or sects. In spite of all this, scholarly research in the 19th century (esp. F. C. Baur and A. von Harnack) could construct an objective image of Gnosticism, even if primary sources were limited and the traditional heresiological perspective dominated.

C. History of Research

The increase in new original sources has fundamentally altered the state of research in the last few decades. As a result, older notions must and should be abandoned. Together with progress in the critical analysis of sources has come a change in the formulation of questions, which above all had been introduced by the groundbreaking Religionsgeschichtliche Schule (History of Religions School) of Protestant historial theology in Germany at the turn of the century (W. Bousset, H. Gunkel, W. Wrede). This state of affairs reveals another aspect of historiography—the conditioned viewpoint of the investigator. In the 19th century, the gnostic sects were still widely seen as early Christian heresies. Scholarly accounts were influenced by the polemical rhetoric and bias of the Church Fathers, who were responsible for creating such a view. All this changed, however, with the approach adopted by the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule. Church-historical research, as it had been conducted (above all by the influential A. von Harnack), was replaced by religio-historical research as practiced by W. Bousset and R. Reitzenstein. A regional perspective was replaced by one more universal, a theological perspective by a religio-historical perspective. This change in perspective extended even further. Questions were formulated so as to include the new sociological or social scientific, economic, and social-historical approaches, in an attempt to place Gnosis in the context of the ideological history of the Hellenistic world and late antiquity. Gnosis was seen as a part of a broader religio-philosophical protest movement—as a manifestation of the dissolution of the classical world view—and as a fragmentary attempt to master social, political, and ideological complexes by opposing dualities such as "lower and higher," between East and West (Rome), as was done by other religions. The inclusion of Gnosis in a universal, ecumenical compass strongly shapes present research, at least to the extent that that research is devoted to more than the necessary processing and analysis of sources.

D. History of Gnosticism

1. Origins. According to the view of the Church Fathers, the gnostic movement was introduced by the devil "who hates what is good, as the enemy of truth, ever most hostile to man's salvation, turned all his devices against the church" (Eusebius of Caesarea). The head of the deceivers was Simon Magus (i.e., "the Sorcerer") known from Acts 8 in the NT. Most of the heresiologists considered Simon as the first gnostic, the founder of the sect or heresy (cf. Justin, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Epiphanius). His disciple Menander then distributed the gnostic teaching to Saturninus of Antioch and Basilides of Alexandria. With the help of this lineage, the beginning and expansion of Gnosticism was explained for centuries in the orthodox ecclesiastical tradition.

It is very difficult to write the history of Gnosis since we still do not have a text from a gnostic writer which can be considered an attempt at history writing. Only from a careful analysis of the sources themselves, and the relations of the gnostic schools to other movements, can we

reconstruct parts of that history. Most of it, especially the beginnings, are still shrouded in legend.

There is no doubt that the cultural and religious-historical background of Gnosis is closely tied to Judaism, Iran, and the Hellenistic tradition. The area of Syria and Palestine was its home. Many of the writings can be understood as interpretations or paraphrases of the Jewish scriptures (in spite of the polemic against the traditional meaning of those texts). Various figures of the OT (Adam, Seth, Cain, Shem, Enosh, and Noah) function as ancestors, revealers or saviors. The Jewish idea of one God can be presupposed behind the gnostic "Unknown God" (*agnōstos theos*) but clothed in Greek terms; the same is true for the gnostic demiurge (often called a "fool" or, by name, *Saklas*) who is the devaluated creator depicted in Genesis.

Two early Jewish traditions must be mentioned to understand gnostic origins: the apocalyptic and the sapiential (wisdom) tradition. Both are linked together by various threads. The apocalyptic (traced back to the 2d century B.C.E.) is characterized by the belief in the end of the world with God's intervention in favor of the elect. The world view is dominated by a dualistic pessimism with the teaching of two ages (*aeons*). The present age, governed by the devil and his powers, is bound to perish and will be followed by the future age of salvation. Only the man, who "knows himself" to be truly pious, will be saved by God. Apocalyptic is esoteric, revealed wisdom, and the resulting "knowledge" has a direct relation to redemption, because cognition or wisdom is the basis for future salvation. Apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings are the main types of apocalyptic literature, and which are continued in gnostic texts, sometimes with clear literary links to the non-gnostic apocalyptic classics. Figures like the Adamites and other forefathers of Judaism played a leading role in this type of literature. The same is true for the use of the interpretation of the biblical tradition in gnosticizing allegorical exegesis.

The soteriological concept of "knowledge" also appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls (Qumran), especially in the hymns, where a cosmological dualism of two spirits (or angels) of light and darkness who rule the world is part of that teaching. The pious one lives as a stranger in an evil world ruled by the devil. The "God of knowledge" had created the world but his power is momentarily limited by the "God of ignorance" and his minions. The same idea appears in late Jewish Wisdom Literature, where the female figure called "Wisdom" (*Sophia, Ḥokhmah*) is not only connected with God and his Law (as a means of creation and for the guidance of Israel) but she also has a redeeming function: the "knowledge" and wisdom of the law guarantee salvation, so that in Gnosticism "knowledge" is saving knowledge. The idea of the "disappointed wisdom" who returns from earth to heaven because error and foolishness worked against her is well known (*1 Enoch* 42). In Jewish philosophical skepticism, the pessimism about the world dominates the whole view of mankind (cf. Ecclesiastes, ca. 200 B.C.E.). For the despairing pious it is difficult to recognize any meaning or purpose in the world: there is no longer a fixed order of existence. Chance and fate rule the world. Man, the world, and God are irreparably separated, as the gnostic interpretation of Genesis 1–3 attests. Possibly this "tragic view of life" (G. von Rad) is the background for the origin of the anticosmic world view of Gnosis and its distinction between the "creator God," who is responsible for the existence of the evil cosmos, and the "God beyond," who is the source and final goal of his sparks of light.

Two other influences can be mentioned which were important for the origins of Gnosis: the Persian (Iranian) Zoroastrian traditions and Greek Hellenistic traditions. Both can be discovered centuries before the rise of Christianity in the language, literature, religion, and art of the Syrian-Palestinian era. Zoroastrian elements are to be found in Jewish apocalyptic traditions: the idea of the eschatological judgment, the resurrection of the dead, the coherent scheme of successive world periods (ages), the ascent of the soul, and, above all, the constant dualism. Surely the Iranian dualism of the two principles was decisively altered in that it was transformed into a substantial contrast of matter (body) and spirit (soul), as was typical in gnostic thought. The Hellenistic influence on the ancient Near Eastern world from the time of Alexander the Great (d. 323 B.C.E.) was of equally great ideological importance, Without the presupposition of Greek language and philosophy, Gnosis is unthinkable. The gnostic systems of the 2d century C.E., which flourished in Alexandria, were influenced by the development of Middle-Platonism especially concerning the problem of the transition from the single divine unity (*theos*) to the infinite diversity of the world (*cosmos*) in the sense of an evolution downwards from spirit (*pneuma*) to matter (*hyle*), resulting in an alienation of the spirit itself. There are a series of themes which Gnosis and contemporary philosophy shared: God and the soul, the "Unknown God," the creation of the cosmos, the origin of evil, and the descent and return of the soul (or spirit). The well-known Platonic duality between spirit and matter, soul and body, God and world, had a significant impact on the development of Gnosis. There are some witnesses for the existence of non-Christian Hellenistic-Oriental literature which are closely connected with the beginnings of Gnosis: the *Hermetic Corpus,* which originated in Egypt, and the "Mysteriosophies" or theologies of the oriental cults (*Naassene Homily*; but the contribution of Orphism is still unclear).

In addition to the ideological and religious factors associated with the Hellenistic climate of syncretism (the spiritualization of ancient religious or cultic practices) and the rise of individualism and esoterism (in contrast to the older religions of the polis with their societal concerns), another important factor in the rise of Gnosis was the economic and social conditions in the urban centers of the Hellenistic Near East. Gnosis was not only connected with the reaction of the orient against the perceived Greek and Roman imperialism and exploitation, but it was also associated with the protest against the social and political situation of the lower classes in oriental communities. As an urban religious phenomenon, Gnosis was part of the social protest movement on the level of religious ideology (mythology). It represented a new ideology which offered a support to the individual, even a certain democratized connection to God through the idea of a divine spark in every human. This provided assistance towards the self-recognition of any individual who had become conscious of his or her autonomy and independence from any

worldly ties, including official religions. The world (*kosmos*) was seen as an area of disorder not ruled by reason (*logos*) as in Greek philosophical thought. Here Gnosis was very different from other religions of this period. Its soteriology was closely linked to a strict attitude of world denial, which is the most radical of its kind in all antiquity. Thus, the modern theory is partly correct which insists that behind this position stands the non-priestly intellectualism of the laity of Jewish provenance, who lost their active function in official political matters. This fits very well into the image of the skeptical wisdom tradition which played an important part in the shaping of Gnostic thought.

2. Early Gnostic "Schools" and Systems. As we have seen, Simon Magus (ca. 50 C.E.) was considered the originator of Gnosis by the heresiologists. In Acts 8:9–25 he is described not as a real gnostic, but as a magician who seduced people in Samaria and whom his followers called "The Great Power of God." Not until Justin Martyr (d. ca. 165) was Simon said to have had a female partner Helena, also called "First Thought" (Ennoia). Irenaeus (ca. 180) later reported a complete gnostic system for the Simonians, which focused on the redemption of the "First Thought" (represented by Helena) from her captivity in the human material body. It seems that Simon was believed to be a kind of gnostic redeemer and revealer. Further information is given by Hippolytus (*Haer* 6.9–18) with his excerpt from the alleged Simonian treatise "The Great Exposition" (*Apophasis Megale*) which was probably a philosophical interpretation of sayings attributed to Simon by his school in the 2d century. Later Christian literature brings legendary tales about Simon, his school, and his opposition to the Apostle Peter (*Acts of Peter, The Pseudo-Clementines, Epistula Apostolorum*). Very close to the supposed teaching of the Simonian Gnosis stands the Nag Hammadi text *Exegesis on the Soul* (NHC II,6) which is marked by the fundamental gnostic idea of the fall and redemption of the soul.

If it is correct to call Gnosis a non-Christian movement from its origin, then we may be able to discover early relations with Christian traditions before the end of the 1st century C.E. An important feature was the appropriation of the figure of Jesus in the gnostic concept of soteriology in which a historical person was inserted into the gnostic framework of redemption. The first witnesses for this so-called docetic Christology are names like Satornilos (Satorninus) and Cerinthus (ca. 120/130 C.E.). But the testimony of the NT provides more glimpses of the connections between the early-Christian and early-gnostic traditions and communities. The process which is reflected in some of the NT writers is twofold: the Christianizing of Gnosis and the gnosticizing of early Christianity. The result of both events before the middle of the 2d century is the rise of an orthodox canonical Christianity on the one hand and the elimination of Gnosis as a heresy on the other. At the beginning of this process stands Paul in 1 and 2 Corinthians; the deutero-Pauline traditions in Colossians, Ephesians, and the Pastoral Epistles; and diverse texts such as Hebrews, Jude, 2 Peter (the latest book of the NT: ca. 140), and the extant letters of Ignatius of Antioch (d. ca. 110–117) and Polycarp of Smyrna (d. ca. 165). The Revelation of John (ca. 95) mentions the gnostic sect called the Nicolaitans in Asia Minor (Rev 2:6, 15).

A special case is the four Johannine writings (John, 1–3 John) which probably originated in Syria about 100–110 C.E. Here we have an understanding of Gnosis that had been adapted to Christian tradition and that can be seen as an early and unique type of Christian Gnosis. Some of its features include dualistic terminology, Christ as a heavenly messenger who brings division within humanity, "knowing" is synonymous with "believing," spiritualized or realized eschatology, and the community as the redeemer's "own ones."

3. Great Gnostic "Schools" and Systems of the 2d Century. The main centers of Gnosis in the 1st century had been Syria and Asia Minor. In the 2d century they were Alexandria (Egypt) and Rome. The question is still open whether there existed only one "system" of early Gnosticism or several at the same time, as we find in the 2d century. A certain plurality, adapting to local situations and traditions, seems to have existed from the beginning. But within this plurality one finds an interest in the same topics such as cosmology, soteriology, Christology, eschatology, and ethics. Certain basic ideas were elaborated at an early date and by the 1st century were already formulated into discrete theological systems. Among these were ideas such as the "Unknown God," the female counterpart of God called Sophia (Wisdom), the demiurge with the planets (Hebdomad) and creative powers, the fall of the divine soul or spirit into the world and the human body of Adam (as the first man), the sending of heavenly figures (e.g., Seth or Baruch) or abstract entities (Sophia, Ennoia, Logos) to rescue the divine spirit (as part of God) from the matter, the "ascent of the soul," the destruction of the cosmos, and, at the practical level, the personal discipline of distancing oneself (*enkrateia*) from the world.

The 2d century is the period of the great gnostic systems and the flourishing of Gnosticism (this term is assigned to this period in particular). The first significant teacher of Gnosticism is Basilides, who was active under the emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (117–161 C.E.). He lived in Alexandria (Egypt) and published several writings, a gnostic composition of the gospel, and exegesis (*Exegetica*) in twenty-four books, and psalms. Only fragments of them have been preserved; also lost is the "Refutation of Basilides" by Agrippa Castor. The school of Basilides was, after his death, handed over to his disciple or "son" Isidore, who also wrote several books, of which three are known but not preserved ("On the Grown Soul," "Ethica," "Expositions of the Prophet Parchor"). The system of Basilides is not easily reconstructed because the primary sources are very fragmentary. From the heresiologists we have two very different reports about Basilides' system: a dualistic version (Iren. *Adv. haer.* 1.24) and a monistic and more Greek philosophical interpretation (Hipp. *Haer.* 7.20–27). It is possible that the system, as Hippolytus describes it, is a fair description of a later stage of Basilides' system, but it may derive from Hippolytus' own misunderstanding or reinterpretation. According to Irenaeus and the few authentic extant fragments (patristic quotes), Basilides taught an emanation of beings and angels from the "Unbegotten Father," at first six spiritual powers which formed the Pleroma: mind (*nous*) or Christ (*Christos*), word (*logos*), prudence (*phronesis*), wisdom (*sophia*), and power (*dynamis*). From the last of these six emanated 365 angelic

beings in an unbroken, descending process, each creating a "heaven" as its habitat. These 365 heavens correspond to the world year or "aeon." The lowest class of the powers was led by the demiurgic God of the Jews called Abrasax (= 365) who created the physical world (*kosmos*) and men. In order to rescue men from the tyranny of this demiurge, the "Father" or "Unknown God" sent his Christ-Nous, who appeared in the divinely adopted human being Jesus of Nazareth. Simon of Cyrene, not Jesus, was crucified, so that the Christ-Nous could escape and return to the Father without the knowledge of the evil powers. Only the soul, never the devalued physical human body, is the object of gnostic soteriology. The "faithful" or "pneumatics" are alien to both the cosmos and humankind, as they are of supernatural origin. The accepted mode of behavior is the ascetic life, and only sins committed "involuntarily and in ignorance" will be forgiven.

Although Marcion of Sinope (d. ca. 154–160) was not strictly a gnostic theologian, his significance in early Christianity is best understood in relation to gnostic thought. According to Irenaeus, Marcion had contact with a Syrian gnostic teacher named Cerdo (in Rome ca. 136–142) and his famous disciple Apelles, and later joined gnostic circles in Alexandria. Apart from Marcion's great importance on the development of the NT canon, the later development of Pauline theology, and the foundation of a "heretic" church as well, he is part of the history of Gnosis in the 2d century. The supposed absolute separation between the Jewish God of Law and the gracious Christian God of salvation and love is not only an extreme interpretation of the Pauline theology, but reminds one of the gnostic antithesis between the foolish creator (demiurge) and the "Unknown God." The Jewish God of creation in Marcion's system corresponds fully to the foolish creator God of the gnostics, despite the fact that the latter was understood to be related to the highest being (God) as a fallen product of the spiritual universe (pleroma), which is not the case in the system of Marcion.

Marcion's exegetical protest against the OT, his negative valuation of the world and matter, and the ascetic consequences which he drew from that belief, are very much in agreement with gnostic attitudes. Different, however, was Marcion's belief that man is totally corrupt, not only in body but also in soul. To him salvation means a transformation of the soul (which is not a fallen, divine element as in Gnosticism).

The last great school of Gnosticism can also be dated to the first half of the 2d century. Its founder was a Christian teacher named Valentinus (died ca. 160–175). Very little is known about his life. He was probably born in Egypt and educated in Alexandria where he converted to Christianity (apparently in a gnostic form). About 140 he went to Rome and was active there for many years, involved in church affairs and founding an influential school. As in the case of Basilides, only few fragments of his work have been preserved: most of these are sermons, hymns, and letters. His teaching was spread in this form as well as by oral instruction. Only one theological treatise is attributed to him: *On the Three Natures* (the *Tripartite Tractate* of the Nag Hammadi Library [= NHC I, 5] is not identical with this work, although it is related to the later Valentinian school). Divine revelation, it is said, had been the origin of the teaching of Valentinus. It may be that this tradition is one of the reasons that the original and complete system of Valentinus has not been preserved. No fewer than six more or less complete reports of the Valentinian system are to be found in the heresiological sources. No doubt there existed a basic doctrine behind them. Fundamental is the idea of emanation from the primordial beginning: the divine "depth" (*bythos*). The pleroma consists of at least thirty aeons arranged in fifteen pairs and called with different names. Most important are only the two first tetrads, which bear the following names: "primal-depth" (*bythos*) and "thought" (*ennoia*), also called "grace" (*charis*) and "silence" (*sige*); then "mind" (*nous*) or the "only begotten" (*monogenes*) and "truth" (*aletheia*); next comes "word" (*logos*) and "life" (*zoe*); then "man" (*anthropos*) and "church" (*ekklesia*). The last aeon is named "wisdom" (*sophia*), which plays an essential role in the process of the creation of the physical world by its "ignorance" or "error." The events in the pleroma have consequences for all that exists outside of it. In order to pacify the pleroma disturbed by the fall of Sophia, the two aeons "Christ" and "Holy Spirit" are created, and it is "Christ" who brings the unbridled Sophia back to the harmony of the pleroma. The passionate desire (*enthymesis*) of the restored Sophia is separated from her to the regions outside of the pleroma, and becomes the "lower Sophia" or Achamoth (Heb "wisdom"). To remove the "sufferings" of this lower Sophia, "Jesus Soter" is brought forth by all aeons of the pleroma. He put her "affects" in order through "gnosis," but her "passions" are separated and become the elements of the future creation of the cosmos. The psychic elements are the origin of the demiurge, who with his powers resides in the "place of the midst," that is, between the "Ogdoad" or Achamoth and the material world (earth). The spiritual elements consist of the "seed of light" (*pneuma*) and represent the pneumatics. The material world, including man, is created out of material and psychic substances.

The system of Valentinus is marked by an original combination of former gnostic speculations (especially of the so-called "Barbelo-Gnostic" systems, as in the *Apocryphon of John*) and Greek platonic philosophy; Valentinianism is therefore often characterized as the apex of Gnosticism before Manichaeism (which first developed in the mid-3d century). The Valentinian school was the most influential and the greatest of Gnosticism. Some of Valentinus' disciples were distinguished intellectuals, vehemently attacked by the Church Fathers. The division of Valentinianism into two different schools, which they themselves called the "Anatolian" (Oriental) centered in Alexandria, and "Italian" (Western) centered in Rome, was a significant development. The difference between them centered on christological issues. The Oriental school was active in Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, the old places of Gnosis. To it belonged the well-known gnostic Marcus, who changed the system of his teacher Valentinus into "numerical speculations" and "letter mysticism," and who practiced special cultic ceremonies; and Theodotus, some of whose writings have been transmitted in a fragmentary form by Clement of Alexandria. The "Italian School" was dominant in Rome and was especially opposed by Irenaeus of Lyons (Gaul). Its representatives included Ptolemy, whose system is reported in the polemic of Irenaeus; and

Heracleon, who wrote the first commentary on the Gospel of John, used by Origen and Clement. Evidence for the existence of the Valentinian Gnosis also comes from the 3d to the 5th century, particularly from the area of Egypt, Syria, and N Mesopotamia.

4. Later Developments. Strictly speaking, the productive period of western Gnosis ends with Valentinus and his school. Later gnostics and their works had nothing essentially new to contribute to the development of Gnosis. Writings like *Pistis Sophia, The Two Books of Jeu,* and parts of the Hermetic corpus and the Nag Hammadi library belong to this late period. Epiphanius reported on some sects (e.g., Archontics and Borborians) which belong to the later period of Gnosticism.

The aftereffect of Gnosis—and also of organized Gnosticism—is part of the religious history of late antiquity and the Middle Ages, and also of the history of philosophy into the modern period. Already the German classicist J. G. Herder saw in Gnosis the first religious philosophy in Christendom, and he realized that the shaping of Christian theology since the 2d century is unintelligible apart from questions raised by gnostics. The theological agendas of orthodox thinkers like Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Lactanius, and Augustine (himself a convert from gnostic Manichaeism) were largely determined by issues introduced by their gnostic opponents. Questions concerning cosmology, creation, and salvation, and christological issues concerning the divine Savior Christ in relation to both God and to the human Jesus of Nazareth, and the relations between presumed antitheses such as faith and knowledge, death and resurrection, body and spirit, good and evil, tradition and interpretation—all are themes upon which the gnostics elaborated and, because they often diverged far from the consensus of Christian tradition, provoked an intense response.

The heresiologists not only evaluate gnostic concepts negatively through various attempts to discourage acceptance of gnostic belief and practice, but also reflect gnostic concepts positively by their response to those tendencies in their own alternative programs. More than just the ideology of the gnostics was influential, for in practical social matters the foundations of the gnostic community were of existential importance for the development of the Orthodox Church. This is seen, for example, in the organized community structure of authority (the episcopal system), the exclusion of women from community leadership (especially advocated by Tertullian), and the integration of the laity into the legal and hierarchical institution of a state church.

The Church almost never escaped from the "gnostic danger." As the gnostic systems of the 2d and 3d centuries lost their influence, there arose in Mesopotamia the first gnostic world-religion: Manichaeism. Even today this geographical region, the ancient seed-bed of Gnosis, remains the home of the only remaining gnostic community, the Mandaeans (see MANDAEISM). Gnosis, Manichaeism and Hermeticism have also had significant influential aftereffects in the history of Islamic heresies (Shi'ite extremism). In the same way gnostic ideas extended into the Christian Middle Ages (Bogumils and Albigensians), into the history of world-rejecting mystical groups (e.g., kabbalism), and up to modern theosophical and anthroposophical occultic movements.

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KURT RUDOLPH

GOAH (PLACE) [Heb *gō'ātâ*]. An area in the vicinity of Jerusalem mentioned in connection with Jeremiah's eschatological vision of the restored and resanctified Jerusalem (31:39). Its location is unknown, although the context of the biblical passage suggests that it was likely S and E of GAREB, but presumably still N of the Hinnom valley and W of the Kidron valley. In Jeremiah's vision, the sanctity of the city would extend to include (presumably) the Hinnom valley and certainly the Kidron valley; thus it is possible that Goah was opposite one or the other of the valleys. The RSV form of the name, "Goah," reflects a reconstruction of the name in its absolute form, without the locative *-â* and the feminine construct *-t-*.

GARY A. HERION

GOAT, GOATHERD. Goats are cloven-hoofed ruminants, usually with hollow horns that sweep backwards, although some may have corkscrew or scimitar horns. They are gregarious, strong, and surefooted creatures. The domestic goat (*Capra hircus mambrica*) is thought to have derived from the wild goat (*C. aegagrus*) of W Asia. The Hebrew names used for goat do not define the various species; the general Semitic word and most frequently used in the OT is *'ēz* (Akk *enzu*, Ar *'anz*, Syr *'ezzā*; Gen 15:9; 27:9, 16). Another common name *śā'îr* ("shaggy," "hairy one"), appearing many times, is a he-goat (Gen 37:31; Lev 4:28; 16:10; Ezek 43:22), but occurs in certain passages as a demonic figure, translated "satyrs"/"devils" (Lev 17:7; 2 Chr 11:15; Isa 13:21; 34:14). The *'attûd* (Akk *atūdu*) also refers to rams or he-goats (Gen 31:10, 12). The *gĕdî* is a young goat, a kid (Gen 27:9; Judg 6:19). Both *ṣapîr*, found in later OT material (2 Chr 29:21; Dan 8:5, 8, 21; Ezra 8:35), and *tayiš* (Gen 30:35; Prov 30:31) mean he-goat. The *'aggô* appears only once (Deut 14:5) and has been translated as "wild goat" or "ibex," but the identification is questionable. The *zemer* also is found only in Deut 14:5 and has been identified as the aoudad or Barbary sheep, or the mouflon wild sheep. The word has been translated "chamois," but this animal was apparently never a native of Palestine. The horns of the *zemer* were possibly used for musical instruments. The *yā'ĕl* (1 Sam 24:3—Eng 24:2; Psalm 104:18; Job 39:1) is translated "wild goat" (*C. Sinaitica*), or was possibly the Nubian ibex (*C. ibex nubiana*).

Like the sheep, the goat was widespread and valuable in ANE society, and is presumably included under the general OT term for "flocks" (*ṣō'n*, Gen 4:2, 4; 12:16; 13:5; Exod 10:9; Ps 144:13; Job 1:3; 42:12). Jacob's gift of over 530 animals to Esau included "two hundred she-goats and twenty he-goats" (Gen 32:14); Nabal possessed a thousand goats (1 Sam 25:2, 3), and Jehoshaphat received tribute of "seventy-seven-hundred he-goats" (2 Chr 17:11). The goat was domesticated by the 7th millennium B.C. and was kept mainly for its milk (Deut 32:14; Prov 27:27; Bodenheimer 1960: 209). As food, the goat was permitted by the Torah (Lev 7:23; Deut 14:4), in fact, the meat of a kid was highly prized (Gen 27:9; Judg 15:1; 1 Sam 16:20; Luke 15:29). David's encampment at Ein Gedi ("fountain of the goats") likely provided his men with ample food as well as a choice hiding place (1 Sam 24:1—Eng 23:29). The wool of the various species produced different kinds of cloths, some coarse and rough, but others provided superior mohair and cashmere garments (cf. 1 Sam 19:13; Jonah 3:6; Heb 11:37). Because of its toughness and resistance to heat and water the hair was used to make tents, such as the present-day bedouins' tents (cf. Cant 1:5), and also twine. The curtains of the Tabernacle were made of goat's hair (Exod 26:7; Cant 1:5). The hair was generally black (Cant 1:5), but spotted and speckled colors were also known (Gen 30:32). The skins were used to make leather, and of great importance was their use as "bags" for the storage and transportation of liquids such as wine, oil, water, and milk (Gen 21:14; Josh 9:4, 13; Judg 4:19; 1 Sam 1:24; Ps 119:83; Mark 2:22; Luke 5:37–39).

The goat is listed early in the OT as an acceptable sacrifice (Gen 15:9). The animal was equal to the sheep for the Passover, and was included under the common term for "lamb" (*śeh;* Exod 12:5). The various offerings enumerated in Leviticus include the goat (Lev 1:10; 3:12; 4:22–24, 27, 28; cf. Num 15:24, 27; Lev 5:6; 9:3, 15). At the presentation of first fruits there was a prohibition against "seething a kid in its mother's milk" (Exod 23:19; 34:26; Deut 14:21), an injunction either against some Canaanite rite, or possibly, a cruelty (Gaster 1950: 423; cf. Lev 22:28; Deut 22:6; cf. Bodenheimer 1960: 214–15; Keel 1980). Two goats were selected for the Day of Atonement ritual: one for a sin offering and the other consigned "to/for Azazel" (Lev 16:6–26); Azazel was either the goat on which sins were carried into the wilderness ("scapegoat"), the wilderness itself, or a desert demon.

The nature of the goat lent itself to symbolism, but in comparison to sheep imagery, the number of metaphorical references in the Bible is limited. Goats are destructive to cultivated areas, and with their beetling brow and thrust-out lower lip they could easily represent power and belligerence. The common word for goat (*'ēz*) is derived from *'āzaz*, "to be strong." Their overbearing temper and aggressiveness required the shepherd to keep close watch over the flocks so that the sheep would not be harmed. Israel's leadership is compared to he-goats who have harassed the sheep and the reason given was the absence of a shepherd to watch over them (Zech 10:3). In the judgment against evil shepherds God is said to "judge between sheep and sheep, rams and he-goats" (Ezek 34:17). The "leaders of the earth" in Sheol are symbolized as he-goats (Isa 14:9). Israel is told to go out from Babylonian exile "as he-goats before the flock" (Jer 50:8). In Proverbs the he-goat is given regal status (30:29–31). Israel's army is

compared to "two little flocks of goats" (1 Kgs 20:27). Alexander the Great is described as a he-goat with a conspicuous horn between his eyes (Dan 8:5, 8, 21; cf. 8:23). Because of the dark and silky color of the goat, a maiden's flowing hair is likened to a flock trailing down Mount Gilead (Cant 4:1; 6:5).

The use of the goat was widespread in the art of Mesopotamia. Numerous figurines, plaques, clay models, and glyptic objects show that the animal was used for many different motifs: a serpent lying across a goat's back with its head between the horns is novel, but a common scene is that of one or two goats rearing on a sacred tree which grows out of a mountain (see Van Buren 1930: 171–76; Buchanan and Hallo 1981: *passim;* Frankfort 1954: pls. 28, 29, 67, 68, 192; Keel 1980: 72, 96, 104, 115). The ibex is common in glyptic art, and in Mesopotamian literature symbolized the sweet underground water (see Jacobsen 1976: 111). Goat and rams horns were a frequent motif in the Asian steppes and the goat was a popular symbol for royalty in ancient Persia.

In the OT the goatherd is not distinguished from the usual term for shepherd (*rō'eh*). Both sheep and goats were normally herded in the same flock. In the Song of Songs the shepherdess is spoken of as one who shepherded her kids (Cant 1:8).

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JACK W. VANCIL

GOB (PLACE) [Heb *gôb*]. The site of two battles against the Philistines during the reign of David (2 Sam 21:18, 19). Gob appears twice in a series of four episodes in which heroes from David's ranks defeated Philistine champions (2 Sam 21:15–22). During the first encounter at Gob, Sibbecai slew Saph (v 18), while during the second, Elhanan killed Goliath (v 19; but see the parallel in 1 Chr 20:5, in which Elhanan is alleged to have killed Lahmi the brother of Goliath). Gob does not appear in the parallel account in 1 Chr 20:4–8. In Chronicles, Gezer is presented as the site of the encounter between Sibbecai and Saph (v 4, where the latter name is given as Sippai), while there is no place mentioned as the site of the encounter between Elhanan and Lahmi (v 5). Scholars have been divided on the place of Gob in the biblical traditions. Following a suggestion by Wellhausen, Eissfeldt (1943: 120–22) emended the name of the site of the first of the four episodes from Nob to Gob (2 Sam 21:16), thus having three of the four episodes take place at Gob. Then, basing himself on the variant "Gezer" in 1 Chr 20:5, he located the site of Gob in the vicinity of Gezer, identifying Gob with Gibbethon (M.R. 137140; identified with Tell el-Melat, 4 km from Gezer), known as a point of conflict between the Philistines and Israel in the late 10th and early 9th centuries B.C.E. (1 Kgs 15:27; 16:15; see also Smith *Samuel* ICC, 377–78 and Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 141 who support the primacy of the reading "Gob" as against Gezer in 2 Sam 21:18 on the basis of its being the more difficult reading, and on an assumption that the Chronicler substituted the familiar name Gezer for the unfamiliar Gob). Opposed to this view is that of McCarter (*II Samuel* AB, 447–50), who accepts the reading "Gob" only in the account of Elhanan's battle with Goliath (2 Sam 21:19). In 2 Sam 21:18, McCarter follows 1 Chr 20:4 in placing the battle at Gezer. In doing this, he finds some support in the Lucianic version of the name in question, *gazeth.* He explains both the MT "Gob" and the LXX Codex Vaticanus variant "Gath" as anticipatory of vv 19 and 20, respectively (see Myers *II Chronicles* AB, 141 in support of Gezer in 1 Chr 20:4).

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CARL S. EHRLICH

GOD. This entry consists of two articles, one covering God in the OT, and the other covering God in the NT. See related entries: DRAGON AND SEA, GOD'S CONFLICT WITH; IMAGE OF GOD (OT); KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT; SON OF GOD; WILL OF GOD IN THE OT; WORD OF GOD; WORKS OF GOD; WRATH OF GOD.

GOD IN THE OT

There is no treatise on God in the OT, no equivalent of the tract *De Deo Uno* (concerning the one God) of medieval and classical theology, no discussion of the "idea of God." The existence of God is taken for granted. The Psalmist proclaims: "The fool says in his heart, 'There is no God' " (Pss 14:1; 53:2—Eng 53:1). The God of the OT is a God whom one experiences. One believes in God; one reflects on the present situation, on what led to it, on the distant past, and one knows that God is at work in this process. The OT writers do not prove the existence of God scientifically for the modern scientist, philosopher, or historian.

They know from experience that God exists. They reflect and are convinced that God initiates, sustains, and governs the universe, and that he directs history. They do not know an inert God.

A. Toward One God
1. The Struggle for One God
2. Dtn-Dtr and One God
3. The One God
B. God Ever Active
1. God Who Creates and Blesses
2. God Who Calls the Fathers
3. God Who Rescues
4. God and the Prophetic Word
C. God and Prayer
1. God and the Psalmists
2. God Inexhaustible
D. God Mysterious
1. God beyond Human Measure
2. God Unteachable
3. God beyond Images
E. God King and Warrior
F. God and Wisdom
G. God the Restorer
H. Conclusion

A. Toward One God

The Hebrew Bible and its final expression of a one God is the end result of a struggle for God that has been long and complicated: "The Bible probably should not be thought of as a monotheistic book but as monotheizing literature. There is no serious treatise in it arguing monotheism philosophically. But every bit of it monotheizes—more or less well" (Sanders 1984: 51). This process of monotheizing came to an official end with the editing and crystallization in writing of the record of the struggle for the one God. The Chronicler and the book of Daniel in its present form represent the last stage. Those who followed strictly the first commandment (Exod 20:2–6; Deut 5:6–10) and the *Shema* (Deut 6:4–9) were a minority. The religious history of Israel is the story of constant falling away from the one God. Yet the one, exclusive, and only God is the center of true Israelite religion.

1. The Struggle for One God. The Hebrew Bible was some eight hundred years in the making and bears many a print, faint and firm, of Israel's struggle with the Canaanite religion and its pantheon with which it lived side by side. There are many stages in the process that lead to the monotheism of Deutero-Isaiah. The journey was not along a straight path. But the God of the Hebrew Bible is ultimately a one and only God; there is no God beside him.

God in popular Judean or Israelite religion is not necessarily the God of the definitive Hebrew Bible, though this "popular God" is important for understanding the process of refinement. One can speak of two religions in Israel: (1) the official one, concerned with the one God and his law, represented by the priests and prophets, refined, speaking a language that the people do not know, and (2) the popular one, crass, ignorant, with emphasis on the periphery and with practices outside official control. The official or minority religion is expressed in the Priestly writing, Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic history, the positive proclamation of the prophets, and the Psalmists; the popular attitude is reflected in much of Samuel-Kings, the prohibitions of Deuteronomy, and the polemics of the prophets. The people, common folk and high officials alike, substituted Canaanite gods and worship for the one true God. Hosea, for example, gives a compendium of two centuries of false worship: "they have turned to raisin cakes" (3:1); "they have played the harlot" (4:11–14; 9:1); "they turn to Baal" (7:16); "with silver and gold they made idols . . . a workman made it, it is not God" (8:4–5); "Ephraim has multiplied altars for sinning" (8:11); "Israel has forgotten his Maker" (8:14); "Ephraim . . . incurred guilt through Baal and died" (13:1). Polytheism and forms of idolatry became virtually official both in the N (2 Kgs 17:7–18) and in the S (2 Kgs 18:4—the bronze serpent; 2 Kgs 21:1–16—Manasseh). God, who had brought the people out of Egypt, had been pushed aside. The idols of the majority had, on the popular level, prevailed over the one true God of the minority. The people had forgotten that it is YHWH, not Baal, who blesses, that is, gives fertility and prosperity to humans, animals, and the fields (cf. Jer 14:22).

2. Dtn-Dtr and One God. The God of Israel is a jealous God, *ʾēl qannāʾ*, who tolerates no other (cf. Exod 20:5; Deut 5:9; Deut 4:24; 6:15; 9:7b–10:11). He has an exclusive claim on Israel, though other peoples may go their way: "for all the peoples walk each in the name of its god, but we will walk in the name of the Lord our God for ever and ever" (Mic 4:5). But a stiff-necked people (Exod 32:9; 33:3, 5, etc.) murmured against its God (Exod 16:2; Num 11:2; 12:1; 14:2, 26, etc.) through forty years in the wilderness even to the edge of the promised land, so that the anger of the Lord blazed up against them (Exod 32:11; Num 11:10, 33, etc.). These traditions provided material for the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic writers. These writers contemplate Israel encamped on the threshold of the promised land, led there from Egypt by the one God, and put under obligation to him alone: "YHWH is your God, YHWH is one" (Deut 6:4). Because he is unique and has led the people from Egypt, he can command love and demand that the people serve him with an undivided heart (*kôl lēb*), with their lives even unto death (*kôl nepeš*), and with all their possessions (*kôl mĕʾod;* Deut 6:5). The God of Deuteronomy is the God of the first precept of the Decalog. God's blessing will continue to be effective both in increase of descendants and in prosperity in the land. But it is now conditional on adherence to the one God and his commandments (Deut 31:15–20). The Deuteronomic Code imposes at the least a strict monolatry.

The Deuteronomist is even stricter. God is both near and remote, merciful and demanding: "For what great nation is there that has a god so near to it as the Lord our God is to us whenever we call upon him?" (Deut 4:6); "For this commandment which I command you this day is not too hard for you, neither is it far off . . . but the word is very near you; it is in your mouth and in your heart, so that you can do it" (Deut 30:11–14). The people must not confuse their God with "the sun and the moon and the stars and all the host of heaven" (Deut 4:19). God controls these celestial bodies, but he is not in them, just as he is not immanent in the forces of nature. To stress the unique-

ness of God and the uniqueness of Israel's calling by God, the Deuteronomist, through the person of Moses, looks back into the mystery of creation: "For ask now of the days that are past, which were before you, since the day that God created man upon the earth, and ask from one end of the heaven to the other, whether such a great thing as this has ever happened or was ever heard of. Did any people ever hear the voice of a god speaking out of the midst of a fire, as you have heard, and still live?" (Deut 4:32–33). The reason for God's action is that "he loved your fathers and chose their children after them" (Deut 4:37). And the consequence?: "Be sure to take to heart that the Lord is God in heaven and on earth below; there is no other. You shall keep his statutes and his commandments which I give you today" (Deut 4:39–40). Love of God and the keeping of his commandments are inseparable correlatives in Deuteronomy. Because God is the people's rescuer, he can command this love; because "to the Lord your God belong heaven and the heaven of heavens, the earth and all that is in it" (Deut 10:14). He can require of the people "to love him, to serve the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul, and to keep the commandments and statutes of the Lord" (Deut 10:12–13). A key theme of the Deuteronomistic History and theology is sounded in 1:8: "*I* have laid the land open before you." It is God and he alone who has accomplished everything. He alone has brought the people to this stage of their history as they stand between promise and fulfillment. Deut 1:6–3:29 is not just historical retrospect. It is preached history which demands that the people learn from what their God has done.

The story of the people of Israel, as the Deuteronomist interprets history, is the story of the violation of the first commandment by the worship of "foreign gods." The standard statements in Judges formulate this theological interpretation of history (2:11–19; 3:7–11; 10:6–16). God is said to be angry: "So the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel" (Judg 2:20). The whole history of the people under the monarchy was a continual falling away from God so that the Deuteronomist could say at the demise of the N kingdom that "the Lord was very angry with Israel, and removed them out of his sight; none was left but the tribe of Judah only" (2 Kgs 17:18). But Judah fared no better in the end: "for because of the anger of the Lord it came to the point in Jerusalem and Judah that he cast them out from his presence" (2 Kgs 24:20).

3. The One God. It is Deutero-Isaiah who expresses most clearly that Israel's God is one and unique, in short, monotheism in the strict sense. There are twelve verses in particular where this prophet asserts the uniqueness of Israel's God (45:14–25): "God is with you only, there is no other" (v 14a); YHWH . . . *he* is God" (v 18a); "I, YHWH, and there is no other" (v 18d); "I YHWH" (v 19c); "Was it not I, YHWH, and there is no other God besides me" (v 21c); "none apart from me" (v 21d); "for I am God (*ʾēl*) and there is no other" (v 22b); "only in YHWH" (v 24a); "in YHWH" (v 25). These nine monotheistic assertions have a cumulative effect. With them is found also the word "save," which occurs six times as a noun/participle or a verb. "Save" does not have here the overtones of the Christian theology of the NT. It is rendered better by "rescue," or an equivalent: "God of Israel; rescuer" (v 15); "Israel is rescued by YHWH with a rescue that is forever" (v 17); the pagans invoke "a god who does not rescue" (v 20c); YHWH is a "god who delivers and rescues" (v 21d); the pagans are invited to "turn to me and be rescued" (v 22a). YHWH will vindicate his people in the eyes of their enemies, who will be brought to acknowledge that it is the God of Israel who acts.

The God of Israel is immeasurable and unteachable (40:12–17), incomparable (40:18; 46:5, 9); he stretches out the heavens (40:21–22; 42:5; 44:24; cf. Ps 104:2b); he is apart, the holy one of Israel (41:14, 16, 20; 43:15; 45:11; 48:4; 49:7); he is with his people (41:10; 43:2); he brings joy, comfort, and assurance (51:3, 6, 8, 11, 16; 52:10, 12; cf. also 41:8–13, 14–16; 43:1–4, 5–7; 44:1–5). It is "I" who act "that people may see and know, may consider and understand together, that the hand of the Lord has done this, the Holy One of Israel has created it" (41:20). There are, therefore, no other "gods." To speak of them is to speak either of nothing or of the ineffective work of human hands (40:19–20; 41:6–7; 41:23–24, 29; 42:17; 43:10; 44:9–20; 46:1–13; 48:5). In the middle of the 6th century B.C.E., Deutero-Isaiah has proclaimed monotheism in its fullness.

B. God Ever Active

1. God Who Creates and Blesses. The Hebrew Bible begins with a clear distinction between God and "not-God," between creator and created. "In the beginning God." The writer presupposes creation and God as creator and has no need to prove it. Creation by God is simply accepted. It is not an article of faith, as in the Christian creeds, inasmuch as it was never contested. The history of the theology of creation in Israel is another matter (cf. Westermann 1978: 1–10; Saggs 1978: 30–63; Anderson 1984; Day 1985: 1–62). The Bible stands under God and his creative word which dominates the priestly recitation of creation. The refrain, "and God said," occurs eight times in Gen 1:3–27. There is the word, the formula of command, and the event. God's word is fulfilled in an event immediately following it and in precise accordance with what is said. There is an inner connection between God's word and the event. God's word *is* event. What God has said must come to pass. "By the word of the Lord the heavens were made, and all their host by the breath of his mouth" (Ps 33:6). We read the same in Ps 147:15–20 as well as in the concluding passage of Deutero-Isaiah:

> For as the rain and the snow come down from heaven,
> and return not thither but water the earth,
> making it bring forth and sprout
> giving seed to the sower and bread to the eater,
> so shall my word be that goes forth from my mouth;
> it shall not return to me empty,
> but it shall accomplish that which I purpose
> and prosper in the thing for which I sent it
> (Isa 55:10–11).

Creation by word has a long history in the ancient Near East. "The creative power of the word underlies all Mesopotamian religious literature" (Jacobsen 1976: 15; cf. Dürr 1938; Koch 1965). The word of God often appears under the image of a natural and cosmic power through which

the voice of God comes; it is the power that creates and maintains in existence. Psalm 29 repeats *qôl YHWH,* "the voice of YHWH," seven times; it may be rendered as well by "the word of YHWH."

The priestly writer introduces God who was there before creation: "from everlasting to everlasting thou art God" (Pss 90:2; 93:2), God who speaks and whose word must issue into event, God who acts and whose action must issue into order. For the priestly writer, as for Deutero-Isaiah, to conceive of God as one who creates chaos or preexisting unordered matter is to conceive strict nonsense; for both writer and prophet, creation and chaos are incompatible: "For thus says the Lord, who created the heavens—he is God! who formed the earth and made it—he established it; he did not create it a chaos (*tôhû*), he formed it to be inhabited!" (Isa 45:18; cf. Psalm 136). The God who creates is, in Deutero-Isaiah, also the God who redeems. He redeems or rescues precisely because he is creator, the word to create (*bārā'*), used only with God as subject in the OT (49 times), occurs 17 times in Deutero-Isaiah (40:26, 28; 41:20; 42:5; 43:1, 7, 15; 45:7 (twice), 8, 13, 18 (twice); 48:7; 54:16 (twice). God, the creator and sustainer, is the theme of Psalm 104 (linked closely with Genesis 1) and of the hymns of the praise of the creator which are the basis of Job 9:5–14; 26:5–14).

The God who creates is the God who blesses. He blesses all living creatures, animal and human (Gen 1:22, 28), so commanding them to exercise the dynamism to reproduce and increase conferred on them in their being created. The blessing is effective through time, in the genealogy of Genesis 5 (it is renewed after the flood, Gen 9:1, 7), and in space, in the spread of the human race over the earth through Noah's sons (Genesis 10), and in the line through Shem that leads to Abraham. The formula of Gen 1:28 and 9:1, 7, is taken up again in 35:11 when the promise is confirmed to Jacob. "Blessing is a continuing activity of God that is either present or not present" (Westermann 1978: 4).

2. God Who Calls the Fathers. Blessing stands at the head of the story of the patriarchs and permeates it: "Now YHWH said to Abram: Go your way from your land and your kindred and your father's house to the land that I will show you. And I will make you a great people, and I will bless you, and I will make your name great, so that you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you, and him who despises you, I will curse. And so all the clans of the earth shall find blessing through you" (Gen 12:1–3). The writer looks back from the period of the later monarchy on the history of his people and links history with God's unseen action of blessing. The blessing achieves its effect in history in descendants beyond counting: "if one can count the dust of the earth, your descendants also can be counted" (Gen 13:16; 28:13); "look toward heaven and count the stars, if you are able to number them" (Gen 15:4; 22:16; 25:3); "I will greatly multiply your seed" (Gen 16:10; 17:2, 19; 22:16; 26:3, 24). The descendants will be as the "sand which is on the seashore" (Gen 22:16). Abraham and Jacob are God's instruments by which "all the clans of the earth shall find blessing" (Gen 12:3; 22:18; 28:14). "The significant place of the call of Abraham simply serves to underscore the point being made here. The popular understanding of the God of the Bible often conceives of the deity as a God of love and wrath, a God of mercy and judgment, as these were the two parts of the character of God or the two sides of the divine activity and purpose. The call of Abraham helps to make clear that the God of biblical faith, in contrast to such a popular notion, is clearly bent toward blessing and mercy toward human creatures. Judgment takes place when the loving purposes of a compassionate God are thwarted or opposed. But the divine way and purpose are not any less loving or set for blessing. When Yahweh sent Abraham out, it was to bring about blessing, not curse. That is the good report which the Bible transmits to each generation" (Miller 1984: 475).

3. God Who Rescues. a. From Egypt. The reflective theologians of Israel saw God's blessing at work among his people in Egypt (Exod 1:7). It is the effect of the blessing that gives rise to the oppression (Exod 1:8–14). God is a God who responds. He saw, he knew, he remembered his assurance (*bĕrît*) given to the patriarchs, and he intervened (Exod 2:25; 3:15–17). The God who rescues or delivers or saves is identified with the God of the fathers (Exod 3:1–6; 6:2–8). He is described as "the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage" (Exod 20:2; Deut 5:6). This became Israel's confession of faith (Deut 6:20–25; 26:5–9; Josh 24:2–13).

Who is this God who rescues? He is symbolized by the bush which burns but is not consumed (Exod 3:2). He is there, ever active, indestructible. He says *'ehyeh 'immāk,* "I will be with you" (Exod 3:12); his name is *'ehyeh 'ăšer 'ehyeh,* "I am who I am"; and he instructs Moses to say "*'ehyeh* (I am) has sent you" (Exod 3:14). The God who rescues is the God who, as in the patriarchal stories, acts when, where, and how he will. It was this God, YHWH, who, in the belief of Israel, was the God of the beginnings; so that it was him, YHWH, whom people invoked in the primeval period (Gen 4:26). He cannot be contained by image, shrine, or territory. He is always present (Exod 33:12–16). The presence may be symbolized "by day in a pillar of cloud to lead them along the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light" (Exod 13:21); "but . . . you cannot see my face; for man shall not see me and live" (Exod 33:20), even though the elders "saw the God of Israel" (Exod 24:10), under imagery, and "the Lord used to speak to Moses face to face, as a man speaks to his friend" (Exod 33:11), that is, intimately.

The theme of deliverance, expressed vividly in the poetic climax of Exodus 15, became the confessional tradition of Israel. When in the 6th century, the creator God used Cyrus the Persian as his instrument in a second rescue, the appropriate language and imagery was at hand to the prophet of the exile (Isa 44:24–27; 44:28–45:5; 45:6–7).

b. From Babylon. The Deuteronomistic Historian-theologian interpreted the destruction of Samaria and Jerusalem and Israel's half-century of captivity in Babylon as a punishment inflicted by God for constant infidelity to him during the period of the monarchy (2 Kgs 17:7–41; 21:1–16; 24:1–7). This same God now leads his people back to Jerusalem. Deutero-Isaiah sees God at work in the victories of Cyrus (41:2–4; 41:25; 44:22–45:7; 45:12–13). Cyrus made Media a Persian satrapy in 556; in 547 he swept across Asia Minor to defeat Croesus of Lydia; in 546 he attacked Babylon; in 539 he overcame it. But, for the

theologian of the Exile, he was God's instrument. Cyrus is God's shepherd (44:28) and God's anointed (45:1). All these events have taken place because "I am the Lord, who made all things" (44:24); "I am the Lord, there is no other; besides me, there is no God" (45:5); "I form light and create darkness, I make weal and create woe, I am the Lord who does all these things" (45:7). The cry "I am He," "I am YHWH," rings through Deutero-Isaiah (e.g., 41:4; 43:13, 15; 45:3–7, 8; 48:12; 49:23–24; 51:16). The creator God works wonders in the desert (40:3–5; 41:18–19; 44:3–4; 49:11). Because he is the creator, he is the Lord of the universe and the Lord of history. Because he is the creator, he is also the rescuer. The proclamation: "I am YHWH," (44:24b), is introduced by two qualifying active participles, "who redeems you and who fashions you" (44:24a), and is followed by nine more active participles describing YHWH in act (44:24b–28). In all, YHWH is described by eleven active participles—redeeming, fashioning, making, stretching out, spreading out, frustrating, turning back, confirming, saying (3 times).

4. God and the Prophetic Word. The prophets of Israel do not discuss the subject of God, nor do they have something of their own to say about God (cf. Zimmerli 1976). They claim that God comes to word through their words and that God's word is irresistible: "The lion has roared, who will not fear? The Lord has spoken, who can but prophesy?"; "the Lord took me from following the flock, and the Lord said to me, 'Go, prophesy to my people Israel' " (Amos 3:8; 7:15). God is active in the call of the prophet (cf. Isaiah 6; Jeremiah 1; Ezek 2:1–3). The phrases "oracle of the Lord" (*nĕ'um YHWH*), "thus says the Lord" (*kô 'āmār YHWH*), and "the word of the Lord came to me" (*wayĕhi dĕbar YHWH 'ēlay*), make it clear that the prophet does not speak *about* God. God sends his prophet, is involved in the life of the prophet, and moves into history through the prophet. But God transcends the prophet and his proclamations, and is not constrained within the framework of his interventions through the prophet.

It is through the prophets that God denounces both houses of Israel (Amos 2:2–4; Isa 8:14). God accuses Israel of social injustice through Amos and Micah, of defection to strange gods through Hosea and Jeremiah, of violation of the sanctity of God by political intrigue through Isaiah, of violation of the sabbath through Ezekiel. Doom is decreed. But punishment is always preceded by God's warning and offer of mercy (Amos 4:1–12; 5:4–7, 15; 7:8; 8:2; Isa 5:25; 9:11[Eng 12], 16[Eng 17], 20[Eng 21]; 10:4; 14:32; 28:16–17; 30:18; Ezek 20:5–26). The prophets, under God, leave open the possibility of a "remainder." It is God himself who will renew the people internally (Jer 31:31–34; Ezek 36:24–32) and breathe new life into dead bones (Ezekiel 36).

Ezekiel 25–32 contain a series of "oracles against the nations (cf. Isaiah 13–23; Jeremiah 46–51; Obadiah). The oracles are introduced by the standard formulas, "the word of the Lord came to me," "thus says the Lord God"; then come the details of the punishment followed by the purpose or the result. Nineteen times in Ezekiel the purpose or result is "you (they) will know that I am the Lord" (*kî 'ānî YHWH*, 25:5, 7, 11, 14, 17; 26:6; 28:22b, 23b, 24, 26; 29:6a, 9, 16, 21; 30:8, 19, 25, 26; 35:15). God, through his chastisement proclaimed in the word of the prophet, brings knowledge of himself at work in history.

C. God and Prayer

God is readily accessible in prayer. Any member of the community can approach God anywhere and at any time and speak freely. Abraham approaches God and talks with him (Gen 15:1–6; 19:22–33); Moses speaks to God "face to face" (Exod 33:11); Hannah responds with her "Magnificat" when God answers her prayer; Hezekiah laments before God in his illness (Isa 38:9–20); Job argues with God throughout the book; Jeremiah confronts God (11:18–23; 12:1–6; 15:10–12, 15–21; 17:12–18; 18:18–23; 20:7–18).

1. God and the Psalmists. The Psalter brings together what is essential in the prayer of Israel. God of the psalms is God who is ever at work. He is addressed as the one who has acted in the remote or immediate past, or is now acting. The psalmist calls on other worshippers, even on enemies and pagans, to acknowledge God's action and to respond by making it known.

a. God and the Lament. About one fifth of the psalms are personal laments (Psalms 3; 4; 5; 7; 10; 17; 22; 25; 26; 28; 31; 39; 42; 43; 54; 55; 56; 57; 59; 61; 64; 69; 70; 71; 77; 120; 140; 142; add the "penitential psalms," Psalms 6; 32; 38; 51; 102; 130; 143). There are also communal laments (Psalms 12; 44; 58; 60; 80; 83; 85; 94; 123; 126). The individual calls on God in distress; God delivers him; so the psalmist calls for praise, that is, for acknowledgment of God's action (e.g., Psalms 18; 30; 40; 66:13–20). The psalmist, who is in distress, recognizes that God has responded, that the petition has been heard; so he declares God's praise, e.g., Ps 40:9–10:

> I have told the glad news of deliverance,
> in the great congregation;
> lo, I have not restrained my lips,
> as thou knowest, O Lord.
> I have not hid thy saving help within my heart,
> I have spoken of thy faithfulness and thy salvation;
> I have not concealed thy steadfast love and thy faithfulness
> from the great congregation.

b. God and Praise. Praise is a response to God's action. A typical response to God's action is: "O give thanks to (praise) the Lord, for he is good," or a close equivalent (e.g., Psalms 18:3, 49; 30:1, 4, 12; 34:1, 3; 52:9; 66:20; 107:1, 8, 15, 21; 116:19; 118:1, 26; 138:1, 2).

c. God at Work. The psalmist not only declares God's praise, acknowledges that God has acted, but also describes God at work. Psalm 103 begins and ends with a call to praise or bless (vv 1–2, 20–22). The opening call is followed by six active participles describing "God in act"—"who forgives . . . who heals . . . who redeems . . . who crowns . . . who satisfies . . . who works" (vv 5–9); he is at work in this ordered world (vv 10–26); he gives life to all living creatures (vv 27–30). Hence, may the glory of the Lord (*kābôd YHWH*) endure forever. God's *kābôd* is created order (cf. Isa 6:3c: "the fullness of all the earth is his glory") and his life-giving power which effects this order. Psalm 147 describes God in act with six active participles

in vv 1–6, five in vv 7–11, and five in vv 12–20; a number of verbs (in the imperfect) are used to express continuous action (cf. Job 9:5–14; 26:5–14).

d. God of Steadfast Love. God of the psalms, like the God of Moses (Exod 34:6–7) is the God of steadfast love (*ḥesed*). The word occurs in some fifty psalms, in a number of them several times (e.g., 59:11[Eng 10], 17[Eng 16], 18[Eng 17]; 89:2[Eng 1], 3[Eng 2], 15[Eng 14], 25[Eng 24], 29[Eng 28], 34[Eng 33], 50[Eng 49]; 106:1, 7, 45; 107:1, 8, 21, 31; 118:1–4, 29; 119:41, 64, 76, 88, 124, 149, 159). In every verse of Psalm 136, the response is "for his steadfast love is forever" (*kî lĕ ʿôlām ḥasdô*). The steadfast love covers creation, rescue, and covenant fidelity.

2. God Inexhaustible. The psalmists describe God in many ways, God hears the cry of the distressed (6:9–10[Eng 8–9]; 17:6; 28:6; 66:19–200) and rescues him from Sheol, the Pit, or the grave (16:10; 30:4; 49:16[Eng 15]; 86:13; 99:11; 139:80); he delivers the petitioner from his enemies (18:49[Eng 48]; 35:9–10; 40:18[Eng 17]; 59:2–3[Eng 1–2]); he judges (6:11[Eng 10]; 7:7[Eng 6], 9[Eng 8], 12[Eng 11]; 9:8–9[Eng 7–8]; 94:2; 96:13; 98:9); he is king (10:16; 24:7–10; 29:10[forever, *lĕ ʿôlām*]; 43:4[Eng 4]; 47:8; 93:1; 95:3; 96:10; 97:1; 99:1; 145:1; 146:10). God is a rock, a fortress, and a refuge (18:3[Eng 2], 32[Eng 31], 47[Eng 46]; 27:1; 28:1; 31:4[Eng 3]; 61:3[Eng 2]; 62:3[Eng 2], 7–8[Eng 6–7]; 71:3; 78:35; 89:27[Eng 26]; 91:2). God is a shield (3:4[Eng 3]; 7:11[10]; 28:7; 84:10[Eng 9]; 144:2), and the one in whom the petitioner has confidence (4; 55:24[Eng 23]; 56:4–5[Eng 3–4], 12[Eng 11]). God hides people in his presence and shelters them (31:21[Eng 20]; 32:7; 91:1). God loves and prospers the law-abiding just one (1; 11:7; 15:2; 37:30–31; 112) and raises the poor (72:12; 113:7). God rises up in the assembly of the gods (29:1–2; 77:14[Eng 13]; 82:1; 89:6–9[Eng 5–8]; 95:3; 96:4; 97:7; 148:2). God is the Lord of history (77:20–21[Eng 19–20]; 78; 81:11[Eng 10]; 105). God is incomparable (77:14[Eng 13]; 113:5–60), incomprehensible, all-knowing, all-seeing (139; 147:5). God is all this because he is the creator (8:4[Eng 3]; 19; 24:2; 33:6–7; 90:2; 95:6; 96:10; 100:3; 102:26; 103:14; 104; 136; 138:8; 147:4; 148:5). He is also described as creator in the imagery of the mythological struggle at the beginning (74:13–17; 89:10–12[Eng 9–11]). God is he "who made heaven and earth" (96:5; 115:15; 121:2; 124:8; 134:3; 144:6).

D. God Mysterious

Israel had to learn how mysterious, unteachable, and beyond manipulation was its God.

1. God beyond Human Measure. The psalmists know that God does not judge according to a strict pattern. God is "merciful and gracious, slow to anger and abounding in merciful love . . . he does not deal with us according to our sins, nor requite us according to our iniquities" (Psalm 103:10; cf. Psalm 130:3; Exod 34:6–7). God does not act as humans do. Hosea recalls Israel's long history of infidelity to God (11:1–9). But, despite centuries of disloyalty, God will not destroy Ephraim "for I am God and not man, the Holy One in your midst, and I will not come to destroy" (11:9). When David had displeased God by holding a census of the people (2 Samuel 24), the prophet Gad offered him three choices of punishment, three years of famine in the land, or three months in flight before his enemies, or three days of pestilence in the land. David answered: "I am in great distress; let us fall into the hands of the Lord, for his mercy is great; but let me not fall into the hands of man" (2 Sam 24:14).

2. God Unteachable. One of the elements of the "common theology" of the ANE (cf. Smith 1952) that Israel shared with her neighbors was that the "high god" rewards and punishes according to a strict pattern. The previous paragraph has shown that the true Israel did not accept this standard theology. Jeremiah and Job explicitly contest it. Jeremiah does so in his "confessions" (11:18–23; 12:1–11; 15:10–12, 15–21; 17:12–18; 18:18–23; 20:7–18). The beginning of his private debate with God may be rendered: "Just you are YHWH; even so I will argue with you; yes, there are cases I would like to discuss with you. Why do the wicked prosper?" (12:1). God replies in two proverbs (12:5–6). God does not solve the tension between belief and reason for Jeremiah. He demands that Jeremiah renounce any ultimate insight into the "why" of life and that he give himself in complete trust to the will of God, known only by faith. Jeremiah admits his own shortcomings (15:17, 19); he almost accuses God of being untrustworthy (15:18), and lays against God the charge of deception (20:7–12). But he finally accepts the "Lord of hosts who tries the righteous, who sees the heart and the mind" (20:12), though at the same time calling for vengeance on his and God's enemies" (11:20; 15:15; 20:12b). Job contests this traditional teaching on retribution through forty chapters. But God directs the drama (1–2; 42:7–9). God will teach Job, not Job God. God's honor is at stake. Will Job, the just one, blaspheme him? Eliphaz (15:17–19) and Bildad (8:8–10; 18:2–21) go back to the testimony of the ancients and to traditional theology to insist that Job must have done wrong. Job protests his innocence. The friends persist with the standard answers. Job wrestles with God: "Though I am innocent, I cannot answer him; I must appeal for mercy to my accuser" (9:15). He tells his disputants that their so-called orthodox theology is worthless and false to God (13:2–12). They want to lock God within a system. Then God speaks to Job out of the tempest. His power and wisdom have organized the ordered cosmos out of the primeval chaos; how, then, can Job know and teach him? (38:4–7). If Job cannot master and tame the mythical monsters, Leviathan and Behemoth, whom YHWH vanquished, how can he master God? (cf. Day 1985: 62–87, esp. 86–87). Job acknowledges that he has not understood and that God is beyond him (40:3–5). He has now really experienced God. He now knows that God cannot be encapsulated in a formula. At the end of his struggle, Job confesses:

> I know that thou canst do all things,
> and that no purpose of thine can be thwarted.
> Who is this that hides counsel without knowledge?
> Therefore I have uttered what I did not understand,
> things too wonderful for me, which I did not know
> (42:2–3).

God does not give a solution. He does not intervene as another contestant or as a *deus ex machina* in a Euripidean

drama. He is above all this. He speaks as God, not as one among humans. The solution lies hidden in him.

The problem of the just who suffer had been raised in the case of the total destruction of Sodom (Gen 18:22–33). Abraham asks the Lord: "Will you really sweep away the just with the wicked?" (v 23b). The OT was aware both of the solidarity of the community in guilt" (Gen 20:9; Exod 34:7; Josh 7; Deut 21:1–9) and of the responsibility of the individual (Deut 24:16; Jer 31:29–30; Ezekiel 18). Abraham does not "pray for" Sodom so that God may avert his wrath, nor does he bargain with God. Abraham raises the question of the justice of "the judge of all the earth" (v 25b). The judge insists that the innocent are not to perish: "For the sake of ten I will not destroy it" (v 32b). But it seems that there are no just people in Sodom. The problem of the justice of God is not fully solved. It remains part of the mystery of God.

3. God beyond Images. It was an abomination in Israel to make any image of YHWH (Exod 20:4–6 = Deut 5:8–10) who is intangible and unseeable (Exod 33:19–22; cf. Gunneweg 1984). An early tradition did away with "foreign gods" (Gen 35:1–5). Images, though not of the Lord, had been tolerated as part of the official cult (2 Kgs 18:4; 23:4–14). Israel's revulsion for images of the divinity is expressed in its extreme form by Deutero-Isaiah (44:9–20; cf. end of A.3). Israel was not to have representations of God as did her neighbors. God cannot be confined to an image or even represented by one. God cannot be confined even within the temple. Solomon prayed on the occasion of the dedication of the temple: "But will God indeed dwell on earth? Behold, heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain thee; how much less this house which I have built?" (1 Kgs 8:27). Further, the Israelite must not try to manipulate God by magic: "there shall not be found among you anyone . . . who practices divination, a soothsayer or augur, or a sorcerer, or a charmer, or a medium, or a wizard, or a necromancer" (Deut 18:10–11; cf. Lev 19:31; 1 Sam 28:7–19; Isa 8:19). The God of Israel is beyond any manipulation.

E. God King and Warrior

Israel, united and divided, was a monarchy for four-and-a-half centuries. The cult of YHWH was conducted in the temple built by the king. It was natural, then, that YHWH and king be linked. The cry, "Marduk is (has become) king," had been echoing for centuries in Mesopotamia. The cry "El is king," "Baal is (shall become) king," was echoing in Canaan where Israel lived. Baal had battled with the monster Yam (the sea); he had conquered; his temple was built; he had become king. But no, proclaimed Israel in polemic. It is YHWH, the God of Israel, who is king, not El or Baal. YHWH conquered and shattered the heads of the mythical monster, Leviathan or Rahab, at creation (Psalms 74:12–17; 89:10–15[Eng 9–14]). He repulsed and tamed the revolting, primeval rivers (*nĕhārôt*), and so is king (Psalm 93:1, 4–5). Let the sea (*yam*) and the unruly waters (*nĕhārôt*) roar as they will, YHWH is king over all (Psalm 98:6–8). "YHWH sits enthroned over the flood (*mabbûl*) forever" (Psalm 29:10). YHWH is master of the foundations of the earth, the deep (*tĕhôm*), and the waters (*mayyîm*) (Psalm 104:6). He is the king of glory "who founded the earth upon the seas (*yammim*), and established it upon the rivers (*nĕhārôt*)," and is now enthroned in the temple on Zion (Psalms 24; 46:4; cf. 1 Sam 4:4). He is enthroned forever (Ps 102:12). The mythical language is part of Israel's Canaanite heritage.

Deutero-Isaiah recognizes YHWH as "the creator of Israel, your king" (43:15), as he links the battle against the waters with the Exodus, old and new (43:15–16; 44:24; 45:11–13; 54:5). The messenger who announces the good tidings of release to Zion proclaims that "your God is king" (52:7), that is, God has rescued and triumphed. The song of Moses had already celebrated YHWH's victory at the Red Sea as the victory of a king: "YHWH is king forever and ever" (Exod 15:18). Finally, on the day of the Lord, "YHWH will become king over all the earth" (Zech 14:9). ". . . the day of the Lord is the epiphany of the divine King; here the battle against chaos is ultimately waged against Leviathan, the Serpent, the Dragon, and Death. Cosmic evil is conquered once and for all" (Mettinger 1985: 33; cf. Isa 25:8; 27:1).

YHWH, the God of Israel, is described as a man of war (*ʾîš milḥāmāh*, Exod 15:3). In one graphic passage Deutero-Isaiah says that "the Lord goes forth like a mighty man, like a man of war he stirs up his fury; he cries out, he shouts aloud, he shows himself mighty against his foes" (Isa 32:13). YHWH is consulted about war (2 Sam 5:19, 23; 1 Kgs 22:5, 7–8). YHWH declares war (Exod 17:16; Num 31:3). YHWH walks in the camp (Deut 23:14) and "he can bring us safe whether we are few or many" (1 Sam 14:6; cf. Judges 6). The war cry is often "the battle is YHWH's" (e.g. 1 Sam 17:47), and the cry in the middle of the battle is "the Lord has delivered them into your hands (e.g., Judg 3:28; 7:15; 1 Sam 7:8). The ram's horn sounded in battle is the symbol of YHWH's voice (e.g., Num 10:9). YHWH alone wins the victory (Josh 10:10; Judg 4:15; 2 Sam 5:24). The holy war ideology was shared with Israel's neighbors, and war between them and Israel was a contest between their gods (e.g., 2 Kgs 3:21–27). The immediate postexilic prophets draw on the imagery and ideology of the divine warrior to describe God's intervention to bring about the ideal eschatological age (Isa 59:15b–20; 63:1–6; 63:19b–64 [Eng 64:1–3]; Zech 9:1–17; 10:1–12; 14:4).

F. God and Wisdom

The Deuteronomist urges the people to obey God's ordinances and statutes, for "that will be your wisdom and understanding in the sight of the peoples, who, when they hear all these statutes will say, 'Surely this nation is a wise and understanding people (*ʿam ḥākām wĕnābôn*)' " (Deut 4:6). That is, the people will be acting in the best tradition of wisdom. The experience of God that the wisdom writings presuppose is called "the fear of God." The wisdom school (teacher[s]) of Proverbs explains this wisdom: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge" (Prov 1:7); "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and the knowledge of the Holy One is insight" (Prov 9:19). About one seventh of the sayings in the Solomonic sections of Proverbs (10:1–22:16; 25–29) have a religious flavor. The fear of the Lord is a source of confidence and "fountain of life" (14:26–27); it is "instruction in wisdom" (15:33); it "leads to life" (19:33). God is the one who has supreme dominion, "many are the plans in the mind of man, but it is the purpose of the Lord that will be" (19:21;

20:24). Decision is wholly with God (16:33); man proposes, but God disposes (16:1–9). God made the eye and the ear (20:12); God created poverty and riches (22:2); "evil men do not understand justice, but those who seek the Lord understand it completely" (28:5). The wisdom tradition urges its disciples to search for the fear of the Lord (2:1–5) and for true religious wisdom (3:1–2). This wisdom (*ḥokmâh*), this fear of the Lord, is awe and reverence before God who creates and orders. The fear of the Lord and the knowledge of God are equated (2:5). Knowledge for the Israelite is an experience of the innermost being. It is God who possesses this wisdom. He founded the earth by his wisdom (3:19), and wisdom has always been his (8:22–31). Proverbs identifies the creator, the source of wisdom, with YHWH, the God of Israel.

G. God the Restorer

The Chronicler inherited the theology of infidelity and retribution of the Deuteronomist, the theology of God's steadfast love (*ḥesed*) and covenant loyalty, and the theology of God the rescuer who is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. He is concerned with the law, the lawgiver, and the land. Ezra accepts the law again and looks to the reestablishment of the people of God. God, in his steadfast love, has restored his people using the Persian kings as his instruments (Ezra 7:27–29). God, who is just, has both punished and preserved his people (Ezra 9:10–15). The restoration belongs to God alone. The promise of the land is renewed, the temple is restored, and God dwells again with his people. As God has acted in the past, so will he act in the future. The God of the Chronicler is one; he is the God of the past and the future, and the God who makes himself known in the present in the law of the temple.

H. Conclusion

God of the Hebrew Bible is God who is forever active. God is always present and can be found anywhere, but cannot be trapped, manipulated, or reduced to human dimensions. The OT experience of God is the experience of some eight hundred years. In the traditions of the ancestors of Israel, the patriarchs worshipped one God; they were concerned with one God, and no other appears. They may have identified their one God with El of Canaan. But God was one, though of many titles: El Elyon (God, the most high), El Qoneh (God, the creator), El Roi (God, the [one] seeing me?), El Olam (God, the eternal), El Bethel (God, [the one of] Bethel), El Elohe Yisrael (God, the God of [the patriarch] Israel), Anoki hā El (I am God himself), El Shadday (God, the steppe one). This was at least monolatry. The Exodus reflects a view of one God, identified with the God of the patriarchs, who intervenes as a God who rescues and takes vengeance, who is a God of war and a warrior. During the periods of the settlement and the monarchy, the one God was confused in the popular mind with the gods of Canaan. Even "official" religion, that is, religion under royal aegis, joined in the confusion. The Deuteronomic tradition called for order. The Deuteronomist(s) was even stricter. Monolatry, implied monotheism, and the monotheizing struggle, crystallized in the explicit monotheism of Deutero-Isaiah. YHWH, the God of Israel, alone existed; other "gods" or "divinities" simply did not exist. Israel had arrived at the strict monotheism of Judaism. But throughout this long struggle, and despite popular aberrations, Israel was always sure that it was dealing with the same God.

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JOHN J. SCULLION

GOD IN THE NT

The heart of the NT message is the proclamation of what God has accomplished through Jesus Christ. The focus of these documents is therefore predominantly Christological, but not to the exclusion of theological concepts. To be sure, Jesus' own preaching was verifiably God-centered, but a doctrine of God is no longer the thematic center in the NT nor in the early Christian preaching that lies behind it. Nevertheless, this doctrine is always and everywhere the NT's most fundamental presupposition, for statements about God form the matrix of the Christian message, conditioning what is said about Jesus, providing warrants for ethical appeals and warnings, and structuring the concepts of church, salvation, and history.

From this matrix a NT doctrine of God, a list of divine attributes and essences, can be formulated, though such an approach runs the risk of masking the diversity of theological emphases found within the various books. The fundamental understanding of God that emerges in the NT, however, is in direct continuity with OT theology, especially as this was interpreted by later Judaism. Nevertheless, though familiar OT concepts are sustained, they acquire in their new setting a characteristically Christian focus. God is one, and there is likewise one Lord, Jesus Christ; one church, his body; one Spirit; and, in later texts, one doctrine about Christ. God is the creator and giver of life, who has raised Jesus from the dead and who will give resurrection life to all who believe. God is the sovereign ruler, whose strength is paradoxically revealed in the weakness of the cross. God is the righteous judge, whose impartiality extends to both Jews and Gentiles and who will set things right for the faithful in the age to come. God is the loving father, who supremely demonstrated that love in the sending of Jesus Christ, the Son.

Although some passages in the Johannine corpus describe God in terms of abstractions like spirit (John 4:24), light (1 John 1:5), and love (1 John 4:8), and other NT writings use the philosophical language of eternality (Rom 16:26), invisibility (1 Tim 1:17), and immortality (Rom 1:23; 1 Tim 1:17; 6:16), God is encountered in the NT primarily as a personal force, occasionally an anthropomorphized (Luke 11:20) and anthropopathized (Rom 1:18; 2 Pet 3:9) force. Moreover, because the God of the NT is characteristically conceived and addressed as Father, this experience of the divine takes on a very intimate character as well as an overwhelmingly masculine one. The several OT texts that describe God in terms of female imagery (Deut 32:18; Isa 42:14; 49:15; 66:12–13; Psalm 22:9–10) are reduced in the NT to a single Lukan parable that likens the joy in heaven over a repentant sinner to the rejoicing of a woman who has found a lost coin (Luke 15:8–10).

A. Jesus' Proclamation of God
B. God in the Preaching of the Early Church
C. The NT Concept of God
1. The One God
2. The Creator and Giver of Life
3. The Sovereign Power of God
4. The Righteous Judge
5. The Loving Father
D. Trinitarian Formulations

A. Jesus' Proclamation of God

Jesus' understanding of God, insofar as it can be reconstructed from the gospel accounts, stands in strong continuity with OT thought, particularly that of the prophetic literature. God is creator, king, and judge, whose holy will, though not fully captured by the Law, is certainly not antithetical to it, and whose love for all creation is reflected in, but not limited to, God's covenant love for Israel. Two features, however, emerge from this background as particularly characteristic of Jesus' preaching and particularly evocative of his concept of God: his proclamation of the imminence of the kingdom of God and his use of *ʾabbā* (father) in prayer to God.

In proclaiming the apocalyptic message of the imminent coming of the kingdom of God, Jesus implies certain attributes of God. Insofar as the kingdom is presented as the end of historical development, yet as an event that cannot be influenced by any human plan, God is proclaimed as the One who is outside human history, who is above this history, and who stands in judgment over it. Thus God's power, sovereignty, and especially God's absolute transcendence are strongly affirmed.

Yet Jesus also addresses God as Father (*abba*), a title that is found in Judaism and Greco–Roman religions, but not in the familiar form or with the prominence it finds in the prayers of Jesus. This form of address suggests a different understanding of God. A sense of intimacy is conveyed, a relationship characterized by simplicity and rapport, but also one that, in view of the rigid patriarchal structure of Palestinian society, was not without elements of reverence and obedience.

These two aspects of Jesus' message stand in creative and somewhat corrective tension. The God of the kingdom sets before the world the radical demands of the kingdom, yet the God who demands and who will judge is also the Father who can be appealed to in prayer with familial intimacy. Conversely, this intimate form of address is guarded by the kingdom language against any interpretation that would dissolve the divinity into merely a subjective experience.

B. God in the Preaching of the Early Church

In the earliest preaching of the Church, insofar as it is recoverable from certain hymnic and creedal statements embedded in the letters of the NT, Jesus' message about God and the coming kingdom has already been transformed into a message about Jesus. To be sure, in the preaching to gentiles (as opposed to the preaching made to Jews) an important component was the proclamation of the one true God (1 Thess 1:9–10; 1 Cor 8:6; Eph 4:4–6; cf. 1 Tim 2:5), since conversion to Christianity meant for many of them also conversion from idolatry. The central feature of this preaching, however, was the message of Jesus' death and resurrection, yet even this message contained a strong theological statement: Jesus has been raised from the dead and it is God who has done this. Sometimes indicated merely by the passive voice (1 Cor 15:4; Rom 8:34), but more often explicitly stated (Rom 4:24; 1 Pet 1:21; Acts 2:24), this claim involves more than a Christianized instance of the fundamental faith in the God who makes the dead to live (2 Kgs 5:7), more even than the proclamation that this eschatological activity is now break-

ing into the world. God is confessed as having raised Jesus from the dead, yet Jesus was crucified because of his understanding and proclamation of God. In this context the resurrection is not only a demonstration of God's life-giving power, but more concretely a vindication of Jesus and his message about God. Since Jesus was crucified as the Messiah, the eschatological salvation bringer in whom the promises of God are fulfilled, the resurrection also confirms him in this role and indirectly confirms God as a fulfiller of promises. Finally, insofar as this early preaching retained Jesus' call to repentance (cf. 1 Thess 1:9–10), it also retained his vision of the transcendent God who will judge the earth, but who, as the loving Father, offers pardon to all sinners.

C. The NT Concept of God

That God is good, wise, powerful, just, blessed, holy, and merciful the NT writers do not for a moment doubt. Nor, however, do the OT writers or, for the most part, the pagan writers of this period. Documentation for these and other attributes is as easy to come by in the NT as in the OT. In what follows it is not the mere presence of these affirmations that will be discussed, but the way in which some of these familiar attributes acquire special nuance and specific application in their NT contexts.

1. The One God. Statements of faith in the one God (1 Cor 8:4–6; Eph 4:6; 1 Tim 2:5; Rom 3:30; Jas 2:19), the only God (Rom 16:27; 1 Tim 1:17; 6:15; Jude 25; John 17:3), the God from whom all things derive (Rom 11:36; Heb 2:10; 1 Cor 8:6; Rev 4:11) permeate the NT, and their presence guarantees continuity with the OT and its fundamental proclamation of practical (Deut 5:7) and theoretical (Deut 4:35) monotheism. Even within the Greek tradition the affirmation of one God, though often only a syncretistic formula, had become during the Hellenistic period something of a commonplace. Thus, except in the Johannine corpus, where explicit affirmations of Jesus' equality with God (John 5:18; 10:30) made the issue problematical, most statements of monotheism in the NT are cited, not as a point of dispute, but as a common foundation upon which to build more exclusively Christian claims.

To be sure, insistence on faith in one God did not preclude belief in the existence of lesser powers (Jas 2:19; 1 Cor 8:5). Whether they be termed demons (Jas 2:19; 1 Cor 10:20), elemental spirits of the universe (Gal 4:3), principalities and powers (Rom 8:38; Col 1:16), or, more metaphorically, the belly (Phil 3:19) or mammon (Matt 6:24), their presence and power were considered a real and constant threat to Christians. Yet at the same time they were not comparable to the reality and power of the true and living God and thus not a challenge to monotheistic faith. Rejection of these "powers" was, of course, a necessary component of conversion to the true God (1 Thess 1:9; Acts 14:15; 17:29–30; 19:26), but the primary emphasis of the polemic against them was not to refute their reality (which was generally assumed) but to point out the moral consequence of submission to their inferior power, for the NT followed the OT in its assumption that idolatry led inevitably to moral decay (Rom 1:18–32; Eph 4:17–24; 1 Pet 4:3).

This concern with ethical monotheism is also found in the gospel tradition, especially in the Gospel of Mark, which places strong emphasis on the affirmation of one God. In Mark 12:28–34, Jesus responds to a question about the greatest commandment by quoting the *Shēma*ʿ (Deut 6:4–5), thus affirming the primacy of monotheistic faith: "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God, the Lord is one; and you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength." Yet the fullness of this quotation, with its emphasis on total devotion to God, and the addition of a "second like it," love of neighbor as oneself, draws out the ethical consequence of faith in the one God. Again in Mark 10:18–19 this idea is stressed, for the affirmation of God's unique goodness ("No one is good but God alone") is immediately followed by a list of ethical imperatives that derive from the uniquely good God. The monotheistic confession was thus taken very seriously in Mark, not because there was a pervasive rational challenge to it, but because its ethical implications were so serious. Dedication to the one God was demonstrated by living out God's ethical demands.

Monotheism was also seen to have Christological implications. In Mark 10:17–22, the confession of "God alone" is coupled with Jesus' command to "follow me," suggesting that faith in one God and following Jesus are compatible and even complementary (see 2:7–12). In Matt 23:9–10, the uniqueness of God, the "one Father," is paralleled by the uniqueness of Jesus, the "one master" who stands in contrast to the multiplicity of earthly masters. This point is also emphasized in 1 Tim 2:5–6, where the contrast is between one God—one Mediator and the multiplicity of gods and mediators suggested by gnostic theogony. Finally, Paul's complex argument in Gal 3:15–20 contrasts the one God and one (messianic) offspring with the multiplicity suggested by the Law and its mediators.

Ecclesiological conclusions are also drawn from the fundamental premise of one God. In 1 Cor 8:4–13, Paul's thought moves directly from the idea of the existence of one God and one Lord (in contrast to the multiplicity of "so-called" gods and lords) to the communal and social consequences of this. Since the Church owes its communal existence and thus its allegiance to the one God and one Lord, it must show this monotheistic allegiance and maintain this unified existence by exercising concern for the weaker members of the community. In Rom 3:29–30, Paul uses God's oneness as a warrant for the primacy of faith over Law and for the consequent unity of Jews and gentiles in the Church. This concept receives liturgical amplification in Eph 4:1–6, where the admonition to the Church to maintain unity is backed up by a reference to the theological unity that sustains it. Here in the context of competing winds of doctrine (4:14), the one-God affirmation has exploded into a multiplicity of monads: one body, one Spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, and one baptism. In the Pastoral Epistles the competing doctrines seem to pose an even greater threat, for the rhetoric has taken on a more aggressive tone. Here the gnostic challenge to Christian monotheistic faith has led to an insistence that only one doctrine preserves the truth of this faith, the doctrine transmitted carefully by the Church (1 Tim 1:3; 4:6–10). In addition to these specific applications, acclamation of the only God is a standard component of hymnic and doxological passages (Jude 25; 1 Tim 1:17; 6:15–16; Rom

16:27), where it contributes more indirectly to the contextual argument.

This fundamental monotheistic faith is challenged, but not seriously compromised, by Christological developments within the early Church. Many of the functions of God—creative (1 Cor 8:6; John 1:3), ruling (1 Cor 15:24–25), and judicial (1 Cor 4:4–5)—and a number of divine epithets, including the title "Lord," are transferred to Jesus. He is the image of God (Col 1:15), bears the very stamp of God's nature (Heb 1:3), and in a few texts, some more ambiguous than others, he is even hailed as God (Rom 9:5 [disputed]; Titus 2:13 [disputed]; John 1:1; 20:28). Yet Paul insists that Jesus resisted the temptation to grasp equality with God (Phil 2:6) and affirms that in spite of the divine authority of the risen Christ, which includes dominion over "every rule and every authority and power" (1 Cor 15:24), he will ultimately deliver this dominion back to God, including dominion over himself, in order "that God may be everything to every one" (v 28). Thus Paul insists that Jesus' divine authority, though tremendous, is nevertheless partial and temporary, while God's power and deity are eternal (Rom 1:20). Even in the Fourth Gospel, where assertions of the unity of Father and Son abound (10:30; 14:10; 17:11, 21), the point is emphasized that this oneness is that of agent and sender (5:19–30; 6:38–40), a oneness of will and function that allows the agent-son to reveal the sender-father (12:44–50; 14:9) without compromising God's primacy (14:28).

2. The Creator and Giver of Life. The NT writings stand in firm continuity with the OT when they acknowledge God as the living God in contrast with idols, which may represent active, though subordinate, powers but are themselves lifeless forms (1 Thess 1:9; Acts 14:15; Rom 1:23). The living God, the immortal, imperishable God, also stands in contrast to, and thus as the hope for, mortal and perishable humanity (1 Tim 1:15–17; 4:10; John 6:57; Rev 7:2–3). Thus, God is affirmed in both OT and NT as the One who lives and who gives life. In the NT, however, this affirmation acquires a distinctly Christological focus.

In general, God's creative activity is presupposed rather than argued in the NT, and thus references to it appear as simple allusions or in formulaic contexts (Mark 13:19; Rom 11:36; Eph 3:9; 1 Tim 6:13). This concept receives, however, particular prominence in the prayers (e.g., 4:24) and speeches (14:15–17; 17:22–31) of the book of Acts. While the prayers refer to God's creative power as part of an affirmation of absolute divine sovereignty, the speeches to the gentiles (pagans) show more proselytizing intent as they portray a God whose self-revelation through the created order is available to all. Indeed, one of the most sustained theological statements in the NT, the Areopagus speech in Acts 17:22–31, develops this idea at great length, drawing from it not only the usual (but here muted) condemnation of idolatry but also the somewhat surprising link with a pantheistic formula ("in him we live and move and have our being") as well as the more usual call to repentance (vv 30–31). The motif is also prominent in the book of Revelation, where the repeated emphasis on God "who created heaven and what is in it, the earth and what is in it, and the sea and what is in it" (10:6; cf. 4:11; 14:7) sets the stage for the later description of God's creation of a new heaven and a new earth (Rev 21:1–22:5).

The historical situation often influenced the application in quite specific ways. In Colossians, for example, God's creative activity, effected through Christ, is strongly emphasized in order to counteract an ascetic, world-denying piety. The author of 1 Peter, on the other hand, addresses a situation of persecution by stressing the faithfulness of the Creator (4:19), thereby establishing the hope that God will faithfully reward those who suffer through the "fiery ordeal" (v 12). The most widely developed idea, however, is that one should respond to God, the creator and giver of life, with an attitude of thanksgiving for the gift (1 Cor 4:7). Though this idea is often presented in connection with food, especially in the context of ascetic or Jewish dietary restrictions (1 Tim 4:3–5; Rom 14:5–23; 1 Cor 10:23–30, for which 8:6 serves as the premise), Paul develops fully its theological implications in the opening chaps. of Romans. There the fundamental failure of the gentiles to render thanks to their creator, who has been clearly revealed through nature, results in their total condemnation: "Therefore they are without excuse" (Rom 1:20–21). This pattern continues to influence the subsequent argument, where justification itself is defined as a gift (3:24; 5:15–17), which evokes (Rom 6:17–18; 7:25; 1 Cor 1:4; 1 Thess 2:13), or should evoke (1 Cor 14:16–17; 1 Thess 5:18), an attitude of profound thanksgiving.

Though general statements about God's creative activity are fairly widespread, because of the resurrection faith that forms the heart of the NT message, it is God's power to restore life to the dead that is the actual center of attention. This idea of God's power over death and life is found, of course, in the OT as well, where it takes many forms, ranging from literal affirmations of God's ability to resurrect the dead (Dan 12:2; Isa 26:19) to more metaphorical references to the ability to restore the fortunes of the afflicted individual (1 Sam 2:7–8) or the oppressed nation (Deut 32:34–42). So fundamental is this aspect of God's power that the ability "to kill and make alive" becomes synonymous with the concept of divinity (2 Kgs 5:7). This same equation of life-giving power with divinity surfaces in a number of NT passages (Heb 11:19; Rom 4:17; 2 Cor 1:9; Mark 12:18–27), but it receives perhaps the fullest development in John 5, where its Christological implications are explored.

According to John 5, part of Jesus' defense against the charge of "making himself equal with God" (v 18) is to assert that his power is derivative, not autonomous, for it is "only what he sees the Father doing . . . that the Son does likewise" (v 19). As the first and primary example of what the Father does, the evangelist cites the power over life and death (v 21), a power now transferred to the Son. The Son therefore has life in himself (v 26) and this power is actualized for the believer in the present (v 24) and in the future (v 25) by hearing and heeding the voice of Jesus.

This emphasis on the words of Jesus as the locus of life, effected through a transfer of divine power from Father to Son, is particularly characteristic of John's gospel. Elsewhere it is the specific instance of God's resurrection of Jesus from the dead that shapes theological reflection on this issue. In Acts, for example, God's resurrection of Jesus is presented as the fulfillment of the fundamental promises and hopes of Israel (Acts 24:14–15; 26:6–8). With its

strong emphasis on salvation history, this book equates the rejection of the Christian message of Jesus' resurrection with the rejection of the central hope of Pharisaic Judaism, and the Jews who do so are presented as denying their own belief. Faith in God as the giver of life is here equivalent to faith in the resurrection of Jesus, and denial of the one is denial of the other.

The resurrection of Jesus not only gives confirmation and concrete shape to God's fundamental, life-giving nature and power, it also serves as the basis of the Christians' hope for their own resurrection, as Paul makes abundantly clear in his first letter to the Corinthians: "If Christ is preached as raised from the dead, how can some of you say that there is no resurrection of the dead?" (15:12). Paul also cites God's resurrection of Jesus from the dead as the basis for ethical admonitions about the attitude toward the body, which will be raised as a member of Christ (1 Cor 6:14); as the warrant for hope in the life-giving power of the indwelling Spirit (Rom 8:11) or hope in the face of tribulation (2 Cor 4:14); as the paradigm and theological basis of his own conversion from persecutor to apostle (Gal 1:1, 13–16); and as the theological premise for the central concept of the justification of the ungodly (Rom 4:16–17). In this last passage God's creative and resurrectional powers, two aspects of the same animating potentiality, coalesce once again when the justification of the ungodly is equated both with giving life to the dead and with calling into existence things that do not exist. The appeal to Jesus' resurrection as a specific instance of God's life-giving power is retained in post-Pauline writings, but the context becomes one of general benediction (Heb 13:20; 1 Pet 1:3) and the applications lose their Pauline concreteness.

In many of these citations of God's past resurrection of Jesus, the emphasis has shifted from the hope for a future reduplication of this event for the believer to a more metaphorical application to their lives in the present. This shift is most pronounced in baptismal contexts, where participation in the death and resurrection of Jesus yields new birth (1 Pet 1:3), new creation (2 Cor 5:17), new life (Rom 6:4; Col 2:12–13; Eph 2:1), even a new "man" (Eph 2:15) for the believer. Thus God's life-giving power, demonstrated in the resurrection of Jesus, is proclaimed to be effective here and now within the community, even in the evangelistic activity of the community (2 Cor 2:14–16; 2 Tim 1:10; John 5:24). In the more narrative context of the Gospels, this inbreaking of God's life-giving power into the present is suggested by the miracles, for even healings and exorcisms, not to mention resuscitations, are often presented as life-restoring acts (Mark 3:1–5; 5:1–20; 5:35–42; 9:26–27).

3. The Sovereign Power of God. When NT doxologies ascribe power and glory and might to God (Eph 3:20–21; 1 Pet 4:11; 5:11; Jude 25; Rev 5:13), they affirm traits absolutely inherent to the nature of divinity (see Rom 1:20). Epithets reflecting these attributes thus naturally accrue to God elsewhere: Almighty (Rev 1:8), Lord of Hosts (Rom 9:29; Jas 5:4), the Most High (Luke 1:32, 35, 76; Mark 5:7; Luke 8:28), the Sovereign (1 Tim 6:15; Rev 6:10), the Mighty One (Luke 1:49), Power (Mark 14:62), Majesty (Heb 1:3), King of ages or kings (1 Tim 1:17; 6:15; Rev 15:3), Lord of lords (1 Tim 6:15), Lord of the earth (Rev 11:4) or of heaven and earth (Matt 11:25). An overwhelming impression of power is often conveyed, especially in Ephesians and Colossians, by piling up attributive phrases and descriptive adjectives (Eph 1:19; Col 1:11). It is, however, the various applications of this concept of sovereign power, not its mere presence, that give shape to the NT concept of God.

The NT gospels, in harmony with the Jewish and Greek traditions, affirm that all things are possible to God. Though infrequently cited, this motif does appear at important nodes of the gospel story. Thus in Luke it serves as a warrant for the miracle of the virgin birth (1:37), while in all three Synoptic Gospels, with their characteristic message that the last shall be first and the first last, it offers assurance that even the first, now become last, are not beyond salvation (Mark 10:27; Matt 19:26; Luke 18:27). Mark alone includes this motif as part of the Gethsemane prayer: "Abba, father, all things are possible to thee; remove this cup from me; yet not what I will, but what thou wilt" (Mark 14:36). In this Markan form, the prayer, which serves as the immediate introduction to the passion narrative, implies that subsequent events could have turned out differently, and thus that the death on the cross was the result of God's plan, not God's weakness. (This important point is lost with Matthew's more tentative form, "if it be possible," and Luke's shift of emphasis to volition, "if thou art willing.") Most characteristic, however, is the transferred application of this concept. If all things are possible with God, then all things are possible to those who believe (Mark 9:23; 11:22–24; Matt 17:20). The NT, however, is far more interested in God's power in the context of salvation history than in an absolute sense. Thus, more emphasis is placed on God's ability to fulfill promises.

The fulfillment of God's promise to Abraham, the leitmotif of the book of Genesis and the overarching and unifying theme of the Pentateuch and Hexateuch, figures prominently in some NT passages as well. The author of Hebrews, for example, refers to this ancient promise and to "the unchangeable character of (God's) purpose" in order to strengthen the faltering faith of his readers (6:13–20). "It is impossible," he insists, "that God should prove false" so "we have this (promise) as a sure and steadfast anchor of the soul." In similar fashion, but without a reference to Abraham, Paul closes a petition to God with a reference to the conviction that grounds hope and motivates prayer: "He who calls you is faithful, and he will do it" (1 Thess 5:24). Elsewhere Paul, like the author of Hebrews, reflects on the promise to Abraham, but he shifts the emphasis somewhat from God's steadfastness (which is nevertheless still a prominent idea) to the nature of Abraham's faith (Romans 4). Here Abraham's unwavering confidence in the promise (v 20), his absolute conviction "that God was able to do what he had promised" (v 21), becomes a paradigm for Christian faith in the new promise that Jesus "was put to death for our transgressions and raised for our iniquities" (v 25).

The opening thanksgiving of Ephesians evolves into an eloquent discourse on the firm purpose of God's will, but the reference point is no longer historical (Abraham), but cosmic (1:3–14). Established before the foundation of the world, God's will for cosmic unity is realized in the "fulness of time," a period and a unity already experienced in the

Church but with full consummation yet to come (see also Eph 3:4–6). A similar theological presupposition but a different concern motivates the author of Acts, who takes pains to emphasize that the death of Jesus, indeed the entire history of salvation, was no historical accident or theological tragedy, but in full accord with the definite plan, foreknowledge, and "counsel" of God (2:23; 4:28; 5:38–39; 13:36).

With only a slight shift of emphasis, the conviction that events occur according to the plan of God leads to the conviction that events are predestined by God, an idea that surfaces repeatedly and with diverse application in the NT. Not just Ephesians but other documents as well assume that events, especially the Christ event, follow a timetable established by God (Acts 1:7; Mark 13:32; Gal 4:2–4; 1 Pet 1:20). Even the fates of various individuals and groups have been ordained by God. This strongly predestinarian concept surfaces most prominently in documents written during times of persecution, where it serves as a source of solace and hope to those who are suffering (1 Pet 1:2; 2:8; Rev 13:8; 17:8; John 6:37, 44, 65; 17:6). The classical text for this doctrine, however, is Romans 9–11, where the situation is not one of persecution but of reflection on the mystery of God's plan of salvation as reflected in the pattern of missionary success. At a time of great tension between the Jewish and gentile elements within the Church and with the gentiles in the ascendancy, Paul reflects on the theme expressed in 9:6 and 11:1: "Has God rejected his people?" The answer is couched in terms of double predestination, with the two groups serving as instruments (or vessels) of God's will. Yet the emphasis here is not on predestination per se, but on God's power, faithfulness, and autonomy of purpose. The current gentile prominence, Paul asserts, is not a sign of injustice, unfaithfulness, or partiality, but is consistent with God's will and part of a larger plan to effect mercy upon all (11:32).

As the preceding examples show, God's power was rarely conceived as an abstract quality in the NT. Rather, it served in various ways as the foundation for petitions, the basis for hope, or the source of consolation. In all these applications there is implied or explicit opposition to God's power, opposition over which God will prevail. Sometimes this opposition is personified as Satan (Matt 4:1 and par.; Luke 8:12; 1 Thess 2:18) or Beelzebul (Matt 10:25; 12:24 and par.) or identified with the serpent of Genesis and the dragon of primordial chaos (Rev 12:3–17; 20:2). Other texts define God's opposition in terms of titles like the Ruler of This World (John 12:31; 14:30; cf. 2 Cor 4:4; 1 Cor 2:12), the Destroyer (1 Cor 10:10), the Evil One (Matt 6:13; 2 Thess 3:3; 1 John 2:13), or the Antichrist (1 John 2:18–22; 2 John 7), or describe it more abstractly as principalities and powers (1 Cor 15:24–27; Eph 1:21–22; 1 Pet 3:22) or simply as sin (Rom 5:21; 6:12–23). In every case, however, the point is strongly made that God will prevail over this opposition at the end. This eschatological component of God's power is familiar from Jewish apocalyptic, but in the NT this confidence in the final victory is linked to what God has already accomplished in Jesus. First the exorcisms (Mark 3:21–27 and par.) and then the resurrection (1 Cor 15:20–26; Eph 1:20–23; 1 Pet 3:21–22) were viewed as proof that the power of opposition had already been broken.

If one aspect of the NT message is that God will overcome all opposition in a final manifestation of divine power, another important component of that message is that this power is now, in this age, often paradoxically revealed in weakness. It is in Paul's letters to Corinth, a congregation predisposed to boasting over powerful manifestations of the Spirit, that this idea is most eloquently developed in terms of the theological implications of the crucifixion. The apparent weakness and folly of the message of the cross (1:18–25), which is mirrored by the weakness of the Christian community at Corinth (1:26–31) and of the apostle himself (2:1–5), leave no doubt that the effectiveness of the Christian mission rests "not in the wisdom of men but in the power of God" (2:5; cf. 2 Cor 4:7–12; 6:3–10; 11:21–12:10).

The paradox of the cross (strength revealed in weakness) exists, of course, only in this age. In the future age or the heavenly world, what appears now as paradox will appear then in the form of reversal. What now exists in the guise of weakness, whether the crucified Christ, the apostle, or the individual Christian or Christian community, will then appear in glory (2 Cor 13:4; 1 Cor 4:1–5; 15:43). This reversal theme, inseparable from the very heart of the Christian message of the crucifixion and resurrection, is also a strong feature of some sayings attributed to Jesus. Briefly summarized in the eschatological inversion formula, "many that are first will be last, and the last first" (Mark 10:31; Matt 19:30; 20:16; Luke 13:30), it appears in many guises throughout the synoptic tradition but most prominently perhaps in Luke. First announced there in the Magnificat (1:51–53), the theme of the exaltation of the humble reappears in the opening scene of Jesus' ministry (4:18), in the Lukan form of the Beatitudes (6:20–26), and in the parables of Luke 14–16. In the speeches of Acts a different form of the same motif appears. There the focus is on the inversion inherent in Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection, not the promised exaltation of the socially deprived, with the emphasis placed on the responsible agents, not on the inversion itself: "This Jesus . . . *you* crucified and killed by the hands of lawless men. But God raised him up" (2:23–24, 36; 4:10).

The NT speaks not only of an eschatological reversal of power, but also of an earlier transfer of power from God to Christ and from Christ to the disciples. The first transferral pattern is particularly prominent in the Fourth Gospel (John 5:20, 27; 10:18; 17:2; cf. Matt 11:27), while the second characterizes the various commissioning scenes in the gospels (Mark 3:15; 6:7; Matt 10:1; Luke 10:19; John 17:22) and seems to have influenced Paul's sense of apostolic authority (see, e.g., Rom 15:18–21; 1 Cor 4:19–20; 5:3–5; 2 Cor 12:11–12). Christians experience this transferred power in various ways. The Corinthians experienced it as wisdom (1 Cor 3:18–20) and knowledge (1 Cor 8:1) and Paul counters with the argument that it is authentically experienced as power in weakness or the power of endurance (2 Cor 4:7–12; cf. Mark 13:11–13). In the Fourth Gospel power seems to be internalized and identified with the indwelling presence of God (John 14–16). More widespread, especially in Acts, is the conviction that God's power is dramatically experienced as spiritual gifts or the working of signs and miracles (Mark 16:17–18; Acts 2:22; 8:9–13; 2 Cor 12:12; Gal 3:5), or more prag-

matically in the success of the Christian mission (1 Cor 3:5–9; Acts, passim). Paul can even speak of the gospel message itself (Rom 1:16; 1 Thess 1:5) and the boldness of its promulgators (1 Thess 2:2; 2 Cor 3:4–6; 10:3–4) as the effective locus of the power of God.

4. The Righteous Judge. God has created the world, God rules the world in sovereign power, and ultimately God will judge the world. Though the actual eschatological judgment has, according to many NT texts, been transferred to Christ (Acts 10:42; 17:31; 1 Cor 4:5; 2 Tim 4:1; John 5:22), the notion of God's cosmic judicial authority remains axiomatic (Heb 10:30; 11:6; Rom 3:6; Jas 4:12; 2 Tim 4:8). Threatening references to the Day of Judgment dramatically underscore the negative implications of this authority for the unbelieving world (Matt 10:15; 11:24; 12:41–42; Heb 10:26–27), but its positive side actually receives greater theological development, for the Day of Judgment reveals not only God's wrath (Rom 2:18), but also God's intrinsic justice and righteousness. While it is affirmed that all of God's actions are manifestations of this justice (Rev 15:3–4; cf. 16:7), it is in the eschatological judgment that this justice is fully and finally revealed and thus it is in discussions of this judgment that various aspects of God's justice are most fully explored.

The absolute and universal character of divine justice demands, for example, that God show no partiality in his judgment. In Col 3:25 and Eph 6:9 this idea serves to warn various social classes not to let the false expectation of privileged treatment erode their ethical behavior, though Colossians presupposes that it is the lower classes that expect this treatment (in accord with the principle of eschatological inversion), while the opposite is true in Ephesians. In Romans, Paul addresses ethnic groups, not social classes, and declares the fundamental dichotomy between Jew and Greek overcome through God's judicial impartiality (2:6–11). This impartiality manifests itself not only in judgment but also in grace (3:22; cf. Acts 10:34–35), though it sometimes receives a Christological rather than a theological grounding (Rom 10:12; Gal 3:28).

Righteous judgment demands not only an impartial judge but also a full disclosure of evidence, and it is thus presupposed that God sees in secret (Matt 6:4, 6, 18; Rom 2:15–16), knows the innermost purposes of the heart (1 Cor 4:5; Luke 16:15; Acts 15:8; 1 Thess 2:4), and brings all one's deeds to light (1 Cor 3:13; John 3:19–21). Because of this, retribution can be meted out fully and justly in accordance with deeds (Rom 2:6; 1 Cor 3:8–15; 2 Cor 5:10; 11:15; 1 Pet 1:17; Rev 20:12; Matt 16:27; Eph 6:8; 2 Tim 4:14). Often the principle of measure-for-measure retribution is cited to underscore the absolute justice of divine retribution. Reward and punishment are not simply appropriate to, but in exact accordance with, one's actions. The punishment, it is affirmed, perfectly fits the crime (Matt 7:2; 26:52; Rev 13:10; 2 Cor 9:6; Jas 2:13; 2 Thess 1:5–7).

This widespread attestation of a final judgment on the basis of deeds generates some tension with the equally widespread emphasis on God's grace, particularly within the Pauline tradition. Paul, however, presents righteousness not only as a juridical attribute of God (Rom 1:17; 3:21), but also as a gift from God (Rom 3:22; Phil 3:9), available through the atoning and reconciling power of the cross to all who believe. In this context, righteousness reflects God's saving activity and rests on the decisive thing that has been accomplished in Christ. Yet it also looks forward to a final consummation, and in this sense remains a hope that embraces the judgment to come (Rom 5:9, 17–19). Thus, the expectation of a final judgment remains firm, but equally firm is the hope that God's righteousness, revealed in Christ and received by faith, will prove to be a power of obedience that will deliver the believer in the final judgment.

Like Paul, the Fourth Gospel retains a complex lawsuit motif with God presiding as judge. But whereas Paul remained highly optimistic about the outcome of this judgment for Christians, even while leaving open the final verdict (1 Cor 3:12–15; 4:3–5), the Fourth Gospel finds judgment already effected at the moment of response to Jesus and to his word (John 3:18–19), with a heavy predestinarian and somewhat pessimistic flavor to the discussion of who is "of the truth" (18:37; cf. 6:65; 10:14, 27). Included in the Johannine community are many false disciples (1 John 2:18–19; cf. John 8:31–38), whose identification and separation will be accomplished by a final judgment (John 12:48; 1 John 2:28–29). Other NT books also assert that participation in the community of faith does not provide certitude of salvation, and the concept of divine justice and judgment, once again appearing as a threat, evokes a demand for righteousness and repentance among the faithful, with more pessimism than Paul evinced about the final verdict (Heb 2:1; 12:25–29; Matt 7:21–23; 13:47–50; 1 Tim 5:24; 2 Tim 2:20–21).

5. The Loving Father. Though very characteristic of the NT, references to God as Father are not unique to it. Zeus, for example, was hailed by the Greeks as the Father of gods and men, and many of the general affirmations of divine fatherhood in the NT are very close to this use of the term to designate God as the physical cause of the world and all that is in it (1 Cor 8:6; Jas 1:17; Eph 3:14–15; cf. Acts 17:28). While some metaphorical uses of the term suggest that God is the ultimate or original manifestation of a particular quality (Father of mercies in 2 Cor 1:3; Father of glory in Eph 1:17), the specifically Christian usage centers on the concept of God as the Father of Jesus. This messianic application is prepared for by 2 Sam 7:14, which asserts that Israel's anointed king will be God's "son" (cf. Psalm 2:7), but its remarkable prominence in the NT was probably encouraged by Jesus' own use of *ʾabbā* (father) in prayer. References to "my father" or (in John) "the father" are pervasive in the Gospels while the phrase "Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" occurs in the NT letters as a formulaic part of benedictions and thanksgivings (Rom 15:6; 2 Cor 1:3; Eph 1:3; Col 1:3). This father-language suggests a clear distinction between God and Jesus, but at the same time a close relationship that is enhanced in the gospel of John by frequent use of the adjective *monogenēs* to suggest the uniqueness of Jesus' sonship (John 1:14, 18; 3:16, 18; 1 John 4:9). An important corollary of the father-son relationship is that, because of the loving intimacy of this relationship (John 3:35; Mark 1:11; Col 1:13), each one is supremely able to reveal the other. The Father's revelation of the Son is associated primarily with the cosmic aspects of the baptism (Mark 1:11; Matt 3:17), transfiguration (Mark 9:7), resurrection

appearances (Acts 10:40; Gal 1:16), and parousia (2 Thess 1:7; 1 Cor 1:7; 1 Tim 6:14–15; 1 Pet 1:7, 13). The Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, emphasizes that God is revealed in the encounter with Jesus (John 1:18; 12:45; 14:9; cf. Matt 11:25–27 and Luke 10:21–22) while Paul speaks of this revelation as occurring in the proclamation of the message about Jesus (Rom 1:17; 2 Cor 4:5–6).

God, however, is not only the Father of Jesus but also the Father of all believers. This concept of God as the "father" of a specific group has its roots in the OT concept of election, though the actual kinship terminology surfaced only occasionally in that context (Exod 4:22; Hos 11:1). In the NT, however, it is all-pervasive, from the "Our Father" of the Lord's Prayer to absolute references to the Father in letter openings and benedictions. Paul describes the relationship of believers to God in terms of adoption (Gal 4:4–7; Rom 8:23), a metaphor that marks the contrast between former and present status. The Johannine literature prefers the concept of begetting (1 John 2:29; 3:9–10; 4:7; cf. John 3:3–9), thereby placing the emphasis on the fact that the Christian's new origin is in God.

As Father, God can be a disciplinarian (Heb 12:7), but God's primary parental qualities are love (1 John 3:1; 2 Thess 2:16; Eph 2:4; Rom 8:38–39) and compassion (Matt 6:25–32; 10:29–31). Through the reconciling power of the cross, God's fatherly love embraces even sinners (Rom 5:8; Eph 2:11–18; cf. Luke 15:11–32), an idea that is constitutive and characteristic of the new covenant. God's offspring, moreover, should imitate the Father's love, and thus Christians are called to remember the mercy extended to them and to show the same magnanimous love to others, thereby revealing themselves as true children of God (Matt 5:9; 5:44–48; Luke 6:35–36; Eph 4:31–5:2).

D. Trinitarian Formulations

One does not find in the NT the trinitarian paradox of the coexistence of the Father, Son, and Spirit within a divine unity, the mystery of the three in one, yet one does find there the data that serve as the foundation of this later dogmatic formulation. Though each member of the triad has its own identity, each is also and most frequently identified in relation to the others. The Spirit appears in some texts as the autonomous agent of prophecy (Acts 1:16; Heb 3:7); the vehicle of sanctification (Rom 15:16; 1 Pet 1:2), moral integrity (Rom 8:4; Gal 5:16–25), and intercession (Rom 8:27); the sign of God's acceptance (Acts 15:8; Gal 3:2); and a guarantee of future salvation (Rom 5:3–5; 2 Cor 5:5). It is also, however, clearly designated as the Spirit of God (1 Cor 2:11–12; Rom 8:9–17), the Spirit sent by God that represents in some sense God's active and indwelling presence. Yet, the Spirit is also called the Spirit of Christ, and there is a remarkable degree of fluidity in these two designations (Rom 8:9). In this guise the Spirit is sent by God as Christ's successor (John 14:16), as his witness (John 15:26; cf. Mark 13:11), and as evidence of his exaltation (Acts 2:32–33).

Likewise Jesus, while possessing his own identity as the prophet from Nazareth (Luke 24:19), is clearly placed in the intimate relation of sonship with God, who sent and commissioned him (John 3:34), attested to him (Acts 2:22), dwelt in him (2 Cor 5:19; John 17:21), vindicated and exalted him (Phil 2:9; Acts 5:31), and will through him judge the world (Acts 17:31). On the other hand, Jesus was conceived by the Holy Spirit (Luke 1:35; Matt 1:20), received the Spirit at baptism (Mark 1:10), and was resurrected "according to the Spirit" (Rom 1:4) or "in the Spirit" (1 Tim 3:16).

Though all of these texts point to an intimate relationship of God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit, a formal triadic coordination of the three is found in only a few places. Pair-wise coordination is more frequent. God and Christ, for example, often appear in parallel construction (John 14:1; Rom 1:7; Rev 5:13) as do, somewhat less frequently, Christ and the Spirit (1 Cor 6:11; Rom 15:30; Heb 10:29). The baptismal commission in Matt 28:19 and the apostolic benediction in 2 Cor 13:14 are the clearest examples of triadic coordination, though other texts of somewhat looser formulation (1 Cor 12:4–6; Jude 20–21; 1 Pet 1:2; Rev 1:4–7) probably reveal its influence. Even these texts, however, do not formalize the relationship as that of one in three, but assert somewhat more simply that the work of the three is the same work, whether it is perceived in terms of the creative and ruling power of the universe, the crucified and vindicated messiah, or the religious experience of the community.

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JOUETTE M. BASSLER

GOD MOST HIGH. See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT; MOST HIGH.

GOEL HADDAM [Heb *gō'ēl haddam*]. See BLOOD, AVENGER OF.

GOG (PERSON) [Heb *gôg*]. **1.** A Reubenite, descended from Joel (1 Chr 5:4). Gog is second in the list of the sons, or descendants, of Joel. The list may represent a line of Reubenite chieftains (Ackroyd *Chronicles Ezra Nehemiah* TBC, 36). The name appears after Shemaiah and before Shimei. Others in the list include Micah, Reaiah, Baal, and Beerah, who was taken into exile by the Assyrians. As the text does not state Joel's relation to Reuben, and since the use of "son" in Hebrew is somewhat broader than in English, it is impossible to pinpoint Gog's temporal setting. The list ends with the Exile, but the name Baal may point to the presence of an older tradition (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 36–37). Apparently Gog was a member of the clans of seminomadic herdsmen who roamed the desert frontier E of Gilead, from Moab to the Euphrates (1 Chr 5:9–10). LXX has *Goug*, while Syriac renders the name *dw'g* (Doeg). Noth (*IPN* 223) traces the name to Akkadian *gāgu*, meaning a "valuable gold object" (cf. CAD 5: 9 and *HALAT* 1: 174).

2. Chief prince of Meshech and Tubal, from the land of Magog (Ezek 38:2). See GOG AND MAGOG; MESHECH; TUBAL. In Ezekiel 38–39 God draws Gog out of Magog, with a large army. In later years he will advance against Israel from the far N (Ezek 38:8–15), thereby incurring God's wrath. God will judge him and his hordes with military and natural disasters (Ezek 38:18–22). Gog and the invading army will fall and be buried in Israel (Ezek 39:4–5, 11–15). In all of this God intends to vindicate his holiness before the nations (Ezek 38:16) that they might know that he is Yahweh (Ezek 38:21; 39:6, 22). The display of God's glory and judgment is linked with the restoration of Israel to a right relation with their Maker (Ezek 39:25–29).

Attempts to identify Gog have included proposals of connections with (1) Gyges, King of Lydia (*Gugu* of Ashurbanipal's records); (2) *Gaga*, a name in the Amarna correspondence for the nations of the N; (3) Gaga, a god from Ras Shamra writings; (4) a historical figure, especially Alexander; and (5) mythological sources, with Gog being a representation of the evil forces of darkness which range themselves against Yahweh and his people. None of these identifications has been demonstrated with certainty. Apparently, the name of Gog was derived from accounts of campaigns of N nations and in "some way unknown to us has come to be the name given to their commander-in-chief" (Eichrodt *Ezekiel* OTL, 522; cf. *IDB* 2: 436–37; Taylor *Ezekiel* TOTC, 244; *HALAT* 1: 174–75). What Gog symbolizes is clearer. He is the archetypal enemy from the N, the head of the forces of evil that rise against God and his people (Beasley-Murray *Revelation* NCBC, 297; Caird *Revelation* HNTC, 256).

3. A name, which, along with Magog, describes the nations of the earth (Rev 20:8). In Ezekiel Gog was the leader and Magog his land, while in Revelation both represent nations. As in Ezekiel vast hordes gather and are supernaturally destroyed. Satan deceives these evil nations and gathers them in great numbers for battle against Israel. Fire from heaven finally consumes these peoples and God triumphs (Beasley-Murray *Revelation* NCBC, 297; Caird *Revelation* HNTC, 256–57; *ISBE* 2: 519–20).

KENNETH H. CUFFEY

GOG AND MAGOG [Heb *gôg* and *magôg*]. Names of a ruler, Gog, and his land, Magog, in the Bible. Gog is the leader, in Ezekiel 38 and 39, of an invading army from "the uttermost parts of the north" who will attack Israel "in the latter years." See GOG (PERSON) and MAGOG (PERSON). In language similar to that found in later apocalyptic writings, Ezekiel describes God's complete devastation of Gog and his forces upon the mountains of Israel. The defeat of Gog will serve as a vindication of God's holiness and a demonstration of God's might. God's victory will make plain to all the nations of the earth that the people of Israel had been sent into Babylonian captivity because of their sinfulness and not because of God's weakness or unconcern. Now God has restored them to their own land and will protect them.

Various attempts have been made to explain the origin of the name Gog. Some scholars have looked for a historical figure as the source of the term. Among the many suggestions which have been proposed, the most convincing historical referent is the 7th-century B.C.E Lydian king Gyges. Other scholars have explained the name mythologically, derived from the Sumerian word for darkness or from the name of the Akkadian god Gaga.

Ezekiel has likely combined earlier traditions which spoke of an enemy from the north who would bring destruction to the Israelites (cf. Jer 1:13–15; 4:6) with the prophecy of Isaiah that God would destroy the enemies of Israel upon the mountains (Isa 14:24). These prophecies, which for Ezekiel are still unfulfilled, will take place "in the latter days" when God's salvation of Israel will become evident to all the nations. Ezekiel has borrowed the name of Gyges of Lydia to describe this mysterious enemy of God, partly because Gyges had a reputation as a powerful king from the N. In the Ezekiel oracles the figure of Gog has assumed mythical proportions (Wevers *Ezekiel* NCBC; Zimmerli *Ezekiel* Vol. 2 Hermeneia).

The word Magog, likely derived from an Akkadian term meaning "the land of Gyges (Gog)," occurs also in Gen 10:2 in the "Table of Nations." In Genesis and Ezekiel, Magog is grouped with Meshech and Tubal, regions in Asia Minor. For Ezekiel, Magog is simply the mysterious land of Gog located somewhere far to the N of Israel (*TDOT* 2: 419–25).

The author of the book of Revelation uses the Gog and Magog imagery to describe the final attack of the evil forces against the people of God following the millennial reign of Christ (Rev 20:8). Whereas in Ezekiel Gog is a person and Magog is a territory, in Revelation both Gog and Magog have become the names of evil nations. Both terms also appear in rabbinic writings in descriptions of eschatological events.

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MITCHELL G. REDDISH

GOIIM (PLACE) [Heb *gôyîm*]. Ostensibly the kingdom of Tidal, one of the allies of Chedorlaomer and the "king of Goiim" (Gen 14:1, 9). Heb *gôyîm* means "nations." See NATIONS. QL Gen Apocryphon XXI:23–24 glossed *td'l mlk gwym* by *dy hw' byn nhryn* "who was between the rivers" (i.e., in Mesopotamia). LXX, the Targums, and Vg rendered *gôyîm* by one of the equivalent terms in the respective languages. The old rapprochement of Goiim with cuneiform *Guti* or *Quti*, a people in the Zagros Mountains, by H. Rawlinson (ap. E. Schrader 1883: 137), was based only on a remote assonance. As long as Tidal (Tudḫula of the "Chedorlaomer texts," cf. CHEDORLAOMER, sec. B) was identified with the Hittite Tudḫâliyaš, it was logical to interpret "the nations" as the various ethnic groups of Anatolia, comparable to the "Islands of the Nations" of Gen 10:5. But if the plausible equation, by Tadmor (*EncMiqr* 8: 435–6), of Tidal (Tudḫula) with Sennacherib is accepted, then "the nations" should be understood as the vast conglomerate of peoples in the Assyrian empire. The compiler of Genesis 14 may have been acquainted with the titles and self-praising epithets of Neo-Assyrian kings; cf., e.g., in the annals of Assurnasirpal: "the Sun of all peoples" and "who has brought under his sway the totality of all peoples" (*ARAB* I, §437) or, even closer: "Shalmaneser (III), king of all peoples, lord, priest of Assur, mighty king, king of all four regions, Sun of all peoples, despot of all lands" (*ARAB* I, §556).

A king of Goiim in Gilgal appears in the list of the kings vanquished by Joshua in the Heb text of Josh 12:23. LXX (codd. Vaticanus and Alexandrinus) has here *gōim* (var. *geei*) *tēs galilaias*, which makes better sense in view of *gālîl hag-gôyîm* "Galilee (lit. 'district') of nations" in Isa 8:23—Eng 9:1—and the Galilean city HAROSHETH-HA-GOIIM in Judg 4:2. The LXX reading has been accepted in RSV.

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MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

GOLAN (PLACE) [Heb *gôlān*]. A city of Manasseh in Bashan, the northernmost of the three Cities of Refuge E of the Jordan river (Deut 4:43; Josh 20:8). It is also a Levitical city assigned to the sons of Gershon (Josh 21:27; 1 Chr 6:71). A place by this name is mentioned by Eusebius as "a large village," and in the Talmudic literature the toponym Gavlana is also known in reference to Bashan/Batanea. Scholars tend to identify the town of Golan with Sahem el-Joulan (M.R. 238243), which lies on the E bank of the river el-'Allan.

In addition to the town Golan there exists a district of this name, which was known to Josephus as Gaulanitis. The district Golan lies W of Sahem el-Joulan. Therefore, some scholars have suggested reevaluating this identification and seeking the town of Golan within the boundaries of this region. Others have suggested retaining this identification and explaining it as political deviations that separated the town from its district.

It has been suggested that the region of Golan was apparently formed when the city Golan may have become the capital of the land of Geshur as a result of the Geshurite and the Aramean conquest of the sixty cities in the region of Argob in Bashan during 886 B.C.E. (2 Chr 2:23). This annexed territory was then named after the newly captured city of Golan.

Other scholars maintain that the district Gaulanitis was formed during the 3d century B.C.E., due to the Ptolemaic administrative rearrangement of their estates. According to this theory, the large Assyro-Persian jurisdictional region of Carnaim was split into two zones, Batanea and Gaulanitis. This view, which is based primarily on the suffix *itis* common to Ptolemaic Egyptian districts, was rejected by other scholars on the grounds that there were insufficient 3d century B.C.E. settlements in the Golan to justify the split. They propose, instead, that the administrative district was established only by the beginning of the 1st century B.C.E. as a result of the Alexander Jannaeus campaign. The boundaries of the newly formed region embraced the territory from Mt. Hermon in the N to the Yarmuk river in the S, where it met the district of Gileaditis; it remained intact for a period of 18 years (81–63 B.C.E.). This region included the town of Golan and was named after it as a biblical reminiscent. After Pompey's campaign during 63 B.C.E. the Golan district was reduced in size due to territorial grants bestowed to Hippos in the S and to Phoenicia and the Ituraean estates in the N. The town of Golan was appended to the district of Batanea, which was formed during this transaction. This state of affairs remained all through the Roman and Byzantine periods.

Josephus speaks of the subdivision of Gaulanitis into Superior and Inferior. Many scholars postulate that these terms refer, respectively, to N and S, which correspond to the subdivision terms of Upper and Lower Galilee. However, other scholars claim that, unlike Galilee, these subdivision terms of Gaulanitis should correspond, respectively, to E and W. Since the Golan constituted, during the period of Josephus, the section of 20 km by 25 km between the jurisdictional territory of the city of Caesarea Paneas in the N and that of the city of Hippos in the S, the subdivision terminology conforms with the different elevations between E and W. The Golan is a basalt plateau which inclines from N–NE, where it rises to an average altitude of 900 m above sea level, to the S–SW, where it declines to an altitude of 200 m below sea level. Gaulanitis Superior is, therefore, at the E–NE corner, and Gaulanitis Inferior is the section near the Sea of Galilee. At the NE corner there is an inactive chain of volcanic cones whose activities in the past created thick basalt layers resulting in rocky terrain that was inadequate for intensive agriculture. This type of environment was suitable mainly for grazing land and pasture. The modern term Golan Heights refers to the region extending from the foothills of Mt. Hermon to the Yarmuk valley in the S, the Jordan river in the W, and the valley 'Allan in the E. The Golan region today is much larger than that during the Roman period.

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RAMI ARAV

GOLAN HEIGHTS. The modern name for the Transjordanian plateau just E of the Sea of Galilee. The etymology of the name Golan is unclear; it could derive from *gwl* "round," *glh* "pit or pool," or *gbl* in the sense of "stone fence-border."

A. Geographical Background
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A. Geographical Background

The Golan Heights is a modern geographical division. The name does not appear in this sense before the late 19th century C.E. (Schumacher 1888). The Golan Heights is the northwesternmost part of Transjordan, extending from the Yarmuk gorge in the S to the slopes of Mt. Hermon in the N. On the W, it borders the Jordan Rift with the Huleh basin and the Sea of Galilee. Its E border is the Raqad river, beyond which lies the Bashan (Batanea) and Jeidur (Trachona). The Golan Heights is a volcanic plateau that slopes from 900 m above sea level in the NE to 250 m above sea level in the S and to 200 m below sea level in the area NE of the Sea of Galilee. In the N and S sections of the W plateau, steep slopes descend toward the Huleh and the Sea of Galilee, while the central section slopes gradually toward the Jordan river and the Bethsaida valley. On the E part of the plateau, volcanic cinder cones project from the surface (1100–1200 m); in the S, however, the ancient volcanoes have eroded to low-lying hills. The streams that flow on the plateau are very shallow, almost invisible, and are called Massil, but as they near the Jordan Rift they deepen and descend through waterfalls into deep canyons. In the S Golan, the wadis that drain into the Sea of Galilee and the Yarmuk gorge have carved wide basins. The basalt rock, which covers most of the surface of the Golan Heights, originated in a series of volcanic eruptions dating from 3.7 to 0.14 million years B.P. (Mor 1986).

The NE terrain is covered by relatively young basalt, the "Golan Formation" (0.35–0.14 M.Y.B.P.), that has eroded to red and brown Mediterranean soils. In the NW and central parts of the Golan Heights is the older "Ortal Formation" (1.61–0.74 M.Y.B.P.), mostly covered by shallow Grumosol and Protogrumosol soils. Noteworthy is the "Dalwe member" of the Ortal Formation, eroded into large boulders, the raw material of the "megalithic architecture" abounding in the Golan. In the S Golan Heights is the oldest "cover basalt" (3.7–2.8 M.Y.B.P.), overlain by deep and fertile Grumosol soils. On the slopes and river basins of S Golan, sedimentary rocks, older than the basalt (up to 4.5 M.Y.), are exposed, mainly cretaceous and chalk rocks of the Miocene and Middle Pliocene ages. These are covered by colluvial/alluvial soils and rendzina.

The climate of the Golan Heights is Mediterranean, and the annual precipitation ranges from 350 mm in the S to 1200 mm in the NE. In ancient times the Golan was covered by Mediterranean forests that still survive in some nature reserves. In the N and above the 500-m elevation were forests of the evergreen oaks and worm oaks (*Quercus calliprinus* and *Q. boissieri*). In central Golan, open, parklike forests of Tabor oak (*Q. ithaburensis*) with rich pastures exist, while on the slopes and river basins of S Golan, a savanna of *Ziziphus (Z. spina Christi)* covers the area.

An understanding of the road system of the Golan Heights is important, as it impinges on the settlement pattern throughout the periods. Entrance from the N and S is blocked by the Mt. Hermon massif and the river Yarmuk, respectively, forcing all crossing roads to align along an E–W axis. Other natural obstacles such as the Huleh basin, the Jordan gorge, and the Sea of Galilee on the W, and the volcanic mountain chains and the Raqad canyon on the E, allow access to the Golan only in a few places. The four main routes, therefore, connect E and W from Damascus and the Bashan to the Mediterranean ports of Acre, Tyre, and Sidon. In the N, an important highway leads from Tyre through Banias (Paneas) to Damascus. In the center, the *Via Maris* passes from Acre (or from the S along the Jordan valley) through the Jisr Banat Yaʿaqub Bridge to Quneitra and hence to Damascus. A less important road connects the Galilee and the Golan from Capernaum through Bethsaida to Seleucia and Hushniyye in the central Golan. In the S, the road from Beth-shan through Zemakh climbs the Golan in several ascents to the Fiq/Rafid thoroughfare and E to the Bashan.

From a geographical point of view, supported by the

settlement and political history of the area, the Golan Heights can be divided into three parts. This division has affected the settlement patterns, history, cultural characteristics, and administrative divisions of the area in most periods. The "south," from Wadi Shbeib-Samakh in the N to the Yarmuk gorge in the S, is a level fertile plain called by the Arabs "Ard el-Kamh" (Schumacher 1888: 20), i.e., the "land of grain," and it is the main agricultural zone of the Golan. The "south" is further subdivided into the cover basalt plateau and the sedimentary slopes of river basins. This part of the Golan Heights was continuously inhabited with no significant gaps in the occupational sequence.

The "center" extends from Wadi Samakh in the S to a N boundary line that starts at the S edge of the Huleh lake and extends E through Nahal Shelef, N of Kfar Naffah, and through Mt. Shifon and Tell Khari'a (8 km S of Quneitra) to meet Nahal Raqad. This area, mostly on Dalwe and Mueisseh basalt, is called by Schumacher (1888: 13) "Stony Jaulan" and is indeed rough and suitable mainly for grazing as its Arabic local name—Belad er-Rabi ("land of pasture")—testifies. The central region is also subdivided into E ("upper") and W ("lower") areas. The W part has an abundance of streams and springs which allows limited agriculture, including cereals in small plots and, especially, olive groves. This area has been inhabited in most archaeological periods, although with many gaps in the sequence; it was densely settled in the Roman-Byzantine period. The E part of central Golan lacks arable soils and water sources. The parts that were not thickly forested were very sparsely settled in Roman-Byzantine times by herders and horse-breeding farmers.

The "north," from Nahal Shelef in the S to Nahal Sa'ar and Mt. Hermon in the N, is mostly covered by young basalts and volcanoes, with almost no arable soils. The abundance of rain causes rapid soil erosion and encourages thick oak forests. The N is subdivided into several zones, some more suitable for human habitation than others. The westernmost zone, on the slopes toward the Huleh valley, has soils and some springs, and was always sparsely settled with only a handful of EB and Iron Age I sites. The central zone is covered by the "Ein Zivan" basalt member and is devoid of soils, springs, and any ancient sites; it is still thickly covered by forest. The easternmost zone has small arable plains between the volcanic mountains; lack of water sources, however, permitted only a few settlements (EB, Iron Age, and Hellenistic-Roman). In terms of settlement potential, the Golan Heights are divided therefore into three different regions: the fertile S, the pastureland in the center, and the forested N, each with its own environment and cultural characteristics.

B. History of Exploration and Excavations

Although the Golan was described by early-19th-century travelers, the first systematic survey in the area was carried out in the 1880's by G. Schumacher (Schumacher 1886; 1888). Schumacher described the geography, flora, and population and provided a detailed description of some 150 settlements and ruins. The majority of these, however, date to the Roman-Byzantine period. The only pre-Roman remains he noted were the numerous dolmens (recorded in a dozen fields), interpreting them as tombs of ancient bedouin. In subsequent surveys, he collected sherds at some sites which he dated to the Bronze Age. During the French Mandate Period and under the Syrian government, only Roman tombs which were unearthed during construction works were recorded. In 1967, a systematic survey was conducted by two teams headed by C. Epstein and S. Gutman (Epstein and Gutman 1972). For the first time, pre-Hellenistic sites were identified by surface sherding or by "megalithic" masonry style. The 1967–68 survey recorded sites from the Paleolithic period through the Iron Age. Since 1969, surveys conducted by C. Epstein, M. Hartal, S. Barlev, and Z. Ma'oz have added scores of sites dating from early periods and have provided much environmental and archaeological data. The first excavations were conducted at Roman-Byzantine sites such as Jukhader, Qasrin, and Gamla by Urman and Gutman, as well as at some 30 dolmens, dating to the EB IV, which were explored and excavated by C. Epstein from 1969 to 1973. Epstein also excavated several Chalcolithic settlements in 1973–86. Subsequent to the discovery of Tel Soreg in S Golan, which D. Ben-Ami has suggested was biblical Aphek, extensive archaeological excavations were begun at the site by M. Kochavi. Additional seasons of research in the vicinity by Kochavi exposed a round fortress at Tel Hadar (Sheikh Hader), dating from the 12th century B.C.E., that was destroyed by a heavy fire in the beginning of the 11th century, and an EB enclosure at Mitham Leviah (Lawiyye; Kochavi 1989: 6–11). Excavations and surveys are currently being carried out and will no doubt contribute to a broader and deeper understanding of the nature and patterns of settlement in the area.

C. Archaeological Finds and History

1. Paleolithic to Neolithic Periods. The earliest human remains unearthed in the Golan date to the Upper Paleolithic period. At Berekhat Ram (E of Mas'ada), a paleosol layer containing flints and basalt implements from the Acheulian culture, sandwiched between two lava flows, indicates that the Golan was inhabited over a quarter of a million years ago. Surface surveys have revealed several other sites that belong to the Acheulian horizon. The Mousterian culture is represented in an open-air site at Biq'at Quneitra (Goren-Inbar 1989) and a few other small workshops (approximately 50,000 Y.B.P.).

The site of Moujhaya in the S Golan (excavated by A. Gofer) is a large site belonging to the Neolithic period. Other scattered sites have yielded Neolithic tools—flint axes, arrowheads, and other implements.

2. Chalcolithic Period. In 1973, a Chalcolithic site dating from the 5th–4th millennium B.C.E. was first exposed in the Golan. The Chalcolithic culture appeared in the Golan after a long gap, since no remains of the Pottery Neolithic or Wadi Rabah culture have been found (Epstein 1978b). Between 1973 and 1988, excavations and trial excavations were carried out at 15 sites, exposing domestic buildings and a unique material culture, but one with affinities to the Chalcolithic material culture found in other areas of Israel and Jordan. Extensive surveys have discovered many additional sites, some of which have been excavated, and no doubt more sites will yet be revealed.

So far 25 Chalcolithic sites have been found, mainly in the central Golan (Epstein 1986: 34–35). They are located

on Dalwe basalt, on the more gentle slopes, and mainly at an altitude between 445 and 555 m above sea level. They tend to be adjacent to wadis or springs in regions with about 600 mm precipitation per annum. The extensive pasturelands and the wetter parts of the central Golan were exploited in the Chalcolithic period for crop cultivation. The environment was suited for a population whose economy was based on cattle grazing and agriculture.

All the sites are unwalled and spread over a large area. There are villages of between 15 and 40 houses, as well as some smaller hamlets and individual farms. On some sites, the houses are built in two parallel rows with adjacent houses sharing a sidewall. Some villages flank both sides of the wadis with houses opposite one another. On three sites, well-constructed storage bins were found. Some sites are located next to seasonal riverbeds, with perennial streams some distance from the sites.

All the houses have a broad-room house plan with basalt walls constructed of dry masonry. The average size of a house is 15 m × 6 m. The long walls are orientated E–W, the general direction of the slopes, and the entrance is from the S. Floors are part paved, part bedrock, and there is sometimes a bench at the base of the long walls. The houses have internal walls, either forming a long narrow back room or smaller side rooms. The internal divisions must have facilitated the roofing, which seems to have covered the whole area of the house.

All the Chalcolithic sites have a large variety of ceramic, basalt, and flint vessels, showing affinities to the finds at Chalcolithic sites in other regions, but with many features unique to the Golan. Many vessels are decorated with bands of rope impressions, incisions, and pierced decorations. The vessels are handmade, but with some use of a handwheel evident on the upper part of the larger vessels. The local red clay of volcanic origin contains many grits, including basalt chips. Particularly noteworthy is the large number of pithoi for the storage of grain. Other vessels include jugs, bowls, hole-mouth jars, spouted jars, bowls with fenestrated pedestals ("incense-burners"), and loomweights for weaving wool. There are significantly few vessels for everyday use, such as cups and cooking bowls.

In the volcanic Golan, basalt vessels are commonplace, the repertoire including bowls, basins, kraters, grinding stones, and mortised stones. Basalt tools, including agricultural implements, hammers, hoes, weights, and hoe-weights, also occur. The flint implements include many types characteristic of the period, including axes, scrapers, awls, fan-scrapers, and sickle blades. In addition, worthy of note are perforated implements of laminated flint cut into piriform and round shapes, found mainly in the N (Epstein and Noy 1988).

A unique feature of the Golan Chalcolithic culture is the basalt pillar figures, of which over 50 examples are known (Epstein 1982; 1988). Many were excavated in reliable house contexts or discovered within Chalcolithic sites. The pillar figures are cylindrical, the top of each forming a shallow offering bowl. Most have facial features with a protruding nose, others are horned, and some have a goatee beard. It is generally agreed that the pillar figures have cultic significance, and since they were placed in houses, it is assumed that they played a part in the fertility cult. The horned and bearded figures were probably associated with fertility in the herds, and those without horns probably with the general concept of life, fertility, and abundance in both man and crops.

A small quantity of seeds has been found at the sites, including peas, lentils, and bakʿa. The charred remains of domestic wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*) were found in a storage bin, but the most widespread organic remains are olive pits. Moreover, 90 percent of some 30 samples of burnt wood remains examined are olive. Few animal bones were found in the houses, but those remains include goat and sheep teeth, with a few cow bones and teeth of wild boar and ass. No human bones or burials can be related to this period.

There is no evidence to suggest that the Chalcolithic period in the Golan ended violently. It is unclear why the inhabitants left their villages, abandoning their large storage vessels and heavy equipment, including their house gods. Perhaps a prolonged drought resulted in the deterioration of the economic base. On the basis of the lack of changes and developments in the houses and pottery vessels, it appears that the culture was a single phase, lasting 200–300 years. Calibrated C_{14} dates of charred wood provide a date of 4140 ± 150 B.C.E.; and burned wheat grains provide a calibrated date of 3800 ± 100 B.C.E.

3. Early Bronze Age. The available archaeological evidence suggests an occupational gap after the Chalcolithic period in most of the Golan. In the S Golan, however, are three EB I sites; they are adjacent to the Yarmuk river and Nahal Meizar. At the site on the bank of the Yarmuk, building remains and pottery characteristic of the EB I were revealed in a trial excavation (Epstein 1985c), and the site appears to have been extensive.

Our knowledge of the EB II occupation is based mainly on the material from surveys (Epstein and Gutman 1972; Hartal 1989). From this period, 42 sites have been found throughout the Golan: 7 in the S, 12 in the center, 17 in the N, and 6 more at the foot of Mt. Hermon. The sites include settlements and large enclosures (Heb *mitham*). At the fortified settlements (e.g., Zaʿarta in the N and Zalabeh in the central Golan), sections of fortification walls and building remains are extant. Other sites have building remains, but thus far no evidence of enclosing walls (e.g., Seleucia and Gamla in the central Golan and at Kh. Huttiyye in the S). The enclosure sites have massive fortifications, which sometimes incorporate natural elements, such as rocks, cliffs, and abysses overhanging wadis. The sites of Mitham Yitzhaki in the central Golan and Mitham Leviah and Mitham Bardawil in the S are protected by steep precipices. Other enclosures erected in areas without natural fortifications are surrounded on all four sides by solid fortifications, as at Shaʿabniah and Es-Sur in the central Golan.

Excavations have recently been carried out at Mitham Leviah (Lawiyye; Kochavi 1989). The site is located on an elongated spur overlooking Nahal Kanaf to the N and Nahal Samakh to the S, and is protected by steep precipices on the N, S, and W. A long, high heap of stones separates the enclosure from the plateau on the E, and two similar stone heaps run across the center of the site and close to the W end. Excavation of the central heap exposed a substantial stone wall, 4 m thick. A section excavated on the W has exposed rectangular houses with stone walls

from the EB III together with KHIRBET KERAK WARE found in situ. Pottery from the EB IA, EB IB, EB II, and EB IV was also found in this area, indicating habitational continuity at the site. At the other enclosure sites ceramic material dating to the EB II has also been found. Es-Sur is attributed to the same period on the basis of similarity of construction of its walls. Mitham Bardawil, however, produced only a few EB II sherds, but an abundance of sherds from EB IV, perhaps attesting to its construction or reoccupation in the latter period. It is clear that the enclosures sometimes incorporated buildings, as at Mitham Leviah and es-Sur, but the function of the enclosures has not yet been clarified. They may either have been fortified areas, occupied by the unsettled local pastoralist population and their flocks in times of danger, or walled cities.

An unusual and unique site of the EB II is RUJM EL-HIRI, situated on a plateau, through which flows Nahal Daliyyot (Kochavi 1989; Zohar 1989). This massive construction of huge, unworked basalt stones is similar to the enclosures, but in other respects is unique. The site consists of a huge central tumulus, measuring 20–25 m in diameter and 7 m high, surrounded by four concentric walls, the outer of which is 155 m in diameter, and is interrupted in two places by entryways. So far no stratigraphic sequences have been found to help date the site, although a small trial excavation has been conducted (which did yield a few EB II and Iron Age I sherds). The function of the site has also not yet been established, but it is likely that the site was a ceremonial center with symbolic significance for certain social groups.

Only recently has evidence been found to indicate that settlements continued into the EB III in the Golan; these include Gamla and Mitham Leviah (Kochavi 1989: 6). The nature of this period, the pattern of settlement, and the causes leading to the termination of the period, however, cannot yet be established.

4. Early Bronze Age IV (ca. 2350–1950 B.C.E.). At the end of the 3d millennium, there was a significant change in the settlement pattern of the Golan. No occupation sites have been located in the N and central Golan. In the S, eight sites have been identified, of which three are burial sites. It seems that during this period pastoralists, whose origins have not yet been fully established, moved through the N and central Golan and did not construct any permanent settlements. On the other hand, they erected hundreds of burials in the form of dolmens, standing in groups, and sometimes concentrated together in "dolmen fields" (Epstein 1985a). So far over 30 dolmens have been excavated at various sites, and many others have been surveyed. The dolmens may be dated by the earliest finds exposed on their floors, which are funerary goods accompanying secondary burials and date to the end of the 3d and beginning of the 2d millennium B.C.E.

The typical Golan dolmen is not the picturesque trilithic "stone table," consisting of two stone uprights with a third horizontal stone laid on top, as is suggested by the ancient Bretonic word. The typical dolmens are small, rectangular, or sometimes trapezoid burial chambers, measuring ca. 1.5 m × 3.5 m, with an entrance on one of the short sides. They are built of unworked basalt stones, with monolithic slabs as the lower walls, balanced by smaller stones, and with paved floors. The roofs are of large stones rising in step form from the narrow sides to the center, with a single stone on top, forming a domed ceiling inside the chamber. The dolmens are usually surrounded by an oval stone heap, or tumulus, supported at the bottom by a circular wall; in many cases only the top roof-stone is visible, while in others the dolmen is completely hidden beneath the tumulus. See DOLMEN.

The earliest finds from the dolmens date from the EB IV and include jars, spouted jars, a bottle, pedestal lamps, and round, handleless cooking pots. The metal finds are mainly of copper and include a long pin with a bent head, pins with points at both ends, a bracelet and ring, and weapons, such as a dagger, a socketed spear, and leaf-shaped blades. These ceramic and metal types have clear parallels in assemblages from burials of this period from N Israel and Syria (e.g., Megiddo and Ugarit). Several dolmens were later reused for burials, both in ancient and modern times.

It is important to emphasize that it was the volcanic nature of the Golan that made possible the construction of dolmens. Great effort and technical knowledge were required for the construction of the graves, indicating the importance accorded to the subject of burial by people who otherwise apparently had no permanent dwellings.

5. Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Ages. Following the EB IV, there seems to have been an occupation gap in the Golan of about 150 years—no MB I settlements have been found. The only finds are a few pottery vessels, found in a dolmen in secondary use, which are characteristic of the transition between the MB I and MB II, with parallels in graves at Ginossar, Hazor, Dan, and other sites in the N (Epstein 1985a).

The beginning of the MB II witnesses the resettlement of the Golan. About 40 sites, including graves, have been found, mostly identified in surveys (Epstein and Gutman 1972; Hartal 1989), and occasionally examined in small trial excavations. The large number of sites parallels the increased number of MB II sites throughout Palestine. In the N and central Golan there are very few settlements—11 in the N and only 4 in the center, few of which have left substantial architectural remains. In contrast, about 25 sites are concentrated in the S Golan, probably because of the possibility of hewing impervious wells for water storage out of the limestone rock. These often-fortified settlements were established at strategic locations on the high plateau between the Sea of Galilee and Nahal Raqad, and were apparently used for defense and to control trade routes; a particularly large concentration of sites stood on the slopes overlying Nahal Samakh and its tributaries. The main tell sites include et-Tell in the Bethsaida valley; Masharfawi in Nahal Kanaf (surrounded by a cyclopean wall); Fakhuri, el-Mudowarah, and Hutiyye in the Samakh basin; Tell ed-Dahab (wall remains), and others. Only 14 of these sites continued to be occupied in the LB period. In addition to the tell sites, there are small forts, such as site No. 151 in Nahal Samakh, which measures 20 m × 24 m and includes a fortification wall, in which there are small rooms, and two square towers. Other sites are burial caves with many funerary goods. Most of the information on the sites is based on survey work rather than on excavations; thus, not many details on the nature of the settlements are available.

The ceramic repertoire is varied, typical of other sites from this period in Palestine. Noteworthy are the large storage jars of coarse clay, decorated with bands of zigzags—short combed or incised lines—similar to those found at Hazor and other sites in the N of the country.

In the LB, the number of sites in the Golan decreased by half. Most of the sites overlie MB sites and continued into the Israelite period, particularly in the S Golan, where half the sites are located. At Tel Madawwar, no LB settlement was found between the MB and Israelite levels, but a grave complex with complete LB vessels was found at the foot of the site. An additional burial complex was found in a cave at the foot of Tel Soreg, identified with Aphek of the Golan, but it has not yet been excavated (Kochavi 1989: 7). The ruins of Tel Soreg indicate continuity of settlement from the MB II and the LB II into the Israelite period.

Characteristic of the LB pottery in the Golan, particularly in the S, are storage jars of light coarse clay, decorated with a red-painted geometric pattern. Noteworthy of the finds is a bichrome fragment decorated with a bird ravaging a fish. In some assemblages, including a late dolmen burial site in the central Golan, imported Cypriot ware was found; and in another dolmen a typical figurine of a woman with a Hathor wig was found. To the end of the LB should be attributed finds from a late dolmen burial, including a pilgrim flask sherd and some bronze arrowheads.

The historical evidence for the MB and LB must rely on Egyptian records. There are no references from the first half of the 2d millennium that can be shown to relate directly to the Golan. From the 14th century are extant letters from El-Amarna (Amenhotep IV) that throw some light on the region. In EA 364, the ruler of Ashtartu complains to Pharaoh that the ruler of Hazor took three cities from him. It is clear that the kingdom of Ashtartu bordered on the kingdom of Hazor. The area of controversy was probably in the central Golan, or perhaps the NW Bashan (Maʿoz 1986: 145–46), and was probably related to a struggle for control over the trade routes. Another letter, EA 256, sent by the prince of Pihilu (Pella) to the Egyptian governor, describes a conflict between the prince of Pihilu and his ally, the prince of Ashtartu, on the one hand and the land of *Ga-ri* on the other (*ANET,* 486). It appears that the two cities of *URU Ha-iu-ni* and *URU Ia-bi-li-ma* were captured from the prince of Pihilu by the cities of the land of *Ga-ri*. Albright (1943) identified the former city with Kh. el-ʿAyun, in S Golan, and the latter with Tel Abil, in the Yarmuk river bed. Other cities in the letter were also identified by Albright and later scholars in the S Golan. Mazar subsequently proposed that the land of *Ga-ri, KUR Ga-ri* should be restored as *Ga-(su)-ri,* that is the biblical Geshur (Mazar 1986a). Apparently the land of Geshur existed as a political unit in the S Golan from at least the 14th century B.C.E.

Maacah, the entity bordering Geshur (Josh 12:5; 13:11), is alluded to even earlier in the Egyptian Execration Texts as a tribal name (E 62) and a place name (E 37; Ahituv *CTAED,* 132). It is presumed to lie N of Geshur, in N Golan, extending to the Huleh valley and S Beqʿa valley. Its location is based on the identification of Abel-beth-maacah (2 Sam 20:15; 2 Kgs 15:29) with Tell Abil, S of Metual. Maacah may have been the southernmost of the Amorite tribes of the Lebanon Beqʿa.

6. Iron Age (the Israelite Period). Following the decline in population in the LB, there was a renewed spread of population in the Iron Age. Many MB sites were reoccupied in the Iron Age. Most of our information is from surveys (Epstein and Gutman 1972; Hartal 1989), which have revealed more than 52 sites (22 in the N, 10 in the center, and 20 in the S). They include small settlements, forts, and dolmens reused for burials. Among the sites established for the first time in this period are fortresses and fortified settlements, erected at strategic locations, such as Tel Dover at the entrance to the Yarmuk, Kh. Dajajiyye at the W entrance to Nahal Samakh, ʿEn Gev and Tel Hadar, both on the E bank of the Sea of Galilee, and Tell Abu Zeitun and "Mezad Yehonatan" (Tannuriyye) on the Golan plateau. Excavations yielding Iron Age strata have been carried out at ʿEn-Gev, Tel Soreg, Tel Hadar, Kh. Kanaf, Qasrin, "Mezad Yehonatan," Tell Abu Zeitun, and Bab el-Hawa.

At ʿEn-Gev, five Iron Age strata were exposed (Mazar et al. 1964). Limited probes, at the S and N edges, revealed a sequence of fortifications. The earliest (stratum V) was a solid wall 1.85 m wide, followed by a fortification system which consisted of a casemate wall (stratum IV), similar to those unearthed at Hazor and Megiddo, and the erection of a citadel (ca. 60 m × 60 m) at the N end of the site. The construction of stratum IV is attributed to Solomon. In stratum III (9th century B.C.E.), an offsets/insets wall, 5 m thick, was built beyond which was an alley and a courtyard building. This stratum was destroyed by a conflagration. Stratum II (838–790 B.C.E. followed the same building layout, while in stratum I (790–732 B.C.E.), the site was unfortified and a public building (perhaps a fort) was built in the N. The ceramic repertoire included red-slipped burnished bowls similar to the "Samaria type," cooking-pots with triangular rims, jugs, a store-jar, hole-mouth jars, and lamps. The stone objects included basalt pestles, a tripod bowl, an "incense bowl," and a votive axe of nephrite. Especially important is an ostracon inscribed in Aramaic: *lsqy*ʾ (ca. 850 B.C.E.), probably a dignitary title such as "cupbearer" of an official at the site.

At Tel Hadar (i.e., Sheikh Khadr; Kochavi 1989: 9–11), a substantial round fort (ca. 70 m in diameter) was exposed from the Iron Age I, surrounded by two fortification walls and a gate. The building served as a granary, as indicated by the plan, the pottery, and charred grain remains, and was destroyed in a fire at the end of the 11th century B.C.E. After a gap, the site was reoccupied in the 9th–8th centuries B.C.E., with the floors of the new houses overlying the old walls. It was eventually abandoned.

A similar round or ovoid fort, some 70 m across, was partially exposed at Tell Abu Zeitun, on the upper plateau of S Golan. The outer face of the wall was well preserved, and its pottery derives from the Iron Age I.

At Tel Soreg (Kochavi 1989: 6–9), a small tell in Nahal ʿEn Gev, a fortified settlement from the 9th–8th centuries B.C.E. was exposed, including a fortification wall, a large building, and a series of dwellings.

At "Mezad Yehonatan," C. Epstein (1984: 5–6) excavated another fort dating to the Iron Age I. The fort, located on the upper tributary of W. Tannuriyye in E-central Golan,

is square (26 m × 26 m). Its walls are preserved (ca. 3 m high in 3–7 courses) and were built of an inner vertical wall (1.7 m thick), abutted on the outside by a sloping stone glacis. The gate was on the E, and measured 2.45 m wide and 2.65 m deep; a pair of pilasters on the inside restricted its passage. The tomb of a Roman soldier, buried with his iron sword, was also found.

In NE Golan, M. Hartal excavated Bab el-Hawa, an Iron Age II structure reoccupied in the Byzantine period. The exposed section includes a rough semicircular wall, 0.8 m thick and ca. 8 m across, with beaten earth floors laid on bedrock. The nature of the structure is unclear.

Below a Hellenistic fort at Khirbet Kanaf, a small section of a stone floor was exposed on which rested pottery of the 10th century B.C.E. The exposure at Qasrin was very limited—the site produced no Iron Age architecture, only hearths near the spring, which may attest to the activity of nomads (Ma^{c}oz and Killebrew 1985).

The historical evidence for the Israelite period is to be found in the Bible—the books of Joshua, Samuel, and Chronicles (Pitard 1987). During the 10th century B.C.E., the area came under the control of the United Monarchy, and later the N kingdom of Israel. Transjordan was occupied by the Israelite tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh, and in the N by the Aramean tribes of Geshur and Maacah. The major powers in Syria were the Aramean kingdoms of Zobah and Damascus. The first three centuries of the 1st millennium are characterized by the ongoing struggle for control between the Israelite and Aramean kingdoms.

The book of Joshua indicates that the regions of Geshur and Maacah were not conquered by the Israelites at the time of the Conquest (Josh 12:5). While the borders of these kingdoms are not defined specifically, Geshur was located in the S Golan and Maacah in the N. According to 2 Sam 8:3–6, David defeated Hadadezer, the king of Zobah, and his ally Aram-Damascus, and placed garrisons in Damascus. The area under the control of Solomon (1 Kgs 9:18) reached Tadmor and Hamath and would have included Geshur and Maacah in the Golan. Geshur became a political ally with David, as indicated by the marriage pact between David and the daughter of Talmai, the king of Geshur. Maacah, on the other hand, took part in a coalition led by Hadadezer of Damascus against David, together with the children of Ammon, Aram Zobah, Rehob, and Tob (2 Sam 10:6–19). The Aramean coalition was defeated in battle and became subservient to David (Pitard 1987: 93). Maacah seems to have disappeared shortly afterwards as an independent entity, but Geshur continued to exist and, together with Damascus, exploited Israel's weakness in being unable to wrest Bashan from their control.

During the reign of Solomon, Rezon established a new independent dynasty at Damascus (1 Kgs 11:23–25; Pitard 1987: 96–97). His grandson, Ben-hadad, campaigned against Baasha, the king of Israel around 886 B.C.E. (Mazar 1986b; Pitard 1987: 107–14). "And Ben-hadad . . . sent the commanders of his armies against the cities of Israel, and conquered Ijon, Dan, Abel-beth-maacah, and all Chinneroth, with all the land of Naphtali" (1 Kgs 15:20). This campaign led, according to Mazar, to the destruction of several cities, including the Israelite stratum IV site at ^{c}En-Gev, and the establishment of an Aramean fort at the site (Mazar et al. 1964: 44). On the basis of 1 Chr 2:23 ("But Geshur and Aram took from them Havvoth-jair, Kenath and its villages"), Mazar assumes that Geshur annexed the W part of the Argob region in Bashan.

Another series of clashes between Israel and Damascus, with a decisive battle at Aphek in S Golan, is recorded in 1 Kgs 20:1–43. The name of the "king of Israel" in this cycle of stories (1 Kings 20 and 22) is Ahab, but it has been suggested that the event took place later, in the days of Joash of the dynasty of Jehu (Pitard 1987: 114–25). Israel, seriously weakened by the bloody purge that followed Jehu's seizure of the throne (2 Kings 10), fell victim to the expansionist policy of Hazael, king of Damascus. In 2 Kgs 10:32-33, it is recorded: "In those days the Lord began to cut off parts of Israel. Hazael defeated them throughout the territory of Israel: from the Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the valley of the Arnon, that is Gilead and Bashan." After the death of Jehu, ca. 814 B.C.E., in the reign of Jehoahaz, Hazael seems to have expanded even to the W of the Jordan (2 Kgs 13:22; 12:17–18) and subdued Israel. Revival seems to have come only in the reign of Joash, after the death of Hazael, at the beginning of the 9th century B.C.E. (Pitard 1987: 161–70). In a series of battles, lasting some five years, Hazael's son, Ben-hadad (Bir-Hadad III), was first repulsed in battle close to the Israelite capital at Samaria (2 Kgs 6:24–27), after which he reorganized his army and perhaps also his administration by reducing his vassal states, including Geshur, to provinces (1 Kgs 20:24). A second battle, in which Ben-hadad was defeated, was fought near Succoth in Transjordan (1 Kgs 20:1–21). The third and final battle occurred near Aphek (1 Kgs 20:24–43); this site has been identified recently with Tel Soreg in S Golan (1 km W of Fiq; Ma^{c}oz 1986: 139). In the ensuing period, the territory of the Golan probably remained in Israel's hands (2 Kgs 14:25) and was only finally annexed to the Assyrian empire, together with the rest of N Israel, by Tiglath-pileser III following his conquest of the area in 732 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 15:29; Pitard 1987: 186–89).

D. Golan in the Bashan

The OT town of Golan was the northernmost of the Cities of Refuge, assigned by Moses in Transjordan, allotted to Manasseh (Deut 4:43; Josh 20:8). It was situated in the territory of the half-tribe of Manasseh that settled in Bashan in the former kingdom of Og (Deut 3:13). It was also a Levitical city assigned to the Gershonites, one of the families of the Levites (Josh 21:27; 1 Chr 6:56). As a Levitical city, it presumably served as the cult and administrative center of the Israelite settlement in Transjordan N of the Yarmuk river during the United Kingdom period.

The identification of the site has been much contested from antiquity to modern times, for the name Golan was retained in two different areas: firstly, in the place name Gaulon in Batanea in the Roman province of Arabia E of Nahr er-Ruqqad (Eus. *Onomast.* 64.6), and secondly, in the name of the territory Gaulanitis, adjacent to Galilee on the E of the upper Jordan River. Thus, while Eusebius in the early 4th century C.E. equated biblical Golan with the village Gaulon in Batanea, rabbinic sources looked for Golan within Gaulanitis. The Jerusalem Targum to Deut

4:43 equates Golan with Dabra, probably Dabura in central W Golan Heights. A Geniza fragment of Midrash Tanhuma equates Golan with Sluqiyye (Ginsburg 1928: 112), a fortress mentioned by Josephus in Gaulanitis (*Ant* 13.393; *JW* 4.3), identified at "Tell Sluqiyye" (Schumacher 1888: 237; Epstein and Gutman 1972: 271). Both references in the rabbinic sources, however, clearly testify that the rabbis had no knowledge of a place by this name within Gaulanitis. In modern research, Schumacher (1886: 91–99) was first to identify Golan with Sahm el-Jolan (M.R. 238243). His identification was followed by that of many scholars (e.g., Abel, *GP* 2, 338–39). Helck (1962: 129) suggested that Sahm el-Jolan is the place of Alunnu of the Thutmose III city list at Karnak (I:27a; Ahituv *CTAED*, 58–59) and Hlunni of EA 197:14; this name survived at nearby Nahr el-ʿAllan.

Albright (1943: 9; 1946: 57) preferred to look for Golan within modern Jaulan, W of Nahal Raqad, but could not specify a location. Loewenstam (*EncBib*, 458) followed Albright and suggested that the site should be N of the territory of Geshur, i.e., in N Golan in the territory of Aram Maacah. Oded (1968: 45–46) suggested an identification with ʿEn-Gev, whose stratigraphy (Mazar et al. 1964) is similar to Ramoth-gilead (Tell Ramid), another city of refuge and Levitical center. According to Oded, Geshur extended in the N only to the ʿEn-Gev/Fiq line, the boundary of the Israelite settlement. Ilan (1971: 50–51) returned to the ancient rabbinic suggestions and combined both references mentioned above to identify Daburah with both Golan and Seleucia. This suggestion is untenable since it is based on two erroneous rabbinic ideas (Bar-Kochva 1976: 62). Furthermore, the latter site has produced no evidence of occupation prior to the Roman period. Urman (1985: 22) suggested an identification for Golan at Tell el-Jukhadar, an important MB II/Iron Age I site in the SE Golan (Epstein and Gutman 1972: 276). He has not, however, produced any evidence for this proposal, and the area in which the last-mentioned site is found seems to be included in the land of Geshur and, therefore, cannot be Golan. The original identification at Sahm el-Jolan is still to be preferred for the following reasons: (1) Golan must be within the Bashan, the area settled by the Israelites, a center probably replacing Ashtaroth, capital city of Og, only 6 km to the NE (the Israelite settlement area did not extend W of Nahal Raqad, beyond which lay Geshur and Maacah in the Golan Heights); (2) the place Gaulane captured by Jannaeus in 81 B.C.E. (*Ant* 13.393) was seemingly situated en route between Dion (Tell el-ʿAshari; Schurer, *HJP*^{2} 2, 148–49), on the E Yarmuk, and Seleucia and Gamala in the central Golan Heights, a location that fits Sahm el-Jolan; (3) the name Gavlan is also alluded to in rabbinic sources as an estate of R. Judah Hanasi (*Šeb.* 6.1), elsewhere connected to Batanea (*Maʿas. Š.* 4.1); a place by the name Gavlan, with a synagogue is referred to in the early 4th century C.E. (*Meg.* 73d; Klein 1911: 12); (4) a large village by the name Gaulon, with a territory by the same name in Batanea is mentioned in the early 4th century C.E. by Eusebius (*Onomast.* 64.6); the NW border of the province of Arabia, that included Batanea, bordered on Nahal Raqad, beyond which lay Palaestina (Sartre 1982: 69; Maʿoz 1986: 57); (5) a similar name, perhaps somewhat corrupted, *Go(la)nia*, is listed in Arabia in the 6th century C.E. (Georgius 1890: 1079). It seems likely that all the above references point to one and the same place, Golan in the Bashan. The name thus survived from the biblical period throughout the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine times to the Ottoman period and present-day Sahm el-Jolan.

The site was described by Schumacher (1886: 91–99) as a large basalt village. The only ancient remain he mentions is a Roman mausoleum. Subsequently, two Greek inscriptions from the late Roman period were found. The reckoning in these inscriptions is to the era of Bostra in 106 C.E. (Brunnow and Domazewski 1909: 270).

The village is ca. 700 m × 200 m, lying on flat ground (440 m above sea level) on the E bank of the shallow Wadi Shafil, a tributary of Nahal el-ʿAllan. The water of two springs, called ʿEin es-Safuqiya, is brought to the village by a channel. The site is situated in the middle of a very fertile plateau of deep soils developed on the "cover basalt," the product of a volcanic eruption 3.8 million years B.P. (Mor 1986: 2). Annual precipitation is ca. 300 mm, and the area is known for its rich grain crops. No pre-Roman remains have yet been reported for Sahm el-Jolan, but the site has not been properly surveyed, and early occupation levels may be still buried below the village or at an unknown nearby site. This area of S Bashan (en-Nugra), however, abounds in Bronze Age sites (Albright 1925; Braemer 1984: 221 for further references). See also GOLAN (PLACE).

E. Gaulanitis/Gaulane

Gaulanitis was an administrative unit within the kingdom of Herod and his descendants Philip, Agrippa I, and Agrippa II. Josephus mentions Gaulanitis as distinct from the other units in the Golan Heights, such as Hippos and the estates of Lysanias and Zenodorus, and later from the territory of Paneas and Oulatha in the Province of Phoenicia (cf. *Ant* 16.215–17, 354; 17.189, 319; etc.). From *JW* 3.37, it is evident that Gaulanitis bordered Galilee on the E along with Hippos. The unit must, therefore, be located in the central Golan Heights within modern Jaulan. The four cities referred to by Josephus in this division—Gamala, Seleucia, Soganae, and Julias—are all identified within the central Golan (Maʿoz 1986). This administrative unit seems to have survived into early Ottoman times in the division called "Nahia Butayha" (Hutteroth and Abdulfatah 1977: 195–96). Its borders are Nahal Neshef in the N (beyond which lay Paneas), Nahal Raqad in the E (beyond which was Batanea in Arabia), Nahal Samakh in the S (beyond which lay Hippos), and the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee in the W. See also GAULANITIS (PLACE).

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ZVI MAʿOZ

GOLDEN CALF. The Golden Calf (*ʿēgel zāhāb,* 1 Kgs 12:28) or molten calf (*ʿēgel massēkâ,* Exod 32:4) appears only a few times in the Hebrew Bible, but it has come to epitomize the vilest kind of apostasy committed by the ancient Israelites. The worship of this calf is seen as a clear, unequivocal rejection of the proper worship of Yahweh in favor of an image of either Yahweh or a foreign deity. Such worship practices are uniformly condemned by the ancient writers.

There is little confusion about the nature of a calf *(ʿēgel).* It is a young male bovine, the counterpart of a heifer *(ʿeglâ),* a young female cow. The nature of a golden calf *(ʿēgel zāhāb)* is likewise fairly clear. It is an image of a young bull made from gold. The nature of that image and its construction is defined by the phrase often used interchangeably with the golden calf—the molten calf *(ʿēgel massēkâ).* The word "molten" in Hebrew *(massēkâ)* is from the root *nsk,* which means "to pour out." From that verb is derived the nominal form of the word, which has two senses: (1) to pour out a libation or drink offering (Exod 30:9; 1 Chr 11:18; Joel 1:9) or (2) to pour out liquid metal to make a "molten image" (Num 35:52; 2 Chr 28:2; Isa 42:17). It is in this latter sense that the word is used in this study. It is also in this latter sense that the word carries a negative connotation and is usually the subject of condemnation (Deut 27:15; Isa 30:22).

A. Occurrences in Scripture
1. Hebrew Bible
2. Intertestamental Literature
3. New Testament
B. Issues Regarding the Calf
1. Construction of the Calf
2. Destruction of the Calf
3. Identity of the Calf

A. Occurrences in Scripture

The idea of a molten calf or golden calf appears in the Hebrew Bible in four major and several minor places, a few times in the intertestamental literature, and in the NT in only one place.

1. Hebrew Bible. The most famous occurrence is in Exodus 32. In this account of the events at Mt. Sinai, the people, impatient for the return of Moses from up on the mountain, agitate for the construction of some gods they can worship. Aaron obliges their request by collecting gold from the people and "creating" (see discussion below) a molten calf, of which it is said, "These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the Land of Egypt" (Exod 32:4). As a result of this action and after an altar has been erected to this calf, the anger of Yahweh and Moses erupts, and Moses descends from the mountain to correct the situation. He "destroys" (see discussion below) the calf (v 20), accuses Aaron of complicity in the apostasy (vv 21, 25, 35), an accusation Aaron seeks to sidestep (vv 22–24), and asks the sons of Levi to kill those who participated in the apostasy (vv 26–28).

A second major reference to the golden calf is in Deut 9:13–21. In a passage which talks of the stubbornness and sinfulness of the people (v 13), Moses intercedes with Yahweh to save the people from Yahweh's wrath. It was the making of a molten calf (v 16) which provoked Yahweh's anger against the people in general and against Aaron in particular (v 20). It is Moses' forty days of prostration and fasting, his prayers, and his destruction of the calf which saved the people and Aaron (vv 18, 20, 21).

Another passage which includes the golden calf is 1 Kings 11–12. Following Solomon's sins (1 Kgs 11:1–8), Yahweh becomes angry at Solomon (vv 9–13), and through the prophet Ahijah, Yahweh splits the kingdom in two parts, the N (Israel) and the S (Judah). The ruler of the N kingdom is Jeroboam I (922–901 B.C.E.) who is given ten tribes by Yahweh (11:31). Jeroboam is then concerned about his people going to Jerusalem in Judah for worship and, as a consequence, being influenced by the southern perspective (12:26). Thus he builds two temple sites, at Dan and Bethel, and places a "golden calf" at each site (12:28–29). As in Exodus 32, these calves are said to be "your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt" (12:28). Furthermore, Jeroboam selects priests who are *not* Levites (12:31) to serve at these temples. All of these activities in the north are soundly condemned (12:30; 13:33–34; 14:7–11) by the Deuteronomistic Historian, the southern writer and redactor of this material.

The fourth major reference to the golden calf is in the book of Hosea. One of the many sins of the north which the prophet Hosea condemns is the apostasy of the people. Among the various apostasies he rails against is the worship of the calf (Hos 8:5; 10:5–6). This sin is compounded by the making of molten images and the practice of sacrificing to these images, which are apparently in the shape of calves (13:2) and made of gold and silver (8:4).

There are other minor references to the golden calf or molten calf. In 2 Kgs 10:31, Jehu, king of Israel (842–815 B.C.E.), is condemned because he did not turn away from the sins of Jeroboam, who made the golden calves at Dan and Bethel (2 Kgs 10:29). Later in 2 Kings, when the Deuteronomistic Historian is explaining the fall of the north, he lists the many sins which led to that fall, one of which was making "molten images of two calves" (17:16).

A similar perspective is found in the postexilic material of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. In 2 Chronicles 11 and 13 the Chronicler discusses the division of the country immediately after the death of Solomon. He points out how Rehoboam, the king of Judah, opened his doors to the Levites (2 Chr 11:13), unlike Jeroboam, the king of Israel, who rejected the Levites as priests (v 14) and chose his own priests to worship the "calves" (v 15). These "calves" are clearly a reference to the detested golden calves. A comparable view is present in 2 Chronicles 13, where Abijah, king of Judah, is speaking against the Israelites who had followed Jeroboam in making the golden calves (13:8) and had driven out the "sons of Aaron and the Levites" who were priests (vv 9–10). In Nehemiah 9, Ezra utters a long confession which rehearses the history of the people and cites several of their sinful acts. Among the sins which are enumerated are the making of a "molten calf" and the proclaiming of it as "your God who brought you up out of Egypt" (9:18). Note that in this telling of the story, God is singular, not plural as in Exod 32:4 and 1 Kgs 12:28. Perhaps for the writer of Nehemiah, the sin of idolatry was bad enough without also the intimation of polytheism (see Isa 42:17).

The last minor reference to the calf is found in Psalm 106. The theme of this psalm is the constant mercy of God in spite of the sinfulness of the people. The apostasy reported in Exodus 32 is retold in v 19, using poetic parallelism that associates "calf" with "molten image":

> They made a calf in Horeb
> and worshipped a molten image.

2. Intertestamental Literature. There is a brief reference to the golden calf in the apocryphal book of Tobit. In recounting his history of true faithfulness to Yahweh, Tobit mentions that the rest of his house of Naphtali did not worship in Jerusalem, but sacrificed "to the calf Baal" (Tob 1:5). In the *Lives of the Prophets* in the Pseudepigrapha, it is said that when Elisha was born in Gilgal, the golden calf, presumably at Bethel, bellowed so loudly that it could be heard in Jerusalem. A priest interpreted this bellowing as a sign that a prophet had been born who would destroy the "carved images and molten idols" (*Liv. Pro.* 22:1–2).

Finally, in the pseudepigraphical work *Pseudo-Philo*, there are two references to the golden calf. One is a brief allusion to the tribe of Caleb confessing their desire to "make the calf that they made in the wilderness" (*Ps-Philo* 25:9). The second reference is an entire chapter devoted to retelling the story of the golden calf (*Ps-Philo* 12). In this account Aaron pleads with the people to be patient while waiting for Moses' return (12:2), but because he fears the people, Aaron gives in and collects the gold for the calf. However, it is "they," the men, who cast the golden earrings into the fire where the earrings were fashioned into the molten calf. (v 3). There is no intimation at all that Aaron had a hand in creating the calf.

3. New Testament. In Acts 7, Stephen preaches about the past history of his Jewish community. When he focuses on the period of Moses, he mentions the people's refusal to obey God (v 39). This rejection of God is manifested in

the people's request to Aaron to "make for us gods to go before us" (v 40). Then they make a calf and offer sacrifice to it (v 41). As a consequence, God turns away from them (v 42).

B. Issues Regarding the Calf

There are several issues associated with these "golden calf" references which need further consideration. One issue is the construction of the calf. Who made it and how was it made? Closely tied to the former question is the matter of Aaron's association with the calf. A second issue is the procedure for the destruction of the calf. Finally, there is the question of who or what the calf represents.

1. Construction of the Calf. The crux of the difficulty in understanding the construction of the golden calf is found in Exod 32:4, 24. Part of the problem is the conflict between Aaron as the creator of the calf (v 4) and the calf as self-created (v 24). The remainder of the problem is in trying to decipher the actual process by which the calf was constructed (vv 4, 8, 20, 24, 35). It is clear that v 4 indicated that Aaron brought the calf into existence. He both collected the gold (vv 2–3) and somehow created the molten calf (v 4). This seems to be confirmed by v 35, which speaks of the calf that Aaron made *(ʿāśāh)*. When one turns to v 24, a different picture is painted. In his defense before Moses, Aaron suggests that the creation of the calf was not his doing. He only collected the gold and threw it into the fire. The calf somehow emerged from the fire on its own accord, self-created.

One solution to this confusion as to Aaron's role in the creation of the calf is to understand Exodus 32 as the product of several authors or sources (see Perdue 1972: 237–38; Lewy 1959). Thus v 4 and v 24 would be from different authors. Some suggest that the source of v 4 (and v 35) would be the earlier, anti-Aaron tradition of the Elohist, and v 24 would be from the later, pro-Aaron tradition, probably the Priestly writer. The secondary insertion of v 24 would then be trying to put the best face possible on a difficult situation for Aaron.

Another solution is to see vv 4 and 24 as coming from the same source (e.g., Loewenstamm 1967: 483; 1975: 330–36). With this kind of analysis, one is forced to explain the apparent contradiction in Aaron's action by appealing to the veracity of the story itself. While accepting Aaron's denial of his complicity, one could affirm that Aaron "made" the calf by casting the gold into the fire with the subsequent emergence of the calf by itself.

The too quick rejection of the results of literary analysis, which suggests that at least two authors were involved in the production of Exodus 32, and the contortions often necessary to preserve the story as unified, make the single-author approach hard to accept. Accepting a multiple authorship of the story fits with the general literary analysis of the Pentateuch and with other literary texts in which Aaron's role is at best ambivalent (see Numbers 12; Deuteronomy 9).

The discussion of who made the molten calf carries over into the issue of how it was made (see Perdue 1972). Here the focus is on Exod 32:4. In this verse, Aaron "takes" *(wayyiqqaḥ)*, presumably, the gold which the people had brought to him. He then "fashions" *(wayyāṣar)* it with a "tool" *(baḥereṭ)* and makes it *(wayyaʿăśēhû)* a molten calf *(ʿēgel massēkâ)*. The difficulty arises when one seeks to understand how the calf can be both molten (i.e., a cast object) and fashioned with a tool (i.e., an engraved or carved object). The frequent assumption is that the calf cannot be subject to both seemingly incompatible processes of creation. That in turn raises questions about the appropriate understanding of the MT and has brought forth various suggestions, including some which would emend the MT. The pivotal point in the argument is the understanding of *wayyāṣar ʾōtô baḥereṭ*, often translated as "he shaped it with an engraving tool." For those who advocate the single authorship of Exodus 32, or who want to preserve an entirely positive and innocent image of Aaron, this translation is problematical since it implicates Aaron in the creation of the calf. The usual mechanism for avoiding this problem is a reinterpretation of *ḥereṭ*, "engraving tool," as *ḥārīṭ*, "bag" or "cloak" (Gevirtz 1984; Noth 1959). The next step is to see *wayyāṣar* as coming from the root *ṣrr*, meaning "to bind," rather than *ṣwr*, "to fashion." Thus, the passage would be translated as "he bound it (the gold) in a bag (or cloak)," which eases Aaron's complicity in the creation of the calf. Alternatively, it has been argued that ancient languages and translation traditions saw *ḥrṭ* as being a "casting mold" (Perdue 1972: 245). Thus, the understanding is that Aaron "fashioned it in a casting mold," which removes the engraving versus molding conflict.

Thus there are four possible interpretations of Exod 32:4: Aaron bound the gold in a bag; he bound it in a cloak; he fashioned it in a casting mold; and he fashioned it with a graving tool. The first two suggestions are normally accompanied by a required emendation of the text and often seem to be influenced in part by the desire to maintain the sanctity of Aaron. The third possibility requires no emendations, but the linguistic basis for the reading is not as evident as one would like. Finally, the fourth possibility leaves in place the conflict between engraving and molding. However, Isa 8:1 seems clearly to understand *ḥrṭ* as "engraving tool," and the possibility of a molded image being finished by engraving is not out of the question. The only complication would be the inverted sequence of finishing the calf before it is molded, but such reversals are not unknown in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Gen 49:27; Isa 14:17).

2. Destruction of the Calf. Reports of the destruction of the golden calf are found in Exod 32:20 and Deut 9:21. The concerns are how the calf, if it is made of gold, could be burned, crushed, ground, scattered, and drunk in water, and whether there are any liturgical or ritual connotations to this process of destruction (see discussions in Begg 1985; Fensham 1966; Loewenstamm 1962; 1967; 1975; Perdue 1972). The obvious problem in burning a golden object has often been noted, and there are two solutions which have tried to preserve the literalness of the text. One solution is to suggest that the calf sat on a wooden pedestal, and thus it was the pedestal which was burned. Another proposal is to understand the calf as being made of wood plated with gold. Neither of these possibilities is particularly attractive, for neither has any textual evidence to support it, and neither seems to account for the sense of outrage which precipitated the calf's destruction.

It seems much more likely that some kind of symbolic or ritual destruction was envisioned by the authors. One source that is examined for such symbolic action is the Baʿal-ʿAnat Cycle from Ugarit, which describes the destruction of Môt by ʿAnat (*KTU* 1.6:II:31–36). She burns, grinds, and scatters Môt, perhaps in the sea. This seems to be a good parallel to Exod 32:20 and Deut 9:21, and scholars have thus argued for a dependence of the Israelite tradition upon the earlier Ugaritic material. Such dependence would thus suggest that a literal understanding is not warranted. However, the parallel with the Ugaritic texts may not be as clear or strong as is often intimated. On the one hand, the Ugaritic story may have more to do with the treatment and processing of grain than the destruction of a god. On the other hand, the specific terminology used in the Baʿal-ʿAnat account is not as closely paralleled in Exod 32:20 and Deut 9:21 as one might expect or hope.

Nevertheless this idea of a ritual destruction of an enemy or a foreign deity is still quite plausible, since appropriate parallels can be found within the Hebrew text itself. One only has to look at the actions of Josiah in 2 Kgs 23:6 to find a striking parallel (see also Deut 7:5; 12:3; 2 Kgs 23:4, 15; 2 Chr 15:16). Thus a ritual annihilation of a non-Yahwistic god seems to be the implication of the passage in Exod 32:20.

3. Identity of the Calf. The identity of the golden calf is a most intriguing yet difficult issue. The suggestions for the identity of the calf have been far-ranging, but generally these suggestions cluster into two categories: the calf represents worship of a deity outside of the "normal" Israelite tradition; or the calf represents the worship of an idol from within the Israelite tradition. In either case, the tradents condemn the practice of worshiping this golden calf. In the first category, the condemnation is a consequence of the worship of a deity other than Yahweh, such as Sîn or Baʿal. In the second category, the condemnation is for the construction and worship of an idol, even though that idol may have been intended to symbolize Yahweh or was somehow associated with Yahweh.

One suggestion which falls into the second category is the identification of Moses with the calf (Sasson 1968; see also Coats 1987). This argument relies upon three observations. The first concerns the reason for the construction of the calf. It is a result of Moses' extended absence, and in that absence a desire to replace him arises. Hence the calf is made. The second observation is the identification of Moses as "the man who brought us up out of the land of Egypt" (Exod 32:1) and the calf as "your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt" (v 4). Because of this parallel identification, the calf is seen as a substitution for Moses, who has disappeared. The third argument is that Moses develops horns and is thus again to be identified with the calf. Moses having horns is based on the contention that Exod 34:29, 30 should be translated as "the skin of his face became horned" (or developed horns), not as "his face shone." Thus, the worship of the golden calf is the worship *in absentia* by the waiting Israelites of their venerated leader—Moses.

Also in the second category is the argument that the calf represents Yahweh, or at least a place or stand for Yahweh (Coats 1987; Kapelrud *TDOT* 1:42–44). That it represents Yahweh is based, in part, on the iconography of the bull in the ANE. The bull is often seen as a symbol of strength and virility, both of which were desired characteristics for the god Yahweh. In addition, there are several biblical references which could be used to identify Yahweh as a bull. In Gen 49:24; Ps 132:2, 5; and Isa 49:26; 60:16, "Yahweh" is in poetic parallelism with "the mighty one of Jacob." Similarly, "Yahweh" is parallel with "the mighty one of Israel" in Isa 1:24. The replacement of "mighty one" for "bull" depends on the fact that both understandings are legitimately derived from the same Hebrew root, *ʾbr*. Furthermore, it is usually thought that *ʾâbîr* ("bull") was changed to *ʾabbîr* ("mighty one") by the Massoretes, by simply altering the pointing (adding a dagesh to the *bet*), in order to remove any undesired association of Yahweh with a bull. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that "bull" is a legitimate understanding of *ʾbr* in Hebrew (Isa 34:7; Ps 50:13) and that "bull" can be associated with a deity (Jer 46:15; Ps 22:13—Eng 22:12).

An alternate way to associate the calf with Yahweh is to argue that the calf is really a stand or pedestal for Yahweh (Eissfeldt 1940–41; for summary of arguments see Bailey 1971: 97–105). Again, ANE iconography is appealed to for this understanding, since gods are often displayed standing on the back of animals, including bulls (see *ANEP*, 170, 179–81; Negbi 1976: 21–23). These bulls were not the gods themselves, but symbols of the attributes of the gods. Hints of this idea of a god standing or sitting upon an animal are found in the Hebrew Bible. In 2 Sam 22:11, Yahweh is described as riding on a cherub, and some descriptions of the ark indicate that it has cherubim and is a seat for Yahweh (Exod 25:17–22; Lev 16:2).

Following this line of argument then provides an understanding of Jeroboam's action in 1 Kings 12. He was not starting the worship of another deity in the construction of the golden calves. Rather, he was setting up an alternative symbol to the ark, to represent the presence of Yahweh and to provide a place for Yahweh to sit upon the bull at Dan and Bethel as he would sit upon the ark in Jerusalem (see Aberbach and Smolar 1967: 134–35). The difficulty with this line of argument is that there is no indication in the Bible that the bull was seen as a pedestal for Yahweh.

The alternative to seeing the calf as something representing Yahweh is to see it as representing some other god. Two frequently suggested identifications are ʾEl and Baʿal. ʾEl is frequently labeled "the bull" in Ugaritic materials, signifying the strength and fertility of ʾEl (*KTU* 1.4 II:10; 1.3 III:29). In a similar way, Baʿal is thought to be represented by a bull (see Tob 1:5), in part because after intercourse with ʿAnat, a steer is born (*KTU* 1.10 II:26–III:4).

The argument for an association of the calf with some member of the Ugaritic pantheon is reinforced by the claim that Exod 32:18 should be read as "sound of ʿAnat" (*qôl ʿanāt*) rather than the "sound of singing (*qôl ʿannôt*). (See discussions in Edelman 1966; Sasson 1973: 157; Whybray 1967.) This would introduce another Ugaritic deity to the account. However, this alteration of the MT has no textual support and is thus not widely accepted.

Another suggestion is that the calf represents the moon god Sîn (see discussions in Bailey 1971; Key 1965; see also Lewy 1945–46). This argument is buttressed by many pieces of evidence. One is that in general the bull in the

ANE, particularly in Sumerian and Akkadian traditions, represents the moon god, and this is also true for the god Sîn. This probably reflects the association of the crescent moon with the horns of the bull. The existence of the moon cult of Sîn is widespread and manifests itself in such names as Naram-sîn and Rim-sîn. Within the biblical material, it is argued that the name of Abraham's father, Terah, is derived from a term referring to the moon, that Laban, derived from a word meaning "white," is also associated with the moon, and that the name Sinai may be associated with the god Sîn. A second element of the argument concerns the fact that the Patriarchs come from and through territories associated with the worship of Sîn. Sîn is present at Ur, the city of origin of Abraham. In addition, Haran, a stop on the patriarchal journey, was a prominent cultic center for the worship of the moon god. Thus, the Patriarchs could not have avoided contact with the worship of Sîn. Finally, there is the archaeological evidence from the city of Hazor in N Israel. In a Late Bronze (LB) Age temple at the site, there were found a seated figurine with a crescent moon on his chest and a stele which had a crescent symbol above two up-reaching hands (see Yadin 1970: 216–17, 223). It appears that worship of the moon god was present in Palestine at this time.

The reference to the stele and figurine at Hazor brings to the fore a final consideration in regard to the identification of the calf—the archaeological evidence. As indicated earlier, there are many examples of the calf or bull in ANE iconography. Sometimes the bulls have gods standing on their backs (see *ANEP*, 170, 179–81; Negbi 1976: 21–23). However, there is also evidence that the bulls themselves were understood to be gods or symbols of gods which were to be worshipped. This was seen in the literary evidence from Ugarit (see above), where Baʿal, ʾEl, and ʿAnat are represented as bulls, and from Sumerian and Akkadian texts (see above), where Sîn appears as a calf. Beyond the literary evidence is the discovery of bulls at such sites as Byblos, Ugarit, Hazor, Tell Halaf, and Carchemish (see Mazar 1982; Moorey 1971). Some of these finds are from the early 2d millennium; however many are from LB or Iron Age contexts. In addition, there is the discovery of a bull at an unnamed cultic site near Shiloh in Palestine which is clearly from the Iron Age (Mazar 1982). Hence the association of the bull or calf with a deity is found in the same time frame as that of the ancient Israelites and within the geographical limits of Palestine. One must therefore conclude that the writers of the Hebrew Bible knew of the traditions of calf worship, which explains not only the references to such worship in the Hebrew Bible but perhaps also the antipathy toward the practice by the tradents of the Hebrew Bible.

None of these suggestions for the identity of the calf can be held with absolute certainty. Rather, the discussion must be in the realm of probabilities. The argument for the calf being Moses is intriguing but unlikely, since the worship of a statue representing a human seems out of character with the ancient traditions, and the argument that Moses grew horns is based on one of several possible renderings of the text. The argument that the calf was a stand lacks any textual support and depends on the possible parallel with the ark. The association with Baʿal or ʾEl is certainly possible if for no other reasons than the close geographical association of Ugarit and ancient Israel and the many examples of syncretism between their religion and culture. Furthermore, the animosity toward Baʿal in the Hebrew Bible may be reflected in the strong reaction against the construction of the calf. Finally, the association with Sîn has the widest collection of evidence, from names, iconography, proximity to the cult, and archaeological evidence of the presence of the moon cult in Israel. Indeed the reference in Josh 24:14 to "gods beyond the river" may reflect a call for the rejection of a god such as Sîn.

Regardless of the identity of the calf, it is clear that its presence struck a discordant note to the biblical tradents. Nothing good could be said about the calf or its worshipers, and it represented something seen as quite contrary to the appropriate worship of Yahweh.

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JOHN R. SPENCER

GOLDEN GATE. See BEAUTIFUL GATE (PLACE).

GOLDEN RULE. Since the 18th century the "Golden Rule" has commonly designated the ethical maxim, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you," attributed to Jesus by Matthew (7:12) and Luke (6:31). The descriptive terminology is thus quite modern, but it had an antecedent in the expression, "Golden Law," used of the maxim as early as 1674.

A. Reciprocal Morality

Similar kinds of statements, focusing on a morality of reciprocity, are to be found in various cultures. One of the oldest such sayings is attributed to Maeandrus by Herodotus: "I will not myself do that which I account blameworthy in my neighbor" (Hdt.3.142; cf. 7.136: "I will not do that which I blame in you"). Similarly, Thales, when asked how men might live most virtuously and most justly, is reported to have replied: "If we never do ourselves what we blame in others" (Diog. Laert. 1 [Thales].9). An early positive formulation of the principle is found in Isocrates: "You should be such in your dealings with others as you expect me to be in my dealings with you" (*Nicoles* 61).

A negative formulation tends to predominate, particularly in Eastern cultures, where it is variously found among the Confucians, Buddhists, and Zoroastrians. For example, to Tzu Kung's question—"Is there any one word that can serve as a principle for the conduct of life?"—Confucius is reputed to have answered: "Perhaps the word 'reciprocity'; do not do to others what you would not want others to do to you" (*Analects* 15.23). On the other hand, a later source (16th century) identifies "Treat others as thou wouldst be treated thyself" as a traditional saying.

B. Jewish Sayings

Within the Jewish tradition, various formulations of the Golden Rule are found from about 200 B.C. Bartsch (1984) suggests that the oldest Jewish reference to the Golden Rule is in the *Letter of Aristeas* (of uncertain date somewhere between 200 B.C. and A.D. 33). There, the king's question—"What is the teaching of wisdom?"—received the response, "As you wish that no evil should befall you, but to be a partaker of all good things, so you should act on the same principle towards your subjects and offenders" (*Let. Aris.* 207). Other commentators, however, compare the Golden Rule to Lev 19:18 and Deut 15:13, and find early Jewish formulations in Tob 4:15, "And what you hate, do not do to anyone," and Sir 31:15, "Judge your neighbor's feelings by your own."

A positive version of the principle is found in *2 Enoch* 61:1, "Just as a man asks (something) for his own soul from God, so let him do to every living soul" (cf. *T. Naph.* 8:4, 6). In the Mishnah, "Let the honor of thy fellow be dear to thee as thine own" is attributed to R. Eliezer (*m. ʾAbot* 2: 10). The Palestinian targum on Lev 19:18 reads, "so that you don't do to him (your neighbor) what you yourself hate." According to a frequently cited rabbinic tradition, Hillel was once asked to recite the entire Torah by a heathen, who offered to become a proselyte if Hillel could make the recitation while the prospective convert stood on one foot. The wise Hillel simply responded: "What is hateful to you, do not to your neighbor: that is the whole Torah, while the rest is commentary thereof; go and learn it" (*b. Šabb.* 31a).

The wide diffusion of sayings such as these makes it difficult to accept as demonstrated R. G. Hammerton-Kelly's claim (*IDBSup*, 369–70) that the Golden Rule is the product of Greek popular morality, formulated by the sophists (5th century) and taken over by Jewish thought in the Hellenistic period. The Golden Rule is a typical and traditional epitome of popular wisdom.

C. Jesus' Saying

Some authors contrast Matthew and Luke's positive formulation of Jesus' saying with the negative formulation in much Jewish literature. Hence, they conclude that the Golden Rule, as expressed in the gospels, represents an authentic utterance of the historical Jesus. However, there seems to be no compelling reason to ascribe the gospel logion to the historical Jesus, even if it be likely that Jesus did summarize the Jewish law in some manner.

Because of the use of the imperative in the gospel saying, Bultmann (1963) and Dibelius (1971) have specifically identified its genre as an exhortation. The positive formulation of the Jesuanic logion was echoed, in early Christianity, by *1 Clem.* 13:2, which cites it as part of a catena of citations, and by Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* 4.17), who argued that Jesus' positively formulated utterance (= Luke 6:31) implied its negatively formulated counterpart. In contrast, the *Didache*, however, offered a negative formulation, without specifically ascribing it to Jesus, i.e., "Whatever you [in the singular] wish not be done to you, do not do to another" (*Did.* 1:7–9). A negative version of the Rule, "Whatever you would not have done to you, do not do to another," is also found in the Western text of the Apostolic decree and its accompanying letter (Acts 15:20; 29 in D, 323, 945, 1739, 1891, and a few other ancient mss). Finally, a negative version of the logion, hardly different from the common Jewish formulation, is ascribed to Jesus by the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas:* "Do not do what you hate" (*Gos. Thom.* 6).

The Golden Rule found in Matthew and Luke has been taken over from the Q source, whose version of the logion was most likely "So what you wish that others would do to you, do so to them as well." Both Matthew and Luke incorporate the saying in a programmatic sermon attributed to Jesus (Matthew's Sermon on the Mount; Luke's Sermon on the Plain). That is also its most likely context in the Q source, where it likely came before an exhortation on neighborly love (Matt 5:44; Luke 6:27).

D. Matthew

Each of the evangelists has edited the traditional logion and placed it in a different location within the sermon. Matthew is fond of summaries, and his version of the Golden Rule clearly functions as a summary within the Sermon on the Mount. "So" (*oun*, therefore), "whatever" (*panta*, literally "all"), and "for this is the law and the prophets" (*houtos gar estin ho nomos kai hoi prophētai*), Matthew's three editorial additions to the Q material, clearly indicate his summarizing use of the utterance.

On the literary level, while recognizing that *oun* clearly links the logion to what precedes it, exegetes are divided

among themselves as to the unit of the Sermon which Matthew intends to summarize and conclude at Matt 7:12. While there are some who identify a unit beginning at 7:1 or 6:19, the better opinion seems to be that the unit begins at 5:17. The "law and the prophets," a Matthean refrain (5:17; 7:12c; 22:40), brackets and unifies the disparate material gathered together in 5:17–7:12.

On the level of the evangelist's thought, the Golden Rule epitomizes the righteousness of those who are to enter the Kingdom of Heaven (Matt 5:20) and sets the stage for the warnings which follow (7:13–27). The recurrence of the law and prophets motif, Matthew's interpretive addition to the Golden Rule (7:12c), in 22:40, confirms Matthew's use of the Golden Rule as a summary norm for the Christian way of life. In Matt 22:40 the evangelist also summarizes the ethical demands addressed to the disciples of Jesus. For Matthew, the Golden Rule is not simply one ethical norm among others; it is a succinct expression of the life to be lived by those who follow Jesus' teachings.

Bultmann (1963) noted that the isolated logion has the form of a profane *mašal* (metaphorical speech) which gives moral expression to a "naive egoism." Matthew's use and interpretation of the utterance are, however, to be otherwise understood. The use of "whatever" (*panta*, "all"), a Matthean expression (6:33; cf. 13:46; 18:25), provides the Golden Rule with a quantitative and comprehensive dimension. The positive formulation and the appearance of "do" in the active voice *(poieō)* in both the protasis and the apodosis (12a, 12b; cf. *Did.* 1:2 and the Western tradition's version of Acts 15:20, 29, where the more passive *ginomai* appears in the apodosis) impart an active nuance to Matthew's use of the Golden Rule. This active dimension corresponds to Matthew's understanding of the Christian life expressed elsewhere in his work (e.g. his more active version of the Beatitudes (Matt 5:3–10; cf. 21:35–46).

Although it sets standards of conduct in terms of one's desire for oneself, Matthew's version of the Golden Rule—located as it is within his Sermon and summarizing the Christian life as it does—in no wise proposes a self-centered motivation for behavior. After the Matthean exposition on the Law, Christian living, and prayer and worship, key features of the new righteousness, the Golden Rule functions as an exhortation to an active way of life.

E. Luke

In Luke's Sermon on the Plain, the Golden Rule (Luke 6:31) is directed to the people of God, prefigured by the circle of Jesus' disciples. The setting in Luke, where it appears in the midst of a series of exhortations on love, is apparently more natural than the setting in Matthew, but many authors ascribe this more natural setting to Luke's editorial work. As an isolated logion assumed into a collection of sayings, Luke's Golden Rule does not so much function as an epitome as it does as a specific moral exhortation: "Also, treat others as you want them to treat you". This is in contrast not only with Matthew (cf. Luke's "and as," *kai kathōs*; Matthew's "so whatever," *panta oun hosa*), but also with extrabiblical usage (cf. the responses of Confucius, Thales, and Hillel).

Luke has directed particular attention to the idea of reciprocity implied by the adage. He has accentuated the notion of reciprocity by an editorial addition to the Q logion. "So" *(homoios)* is a Lukan term (Luke 3:11; 5:10, 33; 6:31; 10:32, 37; 13:3; 16:25; 17:28, 31; 22:36; but only three times in Matthew and twice in Mark) that provides a qualitative dimension to the Lukan Golden Rule (cf. Matthew's quantitative *panta*, "all"). With the addition of vv 32–34, Luke immediately modifies the Golden Rule's inherent notion of reciprocity. The Lukan Jesus can endorse traditional wisdom, but he exhorts his disciples to a way of life that transcends mere reciprocity. Love of self is neither the norm nor the final word.

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RAYMOND F. COLLINS

GOLGOTHA (PLACE) [Gk *Golgotha*]. The place in Jerusalem where, according to the Gospels, the Passion of Jesus ended with his burial in a new tomb which lay in a nearby garden (John 19:17–42).

A. Biblical Information

From the gospels, the location is clearly defined with reference to the city of Jerusalem: (1) the site was known by its Hebrew name, *gwlgwlt*ᵓ, transliterated into Greek as *golgotha*, which was translated *Kraniou Topon* ("Place of the Skull") and *Calvariae locum* in the Vulgate (John 19:17–18; Luke 23:33; Mark 15:22; Matt 27:33); (2) the site was outside one of the city gates, but not far from it (Heb 12:12); the Fourth Gospel stresses that many Jews read the inscription on the cross "because the place was near the city" (John 19:20); (3) at the site of Golgotha there was a garden containing a new tomb (cf. John 19:41; 20:15, which implies the existence of a garden with the mention of a gardener); (4) the owner of the new tomb was Joseph of Arimathea (Matt 27:59–60); (5) the tomb was cut into the rock and the entrance closed with a large stone in the shape of a millstone (Matt 27:59–60; Mark 16:3–5; Luke 23:53; 24:2). The tomb appears to have been of the arcosolium type rather than *kôkîm*. See BURIALS (ANCIENT JEWISH). In John 20:12, the angels were seated at Jesus' head and feet when he lay on the burial platform. The evangelist's description of the angels would be impossible in a tomb of the *kôkîm* (or oblong oven) type, while it would be quite natural in an arcosolium tomb.

B. Location

The Christian tradition since the early days of the Church has always recognized Golgotha in that place now located within the confines of the Anastasis Church. Beginning in 1961, archaeological excavations and underground explorations have been conducted in the area of the Anastasis, commonly known today as the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre. At the same time, the adjoining area of Muristan has also been investigated (e.g., Kenyon 1974; Lux 1972).

The ancient tradition and the recent archaeological discoveries must be compared with the biblical data to establish whether the oldest tradition is valid and the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre is indeed the authentic site of Golgotha. It must be noted that after the death of Jesus, the area of Golgotha was included within the Jerusalem city walls by Herod Agrippa I (A.D. 40–44.) After Jerusalem had been destroyed in A.D. 135, the new city, "Colonia Aelia Capitolina," was rebuilt further to the north, so that the site of Golgotha ended up in the center of the city. According to the historical sources (Eusebius *Vita C.*; Jerome *Ep. Paul.*), the site of Golgotha was buried under the vast landfill of the Capitolium (pagan temple) of Aelia. The new Roman city is clearly outlined in the famous Madeba Map of the 6th century A.D.); however, in place of the Capitolium stands the Constantinian Anastasis. The changes effected as a result of the establishment of the Roman city can still be seen today in the Old City, explaining how the site of Golgotha came to be in the center of the city.

C. Results of Archaeology

What was the site of Golgotha like at the time of the Passion of Christ? The information provided by the gospels finds good support in the results of recent archaeological research (e.g., Corbo 1981–82: Vol. 1) The excavations undertaken from 1961 to 1980 at the site of Golgotha yield the following data:

(1) No dwellings of any kind belonging to a time prior to the end of the 1st century A.D. were found at the site.

(2) From the 7th century B.C. onwards, the saddle of Mt. Gareb, where Golgotha was later situated, contained a great quarry of malaky (royal) stone. Obvious and sure indications of this quarry were found throughout the area which underlies the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre and in the adjacent Muristan area.

(3) When the quarrying was discontinued in the 1st century B.C., the pit was reclaimed for cultivation. Topsoil and scattered stone chips were thrown back into the pit. The result was a garden with levels corresponding roughly to the floor of the present basilica, *ca.* 10 m below the contour line (760 m above sea level) of the original saddle of the slope of the hill.

(4) Since the pit was turned into a garden, it had vertical walls of stone at its outer edges, especially its W and S sides. At least two tombs were cut into the W walls of the rock: that of the arcosolium type (the tomb of Jesus) and the one commonly known as the tomb of Joseph, with burial sites of the *kôkîm* (or oven) type. The vertical wall on the S flank rose above the garden like a kind of spur, so that its E and S flanks remained connected to the original saddle of the hill. This rocky spur, including the garden below, was called Golgotha.

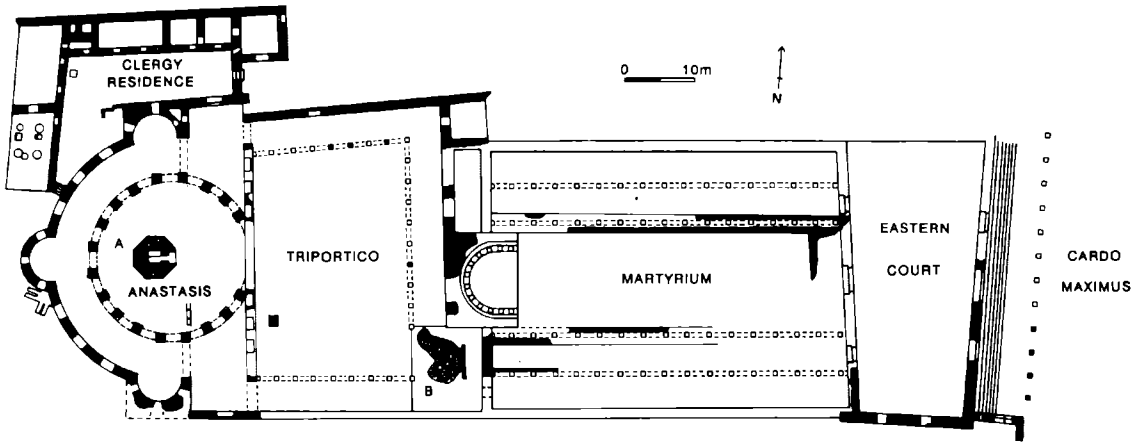
(5) The garden, along with the rock escarpments of Golgotha and the tombs, underwent two great alterations after the resurrection of Jesus. First, with the construction of Aelia Capitolina, the garden and the rocky escarpments were buried beneath a vast landfill that raised the levels of the garden to the level of the remaining saddle of the mountain, thus creating a large platform. The Capitolium was then constructed on this platform, above the tomb of Jesus. The structure had three chambers with a statue of Jupiter in the central one. The rocky spur of Golgotha, now buried in the landfill, then became the foundation for a marble statue of Venus. Our source for this information is Jerome in his letter to Paulinus. The testimony of Eusebius (*Vita C.* 26) concerning the Hadrianic temple above the garden of Golgotha is more vague, because it speaks in general terms of a cult of Venus (". . . building a dark recess for an unchaste deity, Aphrodite . . ."). Recent excavations have yielded many Hadrianic remains of the *temenos* of the Capitolium's foundations (Corbo 1981–82: 1.33–37; 2. Table 28; 3. Photos 1–3, 5, 14, 15, 17, 30, 31, 34, 44, 45, 50, 51, 53, 88–90, 118–20). The rediscovery of remains of Hadrianic construction on the site of the garden of Golgotha is a most certain criterion for the authenticity of this site.

The second alteration, according to information provided by Macarios, bishop of the mother church in Jerusalem, was the work of Constantine the Great, who, in A.D. 325, had the Capitolium and the *temenos* torn down and the landfill removed. In this process, the garden of Golgotha, with its two monuments of the Passion (the tomb of Jesus and the hill of Golgotha) was discovered: on the S side, the rocky spur of Golgotha itself reemerged, while in the W, the rocky escarpments of the saddle containing the two tombs were rediscovered.

In order to isolate the arcosolium-type tomb of Jesus, the rocky flanks to the W and N were subsequently cut away. This re-landscaping was undertaken to make way for the construction of both the Anastasis around the tomb of Jesus and the patriarch's house for the bishop of Jerusalem. In addition, the two remaining sides (E and S) were now also trimmed down and squared off, resulting in a type of four-sided pillar open to the sky (see Corbo 1981–82, 2: fig. 41). Thus, with the renovations of Constantine, the geography of the hill of Golgotha and of the garden was radically altered, differing appreciably from its appearance at the time of the Passion.

When thus isolated, the rock of Golgotha now faced the S and E wings of the Constantinian triportico and stood across from the walls of the grandiose basilica of the Martyrium. This basilica, according to the later account of the 4th-century pilgrimage of Egeria, was given Golgotha's proper name, Martyrium, or "place of witness": ". . . therefore it is called Martyrium because it is in Golgotha" (Maraval 1982: 272). See Fig. GOL.01.

The building complex which Constantine then erected to honor the memory of the Passion has now been excavated and can be reconstructed (Corbo 1981–82, 1:39–137; 2: tables 10, 11, 14, 16–19, 21, 23, 24, etc.; 3). This complex includes (from the W) the Anastasis (with the clergy residence to its N), the Triportico, the basilica (Mar-



GOL.01. Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, incorporating *A*, the tomb of Jesus, and *B*, the rocky spur of Golgotha. Solid black indicates Constantinian remains.

tyrium), and the E court with its main entrance facing the Cardo Maximus (the city's principle N–S artery).

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VIRGILIO C. CORBO
Trans. Dietlinde M. Elliott

GOLIATH (PERSON) [Heb *golyat*]. The Philistine champion slain in single combat with David (1 Samuel 17. In one of the most familiar passages from the Hebrew Bible, the Philistines and the Israelites were encamped facing each other across the Elah valley during Saul's reign (vv 1–3). Each day for forty days Goliath of Gath, a Philistine warrior of great stature, went forth and challenged the Israelite host (vv 4–11, 16). Finally, the inexperienced youth David, armed only with his shepherd's staff and a slingshot, met Goliath's challenge (vv 24–40). After hurling invectives at each other, the unmatched foes approached each other to do battle (vv 41–48). A well-slung stone by David felled the Philistine, after which David cut off his head and (in an apparent anachronism) brought it to Jerusalem (vv 49–51a, 54). At the death of their champion (Heb *'îš habbĕnayim* [vv 4, 23] or *gibbôr* [v 51]; about the former term, see de Vaux [1971: 124–25] and McCarter [*1 Samuel* AB, 290–91]), the Philistines fled; the day belonged to Israel (vv 51b–53). From later passages, it can be inferred that David subsequently devoted Goliath's sword to the sanctuary at Nob (1 Sam 21:10—Eng 21:9; 22:10; see also Josephus, *Ant* 6.192, 244).

In the MT, Goliath's height is given as "six cubits and a span" (1 Sam 17:4), which would be about nine feet and nine inches, a true giant. However, LXX Codex Vaticanus and the Lucianic recension, as well as 4QSam[a] and Josephus (*Ant* 6.171) all give Goliath's height as "four cubits and a span," about six feet and nine inches. Since the expected tendency would be to exaggerate the height of David's opponent, the latter reading, according to which Goliath would still be a giant (albeit among men), is to be preferred (see McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 286). Parallells to the single combat between two parties to determine the outcome of a larger conflict have been identified in the *Iliad* (Paris and Menelaus in Book 3, Hector and Ajax in Book 7), in the Egyptian Story of Sinuhe (de Vaux 1971: 129; but see Hoffner 1968: 220–21), in the Hittite Apology of Hattushilish III (Hoffner 1968: 221–25), and in the Hebrew Bible (2 Sam 2:12–17, in which the battle is between two groups of soldiers equal in number). According to Galling (1966: 153–67), Goliath's armor and armaments, including a helmet, a breastplate of scales, a shield, a scimitar, a javelin, and greaves, cannot be viewed as evidence of his Aegean origin. His arms were an eclectic lot, listed in detail as a literary device to emphasize his stature as a warrior. The name "Goliath" is most frequently derived from the Lydian/Luwian *Alyattes* (Albright 1975: 513). Although the Philistine warrior in 1 Samuel 17 is named Goliath, that name only appears twice in the chapter (vv 4 and 23), both times in contexts which would suggest that the name is a later addition to the story. In the rest of 1 Samuel 17, David's opponent is simply referred to anonymously as "the/that Philistine" (cf. 1 Sam 19:5). In addition, 2 Sam 21:19 attributes the killing of Goliath to a certain ELHANAN (see 1 Chr 20:5). Although attempts have been made to equate Elhanan and David, either as personal name and title (von Pákozdy 1956: 257–59) or as given name and throne name (Honeyman 1948:

23–24), it seems most likely that details of Elhanan's battle with Goliath, including the name Goliath and the comparison of the shaft of his spear to a weaver's heddle-rod (about which see Yadin 1955: 58–69), were transferred to David and became part of the legend of his battle with a Philistine champion at a very early stage. See also DAVID (PERSON).

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CARL S. EHRLICH

GOMER (PERSON) [Heb *gōmer*]. The name of two people in the OT.

1. Oldest son of Japheth and grandson of Noah who was the father of Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah (Gen 10:2; 1 Chr 1:6). In the 6th century B.C., the Bible pictures Gomer's descendants as being allied with those of Togarmah in support of Magog, Meshech, and Tubal, brothers of Gomer in the early genealogies. They are to be defeated as part of God's judgment on Gog, king of Magog (Ezek 38:2–6). These peoples are probably to be identified with the CIMMERIANS (Akk *qimmiraia;* Gk *kimmerioi*). These were Indo-Europeans from the Ukraine in south Russia, forced out of their homeland by the descending Scythians. They, themselves, advanced upon the Urartians in the region of Lake Van in the 8th century B.C., and also threatened the Assyrians. Pushing W into Asia Minor, the Cimmerians conquered Gordion and its Phrygian king Midas (676 B.C.). They then defeated Gyges of Lydia at his capital, Sardis (644 B.C.). Some of the Cimmerians apparently settled in Cappadocia, which was called Gomir by the later Arameans. Defeated by the Assyrians in the mid-7th century B.C., the Cimmerians intermarried with their neighbors and disappeared from history in the 6th century B.C.

2. The daughter of Diblaim who, although she was a prostitute, married Hosea at God's command (Hos 1:2–3). She seems to have continued her unfaithfulness after marriage. She bore three children in the marriage, but only the first is explicitly stated to be Hosea's (1:3; cf. 1:6, 8), allowing for the possibility that the fathers were different. Expelled from her husband's house because of her continued sin (Hosea 2), she is ultimately readmitted (Hosea 3). The marriage, children's names, separation, and restoration are all mentioned in order to graphically portray Israel's adulterous wandering from her "husband," Yahweh, whom she had married at Mt. Sinai, had been separated from in the Exile, and had been restored to under Ezra and Nehemiah.

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DAVID W. BAKER

GOMORRAH (PLACE). See SODOM AND GOMORRAH (PLACES).

GOOD (NT). In modern English versions of the NT, "good" appears as a translation of *agathos, kalos,* and *chrēstos*. In the Greek text, each of these terms, with their cognates, has specific nuances. The nuances vary somewhat from one NT author to another, as does the preference for one term or another. In the whole of the NT, *agathos* appears 107 times, *kalos* 104 times, and *chrēstos* 7 times.

A. The Synoptics

Agathos denotes the significance or excellence of a person or a thing, frequently in the moral sense. In the Synoptics it is used often by Matthew (16x) and Luke (17x), and much less often by Mark (4x). Three of the Markan usages are in a dialogue between a (rich young) man and Jesus: " 'Good teacher, what must I do to inherit eternal life?' And Jesus said to him, 'Why do you call me good? No one is good but God alone' " (Mark 10:17–18). Jesus' response does not so much deny the goodness of Jesus himself as it emphasizes the goodness of God. In this way, the Markan Jesus recapitulates traditional biblical teaching about the goodness of God, a teaching likewise reflected in the *qal wahomer* argumentation (a rabbinic argument from the lesser to the greater of Matt 7:11 (= Luke 7:13). According to Mark, God's goodness is manifest in his giving the gift of eternal life.

The Markan dialogue, found also in Luke 18:19, is slightly modified by Matthew who presents the interrogation as focusing on an ethical good to be achieved as a condition for entrance into eternal life. While most commentators view Jesus' response, "One there is who is good" (Matt 19:17), as a paraphrase of the Markan statement about the goodness of God, Cope (1976: 111–20), followed by Murray (1986), has argued that Matthew has made a statement about the goodness of the Law (cf. *ʾAbot* 6:3). Matthew's emphasis upon the ethical good (Matt 19:16–17) is congruous with Matthew's general ethical interests and his consistent antithetical use of "good," *agathos,* and "evil," *ponēros* (Matt 5:45; 7:11, 17–18; 12:34–35; 20:15 [literally, "Is your eye evil because I am good?"]; 22:10; 25:21–26). Matthew frequently contrasts good and evil persons (Matt 5:45; 12:34–35; 20:15; 22:10; 25:21–26; cf. Matt 12:35).

The Q statements of Matt 7:11 (= Luke 7:13) and 7:18 (= Luke 6:43) reflect an understanding of good as that which is useful. Usefulness seems to be the dominant connotation of *agathos* in the Lukan use of the term, especially in those passages, proper to Luke, where the plural is used in the sense of "useful things" or "possessions" (Luke 1:53; 12:18–19; 16:25). When Luke wants to

emphasize the ethical connotation of "good," he uses another adjective in apposition; thus, "honest" *(kalos)* in Luke 8:15 and "righteous" *(dikaios)* in Luke 23:50.

A passage in the triple tradition, "Is it lawful on the sabbath to do good *(agathon poiēsai)* or to do harm, to save life or to kill?" (Mark 3:4; par. Matt 12:12; Luke 6:9) points to the basic interchangeability of *agathos* and *kalos* within the Synoptic tradition. Whereas Mark uses the pronominal adjective *agathon* and Luke the compound verb *agathopoieō* ("to do good"; cf. Luke 6:33, 35), Matthew employs the adverb derived from *kalos*. That both *agathos* and *kalos* are contrasted with "evil" *(ponēros)*, that Matthew writes of both a good *(agathos)* and a sound *(kalos)* tree (Matt 7:17, 18; 12:33), and that Matthew and Luke use *agathos* and *kalos* in parallel sayings (Matt 7:18; Luke 6:43) also point to the essential synonymity of the two terms in Synoptic usage.

Particularly significant is the Synoptics' use of *kalos* (Matthew 21×; Mark 11×; Luke 9×) in ethical exhortation. The term abounds in the parables and other examples of figurative language, e.g., the good fruit (Matt 3:10), good soil (13:8), good seed (13:38), fine pearls (13:45), etc. The common formula, "it is good" *(kalon estin;* cf. Matt 17:4, par. Mark 9:5; Luke 9:33) is frequently used in Synoptic paraenesis, especially in Mark (9:42) with the sense of "it is better to." The good fruit, a metaphor attributed to both John the Baptist and Jesus (Matt 3:10; 7:17 and par.), apparently refers to conduct which Matthew describes as "good works" (Matt 5:16). Christians are expected to do "good works." These, however, are to draw attention not to Christians themselves but to the good Father in heaven.

B. John

In the Fourth Gospel, Jesus' activity is described as a "good work," a formula which draws attention to the Father as the source of Jesus' work (John 10:32–33). This theological use of *kalos* derives from the same biblical roots as the Synoptics' emphasis on the goodness of God. The Fourth Gospel also attests to speculation about the goodness of Jesus *(agathos,* John 1:46; 7:12), that is, whether the Father is ultimately the source of his behavior. The idea of Jesus as the good shepherd is particular to the Fourth Gospel (John 10:11 [2×], 14). The metaphor has little to do with later and popular romantic ideas about Jesus; rather, the image underscores and highlights the uniqueness of Jesus. Ethical connotations are not absent from the "good deeds" *(agatha)* of John 5:29 and the "good work" *(kalon ergon)* of John 10:33, notwithstanding the more profound issue involved in the latter expression.

C. Paul and the Deutero-Pauline Literature

Among the NT authors it is Paul who seems most to have reflected on the nature of goodness. The paraenesis of 1 Thessalonians includes the injunction "to do good to one another and to all" (1 Thess 5:15). In some ways, Paul seems to have used *agathos* and *kalos* interchangeably (cf. Rom 7:18, 21). In Romans, where *agathos* occurs most often (21×) in the NT, Paul reflects on the goodness of God and the good that humans strive to accomplish. The diatribe of Rom 2:1–11, addressed to the presumedly upright, recalls the biblical conception of God's goodness, manifest in the gift of eternal life. It warns that God's goodness *(chrēstotēs)* is not construed as a reluctance to punish; glory, honor, immortality, and peace are given only to those who truly do good (Rom 2:7, 11). Rom 7:7–25 reiterates rabbinic teaching about the goodness of the law, but states that the power of sin uses the law to entice people to sin. Thus, humans do not accomplish the good that they intend. Elsewhere, Paul includes goodness among the fruit of the Spirit (Gal 5:22); from the power of the Spirit comes the goodness of humans (Rom 15:14). Paul, then, views goodness in a cosmic perspective and considers the goodness that accrues to humans to be the result of God's empowering gift.

The Deutero-Pauline literature seeks to actualize the Pauline tradition. Eph 2:7 looks to the manifestation of God's goodness *(chrēstotēs)* among us, mediated through Jesus Christ, in the age to come. In contrast, the very creation of God is good (1 Tim 4:4), and Titus (3:4) views the earthly presence of Jesus as a manifestation of divine goodness. Peculiar to the Pastoral Epistles is the use of "good works" *(kala erga)* as a summary description of the Christian life (1 Tim 6:18; Titus 2:7, 14; 3:8, 14). The implication is that Christians are expected to live according to the predominant moral norms of the times; in fact, according to a rather bourgeois ethic. (For further discussion, see *TDNT* 1: 10–18; 2: 536–56; Käsemann *Romans* HNT.)

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RAYMOND F. COLLINS

GOOSE. See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

GOPHER WOOD. See FLORA.

GORGIAS (PERSON) [Gk *Gorgias*]. General in the Seleucid army, known only through his activity against the Jewish rebels under Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc 3:38; 2 Macc 8:9). He was one of the commanders of the Seleucid forces in the battle of Emmaus, and was considered to be a professional in military affairs. It was probably Gorgias' initiative to chase Judas into the mountains and to deprive him of the possibility of dictating the place and timing of the battle (1 Macc 4:1). Nevertheless Gorgias' tactics failed in the face of Judas' superior strategy.

Gorgias, in all probability the same person in both 1 and 2 Maccabees, is featured also in the battles, which took

place later on the S borders of Judea. He is fighting in conjunction with the Idumeans and in the region of Jamnia, and is assumed to be a governor of Idumea. Gorgias was victorious in a battle at Jamnia against Jewish commanders, who disobeyed Judas' commands (1 Macc 5:59; cf. 2 Macc 10:14–17).

Gorgias is mentioned as governor of Idumea in 2 Macc 12:32. He was conducting battle against Judas at the neighborhood of Marissa, and was forced to retreat to that city (2 Macc 12:32–35; cf. 1 Macc. 5:65–68, where Gorgias is not mentioned).

In summary, Gorgias seems to have been a professional soldier and an able commander in the Seleucid army, though Judas surpassed him by far.

URIEL RAPPAPORT

GORTYNA (PLACE) [Gk *Gortynas*]. Second most powerful city in Crete during the Hellenistic period, located near the sea on the river Letheus in south-central Crete (1 Macc 15:23). Gortyna was an ancient city and, according to Homer, was famous for its walls (*Il.* 2.645). Strabo notes that it was second only to Cnossus in power and vied with it for control over Crete (*Geog.*, 10.4.11). Gortyna's legal code (5th century B.C.E.) has been of considerable importance to the study of ancient Greek jurisprudence since its discovery in 1884 at *hagioi deka* by Federico Halbherr and Ernst Fabricus (Kohler and Ziebarth 1912: iii–viii). In 1 Macc 15:23, Gortyna is listed as one of the recipients of a letter from the Roman consul Lucius recommending support for the high priest Simon and his fellow Jews in their quest for independence. Lucius further requests extradition for any Jew fleeing from Simon and taking refuge in those cities to which his letter was sent. The letter from Lucius was addressed to cities which would have had trade relations with Judea and, with the presence of a Jewish commercial community, would have been a possible haven for opponents of Simon's rule. This was certainly the case for Cyrene and Rhodes and seems plausible for other cities in the list as well, including Gortyna. That Gortyna was the only Cretan city in the list, and one that was near the sea, suggests that Gortyna was the chief commercial outpost for Judean interests in Crete.

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MICHAEL E. HARDWICK

GOSHEN (PLACE) [Heb *gošen*]. Region in the eastern Egyptian Delta where the Hebrews lived during their stay in Egypt. Though some authorities argue otherwise (e.g., North 1967: 83), this is a place distinct from (1) Goshen on the S border of the land said to have been occupied by Joshua (Josh 10:41) and (2) Goshen in the hill country of Judah (Josh 15:5). In both latter cases, the LXX renders the spelling *Gosom*, suggesting that this tradition considered them to be localities other than the Goshen in Egypt.

When Jacob and his family migrated to Egypt due to a famine in Canaan, they settled in "the land of Goshen," which provided the necessary pasturage for their flocks (Gen 46:28–34; 47:1–10). The Egyptian pharaoh granted permission for their stay and appointed members of Jacob's family as overseers of royal possessions, presumably animal herds, since it was as shepherds that the Hebrews had presented themselves (Gen 46:33–34; 47:6). The family prospered in Goshen, and its descendants still lived there at the time of the Exodus (Exod 8:18; 9:26).

There has been a long debate over the precise location of the Egyptian Goshen. In the LXX, Goshen in Egypt is rendered as *Gesem* or *Gesem Arabia* (Gen 45:10; 46:34). *Arabia* was used by Herodotus to refer to the area from the Nile to the Red Sea and, more specifically, by Pliny and Ptolemy the Geographer to designate the 20th Lower Egyptian nome, or administrative district (Helck 1975: 197–98). This nome, attested first in Egyptian texts of the 8th century B.C.E., lay on the border of the eastern Delta in the region of modern Fâqûs and Saft el-Hinna. Fâqûs is ancient Phacusa, which, according to Ptolemy, was the capital of the Arabian nome, and Saft el-Hinna preserves the ancient name *Pr-Spdw*, "Domain of (the god) Sopdu," the Egyptian term for the 20th Lower Egyptian nome. Support for this has been seen in a place name, generally read *Gsm.t*, found in the geographical lists of the Ptolemaic temples at Edfu and Dendera and on a Ptolemaic shrine from Saft el-Hinna itself. *Gsm.t* has been equated with the LXX *Gesem (Arabia)*, providing internal Egyptian evidence for the location of the biblical Goshen at the latter site. However, there are two philological difficulties: the reading *Gsm.t* for the Egyptian geographical term is not at all certain (Vergote 1959: 184–86), and Greek *Gesem* cannot be derived from the older Hebrew *gošen*.

An alternative has been suggested by Rabinowitz (1956: 5) who believes that the place name *Gesem* reflects the name of Geshem, a N Arabian ruler of the mid 5th century B.C.E., mentioned on a silver bowl found at Tell el-Maskhûta in the Wadi Tumilat. This man Geshem, the same "Geshem the Arabian" who was the adversary of Nehemiah (Neh 2:19; 6:1–2, 6), was a Persian official whose influence reached as far as the E Delta. His fame was such that that region came to be designated by his name. The "land of *Gesem (Arabia)*" in the LXX would thus refer to a well-known personage—"land of Geshem (of Arabia)"—and this would be more likely to have been understood by the Jewish audience of the time. This theory does away with both the questionable Egyptian evidence and the lack of any philological connection between the Hebrew and Greek terms.

The precise location of *gošen* of the Hebrew text remains problematic. The basic requirement for Jacob and his family was pasturage for their herds; the general region of the E Delta fits this admirably. Egyptian texts speak of other Canaanites moving into that area for precisely this reason, and their presence was carefully recorded in official frontier journals. The biblical references clearly indicate that the Hebrews settled *within* Egypt, and the story of Moses in the bulrushes (Exod 2:3–9) shows they lived along the Nile in proximity to the royal family and its official residence. Furthermore, the phrase "in the land of Goshen" of the P-source is replaced in the J-source by "in the land of Ramesses" (Gen 47:11). Hebrew tradition evidently considered "Goshen" and "Ramesses" to be the same place, bringing into focus the claim that the Hebrews

engaged in building activities at the cities of Ramesses and Pithom (Exod 1:11).

The city called *Pr-Rʿmssw-mry-ʾImn,* "Domain of Ramesses, beloved of Amon," or sometimes simply "Ramesses," was the royal residence city of the Empire built on the site of the old Hyksos capital Avaris (Bietak *LÄ* 5:128–46). There is little doubt that it is to this city that the biblical narrative refers. While founded earlier than the period of Ramesses II, the royal residence city came to be associated mostly with him; hence its name. Over the past decades, the city has been identified with many Delta sites, though it now seems certain that it was located at Tell ed-Dabʿa/ Qantîr, 7 km N of modern Fâqûs, thus within the region later designated as *Arabia,* the 20th Lower Egyptian nome.

Pithom—*Pr-ʾItm,* "Domain of (the god) Atum"—has traditionally been identified with Tell el-Maskhûta in the Wadi Tumilat. New excavations at this site, however, show that the town was not actually founded until the late 7th century B.C.E. Uphill's suggestion (1968–69) that Pithom was rather located at Heliopolis near Cairo is much more plausible.

The evidence at hand suggests that the biblical "land of Goshen" was located in the E Egyptian Delta in the general region of modern Fâqûs, Saft el-Hinna, and Tell ed-Dabʿa/ Qantîr. In Egyptian, this region was known as the "Domain of Sopdu," the 20th Lower Egyptian nome; classical writers referred to it as *Arabia.* The translators of the LXX, apparently modernizing the narrative for a contemporary audience, substituted *Gesem (Arabia)* for the original Hebrew *gošen.* There is no known Egyptian equivalent for either the Greek or the Hebrew term.

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WILLIAM A. WARD

GOSPEL GENRE. "Gospel" as a designation for genre refers to a variety of early Christian writings both inside and outside the canon. The term is not used in this sense in the NT, and the present superscriptions of the four canonical gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John did not form part of the original manuscripts. Although these writings are commonly referred to as "gospel" as an indication of genre, this practice probably originated in the 2d century C.E. (cf. *Did.* 15.3–4; *2 Clem.* 8.5; *Mart. Pol.* 4.1) and was only established by the 4th century. Several writings outside the canon, some of a totally different content and text type, came to be known as "gospels." It is normally argued that noncanonical gospels were called "gospels" in view of the titles given to canonical "gospels." Thus, according to some scholars, the noncanonical gospels are apocryphal and therefore fictional and inferior. The question of "gospel" as genre is often, in view of this, restricted to the text type of the four canonical gospels. It is not correct to make canonical versus noncanonical *a priori* a norm for the discussion of the gospel genre. On the other hand, there seems to be sufficient reason to regard the canonical gospels as a distinct class of texts.

A. Can One Speak of a Gospel Genre?
  1. Canonical Gospels
  2. Noncanonical Gospels
B. Gospel, a Unique Genre?
  1. An Evolutionary Model
  2. Analogical Explanations
C. What Then Is the Gospel Genre?

A. Can One Speak of a Gospel Genre?

Genre can be described either by comparison of generic types and subtypes (for example, drama, epic, lyric, novel, biography, sonnet, and so on) or in terms of the organization of the material in a given text (for example, narrative, argument, exposition, description, and listing). Until recently, discussions about the gospel genre were restricted to the first method of classification of texts, and the gospel genre was regarded as *sui generis*; that is, unique. On the other hand it is clear that the canonical gospels are narratives and thus comparable to other narrative texts of antiquity. Not all "gospels," however, are narratives; nor do they all share the same features. This gives rise to the question of whether one can speak of a gospel genre?

1. Canonical Gospels. It is maintained in many circles that the author of the gospel of Mark created a unique genre in writing his gospel. By making use of oral and written sources he created a text of exceptional character. It is regarded as a passion narrative with a long introduction. Some scholars assert that, contrary to the other gospels, Mark's gospel does not only contain preaching *(kerygma)* but that it *is* also *kerygma.* It is maintained that, in comparison to the other canonical gospels, Mark's gospel is unique. Matthew made use of Mark in the compilation of his gospel but laid far more stress on the teaching of Jesus. The gospel of Matthew is a composition of halachic and apocalyptic discourses in a narrative framework. John's gospel is a composition of *semeia* (signs) and revelatory speeches, and Luke wrote a *vita* (life), or history, of Jesus. According to this view, Mark's gospel is the only true "gospel." This makes it hardly possible to speak of a gospel genre. It is clear, however, that the foregoing argument is based on the idea that Mark's gospel is unique and that it presents a different genre because it is regarded as *kerygma.* This view does not account for the fact that all four gospels are narratives, albeit narratives of which the character and arrangement of material are in many respects different. Once the narrative character of the gospels is taken seriously, there seems to be little reason to argue that they are not of the same genre.

2. Noncanonical Gospels. Neither from the point of view of literary character nor from the perspective of content is it possible to regard as of the same genre all the noncanonical texts which are called gospels. These texts include collections of sayings of Jesus, infancy and miracle stories, post-Resurrection discussions between the risen Lord and his disciples, speculative dialogues, meditations, and theological and ethical treatises. The corpus of gospel texts originating from the 2d century and later has been

expanded by the discovery of the "gospels" of Nag Hammadi. Although there is often a very clear relationship between the NT and these texts (cf. *Gospel of Thomas* and the hypothetical sayings collection of Q), the differences in genre are obvious. In view of these and other noncanonical texts, however, some scholars argue that one should broaden the definition of "gospel genre" by including independent sayings collections, revelatory speeches, aretalogies (stories of miracle workers), and narratives such as the canonical gospels. This would make "gospel genre" a contradiction in terms, since no genre could consist of such dissimilar text types. It might be possible to trace back to the canonical and precanonical gospel traditions the origin of the different texts which now belong to the so-called gospel-literature, but that does not mean that all of them should therefore belong to the same literary genre as the canonical gospels. The *Gospel of Thomas,* for example, is clearly not a narrative. The *Gospel of Mary* and the *Gospel of Philip* are also not related to the same genre, even though they have material in common with the canonical gospels. The canonical gospels are narratives about the life, deeds, and words of Jesus, while most of the noncanonical narrative gospels are narratives about an aspect of his life.

In view of the great variety of texts that are called "gospels," it seems necessary not to confuse the term *gospel genre* with the name *gospel,* which has been given to texts of different genre. The canonical gospels are narratives, and in this regard it would be possible to speak of a subgenre of narrative as gospel genre.

B. Gospel, a Unique Genre?

In view of the language and style of the gospels, it has been argued that it is impossible to compare them to literary texts from the Hellenistic and Semitic world of the same period or earlier. The gospels are folk literature, it is argued, and therefore should not be compared with contemporary literary texts. Because Justin and Papias, for example, incorrectly regarded the gospels as literature of the same quality as contemporary Hellenistic and Semitic texts, they compared the gospels with these writings. It is for apologetic purposes that Justin (*1 Apol.* 66.3) calls the gospels *apomnemoneumata,* that is "memoirs" (of the Apostles). He probably wanted his readers to believe that the gospels were of the same quality as the Hellenistic memoir literature (cf. Xenophon's *Mem.*). According to some scholars, there seems to be no reason to believe this. Papias' remarks about the literary character of Matthew and Mark are in no way more credible (cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.15). In the light of this, the question arose as to whether there is any text type of antiquity which has the same genre characteristics as the gospels. The answers given to the question are basically of two kinds: On the one hand, the gospel genre is explained in terms of an evolutionary model; on the other, it is explained in terms of analogy.

1. An Evolutionary Model. The evolutionary model has dominated discussions about the gospel genre for the greater part of the 20th century. This was the result of the rise of form criticism as a tool in biblical criticism. Convinced by the idea that the gospels were folk literature and not biographies, as some maintained, some scholars asserted that the gospels developed from cult legends and narratives, or the basic outline of the Christian *kerygma.* The early Christians were storytellers, and they used the stories of and about Jesus for cultic purposes. Mark collected some of these traditions and wrote a gospel. Except for other folk literature, there are no parallels to the gospel genre which Mark created. This form has no literary genealogy. Through a process of development which was influenced by the emphasis on the death and resurrection of Jesus, on missionary activities of the early Church, and on its eschatological expectations, these traditions grew or developed into the gospel form. Mark, the first person to write a gospel, was more of a collector than an author. Within the evolutionary model, various solutions have been given to the problem of gospel genre. All of these solutions are related to the idea of evolution of the gospel material and its form.

In the first place, some postulate that the gospel genre is the end product of a process of development of the primitive *kerygma,* which proclaimed the passion, death, and resurrection of the incarnated Lord (cf. 1 Cor 15:1–17). The gospel genre presents the final phase in the evolution of this early Christian *kerygma.* A form of literature which is *sui generis* developed from the cult legend about the death and resurrection of Jesus. According to this view, the absence of biographical detail about the birth, education, development of personality, background, and character of Jesus is explained by the fact that the gospel originated from this cult legend and not from the life story (biography) of Jesus. The gospel genre evolved from the traditional core of beliefs of the Christian community without any literary concerns. One should therefore not be surprised that the gospel genre has no literary parallels. Contrary to biographical literature, the contents of the gospel text focus on the passion and resurrection of Christ. A gospel is in this view *kerygma*—the *kerygma* about the Passion with an extended introductory narrative.

Closely related to the previous explanation of the uniqueness of the gospel form is the theory of an original outline or framework from which the gospel genre developed. The framework serves as the basic structure or skeleton for the gospel material. For example, it can be found in Mark 1:14–15 and Acts 10:34–43. Traditional material, which included more than material about the death and resurrection of Christ, was inserted into this framework. It also contained the idea of fulfilled Scripture and the return of the Lord. Other scholars found other frameworks (such as the so-called Hellenistic myth in Phil 2:6–11 or the Hellenistic-Jewish-Christian credo in Rom 1:3–4) that form the base into which other traditions were inserted. In this way a unique literary form, the gospel genre, evolved out of a kernel of cult beliefs.

Although it was an individual person who wrote down the traditional material in the form of a gospel, the creative power behind the gospel genre was the primitive Church as a cultic community. In this argument, the individual as author is replaced by a collective group that was responsible for the origin of the literary form. According to this view there is no place for the creativity of the mind of an individual author. It is only since the rise of redaction criticism that more attention has been given to the individual editors of the different gospels and that the idea of the gospel as a unique literary form without parallel in con-

temporary literature has come to be questioned. Although the idea of the development of the *kerygma* explains the growth of tradition, it cannot explain the characteristics of genre. There are only a limited number of ways in which any communication—that is, any text—can be arranged, and the organization of material in a text determines its genre. In the light of this, many attempts have been made to determine the place of the gospels in the history of literature and to explain the text type "gospel."

2. Analogical Explanations. Before the rise of form criticism, it was customary to compare the gospels with the Hellenistic *vitae* (ancient biographies) and memoir literature like the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon, Arrian's *Epictetus*, and Philostratus' *Life of Appolonius of Tyana*. In recent years the search for literary parallels of the gospel genre was reopened, and scholars made fresh attempts to find possible parallels either in Hellenistic or in Semitic literature. In the search of an ancient genre which could have served as a model for the first author of a gospel, analogies of many different types of texts have been found in ancient literature. In addition to the Hellenistic *vitae* and memoirs of the rulers and philosophers, other kinds of texts have been taken into account, such as aretalogical biographies, tragedy, tragicomedy, and Socratic discourses. From the Semitic point of view, the gospels have been compared with apocalypses, the legend of Ahikar, Exodus, the book of Jonah, a Passover Haggadah, Midrashim, and the Mishnah. What is remarkable about these comparisons is that most of them were based on an explanation of the gospel genre derived by form criticism and not on their own merit.

The gospels have been associated with biographies in various ways during the past. In recent years the conviction has grown that the gospels reveal features of ancient biographies. Recognizing the differences between the gospels and ancient biographies, as well as the diversity in the different types of biography of the ancient Greco-Roman and Semitic worlds, a growing number of scholars maintain that biography is the only generic text type with which the gospel genre can be compared. Taking into account the objections raised against the comparison, it nevertheless appears that although the gospels fall short in literary style and language usage, they are nothing less than biographies. It has been argued, for example, that the gospel genre comes closest to the type of biography in which the purpose is to praise a person by accentuating his life, works, and teachings. This type of biography is called *encomium*, or "laudatory biography," and examples of it can be found in the writings of Polybius (cf. *Hist.* 10.21.8), Cicero (*Fam.*5.13.3), Lucian (*Hist. conscr.* 7), Cornelius Nepos (*Pelopidas* 16.1.1), and—according to this view—also in the gospel genre. Closely related to this view is the search for aretalogical biographies in the Greco-Roman world as possible models for the gospel genre. From a Semitic perspective, the gospel genre has been compared with the "biography of a righteous person" found in the Prophets. The purpose of such a biography is to portray paradigmatically the suffering of a righteous person. Jesus is portrayed in such a manner in the gospel of Mark, which served as a model for the other evangelists when they wrote their gospels.

In all these studies it is not so much a particular biography, which served as an analogy for the first author of a gospel, that is emphasized as it is the generic type of text—or more specifically a story—about the life, works, and teachings of a person. In the analogical approach, the uniqueness of the gospel genre as genre is denied in view of the features this text type shares with other texts of the same generic kind.

C. What Then Is the Gospel Genre?

In conclusion, the question of the gospel genre is complicated enormously by the general confusion surrounding genre in literary criticism and by the role which the origin and growth of the gospel materials play in discussions about the matter. If it is granted that genre can be described in terms of the organization of material in a given text and by comparison between generic types, it is clear that all four canonical gospels are narratives and that they reveal features of ancient biographies despite the fact that they are not of the same literary standard. In view of this it would be possible, for the sake of convenience, to speak of a subtype of narrative as gospel genre. Based on these assumptions, it is unnecessary to regard the so-called gospel genre as *sui generis*. The question of who wrote the first gospel is immaterial to the question of how to define the gospel genre. The first is a historical problem; the second is a literary one.

The implication of defining the genre of the gospels as a subtype of narrative is that very few so-called noncanonical "gospels" would qualify to be called "gospels" simply because they are not narratives.

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WILLEM S. VORSTER

GOSPEL HARMONY. See HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

GOSPELS, APOCRYPHAL. Apart from the four gospels, which by tradition have been passed down to the Church as part of the canonical NT corpus, early Christianity produced a number of other writings that also might legitimately be called "gospels." Like the canonical gospels, all of these apocryphal gospels claim in some manner to transmit the words and/or deeds of Jesus. Unlike the canonical gospels, they come in a variety of different literary forms, from a simple collection of sayings such as the *Gospel of Thomas* to the complex series of speeches and

discourses that make up a work such as the *Dialogue of the Savior*. They also derive from a variety of different periods within the development of early Christianity, from the 1st century to the 4th, or even later. See THOMAS, GOSPEL OF, and DIALOGUE OF THE SAVIOR.

The plethora of forms presenting themselves under the titular designation "gospel," together with the fact that not all early Christian works claiming to offer the reader an account of the words or deeds of Jesus actually call themselves "gospels," naturally raises the question, What is a "gospel"? The question has received much discussion, yet with little in the way of agreement. The variety of forms to be found among the apocryphal gospels make it clear that the term "gospel" should not be used to refer to a particular genre, such as the quasi-biographical genre shared by the four canonical gospels, but rather to a larger body of literature, which itself encompasses a multiplicity of forms and genres. Accordingly, scholars have gradually come to use the following or similar categories when discussing the variety of apocryphal gospels known to have existed in antiquity.

A. Sayings Gospels

The *Gospel of Thomas*, a collection of sayings, all of which are attributed to Jesus, is the single example of this genre known to have survived antiquity. How many other such "sayings" gospels were assembled by early Christians is not known. Most scholars today accept the hypothesis that the authors of Matthew and Luke made use of such a gospel in the composition their respective narrative gospels. Several attempts to reconstruct this gospel, commonly referred to as "Q" (for the German *Quelle*, or "source"), based upon a comparison of the material shared by both Matthew and Luke, have collectively resulted in a relatively clear understanding of its content and theology.

B. Revelation Dialogues and Discourses

One of the most popular ways to package Jesuanic traditions in the early Church was to create the literary fiction of a dialogue between Jesus and a prominent figure of early Christianity, in which various sayings of Jesus could be presented as his answers to specific questions posed by the imaginary interlocutor. It is common in such dialogues for the individual sayings to have been combined to form extensive speeches or discourses, which are then placed on the lips of Jesus.

The revelation dialogue or discourse was a versatile genre, serving the needs of the early Church with great utility. Through it, collections of simple sayings could be transformed into expositions of secret, revealed knowledge *(gnosis)*, as is illustrated by the *Dialogue of the Savior* or the *Book of Thomas the Contender*. See THOMAS THE CONTENDER (NHC II,7). It was also a medium through which originally pre- or non-Christian religious ideas could be introduced into the Christian sphere (thus the *Sophia of Jesus Christ*, the *Second Treatise on the Great Seth*, the *Pistis Sophia*, or perhaps the *Trimorphic Protennoia*). It could also provide an opportunity to clarify or elaborate on points in earlier traditions. (Thus the *Gospel of Bartholomew* offers instruction on such matters as Christ's descent into Hades, the departure of souls, and the annunciation of Mary.) It could also be used to lend authority to innovative interpretations of Church practices, such as the sacraments (so the *Gospel of Philip*). In fact, innovation was probably the key to the success and popularity of the revelation dialogue. The setting is often a post-Resurrection dialogue between the risen Lord and a disciple. Therefore, the genre lends itself well to the introduction of the novel or innovative expression, because the new material could be presented as something left undisclosed by Jesus during his lifetime, only to be revealed privately to a privileged few after the resurrection. Eventually, revelation dialogue or discourse probably became its own undoing. Pagels has argued that the innovation allowed by the very notion that Jesus continued to appear to select persons after his death and reveal secret knowledge to them soon became cumbersome to an emerging Church seeking to establish some parameters around its traditions, and develop some consistent lines of authoritative leadership (Pagels 1978: 415–30).

C. Narrative Gospels

There are a number of apocryphal gospels, which, like the canonical gospels, present the tradition in quasi-biographical, narrative form. Many only survive in a state so fragmentary that identification is no longer possible. This is the case with P. Oxy. 840, P. Oxy. 1224, P. Cairensis 10,735, and the so-called Fayyum Fragment. The fragments of P. Egerton 2 are somewhat more extensive, but still do not allow positive identification. Others, such as the *Gospel of the Nazoraeans*, *Gospel of the Hebrews*, or *Gospel of the Ebionites*, survive only through snippets cited by various early Christian authors. Of those that survive more or less intact, a number focus on the events surrounding Jesus' passion, death, and resurrection: the *Gospel of Peter*, the *Gospel of Gamaliel*, and the *Gospel of Nicodemus (Acts of Pilate)*. There are also gospels focusing on the legends of Jesus' childhood, among them the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* and the *Protevangelium of James*.

D. Treatises

Finally, there are two documents which carry the designation "gospel" in their titles, but which rightly could only be called treatises or tractates. The *Gospel of the Egyptians* is a Sethian gnostic treatise which incorporates Christian elements into its structure. The *Gospel of Truth* is a gnostic tractate narrating cosmic history from the point of view of the Valentinian school. Neither of these reports the words or deeds of Jesus, and may perhaps even stretch the use of the term "gospel" to its limit.

E. Sources

English translations or summaries of many of the apocryphal gospels may be found in *The Apocryphal New Testament* (James 1924) or in Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher's *New Testament Apocrypha* (1963), an English translation of the fourth edition (1959) of their German collection *Neutestamentliche Apocryphen*. The latter has recently appeared in a new German edition (1987), and a new edition of James' collection is currently being prepared by J. K. Elliott. A new four-volume collection of apocryphal texts is also currently in production. Many of the gospels referred to above come from a hoard of texts discovered in 1945 at a site near Nag Hammadi in Upper

Egypt. English translations of these are to be found in *The Nag Hammadi Library* (Robinson 1988).

Critical editions of a number of apocryphal gospels are also available. For many years Tischendorf's *Evangelia apocrypha*, published originally in 1853 and reissued in 1966, has been the standard critical edition for those preserved in Greek. Critical editions of the Nag Hammadi texts have appeared in the series Nag Hammadi Studies. Critical editions of all of the Nag Hammadi codices are currently in production or imminently forthcoming in this series. Carl Schmidt's text of the *Pistis Sophia* has been published in the same series, as has his text of the *Books of Jeu* from the Bruce Codex. The entire text of BG 8502, which contains the *Gospel of Mary*, the *Apocryphon of John*, and the *Sophia of Jesus Christ*, was published originally by Walter Till in 1955 and reissued in a revised edition by Hans-Martin Schenke in 1972. The texts pertinent to the reconstruction of the Synoptic Sayings Source (Q) have been published by John Kloppenborg (1987). A new fragment of P. Egerton 2 has been published by Michael Gronewald (1987) and should thus be added to the fragment originally published by Bell and Skeat (1935). For critical texts of other apocryphal gospels and fragments, one should consult the appropriate sections of Hennecke and Schneemelcher's *New Testament Apocrypha*.

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STEPHEN J. PATTERSON

GOSPELS, LITTLE APOCALYPSE IN THE.

The expression "little apocalypse" is ambiguous. Commonly, it has been used to denote the eschatological discourse in Mark 13 and its parallels in Matthew 24 and Luke 21. For centuries Matthew was the most widely read of the four gospels, so people usually turned to Matthew 24–25 to see what Jesus taught about the end of the age. Since the 19th century the general acceptance of the priority of Mark, however, has led to the concentration of attention on the Markan version of the discourse.

The interpretation of the chapter took a decisive turn with the publication of Colani's work (1864) on Jesus and the messianic beliefs of his time. Colani's study of the Gospels led him to believe that Jesus rejected the eschatological views of his contemporaries and replaced them with a belief in the organic development of the kingdom of God. Mark 13, by contrast, shows many similarities to Jewish apocalyptic thought, which Colani affirmed Jesus could not have shared. Noticing that the three synoptic versions of the discourse end at v 31 of Mark's account, Colani concluded that Jesus' real answer to the disciples' question in v 3 is given in v 32: God only knows the answer to their question! Accordingly, the intervening passage (vv 5–31) is judged to be an interpolation. Its likeness to Jewish apocalypticism led Colani to describe it as a "little apocalypse" and to postulate that it originated in the Jewish Christian Church.

This hypothesis was immediately taken up by Colani's contemporary, Carl Weizsäcker (1864), and developed in a significant manner. Colani had divided the discourse into three scenes: vv 5–8, the birthpangs; 9–13, the tribulation; and 14–31, the end. Weizsäcker, however, noted that some sayings in the discourse appeared to be authentic words of Jesus, such as the parable of the fig tree in vv 28–29. This raised the problem of the limits of the apocalyptic source of the discourse. Weizsäcker solved it by stressing the threefold division proposed by Colani: The three scenes consisted originally of vv 7–8, 14–20, and 24–27; to these Mark added an introduction concerning false prophets (v 6), repeated between the second and third groups (vv 21–23) warnings about persecution of the disciples (vv 9–13), and added a largely parabolic epilogue (vv 28–37). It is this delimitation of the apocalyptic source of the discourse which is customarily denoted by the expression "little apocalypse." Weizsäcker's definition of it has been accepted by a majority of critical commentators on the Synoptic Gospels, and is elaborated at length by Brandenburger (1984), the latest exponent of Mark 13.

The accord of the commentators has by no means been shared by all writers on the eschatological teaching of

Jesus. An examination of the discussions reveals a high degree of subjectivity in the analyses of the "little apocalypse." Moffatt (1918: 207–9), for example, affirmed: "The contours of the apocalypse are unmistakable; it parts as a whole from the context and forms an intelligible unity," but no one appears to have accepted his own analysis, namely, vv 5–8, 14–27. Some scholars have proposed a fourfold instead of a threefold division of the source; Wendling divided it thus: vv 7–8; 9a, 12; 13b–20a; 24–27 (1908: 155–57). He was followed in a slightly simplified version by Hölscher (1933: 196–97) and by Bultmann (1957: 129), who extended it to include vv 7–8; 12; 14–22; 24–27, 30, and 32. Grayson (1974: 371–87) proposed a quite different division: vv 7, 9, 11, 14–16, 18, 21, and 23. Hartman (1966: 235–41), in an original and significant study, modified the main line of analysis by proposing the source as vv 5b–8, 12–16, 19–22, and 24–27 and interpreting it as a midrash on the apocalyptic visions of Daniel. Hahn (1975: 240–46) extended the source by defining it as vv 7–8, (9–13) 14–22, and 24–31. It will be observed that Hahn has omitted only v 23 from the proposed source vv 7–31. In this he was followed by Pesch, who renounced his earlier adherence to the customary definition of the little apocalypse (1968: 207–18) and added to Hahn's analysis of the source vv 3–5, so omitting from the discourse of vv 3–31 only vv 6 and 23 (Mark *HTKNT*, 266–67).

It was inevitable that someone should at length propose that the entire chapter was taken over from an early apocalypse. Such was the view of Bishop Barnes (1947: 136–37). It was equally inevitable that others should reduce the compass of the source. More than one writer has limited it to vv 14–20 (Goodspeed 1950: 186–88). Holtzmann (1904: 456–57) actually reduced it to vv 14–18. Since vv 15–16 are manifestly from a tradition of the words of Jesus (they occur in Luke 17–31), the term "little" is very appropriate to such an apocalypse. Indeed, it is a misnomer for such a fragment. In the history of endeavors to reconstruct the apocalyptic source of Mark 13, not only has every statement of the chapter been included in it but everyone has been omitted from it as well. The fragmentary nature of the suggested apocalypse and the uncertainty of the links that are thought to bind its elements make it apparent that it is no "intelligible unity," as Moffatt thought. This was acknowledged by W. G. Kümmel (1956: 98), who affirmed, "There is no possibility of establishing an original *literary* sequence between the conjectured components of this apocalypse, so that the hypothesis of a connected apocalyptic basis for this chapter is hardly sufficiently well founded."

It is further to be noted that there are contacts between almost all the contents of Mark 13, including the apocalypse as generally defined, and the teaching of Jesus attested elsewhere in the gospel. The prophecy of the doom of the temple in vv 1–2 is in harmony with warnings of Jesus in Luke 13:1–5, Matt 23:34–39 = Luke 20:49–51, 13:34–35 and closely related to Luke 19:41–44. Verses 5–6 and 21–22 are as plainly related to the Q saying Matt 24:26 = Luke 17:23. The phenomena of wars, earthquakes, famines, and plagues in vv 7–8 are traditional elements in prophetic and apocalyptic representations of the last times and are particularly close to the "four sore judgments" described by Ezekiel (Ezek 14:12–23). Associated in human experience, they are harmonious with the presuppositions that lie behind the prophecies of Jerusalem's doom, namely the lordship of God over history manifested in his judgments. Verses 9 and 11 form a single sentence in Luke 12:11–12, and v 10 indicates the reason for the persecution, namely the preaching of the gospel of the kingdom. Verse 12 has its parallel in Matt 10:34–36 = Luke 12:51–53 and illustrates the reason for Mark's v 13a. The "abomination of desolation" of v 14 is an apocalyptic symbol well known to the Jews, taken from the book of Daniel. Originally it denoted an idolatrous and blasphemous object in the temple of Jerusalem, but significantly its first mention in Daniel (9:27) is set in a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem and its sanctuary, which is the reason for its citation here. The use of the expression makes the prophecy of the temple's destruction in v 2 an eschatological phenomenon; it is the day of the Lord on Jerusalem and its people. This is the reason for the adducing of vv 15–16; they presuppose a threat of war from which one must flee. The saying is reproduced in Luke 17:31, but its earlier explanation is in Mark's context. So also vv 16–17 assume the necessity of urgent flight before a threatening army. Verse 19 cites Dan 12:1 and again harkens back to the situation of v 14, characterizing it as an eschatological "tribulation," which the Lord will shorten for the sake of the elect (v 20).

The substance of vv 24–27 finds parallels in the synoptic representations of the Parousia of the Son of Man (Mark 14:62). When it is recognized that v 22 is linked with v 6, and that v 23 is an isolated saying placed here by Mark, we then perceive an earlier connection between vv 21 and 24 and others following: the alleged secret manifestation of the hidden messiah is contrasted with the revelation of the Son of Man in his Parousia, and that is precisely the purpose of Luke 17:23–24. The theophanic language of the OT prophets in vv 24–25 serves to represent the Parousia of the Christ in v 26 as a theophany, a concept which is already contained in the description of the coming of the Son of Man on the clouds with great power and glory, as in Dan 7:13–14 and Mark 14:62. Such a concept is uniquely Christian; it does not appear in any Jewish apocalyptic work, not even in *1 Enoch* (there is no depiction of the *coming* of the Son of Man in that work). The parable of the fig tree (vv 28–29) is significant as embodying the basic notion of the discourse that events in history can serve as signs of the kingdom of God, a view emphasized by Jesus in Luke 12:54–55 (Matt 11:20–24 = Luke 10:13–15). The language of v 30 is reminiscent of that in Matt 23:26 = Luke 20:51; these latter parallels indicate the original reference of v 30, namely to the day of the Lord on the ancient people of God in the not distant future.

It is evident, accordingly, that the discourse is replete with reminiscences of the tradition of Jesus' words. There is no conclusive evidence that a *single* strand of tradition can be separated as distinct in thought, form, and language from the rest of the chapter as its basis. The reference to *language* is important. Whereas Perrin (1963: 131–32) sought to show that the vocabulary of Mark 13:5–27 is less characteristic of Mark than that in vv 28–37, Lambrecht (1967: 65–260), by his exhaustive analytical study of the discourse, was led to conclude that every sentence

in the chapter bears the stamp of Mark. This does not indicate that Mark composed the discourse *ex nihilo;* rather it shows that he treated the material of the Jesus tradition in Mark 13 as he has elsewhere in his gospel.

It is well known that certain elements of Mark's gospel tradition had already been brought together before he incorporated them in his gospel. This is evident in the controversy narratives (Mark 2:1–3:6) and the parables collection (4:1–32). So it is likely that elements of chapter 13 had earlier been grouped together. In all probability this happened in the primitive Christian catechesis, which preserved the traditions of the instruction of Jesus. In the catechesis, eschatological teaching commonly occurs at the end of collections of sayings of Jesus (cf. the little discourse of Mark 8:27–9:1 and the Matthaean discourse, chaps. 5–7, 10, 13, 18, and 24–25). Apart from any tradition which Mark had received concerning instruction Jesus gave in his last week in Jerusalem, it was natural that Mark's account of the Lord's ministry should conclude with a summary of the teaching of Jesus on the last things. The elements of his teaching will have circulated as disparate items at first, as did most of Jesus' teaching, but signs of early groupings of the sayings may be discerned.

1. *Sayings on the distress of Israel* center above all in vv 14 and 19, and were obviously linked in the tradition with v 2. In due time vv 14–15 and 17–18 were added to vv 14 and 19, and finally v 20.

2. *Sayings on the distress of the Church* are to be observed in vv 9 and 11. Two factors will have caused v 10 to be associated with them: the witnessing activity of the disciples, which was prime cause of their persecution, and the setting of the Church's mission in an eschatological perspective. Verses 12 and 13a became conjoined through the same motive, as also v 13b.

3. *Sayings on pseudo-messiahs and the true Messiah,* vv 21, 24–26. As we have seen, the contrast between the Jewish notion of the secret appearance of the Messiah and the Christian hope of the Parousia of the Son of Man is here set forth. The reference to false messiahs in v 21 attracted the related sayings of vv 6 and 22. The connection between vv 26 and 27 must have been early, as evidenced by 1 Thess 4:16–17 (based on a "word of the Lord").

4. *Sayings on the Parousia and watchfulness,* vv 26–27 and 34–36. It is noteworthy that 1 Thess 4:15–5:11 reflects the thought of Mark 13:24–27, 33–36, so indicating that the theme was current in the catechesis which circulated in the primitive churches.

While these related elements of the catechesis were clearly known in the early period of the Church's life, we cannot assume that they existed in the form of a connected discourse. Mark's disposition of the elements of the discourse indicates the likelihood that he himself brought together the varied eschatological traditions and fashioned them into a unity in light of the situation and needs of the churches he served. If, as is likely, Mark wrote after the Jewish war with the Romans had begun, eschatological anticipation would have been at a high peak, both in Palestine and among Christians in the outer world, for Jewish believers were in many churches throughout the Diaspora, and eschatological expectations would have been stirred everywhere by the events in Israel's land. The same would have applied in the period immediately after the fall of Jerusalem and the terrible fate of its people. There would have been an urgent desire to know what Jesus had said about these events and the end of the age. Mark had good reason to warn Christians against false prophets and messiahs (they were active in his time!) to encourage his fellow believers in faithful ministry and conduct and to inspire them to continue in faith and hope in Christ. This situation would have provided the necessary impulse to gather into one collection the sayings in the tradition of the judgment of Israel, the vocation of the Church, the coming of the Lord, and the call to maintain alertness of spirit.

The chapter as a whole naturally divides itself into four sections: (1) vv 1–4, Introduction—prophecy of the temple's doom and the disciples' question; (2) vv 5–23, the Tribulation of Israel and of the Church; (3) vv 24–27, the Parousia of the Son of Man and the Gathering of the People of God; and (4) vv 28–37, the Times of Fulfillment and Exhortations to Watchfulness.

If sayings on the four topics of Mark 13 had already been linked in the catechetical tradition, at least some of these groupings would have been known to Luke and Matthew, quite apart from Mark's ordering of them in his discourse (1 Thessalonians 4–5 and 2 Thessalonians 2 suggest that Paul was acquainted with various elements of them). Both Matthew and Luke show evidence of various records of sayings in the discourse. On the least estimate, Luke appears to have combined with Mark's record different forms of sayings at his disposal, notably in Luke 21:20–24 and 25–28, while in 21:34–36 he provides an altogether different ending of the discourse from that in Mark 13:33–37. Formidable arguments (Hartman 1966: 226–35; Gaston 1970: 355–65) can be adduced for Luke's possessing an independent form of the discourse, to which he added features of the Markan version. Most scholars, however, consider that Luke followed Mark's outline and incorporated other materials available to him from the catechetical collection. Luke's chief concern in the discourse was to clarify the distinction between events that concerned Israel and those that concerned the wider world in light of the catastrophe that happened to Israel and its people. Contrary to popular opinion, Luke in no way implies a long delay in the coming of the Lord, not even in Luke 21:24; in the NT era the "times of the gentiles," i.e., of gentile domination over Israel, were viewed as lasting for a limited time. So in Dan 7:25 (the source of the idea) the expression "time, times, and half a time" in that passage corresponds with a usage among Jews, where three and a half is a limited number; in eschatological contexts it is applied to a restricted period of suffering (cf. Luke 4:25 and Jas 5:17 with 1 Kgs 18:1). Luke 21:24 is consonant with the general near-expectation of NT writers regarding the coming of the Lord.

Matthew's interest in the discourse is similar to that of Luke's. It is expressed in his wording of the disciples question in Matt 24:3; they ask first, "When will this be?" (i.e., the time of the destruction of the temple), and then question the time of "your coming [Parousia] and the consummation of the age." This latter issue is Matthew's major concern, and it is seen in his replacement of Mark's brief conclusion of the discourse (Mark 13:33–37) with the lengthy addition of material from the Q-Apocalypse of

Luke 17:22–37, together with that in Luke 12:39–46 and the three parables of Matthew 25. This additional teaching is longer than Mark's entire discourse. It all relates to the coming of the Lord and inculcates the lesson of "watching" or preparedness for the Lord's coming. It is noteworthy that the term *Parousia* occurs in this passage alone in the four gospels (with vv 33, 27, and 29 replacing other expressions in his sources). So also, only Matthew in the NT speaks of "the sign of the Son of Man" in the heavens heralding the *Parousia;* it is a reminiscence and adaptation of the "standard" to which the Jews are expected to rally at the sounding of the trumpet for their deliverance and entry into the kingdom of God, a destiny extended to the nations in Isa 11:10 (see also Isa 18:3, and note the Tenth of the Eighteen Benedictions used by the Jews throughout the centuries: "Sound the great trumpet for our liberty, set up the standard to gather our outcasts, and gather us from the four corners of the earth").

Finally, it is important to note that each version of the eschatological discourse in the Synoptic Gospels is marked by an emphasis on ethical exhortation, expressed especially in the call to be watchful, and for continuance in faith and endurance in Christian action. The apocalyptic element in the discourse is equally evident, for the most characteristic feature of apocalyptic thought is precisely the Lordship of God over history and its end in the kingdom of God. But the parenetic emphasis, present in the discourse from its beginning to its end, is unique among apocalyptic writings. This accords with the general emphasis of Jesus' teaching on the kingdom of God, namely the proclamation of redemptive ethical eschatology and redemptive eschatological ethics.

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G. R. Beasley-Murray

GOTHIC VERSIONS. See VERSIONS, ANCIENT (GOTHIC).

GOTHOLIAH (PERSON) [Gk *Gotholias*]. An alternate form of the name ATHALIAH.

GOTHONIEL (PERSON) [Gk *Gothoniēl*]. Father of Chabris, one of the elders of Bethuliah (Jdt 6:15). The name in its Greek form appears only in the book of Judith, but is probably a translation of the Hebrew name Othniel (Heb *ʿotnîʾēl; gamma* replacing *ʿayin*). Othniel in the OT was the brother of Caleb and the first judge of Israel (Josh 15:17; Judg 1:13; 3:9; 3:11; 1 Chr 4:13; 27:15). Although the two figures are certainly not to be identified, it is possible that the author derived the name Gothoniel from the well-known figure Othniel.

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Sidnie Ann White

GOURDS. See FLORA.

GOVERNOR. See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (POSTEXILIC JUDEAN OFFICIALS); PROCURATOR.

GRACE. This entry consists of two articles, one focusing upon the concept of grace as it is expressed in the Hebrew

Bible, and the other focusing upon the notion of grace in the New Testament. See also LOVE.

OLD TESTAMENT

Grace is the favor of God to human beings. The subject of grace in the OT is too vast for comprehensive treatment. Since creation, the redemption and election of Israel, and the gift of the law are all acts of divine favor, a full treatment of grace would have to examine these primal gracious acts of God and much else in the OT (cf. Hals 1980 for an example of such treatment). The present discussion shall be limited to a consideration of three terms for grace that come together in the confession of Exod 34:6 and in the echoes and reflexes of this confession elsewhere in the OT.

The divine self-revelation to Moses in Exod 33:19–34:9 includes the creedal statement of Yahweh as "God compassionate *(ʾēl raḥûm)* and gracious *(wĕḥannûn)*, patient and abundant in love *(ḥesed)* and fidelity (i.e., constant, reliable love)." The two adjectives *raḥûm* and *ḥannûn*, and related forms derived from the same root, and the noun *ḥesed* all contribute to the meaning of grace in the OT.

The creedal affirmation of Exod 34:6 is quoted once more in the Pentateuch (Num 14:18), where Moses appeals for divine forgiveness of the people on the basis of God's self-revelation in Exod 34:6. It is quoted three times in the Psalter (Pss 86:15; 103:8; 145:8) and alluded to in abbreviated form twice more (Pss 111:4; 116:5). Ps 112:4 is ambiguous, in that "gracious and compassionate *(ḥannûn wĕraḥûm)* and righteous" seem to refer to the just human being; however, Dahood in his commentary understands the formula as referring rather to the deity (*Psalms 100–150* AB). In the prophetic literature, the confessional formula of Exod 34:6 is quoted twice (Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2). It is quoted in Neh 9:17 (cf. Neh 9:31) and alluded to in 2 Chr 30:9. A previously unnoticed allusion to the confession occurs in Ps 77:9–10, where the poet in distress calls into question the self-revelatory affirmation: "Has his love *(ḥsdw)* ceased forever? Has his promise failed forever? Has God *(ʾēl)* forgotten to be gracious *(ḥnwt)*? Has he shut up his compassion *(rḥmyw)* in anger?" In this text the three affirmations about God in Exod 34:6 are recalled and questioned; and in both Exodus and the psalm, God is addressed by the divine name El.

The first term to be considered is the root *ḥnn* (grace), which occurs about 200 times in the OT. Derivatives of the root include the verb *ḥānan* ("be gracious to, act graciously toward"), the nouns *ḥēn, tĕḥinnâ, taḥănûnîm,* and *ḥănînâ*, and the adjective *ḥannûn*. The verb *ḥanan* (78 occurrences) means "be gracious, show favor to" in the basic (qal) form, and "seek favor" in the reflexive (hithpael) form. Of the 55 uses of the qal verb, 30 occur in the Psalter: of these, there are 15 instances of the imperative *ḥonnēnî* ("Be gracious to me!") in prayers for divine favor: Pss 4:2; 6:3; 9:14; 25:16; 26:11; 27:7; 30:11; 31:10; 41:5, 11; 51:3; 56:2; 86:3, 16; 119:29; and 132. Note also Pss 123:3 ("Be gracious to us") and 67:2 ("May Yahweh be gracious to us").

The noun *ḥēn* ("grace, favor") occurs 69 times; a frequent occurrence is in such expressions as *māṣāʾ ḥēn bĕʿênê* ("find favor in the eyes of"), which serves as the passive of *ḥnn* ("find favor" = "be favored"), and *nātan ḥēn bĕʿênê* ("give favor in the eyes of"). The idiom "find grace, favor in the sight of (someone)" refers to the positive disposition of the one acting graciously and granting favor, a disposition which is manifested in the bright, happy countenance of the one granting favor. In Num 6:25, "May Yahweh make his face shine on you" is followed by a form of the verb *ḥnn* ("and may he be gracious to you"). Without *ḥnn*, there are a number of similar expressions denoting joy or happiness in speaking of the light of one's face; the light of Yahweh's face, his gracious benevolence, is referred to in Pss 4:7; 31:17; 44:4; 67:2; 80:4, 20; and 89:16. The prayer "Turn to me and be gracious to me!" (Pss 25:16; 86:16; 119:132) asks God to turn his bright happy countenance toward the person praying, a gesture which indicates that God is favorably disposed toward the petitioner. The opposite sentiment of divine wrath or anger is shown by God's hiding his face: cf. Pss 27:7 ("Be gracious to me") and v 9 ("Do not hide your face from me") and 30:8 ("When you hide your face from me, I am terrified") and v 11 ("Be gracious to me").

The nouns *tĕḥinnâ* (25 occurrences) and *taḥănûnîm* (18 occurrences) mean "supplication, prayer for favor"; there is also a single occurrence of another nominal form *ḥănînâ* (Jer 16:13), where "I will not show (lit. "give") you favor" is equivalent to "give favor, show kindness" *(nātan ḥēn)*, an expression occurring 7 times (Gen 39:21; Exod 3:21; 11:3; 12:36; Ps 84:12; Prov 3:34; 13:15. With the exception of Prov 13:15, all the other cases have God as subject).

The adjective *ḥannûn* ("gracious") occurs 13 times: in Exod 34:6 and the passages which quote or allude to this creedal statement (listed above), and in Exod 22:26. With the possible exception of Ps 112:4 (mentioned above), *ḥannûn* is only used of the deity.

In both human-human relationships and human-divine relationships, *ḥen* ("grace") in the OT involves a positive disposition of someone toward another (cf. NAB translation of Gen 39:21; Exod 3:21; 11:3; 12:36). It is an undeserved gift or favor, which can be requested, which is freely and unilaterally given and not coerced, and which can be withheld. Grace is characteristically a favor for a specific occasion given to an inferior by a superior, a person in authority (e.g., a king: 1 Sam 16:2; 27:5; 2 Sam 14:22; 16:4; 1 Kgs 11:19; a royal official: Gen 47:25; Yahweh: Exod 22:26). This uncoerced and unilateral favor is more than a disposition of passive benevolence on the part of God. It is *action* that is requested, God's action in aiding the poor, delivering the oppressed and the mortally ill (Exod 22:24–26; Pss 9:14; 30:11; 31:10), and forgiving sin (Pss 41:5; 51:3; 103:8–10) after repentance (Isa 30:19; Joel 2:13).

The second term to be considered is the noun *ḥesed*. While no English translation captures the full content of this term, the standard renderings include "kindness," "steadfast love," "covenant love," and the like. *Ḥesed* occurs twice in the confessional formula in Exod 34:6–7: in v 6 the expression is *rab-ḥesed weʾĕmet*, "abundant in *ḥesed* and fidelity" (a hendiadys more accurately translated "abundant in reliable, unfailing *ḥesed*"); and in v 7 where the expression is *nōṣēr ḥesed lāʾălāpîm*, "keeping *ḥesed* for thousands."

Ḥesed occurs some 245 times in the OT, of which slightly more than half (127) are found in the Psalter. As a char-

acteristic of the deity, it occurs in such phrases as (1) "the *ḥesed* (or pl. *ḥasdê*, "acts of *ḥesed*") of Yahweh" (1 Sam 20:14; Pss 33:15; 89:2; 103:17; 107:43; Isa 63:7; Lam 3:22); (2) "the *ḥesed* of Elohim" (2 Sam 9:3; Ps 52:10); (3) "the *ḥesed* of El" (Ps 52:3); and (4) "the *ḥesed* of Elyon" (Ps 21:8). God is further described as "abundant in *ḥesed*" in Pss 5:8; 69:14; 106:5; Isa 63:9; Lam 3:32; and Neh 13:22. Since such passages all concern the attitude and activity of God toward humankind, they can be understood to speak of divine grace.

The meaning of *ḥesed* has been illuminated by the important study of Sakenfeld (1978). Building upon and refining previous work, this author lists the following characteristics in her definition of *ḥesed:* (1) *ḥesed* is an action rather than simply an attitude or a psychological state, and the action involved is usually one of deliverance or protection; (2) an act of *ḥesed* is based upon and performed in an existing relationship, either explicit or implicit; (3) *ḥesed* is an action requested or expected of someone who is situationally or circumstantially superior to another who lacks power or resources to perform the desired action; (4) *ḥesed* is extralegal and cannot be coerced; the situationally superior party cannot be compelled to act and remains free not to perform the needed act of *ḥesed;* and (5) *ḥesed* is an act which fulfills an essential need that the person in need cannot meet, and for which there is no alternative source of assistance.

The concept of *ḥesed* describes a human-human relationship, and the responsibilities incurred in such a relationship. When used to describe the divine-human relationship, *ḥesed* can appropriately be considered a word for grace, i.e., God's free and uncoerced action for individuals or for the whole people, in a situation of grave need, when God is appealed to as the only source of assistance.

As a word describing God's gracious activity toward and assistance for his people, *ḥesed* is part of the vocabulary of covenant in Israelite religious thought. See also COVENANT. In the Mosaic conditional covenant, which stresses human obedience as the basis for a continuing relationship with the deity, God's *ḥesed,* involving deliverance and forgiveness for the undeserving, operates even in the context of a broken relationship. Where human sin and rebellion have ended Israel's relationship to God, all that the people can expect is destruction, annihilation; when Israel experiences not divine wrath but God's surprising and unexpected deliverance and preservation of the community, and divine forgiveness, Israel experiences the *ḥesed* of God. While human *ḥesed* depends upon an unbroken relationship in good repair between the superior and inferior parties, divine *ḥesed* is God's gracious and unexpected decision to restore and repair the broken relationship. In the other covenant form operative in God's unconditional commitment to Israel's patriarchs and kings, God's relationship with the human covenant partner is based on the divine promise alone, and thus is not subject to negation because of human failure. Thus *ḥesed* includes both undeserved deliverance (in the context of the Sinai covenant) and promised divine fidelity (in the context of the royal covenant).

While *ḥēn* and *ḥesed* as divine characteristics can both be understood as grace (cf. Gen 39:21 where both terms are used), they are distinguishable. *Ḥesed* involves freely given and essential assistance by a circumstantially superior or dominant party to an individual or a group in need; it is responsible action *within an existing relationship. Ḥēn* also involves a freely given benefit by a superior party to an inferior, but there is *no previous existing relationship* between the two parties.

The final element of the tripartite confession of Exod 34:6 is the description of God as "merciful" *(raḥûm).* This term too finds a place in the OT conception of grace, as is indicated by the passages which link divine mercy to the two other words for grace, *ḥēn (ḥnn)* and *ḥesed.* There are 13 occurrences of the adjective *raḥûm,* in 11 of which it is paired with *ḥannûn* ("gracious"), and all of which refer to God (with the possible exception of Ps 112:4; see above). Only twice is *raḥûm* used of God without *ḥannûn* (Deut 4:31; Ps 78:38). Other forms of the root *rḥm* linked with *ḥnn* comprise Exod 33:19; 2 Kgs 13:23; Isa 27:11; 30:18; and Ps 102:14. Even more frequently is *rḥm* linked with *ḥesed,* especially in the Psalter (Pss 25:6; 40:12; 51:3; 69:17; 77:10; 103:4; 106:45–46). Other texts which link *rḥm* with *ḥesed* outside the Psalter include Isa 54:7, 8, 10; 63:7, 15; Jer 16:5; Hos 2:21; Zech 7:9; and Lam 3:22, 32.

In both secular and theological usages, *rḥm* involves the movement of a superior to an inferior, of the powerful to the weak, provoked by love or pity on the part of the superior and need on the part of the inferior. When used to describe the relationship of God to human beings, such divine compassion or mercy is an appropriate part of Israel's lexicon for grace.

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JOHN S. KSELMAN

NEW TESTAMENT

Grace is love demonstrated by giving; in the gospel, grace is unmerited divine favor, arising in the mind of God and bestowed on his people. It is often considered with regard to its beneficial effects.

A. Terminology

The common OT terms for God's favorable disposition are *ḥesed* and *ḥēn,* usually meaning "mercy" and "favor"

(Smith 1956: 33–55). The NT writers prefer to use "grace" (*charis*). It appears most commonly in Acts and the epistles (except 1 John); in the Synoptic Gospels, only in Luke ("favor," in 1:30; 2:40, 52; also see John 1:14, 16, 17). Besides "grace," *charis* may also be rendered as "gracious" (Luke 4:22; Col 4:6), "gracious work" (2 Cor 8:6, 7, 19), "favor" (2 Cor 8:4), "credit" (Luke 6:32, 33, 34), "thank" (Luke 17:9); "as a gift" (Rom 4:4), "pleasure" (2 Cor 1:15), "blessing" (2 Cor 9:8), and "approved" (1 Pet 2:19).

The NT writers can also use *charis* in a distinctively Christian way, to describe the loving inclination in Christ (*TDNT* 9: 391). Thus "grace" is a central term in Pauline soteriology and important in the vocabulary of Acts, Hebrews, and 1 Peter.

B. Grace as Divine Help and Empowerment

Grace can mean loving help to an individual or to people. Thus, a Christian's speech "may impart grace to those who hear" (Eph 4:29). The term *charis* is thus translated as "gracious work" in 2 Cor 8:6, 7, 19. It is not here a technical term for the Jerusalem Collection (contra *TDNT* 9: 393), but rather a description of unusual generosity.

Grace is most often God's general blessings toward people. For example, God's grace enabled the Macedonians to donate to the Collection despite their own trials (2 Cor 8:1), and enabled the Corinthians to do the same (9:14). In this they will emulate Jesus' gracious condescension (8:9).

God's grace comes to those who are in need and humbly approach God for help. Thus both Jas 4:6 and 1 Pet 5:5 reach back to Prov 3:34: "God opposes the proud, but gives grace to the humble." God's grace brings enablement to the helpless, especially the poor and persecuted. Paul had to learn that "my grace is sufficient for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness" (2 Cor 12:9; see Heb 4:16; 1 Pet 5:10). God's grace includes help in preaching the gospel and in enduring persecution (see Acts 4:33; Phil 1:7).

C. Grace as God's Saving Benevolence in Christ

Grace frequently denotes God's giving of himself in Christ in order to effect salvation for the undeserving. Because of the close connection of grace with God's work, the former is at times used as a sign for the latter. In Acts the phrase "word of grace" is the gospel of Christ (Acts 14:3; 20:32). Believers are urged to "continue in the grace of God" (13:43). In 1 Pet 5:12 the author testifies that his message is "the true grace of God" (cf. Gal 1:6; Col 1:6). In Acts 11:23 "grace" is a metonymy for the results of salvation—"When he came and saw the grace of God [in the new converts], he was glad."

Bultmann (*BTNT* 1: 288–89) understands grace not as the personal quality of a giving God, but as the event of salvation. He wishes to demythologize what he regards as the anthropomorphism of God's grace and wrath, but the NT writers clearly viewed grace and wrath as inclinations within the mind of God rather than as soteriological events alone. The picture of a loving Father is never far behind the word "grace" (see Eph 1:6–7). In context, divine grace is described in more detail: "But God, who is rich in mercy, out of the great love with which he loved us . . ." (Eph 2:4; also 1 Tim 1:14; Titus 2:11; Heb 2:9; 10:29).

It was commonplace for the early Christians to trace their salvation directly to the grace of God in Christ. For Paul in particular, a right standing with God was wholly of grace. God's grace is extended where the gospel is preached and received (2 Cor 4:15; 6:1). Paul is therefore a steward of God's grace in Eph 3:2, preaching the gospel and declaring God's good favor to more and more people.

In Rom 3:24, sinners "are justified by his grace as a gift, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus." God's grace is needed to the extent that sin is present, that is, universally (Rom 5:20–21; see 1 Tim 1:15–16). "Grace" in Romans 5–6 is a shorthand both for the gospel and for the liberty with which the Christian serves God apart from the Law (see Rom 5:2, 15, 17; 6:1, 14, 15).

Eph 2:8–9 exemplifies the Pauline emphasis on the incompatibility of a system of works with salvation by God's grace: "For by grace you have been saved through faith; and this is not your own doing, it is the gift of God—not of works, lest any man should boast." Grace is "not something proceeding from himself or from his own nature, or from his own will or effort, but something 'wholly other,' which proceeds from God and is 'exhibited' on the cross of Christ (Rom 3:25–26)" (Whitley 1932: 43–44).

The author of Acts likewise values saving grace. At the Jerusalem Council, Peter refuses to place gentiles under the Mosaic law: "But we believe that we shall be saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus, just as they will" (Acts 15:11; cf. Acts 18:27; 20:24).

Salvation by grace is used as a foil to merit by the Law in several important passages. John uses "grace" to describe the Logos in John 1:14–18: the Word is "full of grace and truth," we have received from him "grace upon grace." John contrasts Jesus and Moses by saying that "the law was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ."

Paul was deeply concerned with salvation by God's grace as opposed to salvation in any way merited by works: by definition, grace must be undeserved. He states in Rom 4:16 that "that is why it depends on faith, in order that the promise may rest on grace . . ." For the apostle, justification by faith safeguards the pure reality of saving grace: "I do not nullify the grace of God; for if justification were through the law, then Christ died to no purpose" (Gal 2:21). Paul's opponents warned that salvation by grace alone would lead inevitably to licentiousness; Jude 4 seems to indicate that that might have been one of the perversions of the gospel. But Paul knows that saving grace also means that Christians may find power to live holy lives apart from legalistic structures: "For sin will have no dominion over you, since you are not under law but under grace" (Rom 6:14; see also 6:15; 2 Tim 1:9). A striking parallel to the Pauline emphasis (e.g., in 1 Cor 8:8) is found in Heb 13:9, where the author warns his readers: "Do not be led away by diverse and strange teachings; for it is well that the heart be strengthened by grace, not by foods, which have not benefited their adherents."

In Gal 5:4 Paul tells certain Christians that they have "fallen away from grace." Like the Jews of Rom 10:3, the Galatians "who would be justified by the law" are turning their backs on justification by faith, which to Paul is falling

from salvation by grace. In trying to merit the undeserved, they are giving affront to a giving God.

The contrast between salvation wholly by grace and salvation through works is illustrated by divine election. In Rom 11:5–6 Paul states that "there is a remnant, chosen by grace. But if it is by grace, it is no longer on the basis of works; otherwise, grace would no longer be grace." In the apostle's mind, grace is found not only in justification by faith; it also means that those whom God elects are chosen without regard to their religious zeal. Saving faith is also regarded as a gift of God: in Eph 2:9 the whole process of salvation through faith is a gift of grace; Acts 18:27 refers to Christians as "those who through grace had believed" (see also Acts 13:48; 16:14).

In 1 Peter, Peter twice (1:10, 13) speaks of grace as the eschatological revelation of God's saving grace. This certainly does not restrict divine grace to the future, since the author views the whole of the Christian message as grace (5:10, 12). Within the NT, grace as eschatological glory seems to be limited to 1 Peter 1; but note *Did.* 10.6: "May grace come and may this world pass away."

"Grace" is commonly connected with the preaching of the Word. In the NT, however, it is not explicitly used in connection with the sacraments, as is often the case in later theology.

D. Grace as Special Endowment for Ministry

Both *charis* and *charisma* are used in the NT to refer to extraordinary divine empowerment for ministry. While *charisma* already had the meaning of "gift" in Hellenistic literature, the NT authors may have used the term of spiritual gifts with a conscious allusion to God's grace in Christ.

Paul received "grace and apostleship," meaning that apostleship was a gracious gift (as in Rom 12:3; 15:15; 1 Cor 3:10 [in the Greek]; 1 Cor 15:10; 2 Cor 1:12; Gal 2:9; Eph 3:7–8). Apostleship is but one of the *charismata*, and 1 Cor 1:4 in context confirms that all the spiritual gifts are divine "graces." Paul says the same thing in Rom 12:6: "Having gifts that differ according to the grace given to us, let us use them" (cf. Eph 4:7). In 1 Pet 4:10, similar vocabulary is used: "As each has received a gift *(charisma)*, employ it for one another, as good stewards of God's varied grace." Grace is given to Christians in the form of *charismata*, with which they may edify the Church and thus act as channels of God's goodness and care.

E. Grace in Salutations and Benedictions

The importance of God's grace can be seen in passages such as Acts 14:26; 15:40; 20:32, in which believers (in the first two instances, departing missionaries) are commended to God's grace at parting. "Grace" is also used in the salutation and benediction of every letter of the Pauline corpus, 1 and 2 Peter, Revelation, and *1 Clement.* It is found in the closing words of Hebrews and 2 John, but is not used either to begin or close James, 1 and 3 John, and Jude. Grace is often linked with other words, such as "peace" or "mercy," as in the Pauline "Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ" (so 2 Cor 1:3), or in 1 Peter 1:2: "May grace and peace be multiplied to you."

The use of "grace" as a greeting probably derived from the use of the cognate *charein* ("greetings") in Hellenistic epistles (as in Acts 15:23; Jas 1:1). The change from "greetings" to "grace and peace" may have been Paul's own invention (Moffatt 1932: 135–55), although other NT writers also use that convention.

F. Grace in the Theology of the Christian Church

The doctrine of grace came to its fullest exposition in the theology of Augustine. He rejected Pelagianism, the contemporary movement which stressed the freedom of the will and the natural human ability to serve God. Augustine countered that the fall of Adam ensures that no individual is able to turn to God, much less obey him. Thus all of salvation must flow from God's grace. Even the decision to receive salvation arises from God's call, in which grace to believe is given. God's grace is prerequisite to any true movement toward God. As a later heterodox reaction to Augustinianism, semi-Pelagianism taught that the beginning of faith and perseverance were to be regarded as the fruits of the human will.

For the late medieval Church, grace was an effluence rather than a divine disposition. Thomas Aquinas could define it as a substance which was infused in people through the sacraments. Infused grace enabled Christians to produce good works, which would lead to God's forgiveness.

The Reformation brought about a revival of Augustinian theology, finding its expression in the slogan *sola gratia:* salvation is of God's gracious inclination toward us from beginning to end, and does not depend on works nor Church nor sacrament. It has its beginning in the gracious election of some to salvation, without regard to merit or spiritual inclination, and leading to the gift of regeneration. Calvin in particular dismissed the medieval view of grace as "magic" (*Institutes* 4.14.14–17).

The Council of Trent rejected the Reformers' understanding of grace. Prevenient grace and free will could lead one to initial faith in Christ and baptism. Through the sacrament, grace would be given to start the process of justification and holy living.

The theology of grace has received much attention in the 20th century, particularly in the theology of Karl Barth (see Berkhouwer 1956).

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GARY S. SHOGREN

GRANARY. See AGRICULTURE.

GRANULATION. See JEWELRY, ANCIENT ISRAELITE.

GRAPES. See FLORA.

GRASS. See FLORA.

GRASSHOPPER. See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

GRATING [Heb *mikbar*]. A bronze mesh that apparently covered the upper part of the bronze altar of burnt offerings that stood in the courtyard of the Tabernacle (Exod 27:4; 35:16; 38:4, 5, 30; 39:39). This mesh was placed under the ledge of the altar, which seems to have been just beneath the rim. Its four corners were fitted with rings to hold the poles by which the altar could be transported. Despite the information provided by the text, the exact appearance, location, and function of the grating cannot be understood.

CAROL MEYERS

GRAVEN IMAGE. "Graven image" normally translates the Hebrew *pesel* or *pāsîl*. Etymologically, both words are related to the verb *pāsal*, "to hew or carve" (e.g., Exod 34:1; 1 Kgs 5:21 [—Eng 5:18]), and in some instances (e.g., Deut 27:15) *pesel* seems to refer to a carved image in contrast to one made by casting molten metal (*massēkâ, nesek, nāsîk*). In other instances this distinction between the words is not maintained, and Isa 40:19 and 44:10 indicate that a *pesel* could be cast (*nāsak*). Other words for images such as *semel* and *ʿāṣāb* probably refer to similar kinds of images.

These images were occasionally made of stone (Hab 2:19) or wood (Isa 40:20; 45:20), and stone statues of deities, sometimes life-size, are known from elsewhere in the ancient Near East. Often they were made of wood carved into the shape of the deity, overlaid with gold and silver, and then fastened to a base (Hab 2:18–19; Isa 30:22; 40:19–20; Jer 10:3–5). Texts from Egypt and Mesopotamia describe similarly made cult statues of deities. Such statues were an important focus of worship in both Egypt and Mesopotamia, and texts like 1 Sam 5:2–5; Deut 7:5, 25; and 2 Sam 5:21 (cf. 1 Chr 14:12) make it clear that they were also used by the Canaanites.

While cult statues were generally life-size, their appearance probably varied considerably depending on the material from which they were made and the resources available for creating the statue. Some, described in Egyptian and Mesopotamian literature, were covered with silver, gold, and precious stones and were spectacularly attired; others probably were made of wood and stone and were much less impressive. Some images may have consisted of little more than a consecrated stone or piece of wood. The real significance of images for those outside Israel lay not in appearance but in function. The life of the god was thought to reside in the statue, and the deity was considered actually present in the image. Other statues, usually smaller in size, were used as votive offerings and for protective and magical purposes.

The use of such images was strictly forbidden by biblical law. However, the context in which the prohibition occurs in the Ten Commandments (Exod 20:2–6; Deut 5:6–10) suggests that its primary focus was to forbid images used in worship rather than to prohibit artistic expression. Figures of cherubim (Exod 26:1, 31; 1 Kgs 6:23–28; 2 Chr 3:7) and other artistic representations (1 Kgs 7:25, 29, 36; Jer 52:20) were used in the tabernacle and the temple. For further discussion and bibliography, see IDOL, IDOLATRY.

EDWARD M. CURTIS

GREAT ASSEMBLY. The Great Assembly (Heb *kĕneset haggĕdôlâ*, often mistranslated as the Great Synagogue) is first mentioned in *m. ʾAbot* 1:1 (written about 250 C.E.), where it is placed in the chain of tradents who handed down the oral torah from Moses to the post-70 rabbis. Its position in this chain between the "prophets" and the five "pairs" (see ZUGOTH) indicates that it belongs to the postexilic period, sometime before the collapse of the Maccabean dynasty. In fact, it is the only institution *ʾAbot* mentions that could have existed during the first 200 or 300 years after the return to Jerusalem.

Rabbinic literature depicts the Great Assembly as an important and authoritative body that legislated significant changes for Judaism. Later rabbis held that it established the festival of Purim (*b. Meg.* 2a) and wrote the books of Ezekiel, Esther, Daniel, and the twelve prophets (*b. B. Bat.* 15a). The rabbis also held that the Assembly played a major role in creating the liturgy used in the rabbinic period, attributing to them the Eighteen Benedictions (*b. Meg.* 17b), *Kiddush* and *Habdalah* (*b. Ber.* 33a) as well as other prayers and benedictions.

Only one member of the Great Assembly is ever mentioned by name: Simeon the Just. According to *ʾAbot*, he was "one of the last survivors of the great assembly." Scholars have attempted to identify him with Simeon I (310–291 B.C.E.), Simeon II (219–199 B.C.E.) and Simeon the Maccabee. While the case for Simeon II appears strongest, none of the identifications is by any means certain.

In fact, the historicity and nature of the Great Assembly are a matter of scholarly debate—one which has engendered little agreement, even on elementary questions. The most significant information, often ignored, is the lack of contemporary evidence for this institution; the first mention of the Great Assembly comes some 400 to 600 years after it supposedly existed and in documents not known for their interest in history. Furthermore, *ʾAbot* and the rest of rabbinic literature depict the Assembly as a permanent institution, but several passages (e.g., *y. Ber.* 1:6; *y. Ber.* 7:3; *Midr. Ps.* 19) reveal that the rabbis connect it to the one-time general meeting depicted in Neh 8–10. The concept of the Great Assembly thus appeared first among the rabbis of the 1st or 2d century C.E., and they or their successors tied it to the Nehemiah story. It is unlikely that the Great Assembly ever was a historical institution as portrayed in rabbinic literature.

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PAUL V. M. FLESHER

GREAT BIBLE, THE. Henry VIII, seeking a Bible free from undesirable interpretations, permitted Thomas Cromwell, his Vicar-General, to proceed with the preparation of what came to be called the Great Bible. Cromwell, securing permission from the King of France, appointed Richard Grafton and Eduard Whitechurch to do the printing in Paris because of the superior paper and workmanship available there. Though Miles Coverdale's translation of the Bible had been out only two years, he was persuaded to prepare the new text. Coverdale and Grafton wrote Cromwell from Paris in June of 1538 of their progress.

Coverdale used Matthew's Bible (1537), Sebastian Münster's Latin text of the Old Testament (1534–35), Erasmus' Latin Bible (1516, 1519, 1522, 1517), and perhaps the Complutensian Polyglot (1521). Because of the patronage Cromwell gave, the Bible is sometimes called "Cromwell's Bible."

A printing of 2,000 copies was planned, but relations with France worsened so that by December of 1538 Coverdale wrote Cromwell of the political danger. The Inquisition arrested the printer, Francis Regnault, and seized all the stock; however, the correctors escaped with some sheets. Four vats of the sheets, escaping from the fire, were sold to a haberdasher, and after repurchase by the British reached England safely. After extended negotiations, the press, type, and printers were brought to England, and the Bible was finally finished in 1539 (Herbert 1968: No 46).

Named from its size of fifteen inches in height, the Great Bible had a woodcut title page, formerly erroneously ascribed to Holbein, which shows Henry VIII with Cranmer and Cromwell distributing Bibles to the people, who cry "Vivat rex!" and "God save the King!" There are numerous woodcut borders and initials scattered through the book.

An edition in 1540 had a preface by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, which is why it is known as "Cranmer's Bible." This preface was frequently also printed in later Bibles of other types. The title page of 1540 carried the words "This is the Bible appointed to be read in Churches." By the end of 1541 there had been a total of seven editions with an estimated 20,000 copies. These editions were the subject of a study by Francis Fry in 1865.

The text used the paragraphs of Stephen Langton, had no verses, but used A, B, and C down the margins to mark sections. Words derived from the Latin Bible but not represented in the original languages were printed in small type. The order of books in the New Testament is that of Erasmus (later used in the KJV), not that of Luther. The Lord's Prayer read "Forgive us our dettes . . ." rather than "trespasses," which Tyndale had used.

Coverdale had planned a set of annotations for the end of the Bible, and he inserted a pointing hand at appropriate places in the text, but the notes were never approved and never appeared.

The royal Injunctions of 1538 had ordered that by a certain date every parish was to have a Bible of "the largest volume in English" to be set up to be read. The Great Bible sold for ten shillings unbound and twelve shillings bound and clasped. Churchwardens' accounts of the period enter the cost for "half a Bible," which means the parish paid half and the clergy half. Because the book was often chained to the reading stand, as books of the period in libraries were often chained to prevent theft, it has been called "the chained Bible." Six copies were set up in St. Paul's in London, and crowds gathered to hear the reading, making it necessary for the Bishop of London to forbid reading during the sermon.

An effort in 1542 to revise the Great Bible to make it more like the Latin failed, for the bishops to whom parts were allotted had no real desire for the planned revision. No Bibles were printed in England during Henry's reign after 1541. In 1543 Bibles with the name of Tyndale were proscribed, and in 1546 Coverdale's name was included in the prohibition. After Henry's death, in the six and a half years of Edward VI's reign (1547–1553), there were twenty-four printings of the NT and sixteen of the entire Bible of various sorts. Under Mary (1553–1558), no Bibles were published in England. Rogers and Cranmer, who had played a role in Bible translation, were martyred (1555, 1556). With the accession of Elizabeth (1558), Bibles were printed again, with the Great Bible printed in 1561 (No. 110), 1562 (No. 117), 1566 (Nos. 119, 120), and 1668 (No. 122).

The Great Bible was used as the basis for the revision done by Matthew Parker, which came to be known as the Bishops' Bible. The Bishops' Bible immediately displaced the Great Bible, of which the last printing was in 1569; however, the Great Bible Psalms had become a lasting part of the Book of Common Prayer, and they were inserted in Bishops' Bibles after 1572. Butterworth (1941: 231) estimated that thirteen percent of the wording of the King James version of the Bible is due to Coverdale's work, including the Great Bible.

The text of the NT was reprinted in Bagster's *English Hexapla* in 1841 and in Weigle's *The New Testament Octapla* in 1962. Its Psalms are in the *Hexaplar Psalter* of 1911, and its Genesis is in Weigle's *Genesis Octapla* in 1965.

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JACK P. LEWIS

GREAT COMMISSION, THE. The pericope specifically known as "the Great Commission" is Matt 28:18–20, but the post-Resurrection narratives in the Gospels and Acts record other directives (Mark 16:15; Luke 24:47–49; John 20:21–23; Acts 1:8) as well that the risen Lord gave His church (Matt 16:18) to obey "to the close of the age" (Matt 28:20). Each account makes distinctive, but complementary, contributions to the Commission that has fueled the spread of Christianity to the present time (Peters 1972: 174–98; Warren 1976).

Of the various passages, Mark 16:15, located in the longer ending of the second gospel, is likely not original.

However, this section of Mark was quoted by Irenaeus and Hippolytus in the latter 2d and early 3d centuries A.D. Also, the wording "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation" (Mark 16:15) is strikingly similar to the Pauline statements that "the gospel . . . has been preached to every creature under heaven" (Col 1:23) and "in the whole world" (Col 1:6). Thus, a mandate for universal proclamation of the gospel message is understood in the NT and early church history, completely apart from a decision on Mark 16:15.

The Commission statement in John's gospel reads, "As the Father has sent me, even so I send you" (20:21). The emphasis is on continuation of Jesus' earthly ministry through the disciples (vv 19, 20). The Son came to fulfill a redemptive mission from the Father (3:16). Now, following the Johannine account of the death and burial of Jesus (19:17–42) and the glorious resurrection (20:1–9), the offer of forgiveness of sins (v 23) is sent forth (v 21) in the power of the Holy Spirit (v 22).

The version of Christ's commission in Luke also mentions forgiveness and more precisely describes the geographical "sending": "Repentance and forgiveness of sins will be preached in his name to all nations, beginning at Jerusalem" (24:47). The combining of repentance and forgiveness looks ahead to Peter's sermon at Pentecost (Acts 2:38). The stated scope of Paul's apostolic mission is "all nations" (Rom 1:5; 16:26), and he declares that he has proclaimed the gospel "from Jerusalem all the way around to Illyricum" (Rom 15:19). Thus, there seems to be a consciousness of the Lukan Commission at an early stage.

Luke's message is repeated in Acts 1:8, which picks up the themes of being "witnesses" from Luke 24:48 and of "power" from 24:49. It also states the same geographic starting point as seen in Luke 24:47 (i.e., Jerusalem). In well-known words which generally prefigure the development of Acts, Jesus says, "You will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the end of the earth" (Acts 1:8). These words come immediately before the Ascension (v 9), thus accentuating their implications.

The specific "Great Commission" is in Matt 28:18–20. In the light of the resurrection (28:1–7), the triumphant Lord asserts universal authority (v 18) and commands a universal age-long strategy (vv 19–20; O'Brien 1978: 256–67). While the background, structure, function, and theology of this section has recently been widely debated (Brooks 1981: 2–18; Hubbard 1974; Kingsbury 1974: 573–84; Friedrich 1983: 137–83), the general thrust is clear. In his public ministry Jesus had called "disciples" (Gk *mathētai; TDNT* 4: 390–461; Wilkins 1988) from the masses as He went about proclaiming the gospel of the kingdom and teaching (Matt 4:17–5:2). Now He directs His closest disciples (Matt 28:16) to "Go . . . and make disciples (*mathēteuō*) of all nations" (v 19). This represents a shift from Jesus' focus on Israel seen in Matt 10:5–6 and 15:24 (Brown 1980: 193–221).

While the worldwide *goal* of the Great Commission is equivalent to Luke 24:47 and Acts 1:8, the sequential *procedure* is unique to the Matthean statement: "going" (Gk *poreuthentes*) for the purpose of evangelism and making disciples (Matt 28:19); baptizing those who respond to the gospel (v 19); and teaching those new disciples what Christ had commanded (v 20; Luter 1980: 269–70). Further, in words recalling the "Emmanuel" promise in Matt 1:23, Christ promises His ongoing presence in the Great Commission process (v 20), which will only be fulfilled at the time of the Parousia (Matt 24:14).

The beginning of the outworking of the Great Commission is seen in the activities of the generation that received it. Peter's procedure at Pentecost was evangelistic preaching, then baptism and teaching (Acts 2:41–42). The approach of Paul seen in Acts 14:21–23 is evangelism in order to "make disciples" (the only use of *mathēteuō* outside Matthew), then instructing the disciples *(mathētai)* and organizing them into churches. Such examples imply that the apostles understood that Christ's church (Matt 16:18) was to be built up by making disciples of all nations throughout the age (Matt 28:19–20).

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A. Boyd Luter, Jr.

GREAT POWER, CONCEPT OF. See CONCEPT OF GREAT POWER (NHC VI,*4*).

GREAT SEA (PLACE) [Heb *hayyām haggādôl*]. A geographical designation for the sea located W of the Promised Land (Num 34:6–7; Josh 1:4; 9:1; 15:47; 23:4; Ezek 47:15; 19:20; 48:20). The Egyptians referred to it as *W3d-wr*, the "Great Green," a term connoting a sea in general, but particularly the sea known today as the Mediterranean. Assyrian kings, whose armies reached the sea, called it *tâmtu rabîtu*, the "Great Sea." The Aramaic translation, the LXX, and the Vulgate followed suit. The *Genesis Apocryphon*, however, added a modifier. When delineating the W boundary of the land promised to Abraham, it called the sea to the west, *ym' rb' dn dy mlḥ'*, the "Great Sea of Salt" (1QapGen 21). This sea is designated as "great" to distinguish it from the inland "Sea of Salt," a characterization found later in Jewish sources of the Middle Ages (Maimonides, Arabic commentary on *m. Kelim* 15:1).

The Targum recognizes the existence of two "Great Seas," one in the W and one in the S or SE (*Tg. Ket.* Ps 72:8). Since there was more than one great sea known to the ancients, a further distinction was made. The chronicles of the Assyrian kings show that the royal scribes described the Mediterranean as *tam-tù rabî-tu ša šul-mu* ^{d}*šam-ši* ("the Great Sea which is in the west"), differentiating it from the *tam-tù rabî-tu ša na-paḫ* ^{d}*šam-ši* ("the Great Sea which is in the East"). Similarly, when drawing territorial boundaries of the biblical land, the Hebrews used the term *hayyām haggādôl* in conjunction with another word or phrase which signified the W, such as *hayyām haggādôl mēbô' haššāmeš*, "the Great Sea where the sun sets" (Jos 1:4; 23:4), or *yām*, literally, "sea," but figuratively, in most instances, "west" (Num 34:6; cf. Ps 107:3 where *yām* signifies "south").

The ancient Near Eastern people gave designations to parts of the Great Sea, especially to its Syro-Palestinian shores. Although not mentioned in Scriptures, Egyptian sources employ the term *p3ywm ʿ3 n Ḫ3rw*, "the Great Sea of Ḫuru" (Gardiner 1932: 61–76), which refers to the Great Sea of Ḫuru-land (= Syria-Palestine). The name is drawn from an ethnic group, Ḫurrians, which inhabited Syro-Palestine long before the appearance of the Israelite tribes (Gen 14:6; Deut 2:12). The biblical text preserves another ethnological term, "Sea of the Philistines" (Exod 23:31), located along the Palestinian shoreline, most probably in the vicinity of Philistine settlements. In the same vein, the Sea of Joppa is the part of the Great Sea named after the port city prominent from the pre-biblical era through the post-biblical period. Ancient Israel regarded this port city as the main outlet to the Great Sea for goods as well as for travelers even before it came under direct Jewish control in 143 B.C.E. (1 Chr 2:15; Ezra 3:7; Jonah 1:3; see also *Let. Aris.* 115; Strab. *Geo* 16 2.28).

Designations of parts of the Great Sea by names of independent seaports or ethnic groups raised the question of the jurisdiction of the city or the people over the territorial waters adjacent to the land. While not discussed in Scriptures, the issue concerned the postbiblical Jewish sages. They argued that the W border, for the purposes of Jewish law, did not end with the seacoast of the Great Sea but incorporated that part of it that extended due W between the S and N borders of Israel. The minimalists' approach included under Jewish jurisdiction only segments of the east Mediterranean along the coast. The maximalists' view encompassed a major part of the Great Sea, placing not only the sea but also the islands under the jurisdiction of the Promised Land (*b. Giṭ* 8a), a theory which runs parallel to the Roman conception of the Mediterranean Sea as *mare nostrum*.

The Israelites, contrary to their stereotype of landlubbers, were not only farmers but were also participants in maritime enterprises taking place in the Great Sea to the W and the Great Sea to the SE.

A major preoccupation of the conquering Israelites was their attempt to control the seacoast which stretched from Gaza in the S to Sidon in the N. Coalitions of powerful western kings along *hôp hayyām haggādôl* (Josh 9:1), an *hapax leqomenon* referring to the "shore of the Great Sea," joined forces to prevent the advancing tribes of Israel from dominating the coastal strip. The alliance was defeated and the Israelites were able to occupy the coast, albeit only sections of it (Josh 11:8; Boling *Joshua* AB, 308; Judg 1:27, 30–32; Boling *Judges* AB, 60). The efforts to control the seacoast were continued by the conquering tribes who achieved dominance over the central part of it, except for the famous harbor town of Dor (Josh 17:11; Boling *Joshua* AB, 306; Judg 1:27).

The possession of large sections of the coastal region permitted participation in marine trade and provided direct access to marts in foreign lands. According to biblical evidence, no less than three tribes—Zebulon, Dan, and Asher—were involved in maritime activities (Gen 49:13; Judg 5:17; see also Yadin 1965: 42–55).

Recent maritime archaeological surveys reveal numerous harbors and havens along the ancient Mediterranean coast of Israel, suggesting considerable sea trade (Linder and Leenhardt 1964: 47–51; Raban 1984: 241–53). Later, when the Philistines gained control over the S coast, the Hebrews found another sea outlet. King Solomon exploited the geographical position of Ancient Israel as a land bridge between the two Great Seas and entered into a commercial partnership with the Phoenicians, which overcame geographical barriers for both. For the Hebrews, it opened up the sea-lanes on the Mediterranean, and for the Phoenicians, it allowed access to the lucrative sea trade from the east (1 Sam 5:11; 1 Kgs 5:15–26; 9:11–14; 26–28; 10:11; 22; 2 Chr 2:2–15; 5:17–18; 9:21; see also Menander apud *AgAp* 1.120; 126).

When the monarchy was divided and the tribes could no longer regain possession of the coastal strip, the maritime ventures on the Great Sea were severely curtailed (Gordon 1963: 31). There was, however, a full-blown revival of maritime activity during the Maccabean period (See MEDITERRANEAN SEA). As an integral component of the Mediterranean society (Gordon 1963: 20–22), the Hebrews always strove to achieve an outlet to the Great Sea. Whenever the goal was realized, they set sail and engaged in all aspects of maritime activities.

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MEIR LUBETSKI

GREECE (PLACE) [Gk *hē Hellas*]. The lower part of the Balkan peninsula which protrudes southward from the continent of Europe, between Italy and Turkey (Acts 20:2).

A. Geographical Location
B. Terminology

C. Early Civilization (before 2000 B.C.)
D. Migrations and Language (ca. 2600–1000 B.C.)
E. Minoan Civilization (ca. 2000–1400 B.C.)
F. Mycenaean Civilization (ca. 1450–1200 B.C.)
G. The Dark Age (ca. 1200–800 B.C.)
H. The Archaic Age (ca. 800–500 B.C.)
I. The Classical Period (ca. 500–338 B.C.)
J. The Hellenistic Period (338–146 B.C.)

A. Geographical Location

The major part of the country of Greece is located between 20 and 25 degrees east longitude and between 36 and 40 degrees north latitude. However, there are more than 2,000 Greek islands, 151 of which are inhabited, which extend to the coast of Turkey, where colonists of ancient Greece established themselves in Aeolia and Ionia.

B. Terminology

The name Greece *(Hellas)* was brought into the main part of the country by an invading tribe of *Hellēnes*. According to Aristotle, they came from Epirus in NW Greece; more specifically, the area around Dodona, which they called *Hellas*. The name was later applied to the entire country. Greece is mentioned only once by name in the New Testament (Acts 20:2), where it refers only to Achaia (S Greece) as opposed to Macedonia in the N (v 3). Most modern translations of the Hebrew Bible render the term JAVAN as Greece (e.g., Dan 8:21; 10:20; 11:2; Zech 9:13). Javan is mentioned among the distant (gentile) nations in Isa 66:19; Ezek 27:13). The name was apparently derived from Javan, the fourth son of Noah's son Japheth (Gen 10:2, 4; 1 Chr 1:5, 7). Greeks are referred to in Joel 3:6.

In NT times, subsequent to the extensive Hellenization of the ancient world by Alexander the Great, the term Greek became somewhat of a cultural designation, referring to anyone who accepted Greek culture and spoke the language. The Jews who came to worship at the Passover feast and asked to see Jesus are called "Greeks" *(hellēnes)* by John, meaning they were from the Diaspora (John 12:20). Luke calls them "Hellenists" (*hellēnistōn*, Acts 6:1). Ancient Greek manuscripts sometimes confuse or equate the two terms (Acts 9:29). Luke probably reserves the term "Greeks" for non-Jews who worship the one true God (Acts 14:1; 16:1, 3; 17:4, 12; 19:17), also calling them Godfearers (13:16, 26; 16:14; 18:7), and designates as "Gentiles" those who were polytheistic pagans (4:25, 27; 9:15; 18:6; etc.). Jews in Jerusalem felt that anyone who had not become a proselyte was a gentile, even if he was a Godfearer like Cornelius (Acts 11:1, 18).

C. Early Civilization (before 2000 B.C.)

There are no written documents concerning Greece prior to the *Iliad* of Homer, around 800 B.C. We rely, therefore, largely on archaeological discovery and philology for information about the prehistoric period. From a study of the language we learn that a non-Indo-European people lived in Greece before the arrival of Indo-European Greek-speaking tribes. The former seem to have come from Armenia and the latter from south Russia.

Agricultural and pastoral seafaring nomads settled in Crete, Cyprus, and the Cyclades early in the Neolithic Period, around the close of the 4th millennium B.C. In the Early Bronze Period (ca. 2600–2000 B.C. for Crete), migrants from Asia Minor settled in Crete and the Cyclades. Skeletons show that they were long-headed and narrow-faced people, rather short in stature; the men averaged five feet and two inches and the women four feet and eleven inches. These are regarded as the first Minoans, who settled in Crete and were later named after Minos, a famous king of Crete.

Extensive trade developed between Cyprus and Babylonia, testified to by the discovery of many Babylonian cylinder seals in Early Bronze settlements in Cyprus. Trade also flourished between the Cyclades and Asia Minor. Undoubtedly prompted by this trade, the pictographic form of writing was replaced around 1600 by a linear script, called Linear A, which has never been deciphered. It was widely used throughout Crete. It was written from right to left and probably did not represent the Greek language. It may have belonged to the period prior to the Indo-European settlements.

D. Migrations and Language (ca. 2600–1000 B.C.)

The first Greek-speaking people in the southern Balkan Peninsula arrived in Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus sometime after 2600 B.C. and developed, probably due to the extreme mountainous nature of the country, their several different dialects. About 1900 B.C., people who spoke Ionic, the oldest dialect of Greek, moved into Boeotia, Corinthia, and Argolis.

About 1600 B.C., the largest migration of Greek-speaking people entered Greece, speaking the Achaean groups of dialects—the Aeolic branch in E Greece and the Arcadian branch in the Peloponnese. The development of the epic Greek language began at that time, when these two branches were the main dialects of the Greek world. Those who spoke the Ionic dialect were driven southward into Attica by the Aeolic-speaking branch. The Dorians brought their dialect into S Greece, when they overthrew the Mycenaeans around 1200. About 1000 B.C., Ionians migrated to W Asia Minor and settled along its S coast. Homer and Hesiod wrote primarily in Ionic. The people of Athens were part of this Ionic-speaking tribe in Attica, and by the Classical Period, on the mainland, Ionic was spoken in Attica alone. Aeolic-speaking Greeks also migrated to the W coast of Asia Minor, settling in the area immediately N of Ionia. The youngest stratum of dialect is Attic, which underlay the amalgamated Koine (common) Greek in which the New Testament was written.

E. Minoan Civilization (ca. 2000–1400 B.C.)

The Minoan civilization reached its zenith from 1600 to 1400 B.C. Excavated settlements show a highly developed society with two-story houses which contained bathrooms, lavatories, halls, and interior staircases. Frescoes and statues show the men wearing a codpiece, a tight belt, and occasionally a short kilt. Women wore a skirt, a tight belt, and sometimes a low corset, leaving the breasts exposed. Both sexes were slender and wore their hair long. The men were beardless. Both sexes participated in public functions, especially sports such as the popular somersaulting over the backs of charging longhorn bulls (bull-leaping). Dancing girls were frequently portrayed on the walls of the palace at Knossos in N Crete, excavated by Sir

Arthur Evans in A.D. 1900. The chief deity of this devoutly religious civilization was female. The Mother Goddess of Anatolia may be the source of this deity, but this is uncertain.

The major palaces of Crete were destroyed around 1400 B.C. when the Minoan civilization came to an end. The causes are not known, but several have been suggested as possible: (1) the mid-15th-century volcanic explosion that destroyed Thera (Santorini), which some identify with ancient Atlantis; (2) civil war on Crete; (3) pirate activity of the kind that later destroyed Troy and Mycenae and attacked Egypt; (4) an invasion of the Mycenaeans.

F. Mycenaean Civilization (ca. 1450–1200 B.C.)

Around 1450 B.C., Mycenaean expressions permeated the palace at Knossos. Michael Ventris deciphered the script, Linear B, recognizing the language as a primitive form of Greek (Chadwick 1958). It seems to have developed at Crete for commercial reasons in order to communicate in the Mycenaean language (which previously had existed only orally), having been brought to Crete from the mainland of Greece. Evidence indicates that the Mycenaeans never used Linear B for anything except accounts, inventories, and the like. No examples of continuous prose exist, and what is known of the system makes it unlikely that it was suitable for such communication. The script continued to be used on the mainland, after the destruction of Crete, until about 1200 B.C.

The mainland had been settled about the same time as the islands, around 3000 B.C., in the regions of Thessaly, Phocis, and Boeotia. These settlers came from the hinterland of Asia Minor as well as from the N. The S portion of Greece entered the Bronze Age (ca. 2600 to 1900 B.C. for the mainland) sooner than did the N. The Middle Bronze Age (ca. 1900 to 1600 B.C.) saw the invasion of central and S Greece, including the Peloponnese, by Greek-speaking people from the N. This culture, which entered Greece with violent destruction, developed significantly and from 1600 to 1450 prevailed in Boeotia and Argolis. In the latter district, the city of Mycenae was first excavated in 1874 by Heinrich Schliemann, who found the first evidence of this culture, and it was therefore dubbed Mycenaean.

Excavations by Sir Arthur Evans and others have shown that the Mycenaeans and the Minoans were two distinct cultures. The Mycenaeans, unlike the Minoans, were a taller, warlike people, who buried their dead in lavish shaft graves and used gold in abundance. However, the Mycenaeans were influenced by Minoan culture from Crete while retaining their own. This is seen especially in their pottery, jewelry, religious symbolism, and association with a cult of the Mother Goddess. Excavations by Schliemann at Mycenae and Troy have given historical credibility to the geographical and historical background of Homer's *Iliad.*

G. The Dark Age (ca. 1200–800 B.C.)

Mycenaean civilization was destroyed about 1200 B.C. in a way not yet known. It may have been an invasion of Dorians from the N. Civilization devolved into barbarism, and all cultural advance stopped—seal engraving, fresco painting, faience making, ivory carving, working with stone, etc. No documents in any language have been found in Greece during this period; Linear B ceased to exist. It was a time of general disruption in the Mediterranean. Troy fell to a Mycenaean coalition which itself was almost immediately destroyed, perhaps by Dorians. Sea Peoples (probably Philistines) attempted an invasion of Egypt. The Hittites were conquered by the Phrygians. Lydia was overrun and Cyprus plundered. Tarsus (in Asia Minor), Ugarit (in Syria), and Sidon (in Lebanon) were burned.

H. The Archaic Age (ca. 800–500 B.C.)

During this period significant changes took place in Greece. Sometime in the early part of the period the Phoenician alphabet was adopted, and a complete system of vowels developed. Writing was virtually rediscovered, making possible the production of Greek literature. The topography of the land, characterized by many isolated valleys, which contributed to the perpetuation of various dialects, also fostered the rise of the city-state (the *polis*). These independent cities were never able to be absorbed into a single political entity until the time of Philip of Macedon. For its citizens, the city was the state, and every member of the *polis* was also a member by birth of both a tribe (the larger unit) and a brotherhood (primarily a religious association which observed festivals).

During the early part of this period, the Olympic Games were founded. Subsequent Greek calendars were based on the Olympiads, the four-year intervals between games. The games provided one of the few times when Greeks transcended local loyalties and interests and came together to honor Zeus. Only men participated in the games, which also banned women spectators in the early years.

Trade between Greece and the east increased during these centuries, while colonization of S Italy took place. Greek settlements were also made in the N Aegean, on the shores of the Black Sea, and along the N coast of Africa. Aristocratic landowners maintained control of the society and conducted warfare during the early years of the period. Sometime after the mid-7th century, the aristocratic type of rule was replaced by that of tyrants (from both the aristocracy and the people), who took control of city-states by the use of bands of armed followers. Some of these were good for the people, but most were not. The latter are responsible for the negative connotation of the word in subsequent history.

The first temples built of stone in Greece date to around the end of the 7th century. In the following century, they were built throughout the Mediterranean world. These temples were not places of worship but residences of the gods, and by the 6th century they ceased to satisfy the religious needs of the worshipers, who created a new form of expression, the Mystery Religions, or secret cults, which centered on Dionysus, Demeter, and Orpheus. These maintained their popularity until well after the NT period.

The Archaic Age witnessed the creation of lyric poetry, which probed the depths of human emotions, but almost no Greek music has survived. Scientific and philosophical speculation also developed during this time. Military defense was enhanced by the construction of substantial city walls, while harbors and public buildings of various kinds were built to intensify commercial activity.

Although Greece had been divided into many city-states in the 6th century, the history of the 5th century was

predominantly the history of two of these—Athens and Sparta. This is partially because these two cities were the two major forces in preventing Persian control of Greece. Nevertheless, each represented a completely different approach to Greek culture at the time.

Sparta consisted of a group of five neighboring unwalled villages, rather than a walled city. It evidently had been settled by Dorians, who took the area in Mycenaean times. A totalitarian regime governed Sparta, emphasizing military preparedness and resisting any kind of social change. Sparta's laws forbade foreign travel by its citizens, discouraged foreign visitors, and prohibited coined money. This eliminated foreign trade, of course. A system of communal living developed, unlike anything known elsewhere in Greece. Although they were expected to marry by age 30, the sexes continued to live in segregated areas, the young men sleeping in military club dormitories for years later. Clandestine evening rendezvous with wives were routine, of course. Spartan women became more socially independent in such a society, developing a reputation for sexual aggressiveness and lesbianism. Children belonged to the state, and if not perfect at birth were "exposed" (thrown out to die). At age 12 a boy was taken into military service and left home forever to live with other young men. Girls also received some physical education. Homosexuality was common in such segregated circumstances.

This system gave Sparta the best army in Greece from about 550 to 350 B.C., an army created to defend and preserve its own way of life, not to make military conquests. The cost of such security was the surrender of individualism to the interests of the state, somewhat along the lines of modern communism.

Athens, by contrast, developed a system of laws in the 6th century that modernized the old system of the city. Solon, himself an aristocrat who was chosen by the city as a virtual benevolent tyrant to renovate its laws, abrogated the old Draconian code, which had been produced by the aristocracy. In its place he made sweeping reforms and instituted what became the basis of a democracy. Changes in the judicial system were accompanied by the transference of more power to representatives of the people.

At the time that democracy was emerging in Greece, a challenge to its existence was developing further east. By 550 B.C. the Persian king Cyrus had overthrown the king of Media, whose brother-in-law Croesus, king of Lydia, then marched against Cyrus but was defeated in 546 B.C. Ionia and Aeolia, the Greek colonies in W Asia Minor, had backed the loser and were placed under the rule of tyrants, who were answerable to the Persian satrap at Sardis. After the death of Cyrus, his son Cambyses conquered Egypt, and the Greeks found themselves bordering the greatest empire the world had ever known.

Ionia revolted in 499 B.C., and the war that followed was recorded by Herodotus, a native of Ionia, who wrote his history of the Persian Wars in the Ionic dialect during the 5th century. Ionia failed, and its greatest city, Miletus, the pride of the Greek world, was evacuated; its inhabitants were resettled in the east. Darius had taken the Persian throne in 522 B.C. and now decided to take the mainland of Greece. He sent an expedition there in 492, which failed when the Persian fleet was destroyed in a storm off Mt. Athos. Two years later, in 490, he sent another force which landed at Marathon, but it was also unsuccessful. More than 6,000 Persians were killed at Marathon, compared to only 192 Athenians. The Persians withdrew by sea and sailed against Athens. However, the Athenian troops made a marathon march to Athens, arriving there in twenty-six days, before the Persians could prepare for a battle. The Persians then left without attempting a landing.

The Athenians commissioned Themistocles to build a navy, anticipating another Persian attack eventually. The fleet numbered 200 ships and was ready when Xerxes, the son of Darius, invaded Greece in 480 B.C. to avenge the loss at Marathon. The force, which Herodotus says numbered 1,700,000, was too large to move by sea, and so it marched from Sardis in Asia Minor, across the Dardanelles on a pontoon bridge, and then down the coast of Greece, while the navy sailed just off shore.

Leonidas, a Spartan king who was assisting Athens, met the Persians at a narrow pass on the coast called Thermopylae (about 50 yards wide at the time, though wider now). Seeing the hopelessness of the situation, Leonidas sent the largest part of his force back to Athens, and with the remainder of his troops fought a delaying battle to allow Athens time to prepare for the Persian invasion. A treacherous local Greek guide took a Persian contingent through the mountains, allowing them to outflank Leonidas and his men, all of whom were killed. However, the Persian fleet lost 400 ships in a gale at Artemision off the N end of Euboea and 200 more around the S end of the island.

Meanwhile, the citizens of Athens had been given enough time to evacuate the city and move to the island of Salamis, where they would rely on the navy of Themistocles to defend them. The Greek navy, consisting of about 300 ships, destroyed much of the remaining Persian fleet in the straits of Salamis between the island and the mainland. After sacking Athens, Xerxes returned to Sardis and left a large force to finish conquering the mainland. However, the Spartans met them with a force of 38,000 hoplite soldiers at Plataea in SW Boeotia and defeated them. The year was 479 B.C. The Greek fleet crossed the Aegean sea, caught what remained of the Persian fleet ashore in Mycale, between Miletus and Ephesus, and burned it.

I. The Classical Period (ca. 500–338 B.C.)

Although Sparta had been a trusted ally of Athens during the Persian Wars, rivalry soon developed between them, eventually producing a conflict that lasted from 460 to 404 B.C.

In 478–477 B.C. in addition to maintaining the alliance she had with Sparta, Athens proceeded to create another alliance with all her allies around the perimeter of the Aegean, and functioned as the unquestioned leader of this new Delian League, which met on the sacred island of Delos. A treasury to fund the league was established on the island in the temple of Apollo and Artemis. Although Sparta, which never liked outside involvement, was happy for Athens to have allies who would fight with her, and thus free Sparta from the task, she eventually came to resent the encroaching control of Athens over the entire Delian League. Sparta was gradually losing her position as leader of the city-states, while Athens was gradually enhancing her position.

The tension peaked when Sparta called upon Athens to help her with an internal crisis, a revolt of her serfs, who were called helots. Athenian forces did so poorly that the Spartans contemptuously dismissed them, preferring to fight without their weak assistance. Athens thereupon broke her alliance with Sparta and made one about 464 B.C. with Sparta's enemy Argos, which lay between Athens and Sparta.

A major factor in the gradual transformation of leadership from Sparta to Athens was the evolution of the methodology of warfare in Greece. Sparta's unique and well-disciplined army had made her the supreme power in Greece for a long time. However, after the defeat of the Persians by the navy of Athens, it became increasingly clear to everyone that Greece's future lay in its navy. Furthermore, Athens was much more involved in naval matters than Sparta because of its leadership of the Delian League, which involved the Aegean islands and the coast of Asia Minor. In this way, Athens inevitably assumed the leadership once held by Sparta.

In addition to these factors, there was also the rise of democracy in Athens, made possible by economic and political conditions that did not and could not exist in Sparta's militaristic configuration. Pericles, a dedicated Athenian aristocrat who hungered for democracy, eventually persuaded the leaders of Athens in 462–461 B.C. to pass a series of laws that eliminated the last remnants of the old aristocratic constitution and instated full democracy.

According to Thucydides, the Athenians were exacting and harsh, eventually losing their popularity as the leaders of the Delian League but maintaining their control by force. Thus, the Delian League became an Athenian empire. After minor conflicts with Corinth and Aegina, Athens built the "Long Walls" between herself and the newly constructed port at Piraeus. She also supported an Egyptian revolt against Persia, which ended in disaster for the Greek fleet, which was completely destroyed in 454. Athens now shifted her policy from an intensive involvement with the League to preoccupation with mainland defense. The League's treasury was moved from Delos to the Acropolis in Athens for safety.

By 449 B.C., Athens and Persia realized that further conflict was unprofitable for both and reached a compromise. Athens abandoned Cyprus, and Ionia became a demilitarized zone. Due to the inability of Athens to defend her interests in the Aegean, her allies lost confidence in her leadership and revolted, provoked by the decision of Pericles to use League money to rebuild the temples in Athens which Xerxes had burned. In 450 B.C., Spartan commanders brought a large Peloponnesian army to Eleusis on the W outskirts of Athens, but they were bribed by Pericles with money from the League treasury and took the army home. Athens and Sparta made a thirty-year nonaggression pact in 445 B.C., agreeing not to interfere with each other's allies, and Athens moved toward even greater exclusiveness, having already passed a law requiring Athenian parentage on both sides for citizenship.

It was in the years after the Persian Wars that Greek culture matured into what is now called Classical Greece. During these years, Pericles was the undisputed majority leader of the Assembly in Athens, which was the governing body of the city, but he was not a head of state. Democracy was at work here. The Council of the Five Hundred, which advised the Assembly, was composed of fifty men from each of the ten tribes, and its members were selected annually by the casting of lots. Lobbyists arose among the business classes to see that their interests were not overshadowed by the wealthy. They were called demagogues (i.e., "leaders of the people") and were the first professional politicians. They were, of course, not liked by the gentry, but were an essential part of the working democracy. Any person, regardless of class, could speak before the Assembly.

Even though Athens and Sparta had made a thirty-year peace pact, there was constant anxiety between them because of the desire of Sparta to remain culturally introverted and her fear that the extroverted Athens would eventually stir up Sparta's allies against her. War between them was inevitable, according to Thucydides, because of the "growth of Athenian power and the fear which this caused in Sparta." Within a decade the Peloponnesian War (434–404 B.C.) broke out. Sparta prevailed in the war against Athens, at the conclusion of which Athens was forced to surrender and Sparta tore down the "Long Walls" of Athens as well as the fortifications of her harbor city, Piraeus. The Athenian empire was dissolved, and Athens was forced to become an ally of Sparta.

The Classical Period was a time of the extraordinary burgeoning of the Greek genius, the blossoming of the human spirit. This era saw the work of Herodotus, who wrote about the war between Greece and Persia in such an analytical way as to become the "Father of History" and probably of cultural anthropology as well. He created the discipline of history by not only investigating and recording what happened but also attempting to determine why. During this time, Thucydides penned his account of the Peloponnesian War, one of the greatest histories ever written, though not in the modern sense of the term. His analysis of events carried him into a philosophical quest for underlying realities and universal principles that transcend modern history writing. Xenophon also wrote, through the eyes of a farmer and soldier, about the world as he saw it.

The Classical Age saw the great poets and playwrights of both tragedy and comedy. Tragedy originated in the religious drama connected with the worship of Dionysus. This is reflected in the works of Aeschylus through the recurring themes of religion and politics. The ancient world, of course, was basically theistic and theocentric, unlike the pragmatic atheism and cultural hedonism that prevails in much of modern society. Of the ninety plays Aeschylus is said to have written, only seven survive. Sophocles, his contemporary, reportedly wrote 120 plays, of which only seven also are extant.

Whereas Aeschylus and Sophocles left the issue of human suffering and justice in the mysterious realm of divine fate, a younger tragedian named Euripides dealt with an emerging national sense of justice that predicated some element of personal responsibility. Law courts in Athens were now proceeding on the assumption that guilt could not adequately be accounted for by blaming an invidious cosmic system. Euripides departed from his predecessors' preoccupation with mythology and concerned himself

more with the human drama. In Euripides' plays, even the gods were called to account for conduct unbecoming to a deity. Nineteen of the some ninety plays he is said to have written survive. The great writers of comedy during the period included Aristophanes and Menander, who brought a new sense of meaning to theater by both creating new material and parodying some of the tragedies.

The theaters in which these plays were originally performed were made of wood, but during the Classical Period stone theaters began to be erected. The Dionysus theater, the oldest theater in Greece, was located at the foot of the Acropolis in Athens. It was rebuilt in stone during the time of Alexander the Great by the Attic statesman Lycurgus (ca. 330 B.C.). Greek drama had reached its zenith by the 5th century B.C., with the works of the above-mentioned authors, and extant theaters reflect alterations required by developments in dramatic activity over two hundred years. All the surviving theaters—e.g., at Epidarus, Corinth, Dodona, and Philippi—were built or renovated later than the composition of the plays that were performed in them. We know most about those constructed in the 4th century and later. Creative writing for the theater ceased after the 5th century, and attention was centered on the alteration of facilities.

An equal emphasis was placed on the construction of temples during this period, which saw the erection of monumental structures, such as those still standing in Athens today. The Theseion (Temple of Hephaistos and Athena), built in the Greek Agora in 449, began the period of reconstruction following the Persian Peace, which had been executed that year. On the Acropolis, the Parthenon (Temple of Athena) was erected from 447 to 438 B.C., the Temple of Athena Nike from 427 to 424, and the Erectheion (Temple of Athena and Poseidon) some time after 395.

Some of the greatest Greek sculpture was produced during this period, one of the most significant pieces being that of the colossal bronze statue of Athena Promachos by Pheidias, which was finished in 458 B.C. and stood forty paces inside the monumental entrance to the Acropolis. Another huge chryselephantine statue of Athena by Pheidias was completed in the Parthenon in 432 B.C.

Both Socrates and Plato were products of the Classical Period. Their contribution to human thought is foundational for much of the subsequent intellectual history of the Western world. Aristotle, the pupil of Plato, became the tutor of Alexander the Great in his youth. The type of Greek culture that Alexander spread throughout his empire was learned at the feet of this teacher, whose thought continues to influence human history.

J. The Hellenistic Period (338–146 B.C.)

In the closing years of the Classical Period, Athens, Sparta, and Thebes had all exhausted themselves trying to build empires. By 360 B.C., the balance of power politics had left Greece without a leader. The time was ripe for the emergence of a powerful unifying force. That force emerged in the person of Philip II, who became king of Macedon in 359. Macedonia was a poor and divided country when he became its ruler, but within twenty-one years he ruled the entire Balkan Peninsula. He captured the gold fields at Philippi and bought mercenary soldiers to build an army. Among those available were 10,000 Greek mercenaries who had fought with the Persian king Cyrus in 401 in an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Artaxerxes. When Cyrus was killed, rather than surrender they elected new generals who led them out of Mesopotamia, north to the Black Sea, and eventually home to Greece. One of these generals was Xenophon, who tells the whole story in his *Anabasis* ("Long March").

While Demosthenes, the golden orator of Athens, was warning the Athenians about the rising power in Macedonia, Philip was building his army. In one of the decisive battles of history, the Macedonians defeated Athens and Thebes, the Macedonian cavalry being brilliantly led by Philip's son Alexander. The year was 338 B.C. Two years later Philip was assassinated, and Alexander was quickly elected to succeed his father in 336.

Alexander was only twenty when he came to power; he was referred to contemptuously by Demosthenes as "the boy." Alexander immediately secured his borders and put down a revolt in Thebes, razing it to the ground. He later regretted the atrocity. However, the lesson was sufficiently clear to everyone, and by it he cowed all of Greece. He was elected, like Philip, "General of the Hellenes" at Corinth. Alexander's favorite author was Homer, and he tended to identify himself with Achilles and the spirit of the great heroes about whom Homer wrote. He thus resisted pressure by his officers to marry and provide an heir in case he should die in battle. There was little need to concern himself with affairs at home when there were worlds to conquer.

In 334 B.C., Alexander moved eastward against Persia, meeting its army at the Granicus River in N Mysia of Asia Minor. Commanding 40,000 soldiers, he defeated the Persians, but was almost killed himself. Asia Minor was his. He moved further eastward to Syria, where he met the Persian king Darius III at the Issus pass and defeated him in 333. Darius panicked and fled toward Persia, his wife and family having been captured by the Greeks. Moving south along the Levant, Alexander took the city of Tyre after a lengthy siege. The inhabitants had fled to an offshore island, and Alexander had no boats. So he took the ruins of the destroyed city and built a causeway to the island, making it forever a peninsula. Continuing southward, Alexander entered Egypt, which he "liberated" from Persian control and where he was appropriately treated as a hero. Here he built the first of his many cities named Alexandria, at the mouth of the Nile. The new city replaced Tyre as the chief port in the E Mediterranean.

Alexander refused an attempt by Darius to ransom his family and, heading east again, met the Persian army in 331 B.C. at Gaugamela, a city in Assyria on the Tigris River, 200 miles N of Baghdad. Defeating Darius again, Alexander rested his troops in Babylon for a while and then moved on southeast to conquer Susa and Persepolis. In the latter city, he burned the palace of Xerxes, the Persian king who had burned Athens. The treasury of the Persians fell into his hands, and after Darius was deposed and murdered by his own satraps in Bactria for incompetence, Alexander declared himself a successor of the Achaemenid dynasty of Persian kings and embarked on a conquest of the eastern parts of the empire.

After three years of hard battle, Alexander reached the

Indus River valley in W India and planned to go on to the Ganges, but his exhausted army refused to go any farther. So he returned to Babylon and reorganized his empire. He planned to have a link by sea with India, to circumnavigate Arabia, and possibly to conquer the western Mediterranean, but his plans were terminated by his death in Babylon. He succumbed after having lain ill with a fever for ten days. He died June 13, 323 B.C., at the age of thirty-two.

Alexander left no legitimate heir of Greek blood; his army was unwilling to accept the son, Alexander IV, whom he had sired through the barbarian Roxane. His feeble-minded half-brother, Philip III Arrhidaeus, was equally unacceptable. The first line of contenders for the throne, his senior commanders, either died or were killed. All his blood relatives were killed as well, including his son Alexander, Roxane, his mother Olympias, and his brother. A second group of contenders divided the empire among themselves, and after some conflict power was massed in three centers. Ptolemy consolidated control of Egypt, and from him arose the Ptolemies who governed Egypt until the last of them, Cleopatra, died. Antigonus II Gonatas (son of the Alexander's general Antigonus the One-eyed) took control of Macedonia and Greece, and established the Antigonid dynasty. Seleucus took the eastern satrapies in Mesopotamia, as well as Syria and parts of Asia Minor. The Seleucids established their dynasty in Antioch of Syria and ruled from there until Pompey took the area for Rome in 64 B.C.

After a considerable effort in putting down an attempt by the Macedonian rulers to regain a dominant position in Greece, an attempt which included aiding Carthage against Rome in the Punic Wars, the Roman general Mummius decimated the Macedonian army at the battle of Pydna in 168. In 148 B.C. a Roman army annexed Macedonia as a province, and in 146 another Roman army defeated the Achaean League and took S Greece. This time Mummius made an example of Corinth by slaughtering the men, enslaving the women and children, and razing the city. It would not be rebuilt for a hundred years. Greece was now firmly in the control of Rome.

During the time of the NT, Greece consisted of two large provinces: Macedonia in the N and Achaia in the S. The central section of the country was subdivided into two smaller geographical but not political districts: Epirus on the W and Thessaly on the E. A major road, the Egnatian Way, was built from Apollonia and Dyrrhachium on the W coast, cross Macedonia, through Thessalonica and Philippi to Asia. Paul traveled the road when he brought Christianity to Greece from Asia Minor. Good roads and maritime service connected the N and S parts of the country.

Macedonia had several ports on the E coast, including Neapolis, Methone, Aliki (for Pydna), and Dion. On the W coast Apollonia was served by the harbor at Aulona, and others existed along the coast as well. Achaia was accessible by sea through numerous ports along the E coast, and Athens could be reached through ports in Glifada, Phaleron, and Piraeus. The W coast of Achaia was served by several harbors, including those at Actium and Nicopolis. On the Peloponnese, there were good harbors at Lechaion and Cenchrea, which allowed Corinth to develop into a large international city. Lechaion provided access to Italy and Europe through the Corinthian Gulf, while Cenchrea supplied an outlet eastward through the Saronic Gulf to Asia. Greece was a great maritime nation, but her sailors, unlike the Phoenicians, were not necessarily great navigators, since they were almost never out of sight of one of the more than 2,000 islands in the Aegean. Most of the important cities in Greece were built on the Aegean side of the country.

Undoubtedly the greatest contribution Greece made to the world relative to biblical studies was the spread of Hellenism throughout the Mediterranean world. The Greek language was the *lingua franca* of the empire from the time of Alexander to Constantine, replacing the Aramaic tongue used by the Persians. The Jews had translated the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek as early as the 3d century B.C. in Alexandria, and most of the Apocrypha was written in that language. Most Christians used the Greek Bible rather than the Hebrew one, because even Jewish Christians would not have been fluent in Hebrew. That is, after all, why the Septuagint was produced. All the books of the NT were apparently composed in Greek, as the more than 6,000 preserved manuscripts and pieces of manuscript testify. No ancient manuscript of a NT book has been found in Aramaic, although patristic sources state that portions of it existed in Aramaic. Greece played a vital role during that "fullness of time" (Gal 4:4), when Christianity was introduced into the world.

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JOHN MCRAY

GREEK LANGUAGE. See LANGUAGES (GREEK).

GREEK VERSIONS. See SEPTUAGINT; and VERSIONS, ANCIENT (GREEK).

GRIESBACH HYPOTHESIS. See TWO-GOSPEL HYPOTHESIS.

GRIFFON. See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

GUARANTEE. See DEPOSIT.

GUARD, COURT OF THE (PLACE) [Heb *ḥāṣar hammaṭṭārâ*]. A place within the palace complex where prisoners were confined. However, all biblical references to this place are in the book of Jeremiah, and attest to the dire circumstances at the time of the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem. Jeremiah, who was confined there (32:8, 12; 33:1; 37:21; 38:6, 13, 28; 39:14–15), nevertheless seems to have enjoyed some freedom of movement. It is possible that the court in question was only being used temporarily to house (mostly political) prisoners during times of political crisis (cf. the house of Jonathan the secretary, which was also being used to detain prisoners at the time, 37:20).

GARY A. HERION

GUARD, GATE OF THE. See GATE OF THE GUARD (PLACE).

GUARD, PRAETORIAN. See PRAETORIAN GUARD.

GULL. See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

GUNI (PERSON) [Heb *gûnî*]. GUNITES. **1.** The second of Naphtali's four sons (Gen 46:24; 1 Chr 7:13), who went into Egypt with him (Gen 46:8, 26–27), and whose family emerged as a substantial clan within the tribe by the time of the Exodus and Moses' census in the wilderness (Num 26:48). The name may be cognate with the Arabic term *jūnun*, which refers to a variety of bird (*IPN*, 230).

2. A Gadite who was the father of Abdiel and the grandfather of Ahi (1 Chr 5:15). What is not clear, however, is the connection between these three men and the other Gadites listed in 1 Chronicles 5. It may be that the three were the ancestors of Buz and his descendants (vv 12–14) and that textual corruption is responsible for the break between vv 14 and 15. It is also possible, however, that this three-name component of the Gadite genealogy is unrelated to the other names. At any rate, neither Guni nor the other Gadites in the genealogy (1 Chr 5:11–17) appear in other lists of Gadites (Gen 46:16; Num 26:15–18; 1 Chr 12:9–16—Eng 12:8–15).

3. One of David's mighty men named JASHEN (Heb *yāšēn*), who is listed in 2 Samuel 23 with the others who constituted "the three" and "the thirty," may be associated with the name "Guni." Although the MT of 2 Sam 23:32 reads "the sons of Jashen," scholars have long favored emending the text by dropping out "the sons of" *(bĕnê)*, arguing that the expression results from dittography after the preceding word that ends in *-bōnî*. Furthermore, since many LXX mss of 2 Sam 23:32 and its parallel in 1 Chr 12:34 call Jashen a Gunite (*ho gouni* or some variant of this spelling), it has been suggested that the MT be emended to "Jashen the Gunite." Driver (*NHT*, 371) and Elliger (1935: 53–54), however, argued that since the Gunites of Naphtali were too far removed from David in his early days in Judah, the text should be emended to "Jashen of Gimzo." According to 2 Chr 28:18, the town of Gimzo was much closer to David's native country, only a few miles SE of Lydda/Lod. McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 492), however, has suggested that the text be emended to "Jashen the Gizonite," following the "Gizonite" reading of the MT of 1 Chr 11:34. In spite of the LXX's support for reading "the Gunite," McCarter believes that earlier scribes or translators confused two Hebrew letters (*zayin* and *waw*).

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M. PATRICK GRAHAM

GUR (PLACE) [Heb *gûr*]. The name of the ascent located by (near) Ibleam where Ahaziah, king of Judah, was fatally wounded by Jehu (2 Kgs 9:27). On the analogy of Josh 10:10, it seems likely that the ascent was named after a neighboring site.

Ahaziah was fleeing S from Jezreel toward Samaria and Jerusalem. This road, leading SW to modern Jenin (the natural pass from the Jezreel valley into the Dothan valley and the Samaria mountains), is called the "road of Beth-Haggan." Knowing well the local topography, Jehu ordered the attack on Ahaziah "in the ascent of Gur, which is by Ibleam." This geographical note leaves no doubt that Gur should be located near Ibleam, well identified at Kh. Belameh (M.R. 177205), a large mound located ca. 2 km S of Beth-Haggan (modern Jenin). Eusebius also indicates that a place named Gur is located near Ibleam (*Onomast.* 72: 23–24).

Zertal has suggested identifying Gur with Kh. en-Najjar (M.R. 178205), a fortified tell of 32 dunam in area, located in the high, E side of the deep Wadi Belameh, where both the ancient and the modern roads passed. Topographically, this is the only pass between Beth-Haggan (and the Jezreel valley) and the Samaria mountains. The road there is narrow and hard, and the biblical description "ascent" (Heb *maʿăleh*) fits well the topographical conditions. Just as Kh. Belameh controls the pass from the W, Kh. en-Najjar controls it from the E. Gur is probably preserved in the 15th century B.C. Taanach letter no. 2, line 5, as Gur-ra, the place where Akhiyami informed Rewassa that "he was ambushed," confirming that the ascent of Gur was a good place for planning an ambush. Biridiyah, prince of Megiddo, attested in the Amarna letters, is also mentioned in this Taanach letter, indicating that the arena of the letter is the S part of the Jezreel valley.

According to the transcription rules, the Arabic term *Najjar* may well preserve the name "Gur" (the addition of n- prefixes is not unusual). Kh. Najjar was founded in the Chalcolithic period, but Zertal (fc.) tends to date the fortifications to EB I–II. After a probable abandonment, the site was resettled in MB II, continuing into the LB Iron II periods. Thus, all relevant periods for the identification of "Gur-ra" and "Gur" are represented.

Bibliography

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ADAM ZERTAL

GURBAAL (PLACE) [Heb *gur-baʿal*]. A small Arab town, against which Uzziah, king of Judah, received divine assistance (2 Chr 26:7). The LXX and Vulgate translations' "rock of Baal" suggest an original reading of *ṣûr baʿal* (Heb) or *tur baʿal* (Aram). Its association in the text with Meunim (Mehunim) indicates a location to the E, probably somewhere in Edom. It has been suggested that Jebel Nebi Harun, near Petra, may have been the rock of Baal, since this location appears always to have had a sanctuary on its summit. Another suggestion equates Gurbaal with the *Krbʿr* of the Egyptian town lists. The precise location of this latter site is unknown at present.

RANDALL W. YOUNKER

GUSH HALAV. See GISCALA (M.R. 191270).

GYMNASIUM. See EDUCATION (GRECO-ROMAN).